



NEWSLETTER
No. 5
LIBERTARIAN
NEWS AND
VIEWS

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ORA by N. London group
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15p



**“Every strike is the more
valuable in that it broadens
and deepens to an ever
greater extent the gulf now
separating the bourgeois
class from the masses of
the people.”**

—Mikhail Bakunin





Why worry about the Festival of Light?
Is it a real threat to life as we hope
it will be?

Traditionally, fascism has only gained real popular support when Capitalism was in a financial and governing crisis (Germany, Italy etc.). It would appear that Capitalism is internationally in financial insecurity, (the dollar crisis, devaluations etc.), and that more to the point, Britain possibly faces a long term period of 'lack of confidence by investors'.*

*(You only have to walk into a bank, and read the Chairman's report to the shareholders. He says it in so many words : talks about the miners strike, and the threat of the railway strike to the economy, in long-term contexts. You don't actually have to own shares to get one(!)
The report is usually on display when current.)

At the moment the right wing have confidence in government - the F. of L. is playing the "pressurise parliament" game - its supporters do not feel the

parliamentary impotence that leads to the real danger of fascist power. So at the moment, the F. of L., although it seems to be gathering a broad mass movement to itself, is not really an immediate threat.

It is possible, however, that if the financial crisis continues, and if a Labour government gets in, so that the right could not identify with the government in power, and with the social upsets and changes caused by going into the Common Market (more real poverty from higher cost of living)..... let alone the insecurity felt from the growing militancy of workers.....then there could be a more dangerous threat from the Festival of Light.

The main speakers for the Festival (Muggeridge, Whitehouse, etc.) are openly political. The issues they have chosen to campaign on are cleverly non-political (overtly) eg. 'abortion', public 'decency', etc. These issues are real worries to a large cross-section of people.

for once having mobilised a movement

in support of such issues, then those people will tend to be sympathetic to the organisation, to believe that the organisers are fighting the right things, and to accept and be mobilised on more political issues in the future. (eg. against 'greedy' trade unions??)

"Revolutionaries understand the power of decadence to undermine and destroy the dignity and strength of man..... With a combination of drugs and sex, aimed particularly at the young, they (the Yippies) intend to create political revolution."

Mary Whitehouse : from the leaflet 'Why a petition for public decency?'

"Nihilism and 'the Underground' offer no alternative to the established order. The majority of the population seek a stable, not an irresponsible, society. Drugs, anarchy and filth are no substitute for national pride, faith & hard work, which alone can promote a healthy society and a prosperous community. There is a constant lobby to undermine Britain's allies, and succour Communist enemies. There is increasing evidence that the BBC and ITV are powerful instruments of this campaign.

letter in Spearhead - journal of the National Front - No.40.

"Whatever the motivation behind the present flooding of Western society by porn, the fact remains that sex, which is God given, and which is the fount of man's greatest creativity, is becoming in-turned, and therefore destructive. Addiction to porn involves people in themselves. It can so occupy them as to change their attitudes to life. As their obsession grows, so they become less and less concerned with the great political and social questions of their day and consequentially more and more ripe for dictatorship.

Mary Whitehouse (ibid).

"The fight for purity is basic not only to the character of the individual, but to the survival of nationhood and beyond that to civilisation as we know it."

Mary Whitehouse (again).

"Sir, You deal with the foreign influence in British commerce but you make no mention of one of its most important symptoms - the pornography trade, especially the pornography under the guise of 'sex-education'. This cult grew up in Central Europe in the Twenties and Thirties, then was brought over here by immigrants whom we took in as refugees. More fool us!"

letter in Spearhead 27.

"Perhaps the most noticeable symptom of our national degeneracy is the 'permissive society'. The upsurge of drug addiction, legalisation of abortion & homosexuality, pornography and the commercialisation of sex are some of the symptoms....."

article, centre page of Spearhead No.27.



"We would be foolish indeed not to realise that decadence within Western Culture plays straight into the hands of those who work towards the destruction of Parliamentary democracy.."

Mary Whitehouse (one more time)

The quotes following are from two women who were at the Anti-Abortion Rally in Liverpool, they give some impression of the size and kind of support that the Festival of Light now has.

"..It was very, very discouraging - 40,000 demonstrators and only 80 or so of us. Like the 'Guardian' said, we were fragmented and fairly ineffective. We leafletted and tried to get through to the many, many young girls on the march, but in general they were well protected by parents, priests, nuns, etc. The campaign they had mounted for weeks beforehand was very hysterical and emotional, it was really disgusting to give stuff like that out to children."

"..The Liverpool demo was great fun - but 40,000 people, or more even - looked a nightmare - took three hours for them to march through town, and we were only 200! Still, a very good experience - loads of solidarity and

all that. Police were on our side(???), but speeches were so sickmaking it was unbelievable. Some were very depressed by seeing such a cross-section of people on the march, but I enjoyed it (what can you do against 40,000 any-way?) as we made plenty of (noisy) impact on their silent march, if not their closed minds".

(The article then went on to discuss a particular leaflet the author wrote against the Petition for Public Decency. It discusses the methods of dealing with the Festival of Light and criticises the leaflet)

..the trouble was, that it appeared from my leaflet, that I (was) being liberal about it. Pornography doesn't create sick people - sick people create a market for pornography - the point is not to try and stop pornography (the symptom) but to change the cause of the attitude to sex, and other human beings, which leads to pornography ..the capitalist society we live in.

..My main priority had been to prevent people signing, with a second of putting over some alternative ideas and positive suggestions. I think I should have tried to discredit them, noting the fact that members of the National Front have stewarded their rallies - and perhaps juxtaposing quotes as I have here. I think also that I should have been much more on the attack. I should have refused to accept their definitions, and their terms, cut through their abstracts to the real problem they were using....

- talked about large families, living in poverty, and the knowledge of contraception being kept from them - against abstracts like "the sanctity of the family."

- women being condemned to go through the emotional stress of having an unwanted child, and having to give it away, maybe to live in a home - rather than educate about sex and contraception, and make abortion legal, they talk about "preventing changes in the concept of marriage..and womanhood."

- legislation to stop pornography, created the biggest number of prostitutes in Victorian days, and to stop drinking in America, the Prohibition laws created more misery and alcoholism than existed prior to their introduction.

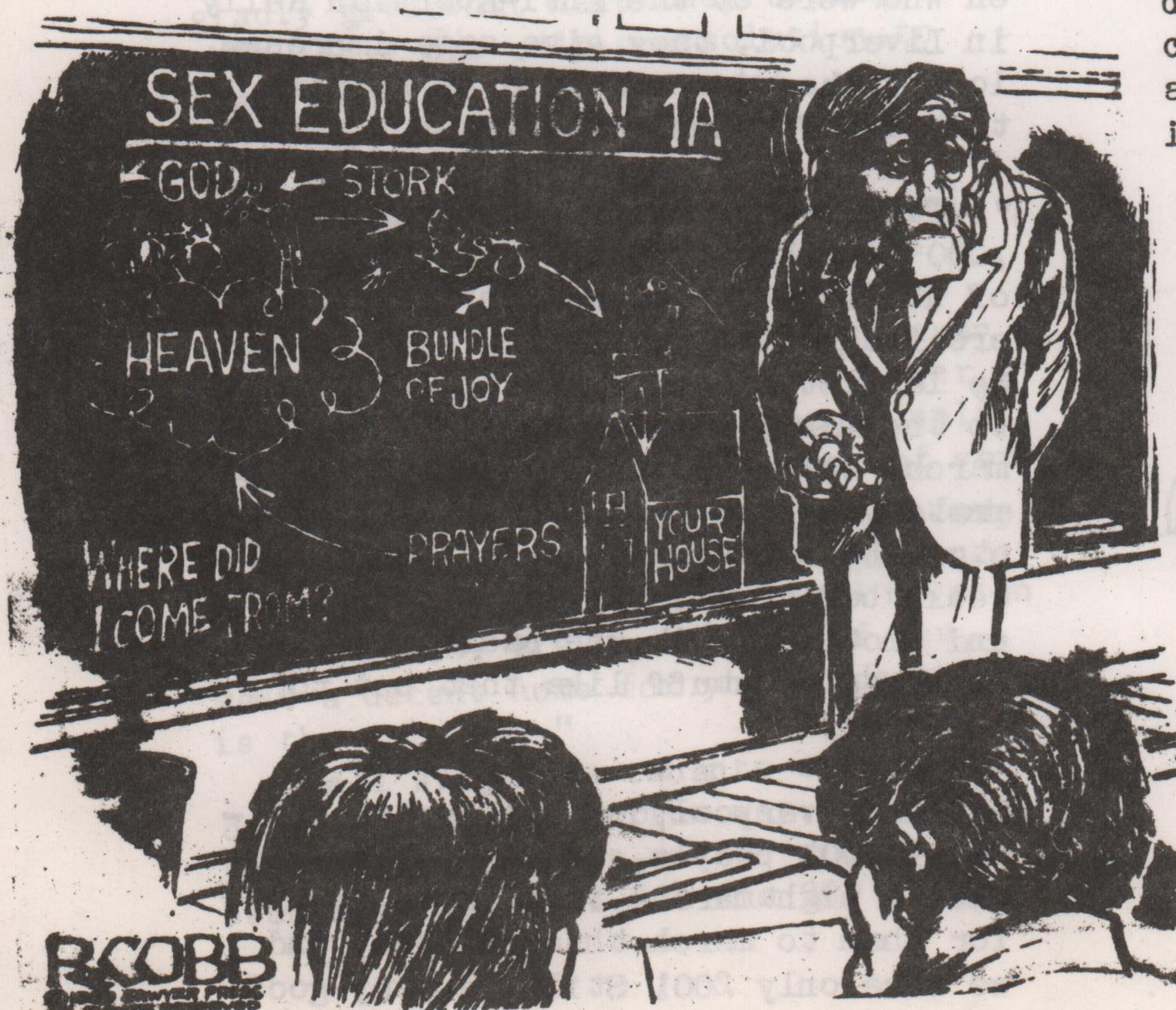
- that the commercialisation of sex and violence is natural to this system since it works by capitalists making profits from whatever they can - the priority of whatever is done is solely the amount of profit it will make - this is the basis of capitalist morality. The attitude this creates to other people and about sex, which can only be changed when the society is no longer based on capitalism.

- that the greater immorality is of people being forced to live in poverty, to save the profits of the companies in Britain.. so that their chairmen can receive over £30,000 a year. (there follows some extracts and a plug for Labour Research).

The lesson I have learnt is rather than reacting on the defensive, and dashing off the first thing, (we) could use the Festival of Light campaigns to open up ground for us to work in.

Ros Nathan

**ANY
QUESTIONS
SO
FAR?**



Tenants Mutual Aid

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We have been involved in the formation of a Tenants' Association.

With some of the group living in Bromley, and the rest in or near Lambeth we decided to work in both areas at the same time using the same leaflets and ideas.

We made some mistakes, but rather than go into that now, as we hope to write a full report later, we will explain our plan of action briefly.

First read up on the Rents Bill. There are two good pamphlets available: an IS pamphlet and a Labour Research pamphlet. Both of these will give you a good idea of the coming Rents Bill. Also find out why the 1968 Rent Strike failed, and how existing Tenants' Associations are run: committee members, secretary, treasurer etc.

Then choose an estate or close group of estates to work on, but check to see if there is already a Tenants' Association in existence or if there has ever been one. You can do this by checking at the local town hall or at the GLC County Hall.

Next the leaflets, we distributed four in all. The first was short, hard-worded and informative. The second was a double-sided leaflet explaining the Rents Bill and how it can be fought.

The other two advertised the meeting, one having some of the grievances and the need for a Tenants' Association. The other was distributed an hour before the meeting, just giving the time and place.

On the bottom of the first three leaflets we put a return slip, just like an advertising circular, which people wanting more information could fill in and return. This was a great success, we received in all over 50 replies.

As soon as you get replies you must follow them up. Try not to talk too much about the Rents Bill, as this can be very confusing, instead stress the social aspects of a Tenants' Association and the role it can play on the estate.

Try to find out some of the grievances which can be put on one of the leaflets.

People are frightened about the Tenants' Association being political, but they see politics as Tory, Liberal and Labour it is probably best to say that it is non-political, but that politics do enter into it such as the 'Fair Rents' Bill.

