Anarchist Weekly @ MAY 27 1967 Vol. 28 No. 16

SUPPRESSION **BY REQUEST**

PIE POLICE are continuing their preposterous charges against Terry handler and Melvyn Estrin who were the dock at Mariborough Street on lay 18 when Mr. Edward Robey, the agistrate, heard the case outlined rainst them by the Prosecution in the ollar leaflets case. Terry was defended by the Benedict Birnberg. After a substance of the property of the charge ainst Melvyn of conspiracy to forge ainst to those on genuine dollar notes. The Terry Chandler was committed for a charges of conspiring with aries Radcliffe and others unknown forge United States dollar notes. The gistrate granted ball to Melvyn and to Terry although Detective-sergeant Noble strongly objected. At the time withing Terry is still in rail as he was withing Terry is still in rail as he was Noble strongly objected. At the time riting Terry is still in jail as he was remanded in custody over the Greek assy demonstration.

warrant has been issued for the st of Charles Radcliffe and a Paul

Smith, whom we hope are still at liberty.

The proceedings were of unrelieved gloom. In a country which prides itself on its sense of humour, our comrades are being charged with the forging of 'dollar' notes that are clearly meant to be anti-war propaganda.

An indication as to why our comrades are being prosecuted came when a Mr. James Griffith of the American Embassy in Paris gave his evidence. The Clerk of the Court asked for his occupation and prompted him: 'Are you employed in the detection of counterfeit currency?' 'No, sir,' replied the American unwisely, letting the cat out of the bag. 'My job is the suppression of counterfeit currency.'

In other words the request for prosecution must have come from Griffith and the English authorities have blindly complied. The danger is, that if they are not to look complete asses in front of an independent jury, they might want to resort to some kind of 'frame-up'.

But as the case stands at the moment even the notorious Mr. Robey seemed quite unconvinced.



HANOI—Behind the Lines

THE VIETNAMESE WAR is escalating rapidly. On April 25, the US bombed railway yards two and a quarter miles from the centre of Hanoi and a cement factory just one mile from the centre of Haiphong. More recently they have bombed the bases of Russian-supplied Migs and, if they force them to retreat to Chinese bases, the Guardian correspondent asks the Guardian correspondent asks, will US bombing follow them? Haiwill OS boilding follow their? Har-phong harbour is being repeatedly attacked. As I write (May 19), the news of the US invasion of the buffer zone (in which N. Vietnamese troops were already) is being broad-cast. A land war throughout Vietnam threatens and, according to U Thant on May 11, I am afraid we are witnessing the initial stages of World War III.

Harrison Salisbury's Behind the Lines — Hanoi (Secker and Warburg, 30/-), stems from a two-week visit, December 23, 1966-January 7, 1967, before these events took place, but it is still very relevant. The in-creasing US savagery and N. Viet-nam rigidity stems from false stereotypes of their own and their opponent's intentions and actions and Mr. Salisbury's book does something to correct these. For example, the US claims, as McGeorge Bundy wrote, in January 1967, 'The bombing of the North has been the most accurate and the most restrained in modern warfare.' Harrison Salismodern warfare.' Harrison Salis-bury, in his New York Times des-patches, wrote: 'the conclusion is patches, wrote: 'the conclusion is inescapable that, whatever may be the cause, far more bombs are hitting civilians than are accomplishing any military purpose'. Because of this, the North Vietnamese believe that the US are deliberately aiming at civilian targets. Salis-bury's account of the effects of US bombing and his consideration of its intentions seems the most reliable yet written. He is interesting issue of religious freedom in the North and on the relations of Hanoi to the NLF and to Russia and China. Detailed accounts are Van Dong, the N. Vietnamese Pre-mier, and with NLF representatives in the North. The book's main faults (apart from the unnecessary journalistic padding of the first 40 pages) are that it makes no men-

tion of the 1946 Vietminh purge of non-Communist elements, only a brief and imprecise mention of the N. Vietnam land reform slaughters N. Victitain and reform staughters and emphasises the North's 'distrust stemming from 1946 and 1954', without mentioning the Vietminh provocations and terror (as well as the French ones) in 1946 and the impossibility of holding the Geneva-planned unifying elections when the planned unifying elections when the North was oppressing massive re-sistance (as well as the South's oppression of many opposition groups).

The US began bombing the North to bolster the morale of the South Vietnamese Government, to weaken Hanoi's will to fight, to avoid committing large US ground forces, and later reasons were to bomb Hanoi to the conference table and to interdict the movement of men and sup-plies to the South. In all but the first case, as the facts of World War II and Korean War bombing should If and Korean War bombing should have indicated beforehand, the bombing has failed. US ground forces have escalated enormously from 25,000 in March 1965 to 440,000 now. According to General Westmoreland, the movement of men and supplies has increased greatly and, in any case, most NLF arms were taken from US and Saigon troops. Hanoi shows very little sign of wanting to end the war: little sign of wanting to end the war: Pham Van Dong said to Salisbury, war. How many years would you say? Ten, twenty—what do you think about twenty?' (p. 196). The bombing has united the North Vietnamese against the US as nothing else could. Indeed, the threat of bombing seems to have saved Ho Chi Minh from a large political crisis. Ernst Kux wrote in Neue Zucher Zeitung, September 23, 1964: 'One of the main reasons for the pressure for guid.' Commenced the pressure for quick Communist successes in S. Vietnam was the growing economic insolvency and confusion in home affairs in N. Vietnam . . . food production was no-where keeping pace with the growth in population. In view of the chaotic supply position, emergency measures were introduced, privately owned land was expropriated from farmers . ration cards were introduced. In March Ho Chi . In March Ho Chi Minh proclaimed a state of emer-gency. (Quoted by Adam Roberts, New Society, January 12, 1967.)