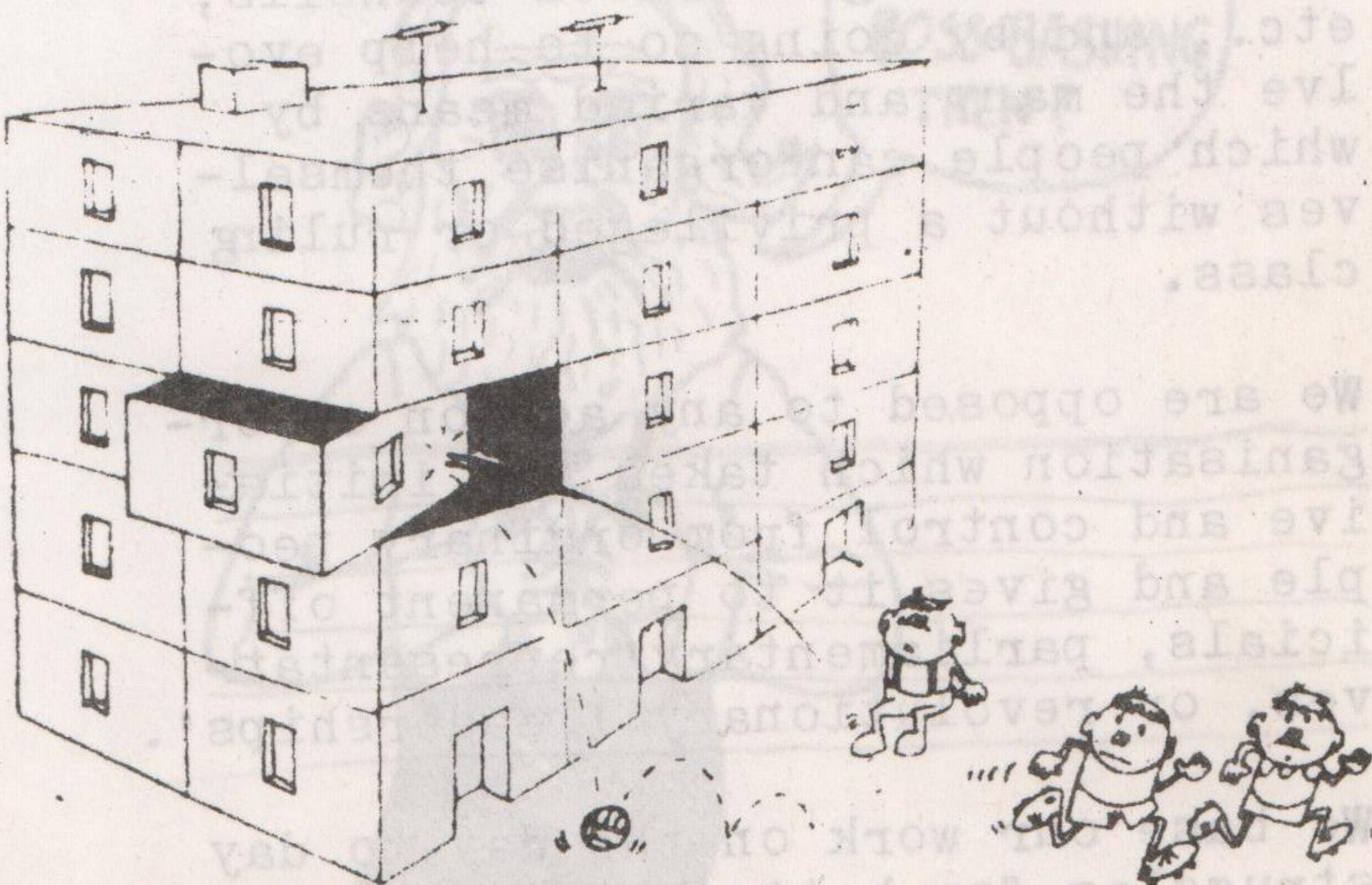
Explain that you are only an aid group and not the Tenants' Association and emphasise that they must form the Tenants' Association themselves.

It is absolutely necessary to canvass the whole of the estate, which is what we had to do, it is not as difficult as it seems as very few people are opposed to the idea of an association. If possible try to get some of the tenants who reply to the leaflets to help with the canvass.

Book the meeting-place well in advance, a local church hall is probably the best, NOT a pub as many women will come and have to bring their children with them. We went round the night before talking to the tenants and reminding them of the meeting. This I think helped to encourage them to come along as it was on a more personal level.

Next the all-important. It was here that many of the ideas we had about the structure of the association were destroyed. You will need to elect someone from the group to chair the first meeting as the meetings tend to get out of hand, you need someone who can control the meeting and keep it flowing. You will need at least two of you at the table to be able to answer questions quickly and directly. The rest of the group can sit amongst the tenants. We opened the meeting saying that we were responsible for the leaflets and explaining that we were an aid group and not the Tenants' Association emphasising that they were here to form the Tenants' Association.

We then invited people to air their grievances (some of them) and we mentioned those that people had written in and told us of. This is where the people themselves began to speak and this broke the ice between us. It was at this point of this first meeting,



under a torrent of voices that the need for a chairman was realised. We went on showing that from the grievances heard there was a real need for a Tenants Association and that they were the only ones who could fight back as we were there only to aid the association. **cont. p.8**

ORA: AIMS and PRINCIPLES

The ORA seeks to establish a society which will render impossible the growth of a privileged class and the exploitation of man by man. The ORA therefore advocates common ownership of all means of production and distribution, on the basis of voluntary co-operation. to gain such a society we shall work towards the abolition of the mechanisms which are necessary to our present unjust and unequal system- such as the wages system, capital accumulation, and money. Goods will be produced to fulfill human needs, both social and individual, rather being produced for the maximum profit.

We are concerned not only to change the material conditions of life but also its general quality, by such means as open access to all facilities for education and leisure.

As a means of working towards the free society, ORA is concerned to promote ever more accurate criticism and ever more successful opposition to the chaotic and oppressive society in which we live; to oppose private greed with social needs; to encourage co-operation in our own interests, rather than the competition which is in the interests of the present system; to build and support organisations to defend people from exploitation, such as tenant associations, rank and file committees, consumer groups, school-neighbourhood councils, etc., and by doing so to help evolve the many and varied means by which people can organise themselves without a privileged or ruling class.

We are opposed to any action or organisation which takes the initiative and control from ordinary people and gives it to permanent officials, parliamentary representatives, or revolutionary 'leaderships'.

We base our work on the day to day struggles for better living conditions and greater enjoyment of life; by linking up the aspirations and actions of ordinary people and developing from them an understanding of the common problems and common enemies, which will act as a guide to our work for a more satisfactory

form of society.

The form that our organisation takes is a realisation of libertarian perspectives in the current situation. We recognise that it is not a social model of a free society and must itself develop in interaction with the developing liberation of humanity.

- a) We are a membership organisation.
- b) We are decentralised with groups having autonomy of action and management. Any delegate or group of delegates has no more than a co-ordinating function.
- c) Delegates are subject to recall at any time by those who mandate them.
- d) We recognise the danger of the development of a leadership of experts and consciously, consistently and openly stimulate the involvement, responsibility and libertarian perspective of the less involved.
- e) All relationships reflect mutual responsibility, and the maxim of 'to each according to his needs'.
- f) We reject vanguard theories because they perpetuate authority relationships into the new society.

The ORA therefore:

- 1) Works for the establishment and strengthening of rank and file groups at the place of work. Against the co-operation of the employers and the state which reflects their interests, we advocate the co-operation of the workers, not just as a platitude but as a necessary weapon for any successful fight against a ruthless enemy.

To implement this, the ORA fights for Trade Union democracy, - to gain rank and file control over decisions and communications at present in the hands of permanent officials, whose interests and lifestyles are closer to the bosses than to the ordinary workers.

This can be done by regular recall of officials, and by making sure of free communications between union branches, and the abolition of craft unions.

The ORA works to achieve a network of rank and file organisations by means of which workers will be able to more successfully defend their interests and eventually to take over and control industry in their own interest.

- 2) Works for the establishment and strengthening of tenants' associations and neighbourhood councils,

not just to fight local authorities for better housing and other social services, but to create community organisations capable of running these services in their own interests.

3) Seeks to break the control of education by industrial interests and academic elites. The ORA supports moves towards a system which will encourage the development of the individual through such measures as libertarian education - at best the de-schooling of society, at worst, the abolition of streaming and the control of schools, colleges and universities by those who work in, work for, and use them, by means of their democratic control of decision making.

4) Opposes all forms of racism. We consider racial prejudice to have developed not through biological inequality between men, but as a result of the past economic interests of colonial nations, who continue to use the myth as a justification for exploitation. The effect of racism is to divide groups of ordinary people and hamper the achievement of their common interests.

5) Supports the movement for women's liberation, both in society at large and in the radical movement. We support the formation of independent women's groups. The women's liberation struggle will not end with the revolution we propose, but must be a continuing process of education and action to break centuries of conditioning. As with racism, the low status and restricted opportunity of women is a means by which people are divided.

To make a successful revolution the fight against all forms of discrimination and exploitation must be put together and turned from defensive attempts to gain crumbs to a determined battle together to seize complete control of our society.

We believe that no existing regime can be called socialist. In place of capitalism, various countries have achieved a system of rule by self-perpetuating bureaucracy, based not on the individual control and ownership of private property like the British ruling class, but on the collective control of all production through the control of an all-powerful State.

To us the only revolution worth having is when ordinary people rid themselves of all those who live off

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them, and organise themselves in their own interests. For this reason "anarchy" is the alarm cry of Prime Ministers, City magnates and all would-be officials. (The word means 'a society without rulers'). They equate this with chaos, since they believe, and want us to believe, that they are indispensable. But there have been times when people have successfully organised vast cities and created "anarchy": in Russia in 1917 (destroyed by the Communists); in Spain in 1936-38 (destroyed by an unholy alliance of Communists and Fascists); in Hungary in 1956 (destroyed by Soviet "workers" tanks); in France in 1968 (held back by all the established political parties). These events are part of a continuing process - the Spanish people are still threatening the Franco dictatorship; the Polish workers are not cowed after 20 years of similar repression; and in France the regime is becoming more and more of a police state to suppress the ideas and hopes thrown up by 1968.

The ORA is opposed to State militarism. It believes that the main use of State violence is against its own citizens. This is obvious in dictatorships but even in the free world there are clear examples; when Ulster Catholics refuse any longer to accept second class citizenship, they are met by CS gas; when homeless people attempt to solve their problems by squatting in empty houses, they are terrorised, persecuted and imprisoned.

We believe that the ruling of all countries are our enemies just as the ordinary people of all nations

are our friends. We oppose all wars between the ruling classes of all countries in their fight for profits.

The only necessary armed struggle is when oppressed people find it necessary to rid themselves of exploiters by violence. This condition will always be imposed upon the revolutionary struggle by the bourgeoisie, in that they will never give up their power peacefully. An armed struggle of the people to defend the autonomous revolutionary institutions is not that militarism which is the jack-booted violence of the State.

The ORA is internationalist. That is to say, we recognise that many of the problems facing the world - poverty, scarcity of resources, pollution - are problems which can only be faced by all the people co-

cerned. It also means that we recognise our common enemies as all ruling classes who govern in their own interests and who will certainly aid each other(as in the past) against their own peoples.

Just as the ruling classes find it necessary to recognise common interests through the international police, military and economic organisations(Interpol, NATO, the Common Market) we recognise that the interests which bind us to ordinary people everywhere- desires for peace, freedom and a better future- shall be the basis for international solidarity and organisation.

ORA CONFERENCE

**LEEDS OCT.13th.
to 15th.**

DETAILS: T.Bavage,
flat 3,35 Richmond Rd
LEEDS 6

ORA PAMPHLETS

from J.Neal, Langwith College,
University of York.

TRIAD : ANARCHIST MAGAZINE

ORA (GLASGOW)

CARTOONS, PICTURES AND
INTRODUCTORY ARTICLES TO
A WIDE RANGE OF ANARCHIST
IDEAS.

Jean MacLeod c/o Whyte,
138, Fergus Drive, GLASGOW NW

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cont.from p.4

We then broke off for tea which we supplied free. This gave people a chance to talk amongst themselves which they did.

When we resumed we passed around a piece of paper asking for names of those who would volunteer to be 'block collectors', who would collect subs and lists of grievances and when the paper came back we had four names. We had in fact jumped the gun.