Is the deliberate bombing of civilians a major part of US policy, as the Russell War Crimes Tribunal and all N. Vietnamese think? After reading Salisbury and the accounts of the Tribunal investigators, it of the Tribunal investigators, it seems to me to be still an open seems to me to be still an open question, but the important thing is that thousands are being killed and maimed whatever the US's intention. Salisbury visited Namdinh, the third largest city in the North and saw the savage damage it had suffered which the Mayor said amounted to destruction of 13% of the city's housing with \$9 killed the city's housing, with 89 killed and 405 wounded from 51 attacks. Salisbury comments: '. . there were no very remarkable targets in Namdinh. True, material going south passed through . . there was a railroad, a small freightyard, an area along the river bank where boat and barge cargo was . . reshipped. . . This was . . perhaps the fatal fallacy in our whole bombing policy. When you totalled all the "military objectives" in N. Vietnam, they didn't total much' (p. 104). Of the destruction in the Salisbury comments:

Phatdiem rural area, Salisbury writes: One cause for the repeated attacks . . might be that Seventh Fleet planes flying to Ninhbinh and Namdinh . . (possibly) jettisoned leftover bombs on the way back or exhausted their rocket stocks . . . planes which had difficulty in re-turning to base might lighten their loads in the Phatdiem area. There were anti-aircraft installations in this region. . . Yet when all this was taken into account, the fact was taken into account, the fact remained that an astonishing amount of high explosives was falling on a simple rice-growing area (p. 125). Of the bomb damage Salisbury then saw in Hanoi—the smashed Pho Nguyen Thiep Street and Phuc Tan Street—he notices that they were very near the main Long Bien Bridge (p. 64). Of the anti-personnel weapons, particularly the lazy dog bomb, which the War Crimes Tribunal made so much of, he notes that: 'They were devised for use against anti-aircraft gunners, for use against anti-aircraft gunners, machine gun nests or other military machine gun nests or other military groups occupying exposed or semi-exposed positions. . . I suppose that (they) were dropped by our planes by on what they presumed to be (these) . . they inevitably took a toll among civilians' (pp. 213-214). Salisbury suggests that US reconnaissance methods and bomb-dropping were nowhere near so precise as the US imagined (or pre-tended) and also that the series of gradations which governed the pat-tern of air operations in North Vietnam... was complex and confusing. It seemed to me that it inevitably would give rise to honest pilot errors. Again and again it seemed to me that the commanders of the air operations were placing on their men burdens which were beyond the ability of the best technology and the best trained men' (p. 212). Other questions he raises are: (a) If roads and railways are the target, why should the bombing be pro-grammed for where they pass through villages and towns where more civilians will die and there will be stronger anti-aircraft posiwin be stronger and arctarctart post-tions? (b) Are the US deliberately using Vietnam as a laboratory for experiments? 'Proof was difficult ... there were enough oddities so that the question might be raised." (c) Is the air war a dry run for a war with China?

Finally, there was the question the dykes whose destruction of the dykes whose destruction would destroy the country, wiping out millions of acres of rice land, drowning millions of Vietnamese and making it impossible for the country to feed itself. Salisbury saw bomb-craters in the Namdinh area and believed evidence of bombing in the Phatdiem area (p. 123). Was this accidental? The US had said repeatedly that they were not offi-cially targetted. Salisbury concludes that, even given the good intentions of the US, 'The "humaneness" of the American air effort produced the American air effort produced the same desolated countryside, wounded, injured and mangled men, women and children . . . of the air war . . . during World War II.' Salisbury judges that the North Viet-namese are united against the Ameri-cans and, undoubtedly the main contri-butory factor to this is the Americans'

butory factor to this is the Americans' own bombing. One sign is the very great number who have been armed. As a Communist official said: 'Here you can see for yourself that the people support their government. If they didn't, they have the weapons in their hands with which to change it. An important

PEASANTS' REVOLT' IN MAYFAIR

is on the streets, we shall know the gist of the prosecution's case against the 42 people arrested in the Greek Embassy on April 28. Committed proceedings are being taken as we go to press, on May 23 and 24.

As was accountly analysis of the control of the cont

As was generally predicted, the charges ave been changed from the original onsense. The police could never have

ON SALE NEXT WEEK ASKS

How many **Years to 1984?**

ANARCHY is Published by FREEDOM PRESS at 2s. n first Saturdayof every month / hoped to get a conviction for Common Law Affray or for breach of the Public Order Act, because of minor technical points (what is the definition of a public place, etc.) which the Courts always regard as of much greater importance than issues of principle. However, the supposition that the authorities would substitute lesser charges (as at Marham), which would carry crippling fines and bindings over but not create the political risk of a mass trial at the Old Bailey and a group of political prisoners here, has not been upheld. The new charges are, if anything, more serious, and certainly more significant, than the old.

By charging the group with Riot and with Foreible Entry under the Act of 1581, the political nature of the original action at the Embassy but also the political nature of the original action at the Embassy but also the political nature of the original action at the Embassy but also the political nature of the stratute books for strange and ancient laws when their more conventional armoury fails them; the obscure eccle-

siastical law with which they charged the Brighton Church protesters is a typical example. So was their triumphant production in 1963 of an old statute which prohibits 'unauthorised advertising' within five miles of Charing Cross; under this ridiculous Act several leafleteers were prosecuted and fined for not submitting an 'advertisement' (i.e. their leaflet) to the Commissioner of Police for approval before displaying it. And probably the most familiar example of all, the Act under which whenever they feel like it they bind us over to be of good behaviour (and imprison us if we refuse, even if we have broken no other law), dates from 1360.

We are also accustomed to their misuse of Acts which were passed for other purposes. Official Secrets, Public Order (meant to deal with Pascists), Race Relations, even Forgery; they cast their net wide. But up to now they have shied away from the obvious political laws. Sedition, Incitement to Disaffection, and so on have not been used within the last ten years despite constant provocation.

constant provocation.

Continued on page 7

books?

FRANCE

X-ray result.

sent an estimated bed shortage of

300,000, not counting the 200,000 (of the

600,000 in use) that need to be replaced;

the result is that patients sometimes find

themselves on improvised beds in corri-

dors and that ambulances often have to

carry accident cases from one hospital

to another in search of the necessary

places. There are hospitals which have

no anaesthetist or blood bank. Analyti-

cal work is often in private hands, which

can entail a wait of up to a week for an

Things are little better on the per-

sonnel side: cases are cited where there

was one night nurse for 500 patients; the

lack of qualified staff leads to such

anomalies as a hospital secretary work-

ing as a laboratory assistant, or a ward

waitress as a nurse. Hospital wages bear

little relation to the cost of living, so

that new vacancies often go unfilled,

especially in the Paris area where living

costs are high and where the most

Social Services, replies that he has at

last succeeded in getting the hospital

grant raised from the figure established

in 1954; and that public health is sixth

on the list of national priorities only

because people are more interested in

phones and motorways. Not to mention,

of course, atom bombs and Mongénéral's

From an interview with the pop singer

Farce de Froppe.

Absalon:

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modern hospital was built in 1934.

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REPORT in the Brussels paper Le Through the Anarchist Press Soir reveals some disturbing facts about French hospitals: there is at pre-

Q. Would you got to gaol rather than do military service?

No. But I'd be prepared to make them think I was homosexual, which is another way out of the same problem.

If your country was invaded, would you lie in front of the enemy tanks like the non-violent resisters?

A. Of course not. I would have been gone long before the tanks got there. JOHN THURSTON. (Source: Défense de l'Homme.)

The Combat Syndicaliste published by our French and Spanish comrades in France, appears to be hard up. They describe their foreign subscriptions as 'calamitous' and they lose a great deal of money through people who don't pay for issues sent on credit (postage alone comes to 2,683.8 francs per annum). Donations should be sent to Le Combat Syndicaliste, 24 Rue Ste.-Marthe, Paris

The 'Agence France-Press' reported to Le Monde that eleven political prisoners in the Carabanchel Prison have declared a hunger strike. They had sent a message to the prison directors, which was followed by the imposition of sanctions. Sr. López Enriquez has been put in a punishment cell, since the authorities have charged him with inciting the strike. The other ten remain in solitary. They include an Italian, Sr. Ricardo

According to statistics, in Cadiz there are 3,160 families occupying only one room each, 4,475 occupying two rooms each, 6,135 relying on communal services with other families, and 5,201 families whose homes have insufficient ventilation, the grand total of persons living in inferior dwellings coming to

VIETNAM Commenting on the question of a third world war over Vietnam, a writer says, 'For a long time now, every time I see the name "Vietnam", I involuntarily read "Sarajevo".

OCTOPUS DEP

The Mexican paper Tierra y Libertad publishes an article on the Roman Catholic Church, highlighting its consistent contradictions. The Pope begs for peace in Vietnam while his (and God's-what's the difference?) ministers are not reproached for former misdeeds, nor for 'blessing' the murder weapons and tranquillizing the consciences of the uniformed butchers of that same war. Neither are any of the tyrannical perpetrations of the Jesuits or previous Popes put to rights; in fact, the Church is the first to grab the monopoly and the riches of the Earth where it can, with the accompanying degree of control over the public.

Nor are these idle accusations. In Spain, Opus Dei, a clerical organisation

threw up. And I use the word Tory

deliberately, for the women that fill

Léonor Fini's frames are the hard-faced

bitches of any cosmopolitan society.

and a sort of God's Mafia (see Time Magazine, 12.5.67) is managing to get its hands on (with the blessing of the Pope) a vast amount of the riches of Spain. No wonder many Spaniards call it 'Octopus Dei'.

Not only does the organisation run schools and the like (including the University of Navarra, thus determining the futures of the 5,220 students there) and control publications such as Diario de Madrid, Actualidad Española, Actualidad Económica, Ama and many others, but also more than fourteen banks and finance companies, four film companies, ten publishing houses, four chemical companies, and fifteen construction businesses, etc. These are only the known assets of God's Octopus in Spain.

Translators:

JOHN THURSTON AND B.B. (Sources: Tierra y Libertad, Combat Syndicaliste, Défense de l'Homme.)

Don't forget 'SAVE GREECE NOW' DEFENCE FUND All contributions to: 13 Goodwin Street, London, N.4

GREEK DEMONSTRATION SUNDAY, MAY 28, 1967 AT 2.30 P.M. CARLTON GARDENS-BROOK STREET (To be renamed)

CORSHAM/COPENACRE THIS WEEKEND

Saturday to Monday - May 27/29. Corsham is between Bath and Chippen

SATURDAY: Assemble at 2.30 p.m. a Pickwick Road, Corsham. Procession public meeting at Corsham Court, launch ing of a petition for a non-military future for Corsham. (Bring a tent

SUNDAY: Tour and study of t military installations. Exhibition. Di cussion Groups.

MONDAY: Leafletting, literature sale signing the petition. Final meetin

march to Copenacre, vigil. Various other activities currently und discussion - civil disobedience -

planned. Corsham/Copenacre Action Group

Tony Allwright, 105 Ashley Roa

ADVANCE NOTICE: A SOCIAL EVENING with our Spanish comrades films—theatre—songs—colour—jazz dancing-food

(entertainers and jazz band wanted) Tickets available from Mujeres Libres, LFA and Freedom Press Price 6/-, Children 2/6 SATURDAY, JULY 1, 6 p.m.-11 p.m. CONWAY HALL,

RED LION SQUARE, W.C.1 Further details later **Chorley Anarchists**

24-hr VIETNAM FAST 6 pm Friday June 2 opp. Chorley Bus Station

DAVE CUNLIFFE was involved in a serious motor accident on Saturday. Friends will no doubt like to write to Tina.