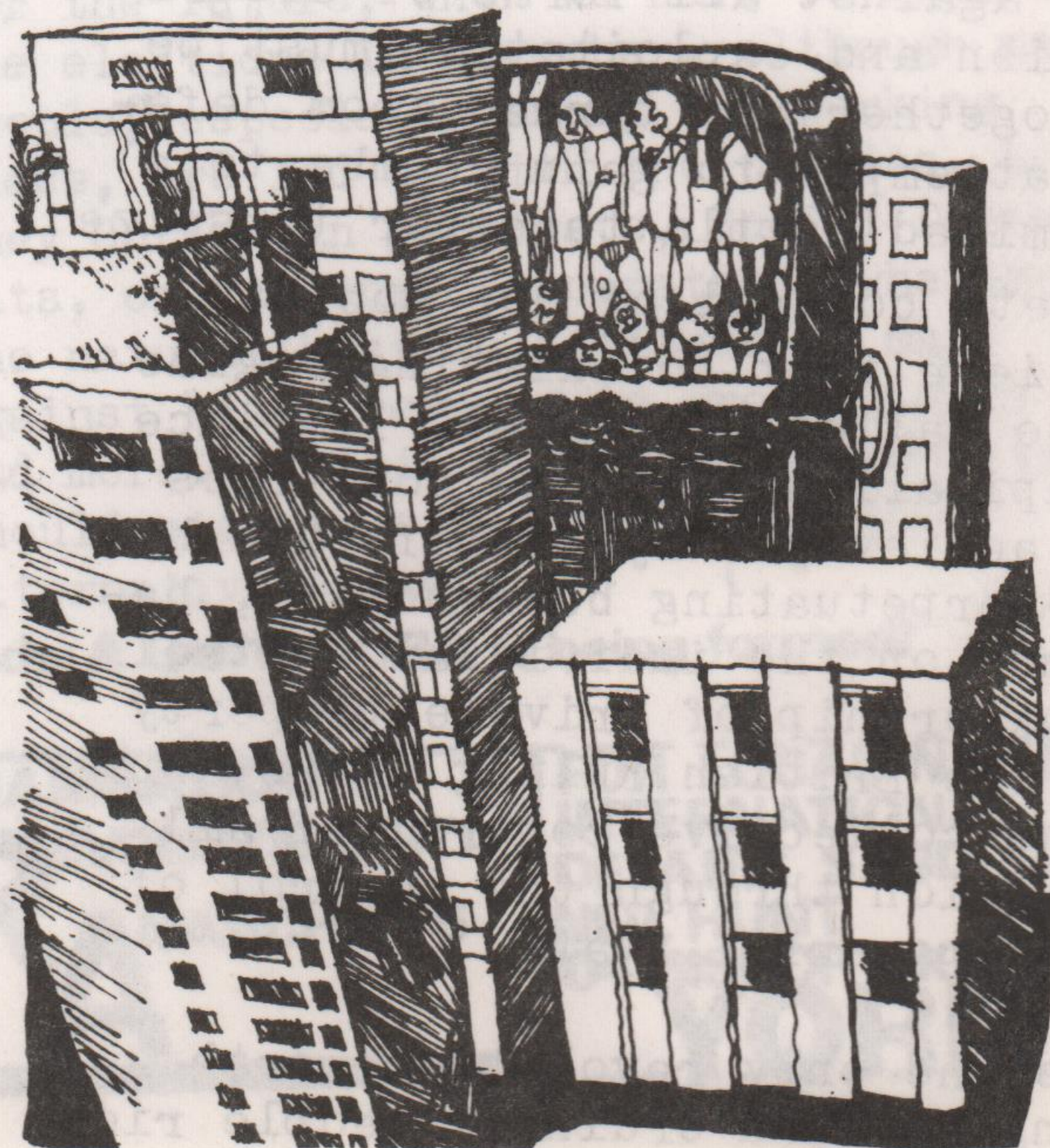
They weren't prepared to accept a Tenants association based on a loose organisation. From the floor came the demand for a committee, and on a show of hands this was carried. We then asked for a temporary committee (to arrange the next meeting). This was done on a voluntary basis and four people came forward. A leaflet was drawn up by these four after the meet and distributed by them, urging all the tenants to come to the next meeting to vote for the association's committee.

That is the position at the moment, we did however manage to get over at the meeting the point that distribution of the workload was essential, which was accepted by most people and the need for a democratic committee subject to recall.

We will meet the provisional committee to discuss the formation and technicalities, legal and general, of the Tenants Association. It is here that we hope to bring in some ideas of our own.

Any group requiring more information are welcome to get in touch with us, we also have a few leaflets that might be useful. Please contact us through the Newsletter at;

104, Bishopthorpe Rd., YORK.



Women On Liberation



A Criticism

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

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

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

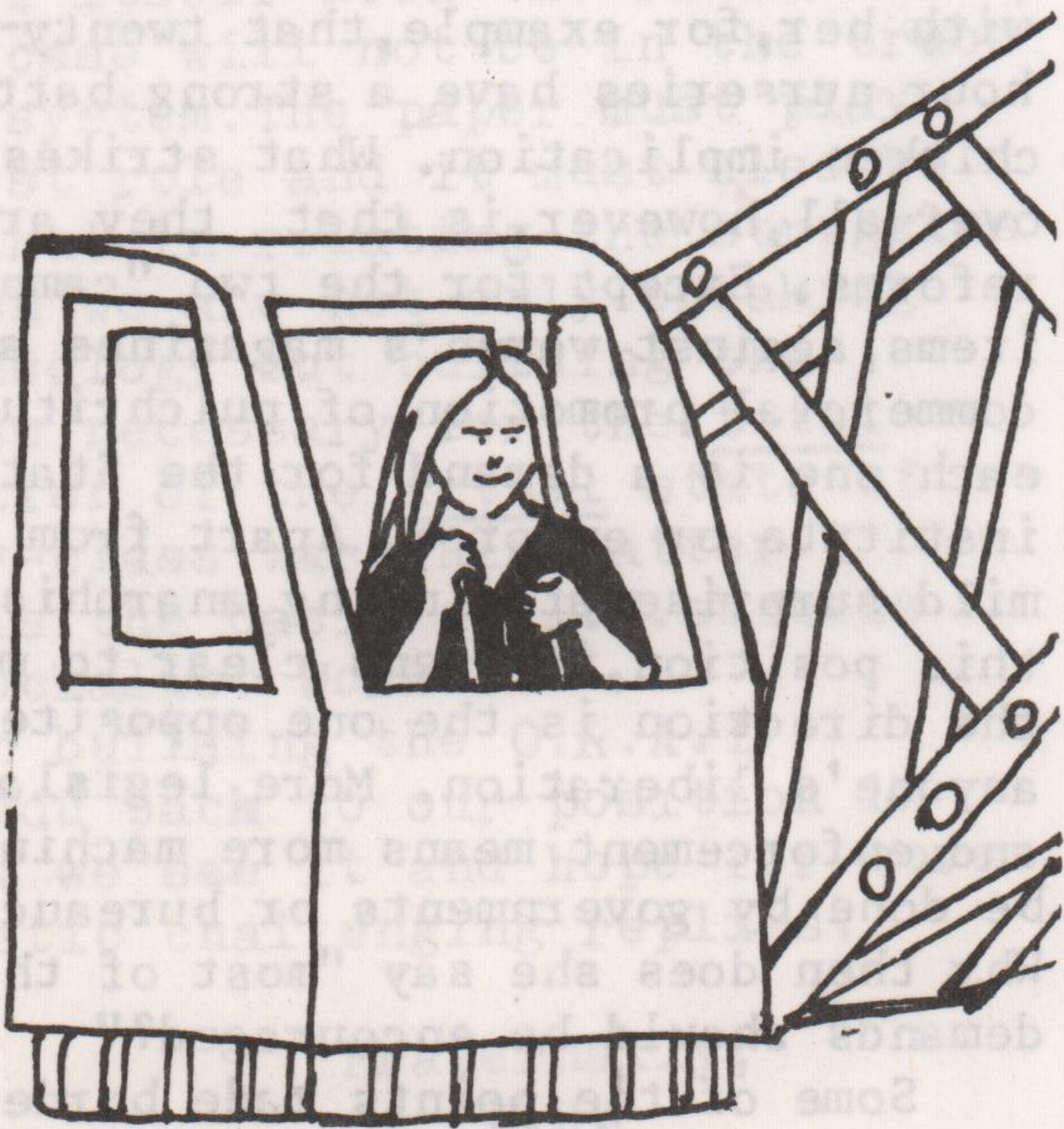
propaganda talks as if women are the only cross bearers in society. A picture on Jill Tweedie's page the other week showed a woman with a banner saying "I don't get paid for washing nappies"- which annoys me because (a) I've almost certainly washed more nappies than she, (b) I don't get paid for gardening,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

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

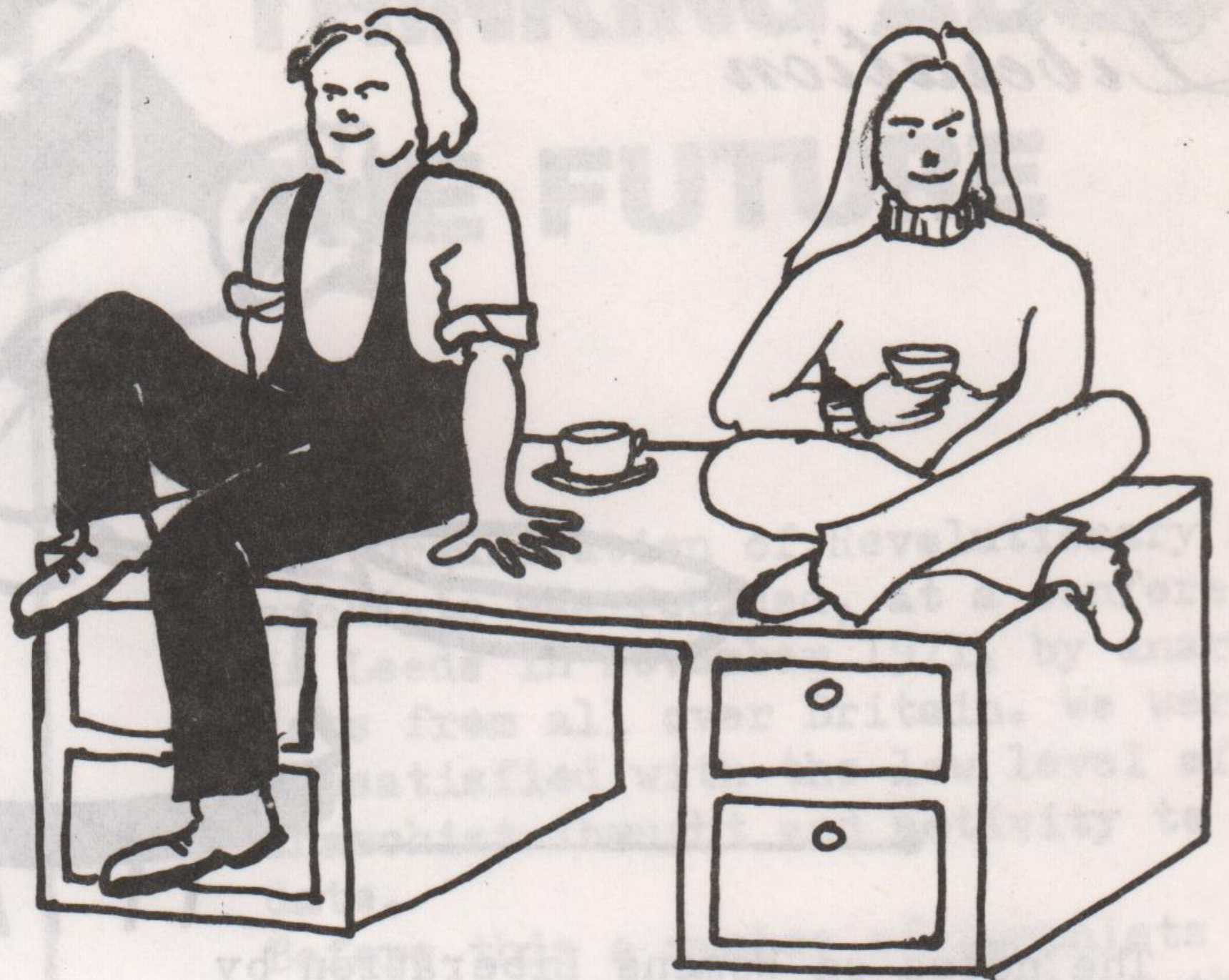
Some of the points made border, I fear, on the futile. Battle successfully for control over everyone's lives. AV

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

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



My own observations on liberation and family life would require more



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

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

Libertarian Womens' Network

68, Chingford Rd., London, E.17

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

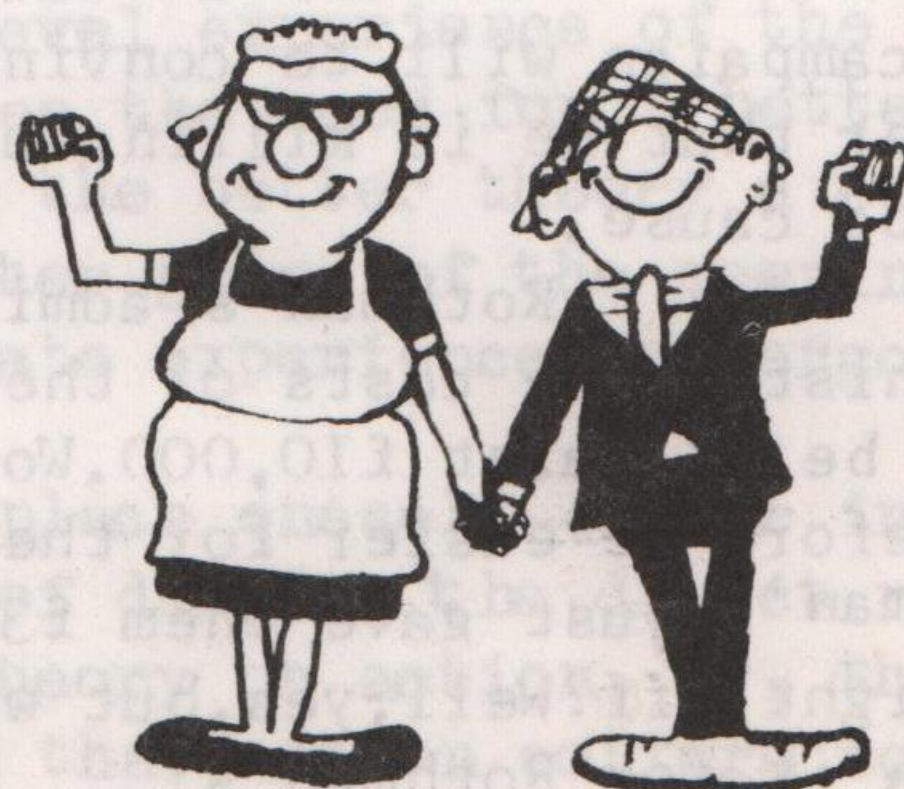
The attitudes I find far more objectionable are those displayed in "Penthouse" and others, and by many better to-do people I know. Here, the idea of a woman having serious opinions merits amused patronage: well, she's got a bit of spirit, and we all tease her for being so bold. Not long ago the pretty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

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

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

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

NOTE: The author is NOT a member of, ORA.



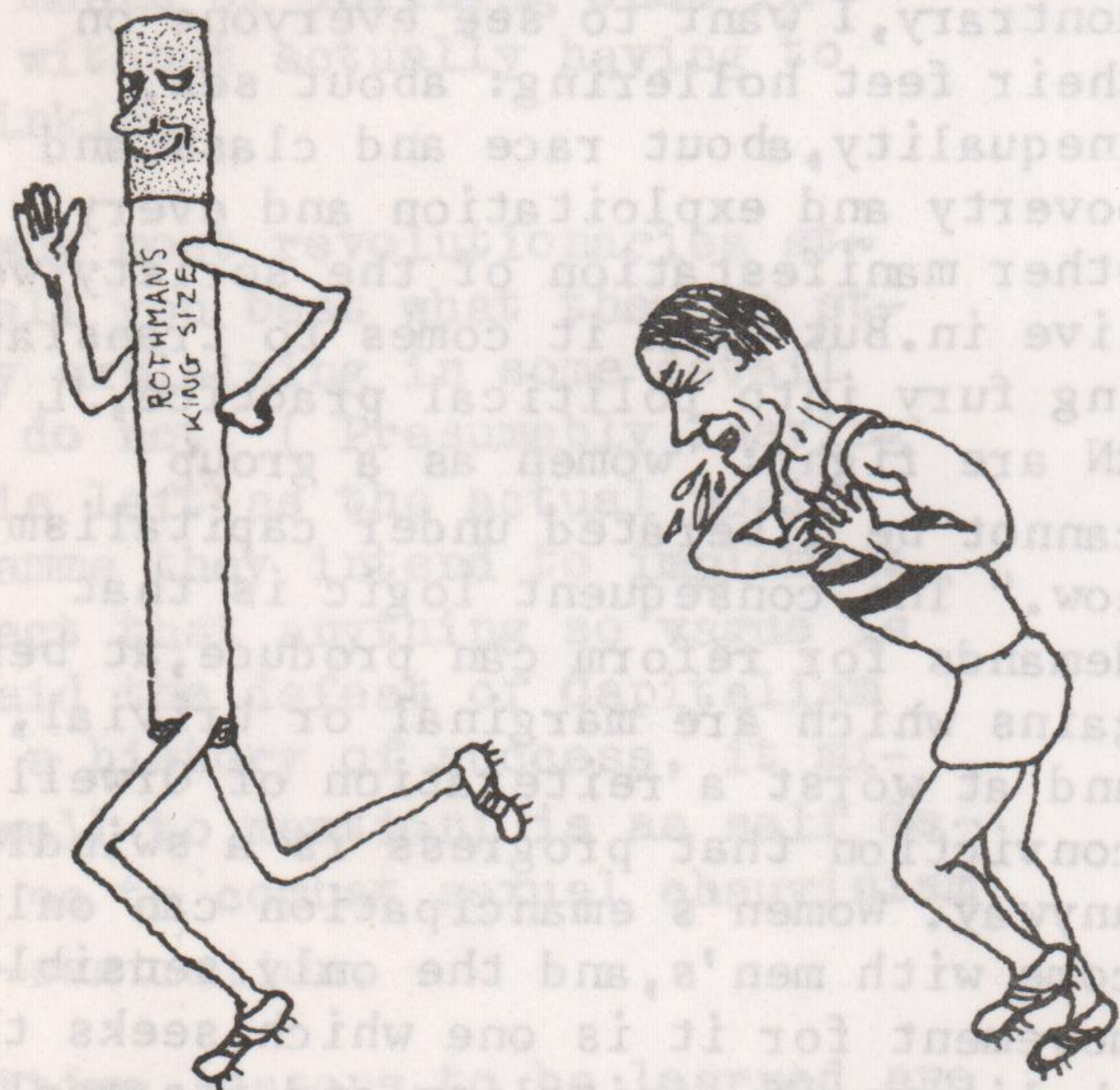
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— ODDS AND SODS

king size filter tip olympics

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

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



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

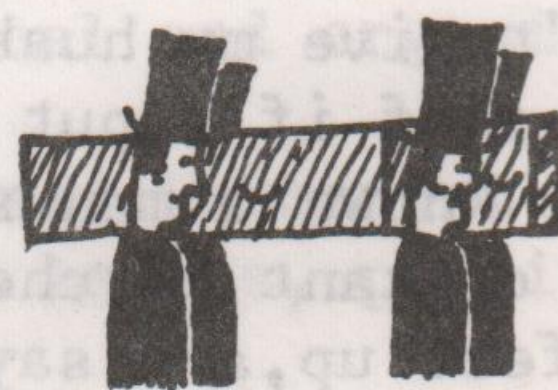
The actual effect of the campaign will be to convince the smoker that he is killing himself in a good cause.

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

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

QUOTE:

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



"WE ARE JUST IN THE PACKAGING BUSINESS."

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revisionists

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

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

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



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

foreign agitators

Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore, that master politician, has revealed how he deals with budding revolutionary students.

During a television interview seen in Australia he observed: "We have dispersed the Communists, many on scholarships to Canada, Australia and even New Zealand." He explained that they returned to Singapore "fairly middle-class and comfortable.....although armchair critics."

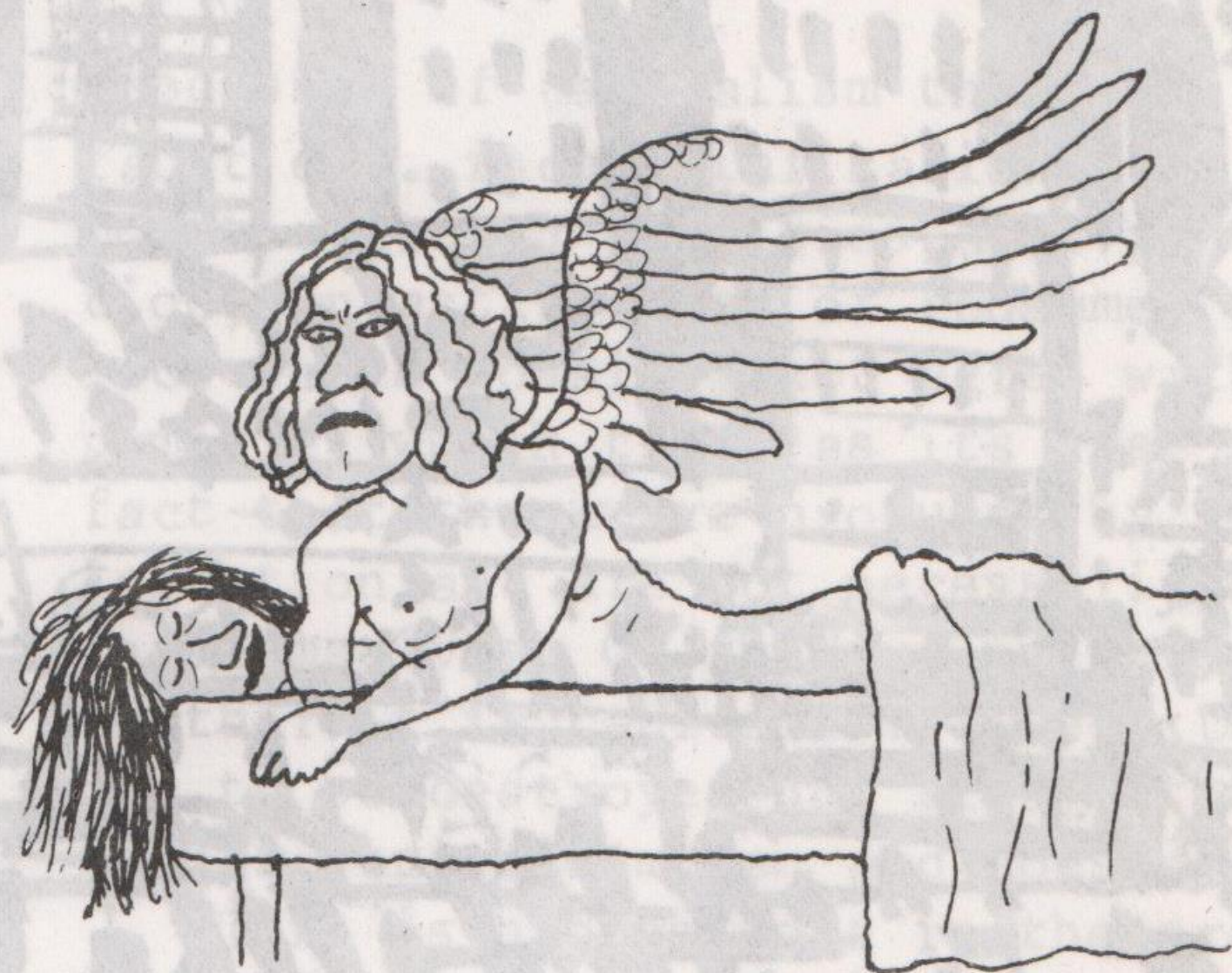
Lee also explained why he did not ship his potentially troublesome youngsters to Britain: "There, they go to the London School of Economics and come back more convinced revolutionaries, or, even worse, anarchists."

Lee himself went to Cambridge.

general woodcock

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

George Woodcock.



"MARY, THEY'LL NEVER BELIEVE THIS!"

Drugs - Opium is the opium of the people. There is nothing inherently revolutionary about drug taking.