AROUND THE GALLERIES

SPAIN

THIS is a week when two major galleries have given their walls over to two artists who have decided to ignore the orthodox sex war for a display of camp not seen in the Town since David Hockney's display of Alexandrian etchings at the Kasmin Gallery in July of '66. Their abrogation of all ideological content and their hedonistic final solution in the matter of pictorial matter comes as a cheerful relief after all those screaming manifestoes from the blood and paint school who have tortured us and their canvases in their weekly declaration of

And so, with a gay giggle and a questing eyebrow, we can do no more than join the Town as it pads to the Redfern Gallery at 20 Cork Street, W.1, to enjoy, though not to accept, the current exhibition of paintings by Patrick Procktor. In the final judgement each individual painting must stand or fall on its own internal merit and, no matter how sincere the painter or novel or brave his message, the passage of the years, new problems and new generations will shunt his heart's cry to the basements of a provincial museum or gallery according to his ability or lack of ability as a

There is a brash urchin audacity in these paintings of Patrick Procktor that embraces the Rolling Stones in full drag, to Procktor's version of the Red Guard high-stepping the great leap forward in an uneven chorus line across the floor of the cave temples of Mai-chi-shan, with frescoes of Chairman Mao and a Wuhan steel worker to fill the wings with a blurred vision of David Hockney peering through a rosy mist as the father figure of the boys' club. Yet the difference between the leather boys and the Red Guards has been synthesised by Procktor into an illustrated version of Selby's Last Exit to Brooklyn, and I do not mean this unkindly, for, if you reject the social and political pressures that create the Western leather boys and the Eastern Red Guard, then all you are left with are groups of tough Youngmen waiting to roll an elderly customer. His painting of the Rolling Stones in tatty drag may, in the beginning, have been part of a Daily Mirror spread but now Procktor must claim that particular vision subjectwise while the painting itself could be used to illustrate a record sleeve in a bad month. The bearded character posing in woman's dress in two of Procktor's paintings is not only a slapdash essay in lazy painting but an exercise in self-expression that fails to amuse. All these leather-garbed Youngmen lounging in these vast and silent rooms will, I have no doubt, find a place on some tough Chelsea wall and the sad little pencil drawings of sad and naked Youngmen sprawling in bed or bath will form an icon for those who reject the Evergreen mammary types.

If these paintings or drawings give a small particle of happiness to that unfortunate minority cult able to afford them, then they will have justified their creation but beyond that function I feel that they have failed.

Léonor Fini, at the Hanover Gallery at 32a St. George Street, W.1, is a tough vessel, for her exhibition of paintings portrays a coven of hard-faced dolls as selfish and as anti-social as anything the women's branch of the Tory Party ever

Those that are dressed wear the clothes of their rank and they move through their background with a trained contempt even for themselves. Like characters from an embittered Waugh novel, they exist to exist. In her use of colour Léonor Fini captures the wraith world of Marie Laurencin yet her creatures move through the somnolent moon-taunted world of Paul Delvaux, and in place of Delvaux's buxom broads we have Beardsley figures slim-built enough to bring joy, though not satisfaction, to the shade of Oscar. They pause and they pose and examine each other like tired gourmands saturated by an excess of living. It is claimed, and with truth, that Genet has praised her work and his Lettre a Léonor Fini still awaits our inspection if we can play God for an idle moment. Yet, all in all, these two exhibitions

by Procktor and Léonor Fini are worthy of your time and applause for, though at first viewing this may seem an illmarriage of Mayfair and the King's Road, Chelsea, they deserve to be seen for their simple, naive honesty.

For those that seek the orthodox, in subject if not in style, then the paintings by Sheila Oliner at the Woodstock Gallery at 16 Woodstock Street, W.1, are worth a walk for her work has shown a magnificent improvement within the last few years and her strongly delineated nudes strain within their frames in a harmony of colour and a sureness of line that bids well for her future, but it is Léonor Fini, tough and unyielding as her own subject matter, who carries the palm.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

Anarchist Federation of Britain

1967 AFB Conference. Sept. 29, 30, Oct. 1. For details of London venue and proposals for agenda apply to LFA. LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. Temporary address c/o Wooden Shoe, 42 New Compton Street, London, W.C.2. Sunday evening meetings 8 p.m. Lamb & Plag. Rose Street, off Garrick Street, London, W.C.2

IUNE 11 Action meeting Subject: London Campuign JUNE 18 John Kety 'The Assochist Daily'

ANARCHIST MEETINGS AT HYDE PARK EVERY SUNDAY AY 2 P.M.

HARLOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Enquiries to Kesth Nathun, 118 Pronymend, Harlow or John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping 1.EWISHAM, LONDON, S.E.ID. 2sid and 4th Thurndays Meetings at Mike Maler's, 61 Granville Park, Lewisham, S.E.13.

SOUTHWARK ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Dave Burden, 450 Barry Road, East Dalwich, S.E.22. Proposed meetings to be held on first and third Thursday of each month.

NORTHOLIT ANARCHISTS. Contact line NORTHOLT ANARCHISTS. Costact: Jim Haggon, 173 Kingshill Avenue, Northolt, Middle-

EALING ANARCHIST GROUP, Get into touch with Ken King, 34 Norwood Road,

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Campa's, 21 Rumbold Road, 5 W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m.
3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald and Irene Room's, now at 13 Savernake Road, London, N.W.3.

Get in touch with Stephan Richards, 25 North

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS ANDGROUPS

ALTRINCHAM ANARCHIST YOUTH GROUP.
Vale Road, Timperley, Cheshire.
ABERDEEN GROUP. Correspondence to
Michael Day, 86 Rosemount Place, Aberdeen.
BEXLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence
to Paul Wildiah, 2 Cumbrian Avenue, Barnehurst.
Keni.

Street, Smithfield Square, Belfast.

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP, Secretary Geoff Chariton, 8 Lightwoods Hill, Bearwood, Smethwick, 41. Regular meetings at Geoff and Caroline's above address, top flat. First Wednesday of month.

RESISTANCE GROUP. Clo Birmingham Peace Action Centre flormerly CND office). Factory Read, Birmingham, 19.

UNIVERSITY OF ASTON GROUP. Contact: Dave Kipling, 87 Kingsbury Road, Erdington, Berningham 24.

BRIGHTON. All those interested in activities and action should contact Richard Michael Street, and Stre

Britispham 44.

BRIGHTON. All those interested in activities and action should contact Richard Miller, 1/2 Percival Terrace, Brighton, 7.

BRISTOL. Contact: Dave Thorne, 49 Cotham Brow, Bristol, 6.

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP, Contact Mike Carbier, 16 Whitaker Road, Tremorfa, Cardiff, DUNDEE GROUP, Contact Bob and Usa Turnbuil, 39 Stratheden Park, Stratheden Hospital, by Cunnar, Fife. by Cupar, Fife.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP ONE. Correspondence to Robert Lynn, 2b Saracea Head Lane. Glasgow, C. I.

HERTS, GROUP, Contact Stuart Mitchel at 46 Hughendon Road, Marshalswick, St. Albans.

HULL ANARCHIST GROUP. J. Tempest 89 Fountain Road, Hull. Tel. 212526. Meeting 8 p.m. 1st and 3rd Fridays of month at above address.

IPSWICH ANARCHISTS. Contact Neil Dean, 74
Cemetery Road, Ipswich, Suffalk.

NEW HAM LIBERTARIANS. Contact Mick Shenker, 122 Hampton Road, Forest Gate, ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP, Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Green-ways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 23 Brian way Mauren Richardson.

and Maureen Richardson.

PLYMOUTH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Contact J. Hill, 79 Underlane, Plymstock, Plymouth, Devon.

READING ANARCHIST GROUP, Contact
Alan Ross, 116 Belmont Road, Reading, Berks,
ROCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP, Contact
Eryl Davies, 22 St. Margaret's Street, Rochester.

Eryl Davies, 22 St. Margaret's Street, Rochester, Fortnightly meetings.

SHEFFIELD. Contact Robin Lovell, c/o
Studeous' Union, University, Sheffield, Tel. 24076.

SOUTH WEST MIDDLESEX ANARCHIST
GROUP. Meetings every Saturday, Feltham High Street. Contact P. J. Goody, 36 Norman Avenue, Hanwortth, Middlesex.

SWANSEA. Please get in touch with Julian Ross, 11 Welffield Close, Bishopston, Swansea.

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

Regional Secretary: Alistair Rattray, 35a Devonshire Road, Chorley. NORTH WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION. BUXTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: F. A. Gresty, Punchbowl, Manchester Road, Buxton Buxton. Huston.
CHORLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary:
Anne Marie Fearon, 16 Devonshire Road, Chorley, LIVERPOOL. ANARCHIST PROPAGANDA GROUP, Gerry Bree, 16 Faulkner Square, Liverpool, 8. Moetings weekly. 'Freedom' Sales—Pier Head, Saturdays, Sundays, Evenings, MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary. Dave Poulson, Flat 9, 619 Wilbraham Road, Choriton-cum-Hardy, Manchester, 21.

EAST LONDON FEDERATION

WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Contact Stephen Higgs, 8 Westbury Road, Forest Gate, E.7. LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION. Meetings—discussions—activities. Contact Peter Ford, 82 North Road, Highgate, N.6. (Tel.: MOU 5702.)

PROPOSED GROUPS

LEE, LONDON, S.E.12. Anarchist-Radical

Group. Contact Rodney Hodges, 2 Cambridge Drive, Lee, S.E. 12.

NORTH WALES; Bangor. Contact Geoff Brown, 39 Caellepa, Bangor, Caerns.

SOMERSET. John and Jill Driver wish to contact local libertarians, 4 Obridge Road, Taunton, Somerset.

ROCHDALE. Please contact Richard Crawford, 4 Hargreaves Street, Sudden, Rochdale.

SLOUGH. Contact Sid Rawle, 4 Hillperton Road, Stough, Bucks.

NORTH EAST ESSEX, Would readers interested in proposed group write to P. Newell, "Maybush", Maypole Road, Tiptree, Essex.

ELTHAM. 'Sons of Durrutty' Froup. Get in touch with T. Liddle, 83 Gregory Crescent, London, S.E.9.

ABROAD

U.S.A. NEW YORK CITY. N.Y. Federation of Anarchists, c/o Torch Bookshop, 641 East 9th Street, N.Y., 10009. Meets every Thursday evening. AUSTRALIA. Federation of Australian Anarchists, P.O. Box A 389. Sydney South. Public meetings every Sunday in the Domain, 2 p.m. and Mondays, 72 Oxford Street, Paddington, Sydney 8 p.m. meetings every Sunday in the Domain, 2 p.m. and Mondays, 72 Oxford Street, Paddington, Sydney, 8 p.m.

DANISH ANARCHIST, FEDERATION, 52 Mindevei, Soborg-Copenhagen, Denmark, VANCOUVER, B.C., CANADA, Anyone interested in forming anarchist and/or direct action peace group contact Derek A. James, 1844 Grand Boulevard, North Vancouver, B.C., Canada, Tel., 987-2693.

U.S.A. VERMONT/NEW HAMPSHIRE. Discussion group meets weekly. Contact Ed Strauss at RFD 2, Woodstock, Vermont 03091, USA.

SWEDEN, Stockholm Anarchist Federation. Contact Nadir, Box 19104, Stockholm 19, Sweden. CANADA: Winnieg. Anybody interested in Direct action/anarchy contact G. J. Nasir, 606 Matheson Avenue. Winnipeg, 17, Manitoba, BELGIUM: LIEGE. Provos, clo Jacques Charlier, 11 Avenue de la Laiterie, Sclessin-Liege, Belgium, EAST AFRICA. George Matthews would like to make contact. Secondary school teacher from UK. PO Box 90, Kakamega, Kenya.