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

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

R.N.

Law'n Order

"In the West Midlands Liberal meetings were broken up in Wolverhampton, Rugby Bilston and Worcester, and the Conservatives organised a rowdy meeting in Birmingham. The pattern was for the platform to be rushed, with Conservative councillors prominent."

FROM: Hugh Cunningham, 'Jingoism and the Working Classes 1877-8' Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History, Autumn 1969.



PRINCIPLES OF INTERNAL ORGANISATION of the ORGANISATION REVOLUTIONNAIRE ANARCHISTE

It has already been seen that ORA appeared specifically, and defines itself, as the most advanced socio-political expression of the mass movements of which it is the most active and conscious minority.

This characteristic proceeds not so much from the social origin of the militants, as from a fundamental ideological choice, and above all, from the theoretical elaboration and political initiatives of the organisation.

The positions adopted by the revolutionary organisation must be the conscious, theoretical expression of the masses in action, reached by methodical study of the experience and the very tradition of the permanent aspects of the actions and deepest aspirations of the mass movement.

An anarchist organisation is therefore not a formal regrouping of kindred individuals with neither social bases nor areas of intervention, which parachutes in its propaganda every time an action is born and develops: on the contrary it constitutes an intrinsic part of the social reality from which it generates its energy and develops its theory.

The ideological and organisational structure of the revolutionary organisation, like its relations with the

masses, is directly linked to the nature of class struggle and revolutionary action.

The authoritarian parties work, for themselves, towards the conquest of power; the revolutionary organisation struggles for direct management.

In the first case the party places itself outside and above of the masses. It pretends to bring them a revolutionary theory which is detached from them, according to which it proclaims itself to be their sole representative as trustee of the definitive proletarian doctrine. It therefore organises itself to seize the State and the social wealth, substituting itself in this way for the workers on whose authority it claims to act, and separating itself from them, alienating their actions from its own political initiatives. Its internal organisation derives from this: thus the communist parties are structured according to the principles of bolshevik power. The reformist parties imitate the country's electoral structure and function according to the principles of 'democratic' liberalism. And so on.

In the second case the revolutionary organisation, even if it is numerically and politically a small minority and isolated, is an integrant part of the masses and organises itself theoretically and practically to lead them to the direct and collective management of their immediate struggle, and thus of the society which should consequently be born out of the struggle. The goal is not to

constitute a replacement power-structure, **14** but to elaborate a strategy of concrete struggles. The organisation therefore has nothing in common with an elite of intellectuals or a group of politicians or professional activists. Its internal structure derives directly from its organisational principles: it is made up of federated organs and draws directly from them in the different areas of struggle, at local, regional, and national level.

The development of the class struggle implies an intense practice of free and autonomous action. This action cannot be restricted by a pre-established prognosis which does not take into account the particular aspects of the reality. It is the opposite which should occur. The revolutionary organisation should disengage the homogeneity of problems from their many particular manifestations. The revolutionary organisation constitutes an entity which should tackle problems in their entirety. The structure is nothing more than the method of achieving this, of adhering to all the realities.

Locally, the basic groups should act taking every situation into account. When problems are presented to a larger assembly, regional or national, the organisation should tackle their global character, by means of collective analysis, which should transcend the simple collation of personal, local, experiences. In its turn the solution of general problems permits a better solution to local problems which are isolated aspects of the whole.

1 FEDERALISM

The organisation's only way of functioning, at all levels, is the collective method. The only structure which permits this is libertarian federalism, ie the inalienable concentration of all powers at the base and considered agreement emanating from a common debate towards a given point.

Organically the fundamental point of divergence between an authoritarian organisation and a libertarian-federalist organisation is precisely the fact that the members of the collective abdicate their power to one or some of their number, or preserve their liberty by refusing all tutelage, imposed or consented to.

Federalism is the antithesis of centralism, which is the mechanistic submission of a collective to a central decision. Federalism is free determination, the practical union that necessity demands permanent control of the entirety. It permits a natural unity, functional and organic. At all levels of the organis-

ation, (which correspond in fact to the diverse theoretical and political necessities which impose on it), decisions are taken communally and executed with the participation and under the control of everyone.

2 UNITY OF IDEOLOGY AND THEORY

The product of the development of struggles, revolutionary organisation is inconceivable without ideological and theoretical unity. Its aim is to carry out a permanent theoretical and political research derived from ideas emerging from the class struggle and its ideological expression: anarchism. All the organisation's activity should therefore be in perfect and constant concord with the principles of libertarian communism; and its theoretical elaboration, produced by analysis of social movement; these three are inconceivable except in unity. Revolutionary organisation is not a heterogeneous collection of individuals with contradictory and scattered ideas. Its ideological unity constitutes a common platform for all militants, the content being determined by study and experience, and analysis of situations and tendencies. Ideological cohesion is indispensable for welding together all the elements of the organisation in the struggle against the capitalist system and the dominant bourgeois ideology. In all circumstances it is the duty of the revolutionary to preserve the integrity of the revolutionary theory against all attempts at deviation or revision inspired by the ruling ideology or the fashionable philosophies it breeds.

Complete freedom of discussion, which should exist at all moments at every level of the organisation about all problems of action and thought, should not be interpreted in any way as a possibility of calling into question the fundamental characteristics of the revolutionary proletarian ideology based on the action and thought of the masses in struggle.

3 TACTICAL UNITY AND THE COLLECTIVE METHOD OF ACTION

It has been seen that the organisation is a whole. The general action of the revolutionary anarchist groups is defined by them in congress, and in the same way applied by them all. Tactics should therefore be unified.

At a local level it is the groups who should determine their theoretical and tactical positions in a general assembly of all their members. Further, these positions should comprehend the political positions of the organisation as a whole.

At the regional and national levels it is the congress of group delegates which takes all the decisions that control the life of the organisation.

The organisms nominated to carry out the work of the political and material management of the organisation are in no circumstances entitled to take decisions, but should execute those taken communally and work within the guidelines defined by the congress.

The federal organism is therefore nothing more or less than a permanent miniature congress, an expression of the annual global congress, which is itself an expression of the entire organisation. Individuals or groups in positions of responsibility are under the permanent control of the organisation and are instantly recallable.

Lastly, no particular prestige should be invested in a militant entrusted with a representative task. This egalitarian determination should have as its consequence the rotation of tasks.

Thus the organisation can work with constancy, continuity and efficiency, and avoid the dispersion and the disastrous effect of several tactics in opposition to one another. It concentrates all the forces of the movement, gives them a common direction towards a determined goal.

It is the congresses of the organisation which determine its tactical line and theoretical positions. Congresses should therefore not be simply places of confrontation and debate, but workshops, the outcome of the political experience of the organisation. The tactical, strategic and political elaboration is the fruit of analysis of this experience, as well as of the various aspects of general conjecture.

Unanimity should therefore normally be realised by the correct solution to problems posed. But it can happen that at the end of an analysis there remain opposing theses. In this case the organisation should not refuse to take action under this pretext, nor completely reconstruct a pseudo-resolution to satisfy the opposing parties. A choice should therefore be made, and the only way of doing it is to resort to a vote.

However it is quite clear that numbers do not confer on the majority the virtue of infallibility. Voting is just a means of facilitating the experience of accepted tactical and political positions, majority positions becoming those of the organisation.

According to the principle of liberarian federalism, which in this situation has

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one of its most important secondary applications, the minority is in no way responsible for the decisions of the majority, and may freely continue to propagate its point of view.

"The minority must in no circumstances be obliged to

"The minority cannot in any circumstances be expected to carry out majority decisions in the name of a false discipline; The majority has sole responsibility for their execution. On the other hand the minority forgoes the right to obstruct majority decisions, (this is a question of a true discipline)." (M. Fayolle)

In any case the vote should take into account only the position of groups, which are the direct source of the militant work of the organisation and of elaborated political positions deriving from its areas of intervention; and in no case take the number of militants, which in itself has no significance.

Lastly, the fact that opposing theses can persist within the organisation can signify several things which must be extracted and explained:-

the analysis has not been pushed far enough, it is probable the ideas of both parties are inexact. It only remains to publicly test the majority theses; the minority then continuing to develop its point of view inside the organisation, and, if the case demands it, publicly if it is decided to engage in a debate outside the movement. Conclusions drawn from the test then allow both sides to reappraise their positions and carry the analysis further.

- the minority makes a different analysis because it deals locally with a different situation than the one confronting the majority groups. In this case, without contradicting the general position of the organisation, it should, as the local representative of the movement, pursue its own experience to its conclusion.

It is therefore apparent that voting should not intervene essentially except in the case of theses which from an analytical point of view can only be regarded as hypotheses. A third possibility can arise: the minority makes an analysis, of a general nature or on a basic point, which is opposed to the majority's; its departure from the organisation then becomes the only solution.

The problem, then, does not occur at the level of parliamentary debate or how majorities are constituted, but at the level of communal analysis, of the confrontation of the study of experiences in militant political work

and the elements of analysis which derive from this, of the progress towards a single correct conclusion.

4 COLLECTIVE ACTION - INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY

The province of revolutionary life, social and political, is above all profoundly collective in essence. The revolutionary organisation functions by an equally collective line of action, it should therefore reject all forms of action decided arbitrarily or by scattered militants.

This freely accepted discipline has nothing in common with passive obedience of orders, it derives from respect of engagements undertaken by everyone. An organisation cannot allow itself to take responsibility for acts of individuals who are acting outside or contrary to communal decisions. Militants at different levels, just as much in groups as in federal organisms, do not take specific initiatives unless they derive from the collective experience and in no way conflict with communal decisions.

The groups and different organisms are collectively responsible to everyone. The organisation is responsible for the activity of each member, and in the same way each member is responsible for the whole organisation.

Federalism only becomes a reality when every participant fulfils completely the duties he accepts and conforms to communal decisions. The federalist type of libertarian organisation, while recognising the right of each member to independence, to free opinion, and to individual liberty, charges each member with specified tasks and demands their rigorous execution.

The militant should understand on joining that both in his personal behaviour and political activity he becomes a representative of the entire organisation, just as the organisation shows complete solidarity with each militant. In this way the old revolutionary proletarian principle "All for one and one for all" is put into practice.

Every militant should come to feel individually responsible for action decided on communally, and whose outcome concerns the whole collective.

Responsibility within the organisation is therefore at all times collective and individual.

The militant anarchist should understand that his commitment within the organisation signifies the rejection on his part of all amateurism and dillettantism. Revolutionary political

action becomes a constant factor in his life, and should never be regarded as a hobby or a side-line for passing time. Solidarity with the masses in struggle and the revolutionary organisation should never hinder him from basing his judgement on anything other than the truth demonstrated by evidence or experience. He should always practise a fusion of the demands of an independent personality with those of collective action. His political action should never depend on individual, transitory, or arbitrary reactions, any more than it should be the expression of a submission to formulas foreign to his thinking, or the recitation of some sort of catechism. His best contribution to the theoretical evolution of the organisation is to bring to it an original contribution based on scientific positions.

The revolutionary determination and theoretical cultivation of the anarchist militant should prevent him from foundering in discouragement and nihilism. In the same way they should lead him to an absolute theoretical and ideological intransigence, incompatible with sectarianism, dogmatism, and all sorts of sordid combinations for assuring political supremacy.

The revolutionary anarchist organisation, in solidarity with, and an integrant part of the toiling masses should never, even on the pretext of tactics, condone objectives fixed by bureaucrats.

At all times it should affirm revolutionary libertarian-communist goals and tactics, and expose those who exploit the people's trust for their own ends. It should reject all facile opportunism, such as: renouncing anti-militarism, renouncing unpatriotic internationalism, alliances with the liberal bourgeoisie, concessions, even formal ones, to nationalism or religion. It should systematically and at all times denounce, theoretically and practically, the profound nature and diverse aspects of exploitation, the many myths, political, social, moral or cultural, peddled by the ruling ideologies.

The militant revolutionary anarchist should resist daily the many kinds of pressure exerted on him by counter-revolutionary ideologies.

In the revolutionary struggle he should regard himself neither as a hero nor as a negligible entity. Lastly, militants and their organisation should always see the truth beyond its momentary or epochal appearance: the reality and vitality of the exploited masses, even in moments when reaction triumphs; and the force and resources of counter-revolutionaries, even in moments when they seem to be crushed.

MEDIA

In an attempt to create a revolutionary analysis of media, many difficulties arise out of the mystification and technicalities involved within the subject itself.