USA: NORTH-EASTERN MINNESOTA. Contact James W. Cain, 323 Fourth Street, Cloquet, Minn. 55720, USA.

The Barcelona 'May Days'

history of the anarchist movement in Europe was decided for decades. We are still suffering from its aftermath, both here and the many thousands of our comrades who pace the stone cages of Franco's present 'liberal' regime. We in England have taken to a large extent the CNT/FAI as our heroes, the nearest point that the organised syndicates led by the anarchists came to the social revolution. We talk of the collectives and the communes of the militia columns and the barricades even today with the fond remembrance of a forgotten dream that was in fact a nightmare of stupidity and betrayal-firing squads and the blood of our comrades, defending the revolution that had never taken place, dying in the gutters of history, uselessly murdered once more by the Stalinist and the bourgeois Government. The act was committed by others but upon the leaders of the CNT/FAI falls the most terrible responsibility which permitted those who crushed the workers of Barcelona to do what they pleased.

In the first weeks of the Spanish Civil War a decision had to be taken by the leaders of the CNT whether or not to regard the Franco uprising as the opening of the social revolution or an isolated act of a reactionary minority backed by the aristocracy and the middle classes. They decided that it was the latter. Their certainty was not shared by Companys, the Catalan premier (Catalonia was recently an autonomous republic), a lawyer who had often acted in the past for the CNT. He stated that he thought that they should all join together for their mutual defence against fascism. He said also that if it was the CNT's decision that the time was ripe for the social revolution then he would go. He stayed and the collaboration with the Government began. The CNT controlled Catalonia with the exception of Saragossa and Huesea, these garrisons were under the Francoist troops. The CNT suggested the composition of the Generalidad; this was accepted by a grateful Companys who must have sighed with relief when he saw the political composition of the Generalidad (Cabinet). The CNT proposed the representation of all the Catalan parties on the ist (including the right-wing Esquerra Catala). The bourgeois merely had o sit back and watch their work being done for them.

Matters came to a head after much ruggle and loss of revolutionary gains chieved in the July 1936 days. ere were three anarchists in the Madrid nment. But that hardly compened for the loss of control of etives and factories or the miserable ied arms and support. Orwell points that they (the POUM) had to hand their rifles to each other when they ved units in the trenches. Meanwhile Assault Guards, who seemed only ble of assaulting the workers, were the streets of Barcelona repped and well dressed with the latest sian arms. Stalin always looked after police better than his army. Needs

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The CNT, in following a policy of emplete co-operation with the Central in Valencia and the seneralidad in Catalonia, was nonetheless in a position of complete power within Barcelona and the surrounding This was in fact the sore point of the Central Government. Deterto put an end to this period of dual power, the Stalinists and the bourgeois parties had been secretly planning how to defeat the strength of the CNT/FAL As early as April 17, moves had been made against the CNT-controlled frontier post at Puigrerda by the Assault Guards and the Civil Guards; the CNT

April 29, Antonio Martin, the council president of Puigicerda, well-known CNT militant, was shot by a joint Stalinist-Civil Guard patrol. The repression against the defence committees in Murcia and Madrid became known in the pages of Solidarad Obrera just before May Day. The Government had banned all

public demonstrations on May I with the consent of the CNT ministers. The weekend went quietly, the police breathed a sigh of relief and started to think that

they could smash the POUM once and for all. Ever since the July days of '36 the with its black and red flag commanding the city. The Telephone Exchange was a prime example of duality of power within the Catalan Republic. The CNT controlled it. There was, it was true, a Government delegate and a UGT delegate also on the administration committee; nonetheless the workers were CNT. It meant that no action could be undertaken against the CNT as the lines of communication were in their hands.

On Monday at 3 p.m. three truckloads of Assault Guards arrived at the Telephonica under the command of Catalan Commissioner of Public Order. The guards on the lower floors were surprised and disarmed and the advance was only stopped on the second floor by a machine gun barring the way. Meanwhile the crowds of workers were gather-

Esquerra Catala erected a few isolated harricades which were not attacked and Casa CNT's repeated appeals for calm and unity in the face of this provocation.

It even instructed the workers in the Telephonica to pass through all messages

Telephonica to pass through all messages impartially. (How impartial can you get with three hundred cops on your tail!)

Lois Orr, the wife of the editor of the English-language POUM paper, reported, 'By the next morning (Tuesday, May 4) the armed workers dominated the greatest part of Barcelona. The entire port and with it Montjuich fortress which commands the port and city with its cannon was held by the anarchists; all the suburbs of the city were in their the suburbs of the city were in their hands; and the government forces, with the exception of a few isolated barricades, were completely outnumbered and were concentrated in the centre of the city, the bourgeois area, where they could easily have been called in from all sides as were the rebels (Franco's men) on July 19, 1936.'

CNT locals in Catalonia also ensured that the government forces were disarmed particularly on the approach roads to Barcelona. The locals of the CNT/FAI took all the initiative, the Friends of Durrutti called for a revolutionary junta and complete disarmament of the Assault The CNT issued a statement calling once more for unity and disowned the Friends of Durrutti. The joint CNT/

FAI statement was broadcast:

The CNT and FAI, who have helped decisively in the defeat of fascism in Barcelona and Catalonia alongside other anti-fascist organisations, appeal today to all of you to lay down your arms. Think of our great goal, common to all the workers in the rear and at the front,

The government of the Generalid must be cleaned out. These demoralising acts will have to cease regardless of who is

performing them, including the ministers. Workers of the CNT, Workers of the UGT, don't be deceived by these rumours. Above all unity. Put down your arms. Only one slogan. We must work to beat fascism. Down with fascism."