Every person living in industrial societies has to contend with a certain amount of media usage, in one form or another, and to pose a question on media as a whole has no meaning or relevance at all as media is usually looked upon in a fragmented form (this telly programme or that newspaper article). This accepted way of regarding something as large and centralised as media is the crux of this article. The very fact that broadscale analysis or opinion is not considered important upon the ideology of Media and its methods of presentation.

The creation of radio and television in particular has been one of the most powerful tools of oppression instituted by the ruling classes, and constantly maintains one of the bosses favourite tactics, that of divide and rule, and it has been only too easy for them to use it (the powerworkers and miners' strikes being more obvious examples).

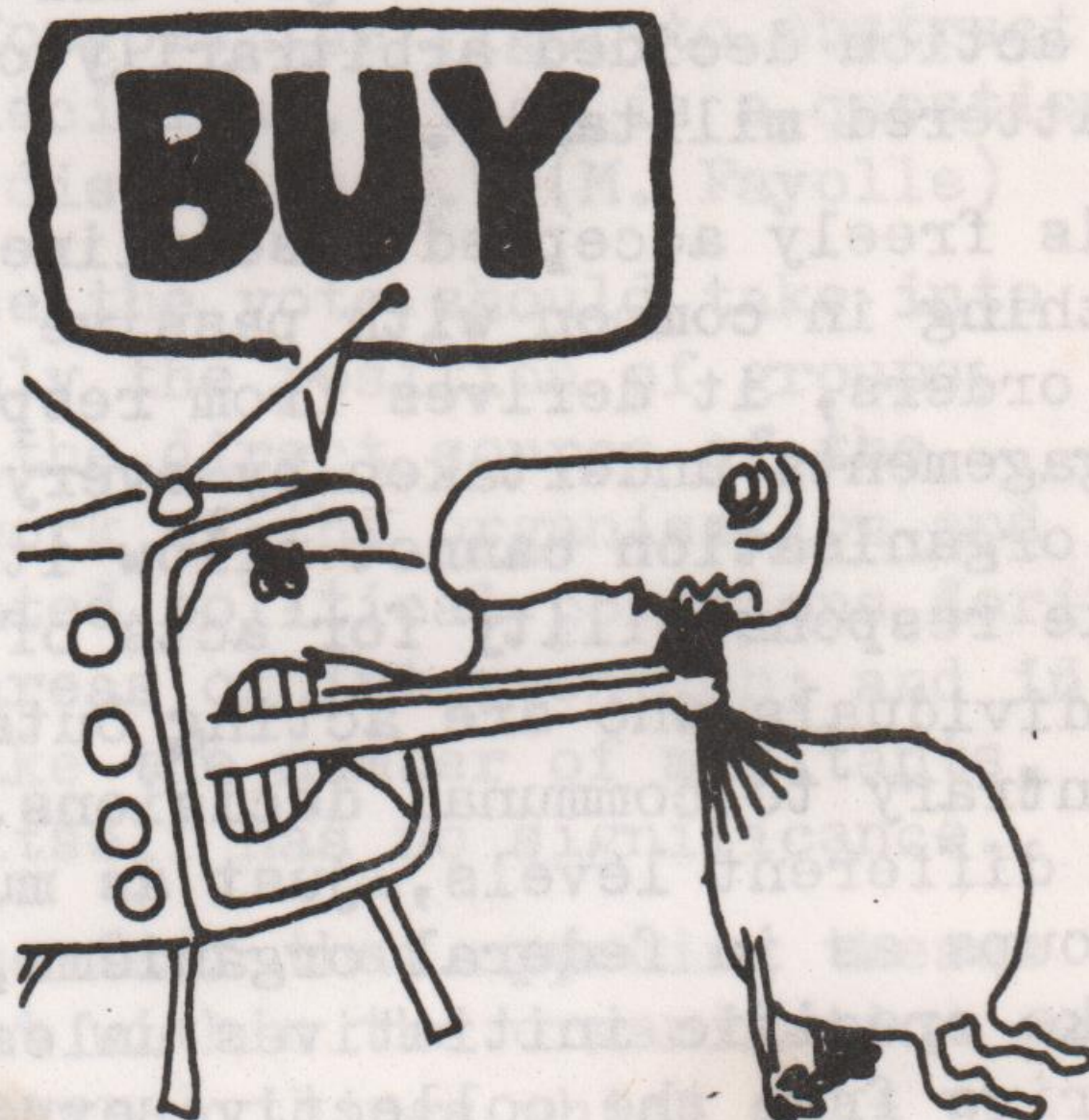
As anarchists we realise that any form of central control is a (potential) danger to the mass, if only in it being in isolation from the people, and it has never been more true than in the case of media, being in such a position of central co-ordination. We are told confidently that the media is a form of communication, this is probably the myth that created all. Television networks and the film industry are nothing but a vast production line, which caters for peoples 'wants'. Mass media is not communication because it is under the thumb of the capitalists, and in that light its sole aim must logically be to produce aspirations and values to maintain its society. "In its present form, equipment like television and film does not serve communication but prevents it. It allows no reciprocal action between transmitter and receiver; technically speaking it reduces feedback to the lowest point compatible with the system." **

Within a capitalist controlled media framework next to nothing can be achieved barring the presentation of triviality and mystification. One important factor is that it has an almost perpetually stagnant production process which excludes originality and change completely.

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A good example of this is when I was interviewed in the street for a supposed television survey - I was asked irrelevant questions like did I prefer the

Donald Duck show to the Mickey mouse show, and just how many hours did I spend watching TV! An honest survey can never be carried out on a basis of this kind. The questions are so obviously fabricated to numb self-expression by offering you only the one alternative or the other. Do you prefer diarrhoea or constipation?



Drama is only too easy to introduce onto the television screen, in a world of boredom and alienation, it is very welcome. Not meaning the drama of life and death situations, as that is outside the experience of most people anyway, but the dramatised everyday situations, which is thought not to be fantasy. I am absolutely certain that this is one of the direct factors in the creation of so-called 'social normality'. The image of bourgeois normality cast across millions of TV screens every day; constantly defining the role of women and of men, defining the role of necessity within capitalist society!

It would be utterly futile for revolutionaries to try to integrate themselves into media as it stands now. There is a limit to what the censors will allow without perverting it into liberalism or another form of consumption. Only reformists should bother trying, and even they would be flogging a dead horse!

Up to now this article has taken on a fatalistic tone, but this is not the case at all. Our own media must be used to the fullest potential. Anarchist literature must not fall into the same trap of production for anarchist consumption alone! The concept of media is not a death trap, in a socialist society there are many ways in which it can be used. Cable television (local) is probably the best way of all. To replace a handful of centralised control industries with a federated network of local forms of media, this is practical in a free society where the community would determine the form and content.

cont.p.21

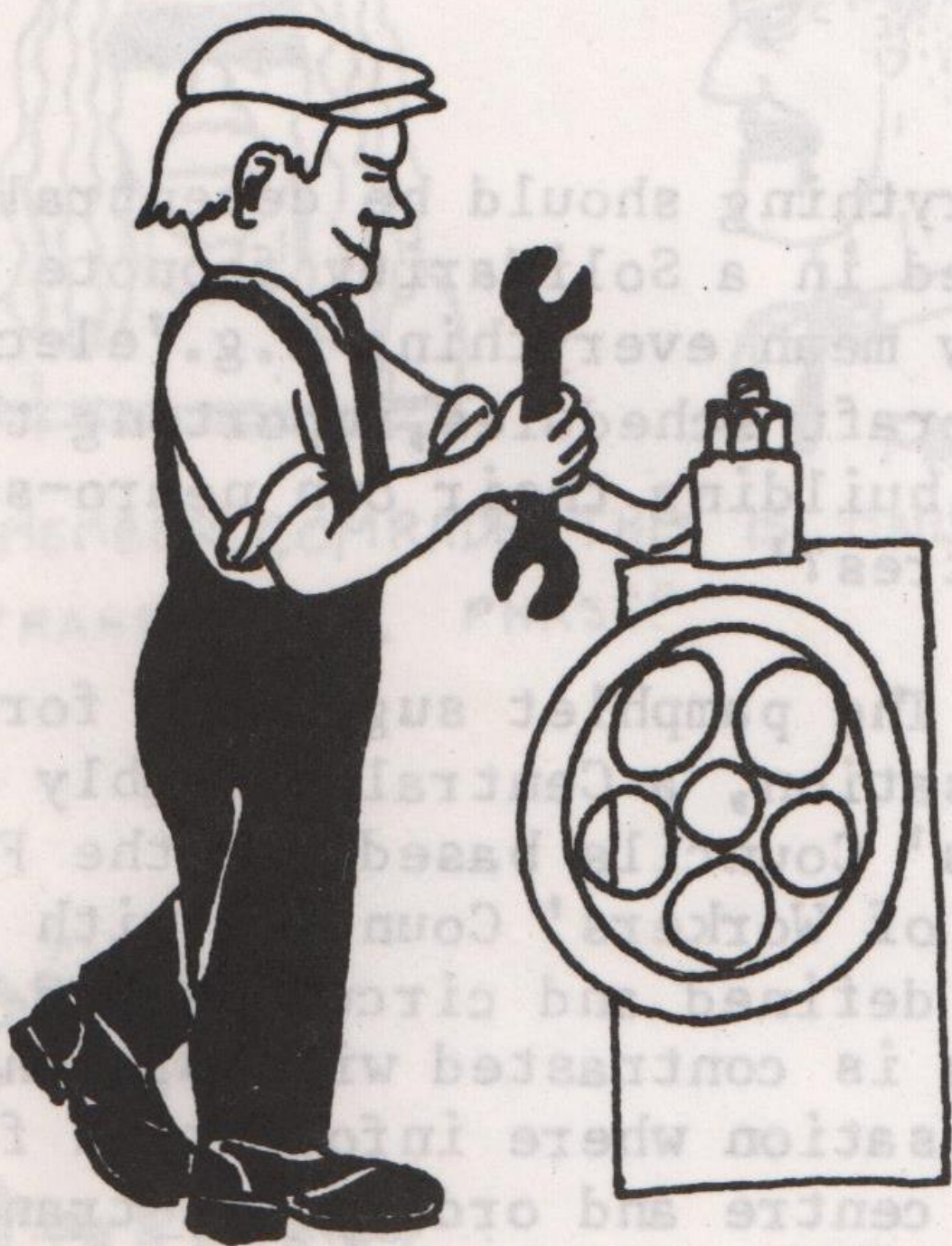
REVIEW

'workers' councils'

a Solidarity pamphlet

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

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



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

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

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

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

The preface itself is by Solidarity and is fairly obviously intended as an answer to most of the criticisms likely to be levelled at the pamphlet. The fact of its being written in 1957 is stressed because of the undue weight attached to the role of the industrial proletariat, and no mention being made of women's liberation, minority group struggles, the 'youth revolt', and little emphasis being placed on the conditioning that has been beamed at us from the media and advertising merchants. But as a short review in FREEDOM (13/5/72) stated "The society described is pretty much that envisaged by Kropotkin and William Morris." This is true that the main principles of libertarian socialist organisation are re-stated. But what is important is the integration of all new developments since those days and the basing of the pamphlet on the events in Hungary in 1956 when workers did take control.

The main criticism people have made of this pamphlet seem to be

1) It envisages a mechanistic or technocratic future.

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

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

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

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

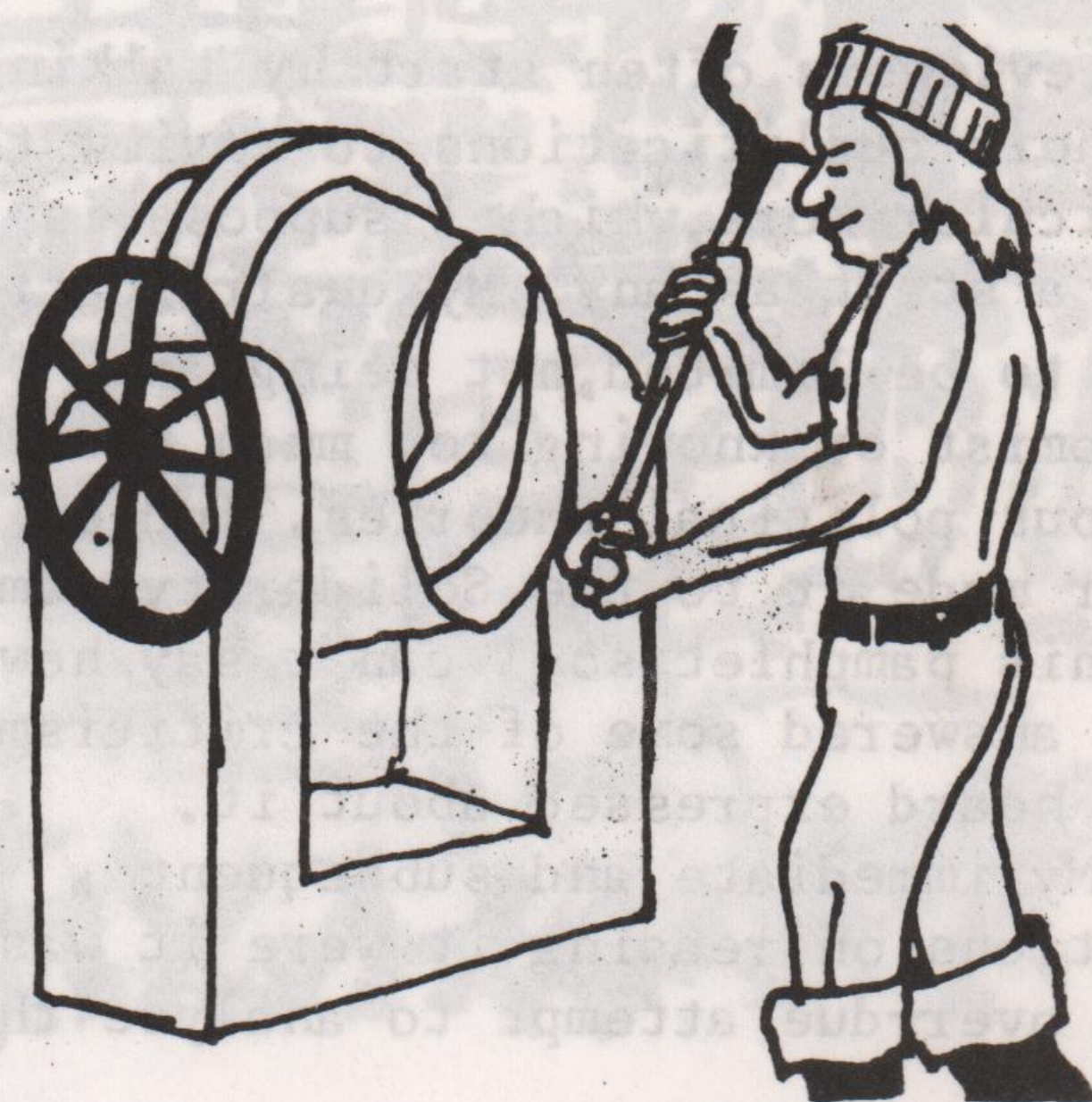


what means things are to be produced and how society is to be run.

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

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

The difference between centralisation as a separate independent apparatus with its coercive functions and the centralisation needed for information purposes to run the economy is one brought out strongly. Those who would argue that



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

The pamphlet suggests, for centralisation, a Central Assembly of Workers' Councils based on the Federation of Workers' Councils with carefully defined and circumscribed powers. This is contrasted with present centralisation where information flows to the centre and orders are transmitted out. The contrast between the two is further reinforced by the assertion that the Central Assembly would be an instrument of popular power not a delegation. The ideas and plan factories (Solidarity's niche after the revolution according to the more cynical) are also intended in the same way.

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

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

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

TOWARDS A... COMMUNICABLE THEORY

(or «These are the opinions on which my facts are based»)

The principal question for any revolutionary group in what is inevitably a pre-revolutionary situation, if issuing leaflets, running meetings and going on demonstrations are not regarded as ends in themselves, is simply this: How to locate and push forward the genuinely revolutionary dynamic inherent in the situation?

It is a question that first and foremost requires an analysis that relates directly to actual experience of this situation. In simple terms this can be called facing reality.

Unfortunately reality is subject not just to definition from what must need be differing experiences, but from different points of view concerning the same experiences. These viewpoints then busily set about constructing the reality they explain. The basis of a watertight theory is then produced. Nothing can intrude because anything that does is ergo not reality and anyhow irrelevant.

Such protective attitudes to theory prevent its development and cause among its adherents an ability not to

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

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

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

see what is staring them in the face that sometimes approaches near-genius. Naturally such distortions of the purposes of theory serve to provide others with the justification to deify theorylessness as some kind of unassailable virtue in itself. To both ends of the spectrum the essential point is lost, that, the act of comprehending reality is a process not a revelation of 'once and for all' dimensions. And, as a process, there is inevitably going to be an interchange between experiences and theories which attempt to explain these concrete experiences.

In no sense does the one finally deny the other because it is a process that by definition cannot be ended.

At each level experience of the situation creates the need for a better theory, and, the better theory a consequently better grasp of the meaning of the concrete experiences undergone.

Hence to place oneself either in the position of denying the direct relevance of theory on action, or, that of insisting that action conform to a set theory is in both cases merely to block the dialectical movement of action

and theory towards a synthesis that can effectively do what is needed and locate that genuine revolutionary dynamic.

To be right and helpless to implement that insight is no better than to powerfully push what is false. Both approaches are, in terms of actual changes on reality, failures.

By and large the history of revolution-s, especially those of anarchist and anarcho-communist tendencies, have been a history of continuous failure. But this failure is not itself a point of dogma (though with some you can't be sure in the end). Like any failure, constructively examined it should create the starting point for the next attack. Unfortunately all too often it has led to no more than a 'position' in which the individual crouches from then on, refusing to budge.

Most 'positions' have no particular relevance to the actual situation faced here and now, if they had the possibility of truly constructive dialogues would be in sight. Instead they provide a means of defining ones incoherence without actually having to do any thinking.

Which is why most revolutionaries still can tell you best what they do stand for by explaining in some detail what they do not. (Presumably leaving whatever is left as the actual positive programme they intend to implement). To expect that anything so vague is going to aid the defeat of Capitalism (which is a history of success, it might be well to mention) is as self defeating as to combat sexual chauvinism by self-castration.

The positive lessons to be learned are not whether it was at this or that moment that the revolution was sold out finally, but how it could have been avoided. Which is only to say that the point is to become effective in the future and not mull over old ineffectiveness for its own sake. And for this the militant must be armed philosophically and theoretically for the long run, as well as prepared strategically and tactically for the short.

Once it is accepted that-(1) theory and action are interrelated, and that neither one nor the other can acquire any kind of real significance alone. And (2) that the eventual aim is a fusion of both into what is termed a Praxis - then it should become clear that just as much as effective action we require a clear theoretical base. And

21 "clear" must mean communicable. Only then will we be able to develop beyond a posture, and gain instead a firm position from which alone the dynamic of a constantly shifting reality can be grasped... and more importantly grasped on the move. RC

cont. from p.17

I have tried to outline an analysis on media, to create a complete one would take ages of work, but I hope there will be a steady stream of anarchist literature to come on the subject.

J.A.M.

**Quoted from Hans Enzenberger in New Left Review no. 64.

cont. from p.16

To sum up, the revolutionary organisation constitutes itself on the following basic theoretical and organic elements:-

- Libertarian federalism. Permanent direct management at all levels, permitting unity in diversity.
- Ideological, theoretical, and tactical unity.
- Collective action, freely agreed discipline, individual and collective responsibility.
- Full solidarity and equality in all areas.
- Equal liberty for all, i.e. non-authority, no centralisation of power in the hands of the few.

ORGANISATION
REVOLUTIONNAIRE
ANARCHISTE



PRODUCED By

Dave B Steve L
Doug D Bob T
John M Keith N

&

Nick, Robin, Fed &
Emma

**over to
you**

AN OPEN LETTER

TO ORA

Much contention was aroused at the last conference by the association, real or imaginary, of certain comrades within the York Anarchist Group, and the Labour Party and the coming local elections. In view of the fact that it was not fully discussed, coming up briefly in the group reports section, and of the misunderstanding and heated opinions aroused I was asked to write something (explain my heresies?) in the Newsletter. I choose to do it in the form of an open letter to ORA members.

Briefly two points are of importance: my own personal intention of voting Labour, which I think is too trivial to go into, (it was never suggested that York group members should vote Labour or canvass others to do so) and secondly the tactical point of working within Labour grass-roots organisations (there are such people as grass-roots Labourites whether you choose to believe it or not) in this case tenants associations.

To me much of the argument of those opposed to this was purist ego-posturing, but I stand to be corrected on this as with other points I wish to raise.

Basically, my reasoning is thus. Although we may be posing an 'alternative' to capitalism-bureaucratism or whatever we wish to call it, that is not the same thing as having the organisational means of putting it into practice, something some comrades did not seem able to distinguish. The problem is how to build up that effective organisational alternative. Now clearly one cannot build it in isolation and then enter the struggle, and we can only build it if at the same time we are achieving practical things, no matter how small. People are quite rightly interested in the delivery of the goods, only materially cushioned students are idealists and only as long as they are materially cushioned. So

22

there has to be a relationship (call it dialectical if you have to) between building an alternative structure while at the same time being involved in alternative action outside this that does not at this point in time exist. To bring this to the concrete situation, in York we are faced with (1) a non-militant working class community, (2) the rent act, (3) no organisation of our own to fight it. (There will be three of us here this summer.) From this, our problem is, as outlined above, to fight the rent act and build ORA in York. Therefore we believe we have to (and can without selling out or becoming reformist) become involved in the tenants' association which Labour is setting up; (the I.S. are doing the same but it is another argument why we don't go in there), for three reasons: to gain personal experience, I have never done anything remotely similar before, and to make ourselves known and credible and finally in the hope of winning people to a more general discussion of our ideas.

I don't know whether this explains fully enough the position we are in.

Finally I would like to draw a few general theoretical points which I think are involved in the logic of this argument.

Firstly, we do not as yet live in a society of open class war: this is not a truism because some comrades seem to think we do and the atmosphere of a left conference planning strategy as though there were helps engender this feeling. (This is not cynical; I think it is the only possible way, yet we must be conscious of it.)

This of course begs the question: what is the state of class antagonism at present. My own plagiarised view is that we exist in, what has been termed by John Rex, a truce situation. This has arisen from the fact that the ruling class can no longer rule without loss of privilege, while the established 'socialist' parties are unwilling to accept the cost of 'dare to struggle, dare to win', but will accept concessions that do not actually alter the fundamental power structure between wage and capital. This truce has created a new system with its own ideology in liberal democracy. (I'm not, by the way, so pretentious as to assume that I've accounted for the rise of liberal

democracy, but I think this is the direction we should be looking to.)

Do not get me wrong; this does not mean in any sense a reformist conclusion.

For this truce lasts only as long as the material conditions for its existence (which are changing) and as long as the balance of power lasts. This latter is definitely changing as evidenced by the attempt (failed, of course) of conservatives to return to Laissez-faire economics by curbing the organised, if reactionary in terms of the class struggle, strength of the unions in the Industrial Relations Act, and the Lane Dugan fiasco.

To go off the point briefly. This raises another issue: whether it is better to have a Conservative or a Labour government. Two views were expressed outside ours - there are only three - that it makes no difference, and that it was better to have reaction in the form of the conservatives rather than Labour, since it legitimised class difference. I think both of these are false. Firstly, it is unhistorical to say it makes no difference and secondly with regard to what has been said above, it is better for the working class to make the offensive rather than the Tories whose ideology is more clearly that of the ruling class.

To draw an end, what do we do in this situation? First we must break down consensus ideology and secondly build organisations that will challenge the power and 'dare to struggle'. These must be, and if built, on libertarian principles, cannot form a truce since if they are that, the working class cannot sell itself down the river and in any case will not be in the truce making system. The paper must play the first role and it must also be noted that in relating the struggles going on we are not only breaking down ideology but building the optimism necessary for the total resumption of the actual state of society - class war. This latter I think is the basis of I.S. success with Socialist Worker.

On building the O.R.A.I. refer you back to our position in York as we see it and hope for more optimistic challenging replies.

Fraternally,
N.H.

It has been suggested that, in case it's not clear, I state that I am not advocating any form of infiltration, but that we participate as O.R.A. members.

WHAT IS ORA?— THINKING ABOUT THE FUTURE

The Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists was founded, at a conference in Leeds in November 1971, by anarchists from all over Britain. We were dissatisfied with the low level of anarchist thought and activity to date.