The predictable results were that the CNT started to drift from the barricades despite appeals from the anarchist youth and the locals. The police of course did no such thing. Just after the appeal across the road from the Casa CNT, of the anarchist youths were stopped and got out of the car at a PSUC barrier. Defenceless, they were shot down. The Casa did nothing. 'We did not even yield to this provocation,' says Souchy.

The fighting carried on until the end of the week but each time the barricades were manned they were asked to go home and put down their arms. Afterthe fighting on the Wednesday/Thursday. the workers were tearing up Solidarad Obrera and cursing Fedriac Montseny who had been sent down by the Valencia

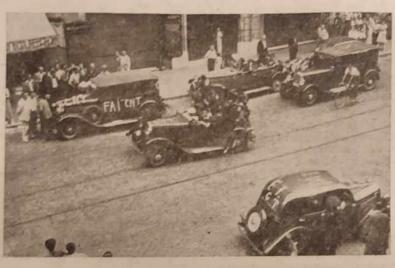
Government to stop the fighting.
On the Thursday night, when the Casa had even gone to the extreme of physically dismantling some of the barricades themselves, the PSUC once more repeated their intentions of an honourable truce. Camilo Berneri and one of his comrades were arrested for being 'counter revolutionaries' and machined-gunned to death at the side of the police barracks by a squad of PSUC police. Camilio Berneri was an anarchist who had been in Mussolini's jails and was the editor of the independent anarchist paper, Guerra di Classe. He had been a thorn in the side of the reformist anarchist ministers and con-stantly attacked the FAI and the CNT for their part in the Government and their responsibility in the piecemeal destruction of the great gains made since the July days by the bourgeois

The lessons had come full circle, Participation in a government means the impotence of a revolutionary move-ment. The FAI leaders, who had always preached the social revolution, had sold it down the river for a mess of potage. Five hundred dead and 1,500 wounded was the cost. Obey the Government was the call. The workers were sick of the Government and so were the militias. Men died and starved while at the front the Assault Guards and the Stalinist police carried on the repressions against he peasants of Aragon and the workers of Barcelona. Power, once wrested from the hands of the bourgeois state and their military and their police, must be firmly rooted where it belonged . . in the people. The FAI failed to learn that and so bears the brunt of the responsibility of the massacres in the May days and the imprisonments afterwards. they still defend it to this day. Not all, but Fedrica Montseny for instance has never recanted on what she did. Garcia Oliver even had the temerity to found an Anarchist Party some years ago. enter the Cortes when it is liberalised,

The lesson to us is equally obvious. It determines our stance on the CND and our attitudes to the provos. But let us make it clear. Once we fail to realise that of all the liberties that we demand and will fight for, economic liberty is the hardest to attain and the most essential to our intrinsic liberty, then we will walk down the same slippery path of collaboration and end up selling the whole of our freedom.

M. J. WALSH

(Sources: Spain and the World Supple-ment, June 11, 1937, Revolution and Counter-revolution in Spain, Felix Morrow, Spanish Civil, War, Hugh Thomas, Rudolph Rocker, V. Richards and G. Brennan.)



BARCELONA STREET SCENE 1937

leaders stepped in and persuaded the local unit to hand over its arms and control of the post. The Assault Guards stepped up their campaign against the CNT/FAI and succeeded in disarming workers' patrols in Barcelona, again after intervention by the Casa CNT. On

ing outside and took up the cry of treason. They sped to the Casa CNT and the working class suburbs. At 5 p.m. the barricades were being thrown up by the locals of the CNT and the FAL During the night many of the Government police permitted themselves to be disarmed.

FURTHER nay FURTHER

WRITING in the Socialist Leader recently, an elderly member of the SPGB said the party had in the last year grown faster than ever before.

There has also been in this country, since Cuba, a phenomenal growth of the more obnoxious varieties of Trotskyism and other Mao-oriented factions.

Yet we must admit that the upsurge of Libertarianism that we expected at the time of Cuba, when the anarchist revival first became apparent, just has not materialized to the extent anarchists had expected. We are a larger movement than we were at the end of the 50s (indeed we probably have more active groups than we then had individuals) but we have not as yet emerged as a movement counting our active and com-mitted group memberships in thousands or even in the high hundreds

This being so, we need to be fairly certain in our own minds that we are following the right policies. However preferable an anarchist society to all others, and however necessary to abolish the State, if we have no hope at all of achieving this we might as well pack up and go home to call ourselves individualists-and if there is a tactic around that might with a little alteration lead to an approximation of anarchism, while our own achieves no results, then too we would have to pack in our own position So we need to be certain that though it may be possible for a Marxist grouping capture power, it will not bring socialism, and we need to be certain that though an Utopian grouping like the SPGB or old guard Pacifists might schieve temporary results they cannot

It is not surprising that the effect of the inability of the CP to put up more than token resistance to the Wilson Government (if for no other reason its ambitions within the TU bureaucracy preclude any open confrontation with social-democracy) has led to a flowering of Maoist groups whether openly Stalinist or allegedly Trotskyist. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that a Maoist movement counting its membership in five figures might in time emerge; and because its aim is revolution in the backward countries rather than here, it is in the comfortable position of being able mouth red-hot revolutionary calls while studiously avoiding any 'adventurist' action here.