Before this a number of pamphlets had been published - some detailing the problems facing anarchists in Britain and suggesting approaches to their solutions - "Towards a History and Critique of the Anarchist Movement in Recent Times"; "Theory and Praxis in Anarchist Organisation"; "An Introduction to Revolutionary Anarchism"; others dealing with particular political questions - "The Bombthrowers: a Study of Terrorism"; "Neither Washing-ton nor Hanoi but Libertarian Socialism"; "Free Speech and Social Revolution".

A duplicated journal - The Newsletter - was started in May 1971 for discussion among those interested in the proposed ORA, and with existing libertarian groups.

There were two main reasons for the formation of the ORA; people were sure of what they were against, or what they'd had enough of, and also people had some idea of what needed to be created. To summarise the positive points that have been made with varying degrees of support:-

1. Libertarian ideas and national organisation are perfectly compatible. National organisation is necessary, will not just happen, and therefore must be created.

2. There are a multiplicity of 'valid' (ie. useful in the development of the revolutionary movement) libertarian tendencies. There is no holy grail which one group can hold. We believe this idea must be put into practice, so we want to create a libertarian federation of the different tendencies and specific campaigns. Within which political debate will be unhindered and at the same time the greatest possible practical co-operation will be achieved.

Without this the development of any one tendency will be one-sided and 'introverted'.

With this each school of thought will be clarified and developed by testing and the work we are able to do will be improved by greater resources etc.

3. ORA will become, or be part of the creation of, the libertarian communist tendency within such a federation.

To summarise then, ORA at present is composed of libertarian communists and some of the most active comrades of the anarchist movement, who whilst agreeing with 1. and 2. above would not necessarily agree with 3. or have another view of ORA's development.

What follows is a libertarian communist argument about the development of ORA.

ORA has been quite successful in attracting comrades who have previously left the anarchist movement because they had given up hope. We are still having a lot of 'teething' troubles with the functioning of the national network, but I think that any criticisms are that it isn't working as well as expected, rather than a fundamental disagreement with the existence of national organisation. The question of getting ORA off the ground is over with; for what it is worth ORA is the largest of the libertarian groups in existence in the UK at the moment.

The question now is what we should do, what we are able to do, and whether the founding ideas are to be developed or changed.

By our existence we are working on 1. The second idea, that of the libertarian alliance, is necessarily slow but the growing local contacts and the libertarian womens' newsheets, with the acceptance of the idea in other groups, means that such a federation is being formed informally and that there is hope that this will develop further.

The third point is the one which needs arguing.

My first premise is that a clear perspective of our future is the only proper means of judging each specific proposal for our collective activity, whether it be a particular campaign, or, as is currently the case, the founding of a newspaper.

The second need, in arriving at this perspective, is to make clear a number of things which are at the moment tacitly accepted...

- that the class struggle is the motor of social change, that any revolution in this country will be made by the working class. Therefore the bulk of our activity should be centred upon introducing libertarian politics and organisational methods into the struggles which the working class experiences everyday. That cultural experiments, educational reforms, communal living etc. are all of interest to libertarians, as are any progressive developments in social life, BUT they are relevant to the revolutionary struggle when seen and evaluated through the perspective of class analysis.

- that revolutions are not purely spontaneous occurrences, but are prepared by events and activity in the period before them. It follows from this that revolutionary politics is not simple activism or the encouragement of any and every conflict but of understanding the development of events and using this analysis to encourage the confidence and understanding of the working class through its everyday struggles. For this the revolutionary organisations must be able to help its militants develop an ever better understanding, and be able to develop continuously by being able to take the separate experiences of its militants and develop collectively a generalised view of the sum total of this experience. This is MUCH more than just the sum total of the experience lumped together and not analysed.

In my view then, it is necessary to adopt firm political positions at the coming conference. With a view to stating explicitly the bases on which the organisation was founded. The major one should be on the class struggle and the role of (a) ORA (b) the libertarian federation. The wording of such should be approached, not as an innocuous statement like most resolutions at any conference on the left, but as stating the guidelines for collective work in the coming year. Points which must be discussed are the womens' movement tenants associations, claimants unions, schools and universities, and the work we can do.

It is in the light of this that I support the proposals for a paper, which if produced in the decentralised manner suggested will demand a high degree of mutual responsibility, which in itself will be the best guarantee of our progress towards effective collective work.

Keith Nathan.

THE SITUATION IN GERMANY

No doubt you are aware of the fact that the majority of the pre-war anarchists were killed in Hitler's concentration camps; for example, in Hamburg only about 10% survived. The remaining comrades had to face three crucial facts to continue the libertarian struggle in Germany:

1. In their effort to build up a better standard of living out of the ruins of the Third Reich, the people only cared about their own well-being, without thinking about the destiny of their neighbours, fellow-workers etc.

2. The population was fed up with politics.

3. As the decline of the fascist regime was not caused from inside (a revolution), but from outside the country, after some time the very same people who had supported Hitler again dominated West Germany, and suprisingly some well-known officials in the Eastern part originally belonged to the Nazi Party, although not in high ranks.

For these reasons the anarchists were forced to remain in small circles, desperately trying to build up a new, strong movement. At least they produced some fine brochures and leaflets, which in my personal opinion were better than most of the stuff produced nowadays. The emergence of the new-left created a revival of anarchist ideas. Certainly the then SDS (Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund) and some of the succeeding organisations can be considered to have been mainly Marxist, but there has always been a strong libertarian influence.

After the break-down of the SDS various new factions and parties came into existence, mainly belonging to the Marxist-Maoist or Trotskyist movements, but besides these groups a new anarchist movement started to fight for libertarian ideas, recruiting its members not only from the SDS, but many pupils, apprentices and young workers, fed up with the hierarchy and the Marxist stuff of the Stalinist DKP (Deutsche Kommunistische Partei) and the elitist and unrealistic attitude of the other Neo-Marxist sections, joined the libertarian movement.

Because of the relative youth of its members, the new anarchist groups are concentrating their energies mainly on topics relevant to young people, such as drugs, youth centres, sex problems, commuter fares, and the situation of pupils and apprentices in industry. They are usually also engaged in demon-

25 strations, some of them very violent, answered by the ever increasing brutality of the cops. As many of the young anarchists formerly have worked with Marxist groups, they tend to use Marxist phraseology and some even try to create a synthesis between Bakunin and Marx.

Sadly, there is only very limited co-operation between the groups scattered all over Germany. There is no such thing as a federation, or at least groups linked together with some sort of organisation, except the Schwarze Hilfe (Black Aid), and the 'old' anarchist movement, editing its own paper Zeitgeist. Most communication is done via personal relationships or addresses occasionally appearing in one of the small papers edited by some groups.

Unfortunately there is a strong controversy between the new and the traditional anarchist movements, due to the generation gap and based on the different views in connection with tactics, Marxism and co-operation with Marxist groups. Instead of solving the different opinions by a mutual exchange of thought they refuse to have any talks with each other.

Some months ago we were confronted with the bomb attacks allegedly committed by the RAF (Red Army Fraction). As this group is presented by the press and mass media as an anarchist group, any open agitation is becoming more and more difficult. Posters showing members of the RAF and describing them as "violent anarchist criminals" have been distributed to shops and pubs by the police. In the heads of the easily-influenced population an anarchist must throw bombs. The vents also resulted in a split in the movement, being either in favour of the RAF or rejecting them, although the RAF itself openly denied any connection with anarchism, without any doubt.

Anyway, this is no prosperous situation for the future, when we have to combat the elections in November, although many people, especially among the working class, are fed up with the parties, be they Christian Democrats, Social Democrats, or National Democrats or whatever. The natural hostile attitude of man against his governors is growing more and more. In this situation anarchists should stay together and offer the alternative society.

(eds: A German ORA is being formed)

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

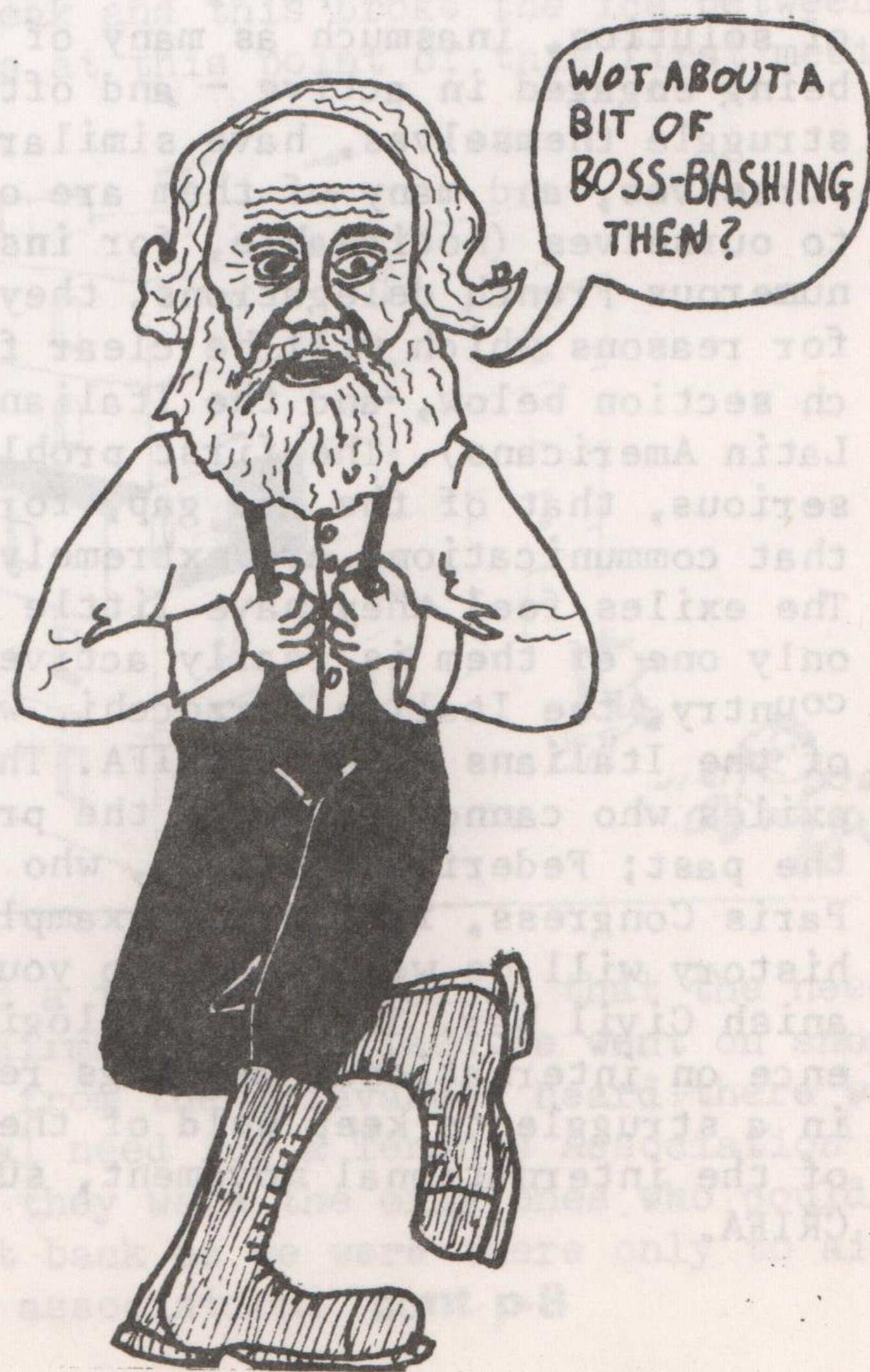
THE INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST MOVEMENT

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

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

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

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



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

FRONT LIBERTAIRE

33, rue des Vignoles, Paris 20^e. France.

12 page Libertarian Communist newspaper

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

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

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

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

THE FRENCH MOVEMENT

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

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

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

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

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

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

CONCLUSION.

What I have been doing.

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

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

International Secretary.



RIVISTA ANARCHICA



MONTHLY NEWSPAPER
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ITALY



WHAT TO DO W BY FUZZ, COUNC

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Among the campaign's activities were

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

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

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

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



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

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

WHEN HARASSED MILLERS, ETC.

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



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

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

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

This technique can be applied to all harassers;

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

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

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

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

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

HARASS THE HARASSERS!

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



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