On issues such as pay, hours and tions where militant struggles may be waged against the bosses, and yet be kept firmly within the structure of the present class system, they can afford to ing their immediate chances by telling those with whom they work that to suc-ceed they must challenge the whole State system. It is unlikely that they would ever wish to go further than this point, and that there is any danger of them setting up a Leninist dictatorship, though a little bit of thuggery on the way may well be expected and, like their ors of the thirties, they may brand real revolutionaries as objectively

The collapse of CND-and the fact that those who described themselves as Multi-lateralists who mean it, have now shown that whatever else they may have

meant they did not mean Unilateralism -makes it also not surprising that there has been a rebirth of traditional Utopian anti-Militarism whether Pacifist or Spugub. Unready as it is to challenge the power political structure represented by the State except by means that the State as the agent of such powers has laid down in the certainty that here it can win, they are doomed to failure but as they offer what appears an easy way they naturally have a superficial

Relatively new on the political scene, one has the 'new look' New Liberals with their policies of 'workers' control' in a fashion that does nothing to change the control of money, and assumes that a measure of partial control in industry, leaving the rest of control untouched, and leaving finance as it is, can constitute a meaningful reform. One also has the remains of the New Left and the Revisionist Trot or ex-Trot influences working with them, also advocating a form of 'workers' control' modelled almost exactly on Mussolini's Corporate

We offer as against this a revolutionary perspective which we are aware is not easy, which we are aware demands more from the masses in order to make a revolution than the methods our various rivals would demand (if it ever happened that they did set about trying to fulfil their aims), but which by the same token gives the masses more; and only that much more can prevent rever-sion to a class society. We are often called socialists in a hurry, this is not the case. We are anarchists because unfortunately there is no short cut, our way -the long way-is unluckily the only road which has a bridge on the road to carry us over the chasm that lies between us and freedom.

But we need make much plainer than we have just what we are proposing and why the short cuts will be seen to be cul de sacs. For only when we have persuaded more people of this will we have even enough propagandists to make it possible to tell everyone about

There is here a need to understand the effects of political propaganda on two distinct categories of people most likely to be immediately influenced Those who (while having inadequate conceptions of the nature of power in the State) are nevertheless militant within the limits of their present analysis (as Left Labour constituency workers, Left Liberals, Nuclear Disarmers, Colonial Freedomists, Oxfam or such) and need a fuller analysis to sustain their actions; and those who, intellectually, are receptive to a large part of our case but have subjective reasons for not wishing to be very militant and so come to nationalize their inaction with phrases of waiting for the masses to become conscious.

Naturally those who are already militant need to be eclectic in their choice of libertarian ideas to supplement their militancy and do not fully embrace our ideas. On the other hand those who wish to avoid real revolutionary action shelter behind the dogmaticism of a revolutionary vanguard or a party of conscious internationalists. In both cases their ranks are strengthened by some who, at the end of the Committee 100's heyday, came to consider anarchism in the heat of the moment but who alternatively declare themselves free individuals and provide reasons why work to change society would detract

from such freedom; a particular instance of this is the tendency to believe drugs liberate, and those who so do are so afraid subsequently of being busted by the police that they give up anarchist activity in order not to draw attention to themselves. What role the police first play in introducing the drugs remains a

Then, with the passage of time some wished to join a larger movement or a less militant one; and, furthermore, others, who were once hard-core anarchists but fatigued by long struggle, gave up. We therefore have little reason to worry too much that others have grown faster than us, as it in no

SIX SHILLINGS EACH WILL BRING THEM 'FREEDOM' AND 'ANARCHY' FOR TWO MONTHS WITH YOUR COMPLIMENTS.

PROVO IS AGAIN working on an anxious Dutch public. The right-wing daily De Telegraaf began it with stories of Provos and foreign beatniks living in indescribable filth, moral and physical, aboard the barge Hashimin, maliciously concluding that Provos were carriers of scabies. More recently De Haagse Post manufactured a sensational feature—Provos' New Image: Terror', from minimal information. Police found cans of nitrobenzene a cleaning fluid with explosive proporties in the cans of nitrobenzene, a cleaning fluid with explosive properties, in the Provo Apollo Theatre and now the neighbourhood quakes and blusters. The dirty Provos are dangerous, they're making bombs and they're living next door to us. (NATO bombs? They are our protection, they are clean, they are made in special factories and taken to airfields far from where we live.) Our children meet these dreadful Provos, sometimes join them.

The first place Amsterdam cops call, in search of runaway girls, is the barge or cellar. Admit to a Dutch kid out of town that you are a Provo and they gambol about, half awed, half rejoicing—one of Batman's real benchmen. An exchange I had with an Amsterdam cop went as follows:

'Could you tell me the way to Haarlemerstraat, please?'

'What are you doing?'

Going to see friends. 'How much money have you got?' I explain I am going back to England shortly.

You are a professional Provo?'

'No!' Mock incredulity. 'Could you tell me how to get to Haarlemer-

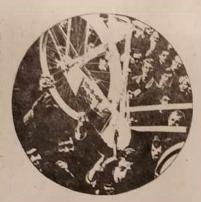
'If you go to the police station they might inform you.'

As for the Provos themselves, they take reaction in their stride, knowing from experience that smear campaigns tend to overreach themselves, and end by providing extensive free publicity. The barge in fact, as any visitor can see, is a floating guesthouse, cleaned out daily and responsibly organized; so that people from all over Europe can find a place to kip

'Provo is an Image' is one of their slogans. This may suggest Provo is largely a fiction, owing everything to the police, press and civic authorities. Nearly 20 films have been made about the Provos and they are currently making one of their own from this material. They will admit that the weekend street riots (equals suppressed happening) are now increasingly creations of the police. Despite its influence, Provohas no thought of being a political party-plus organization, plus capsulated ideology. It is effective pre-cisely because it is formless, fluid and unpredictable; without hierarchies and decentralized, its comment and provocation appearing in upwards of 15 cartoon papers and free-form journals from all over Holland. 'Image' really means simply this: watch out for a body of real and imaginative ideas.

TERRORISM

Back to the news. In one week Provos threw Molotov cocktails into the Spanish Embassy at The Hague and escaped capture, immobilized a Dutch warship by pouring sand into engine parts, and blew up part of the statue of Van Heutz, a general who subjugated Indonesians by means of massacre. Dramatic example in one place inspired action elsewhere. There was no plan relating these acts of resistance. The maker and placer of the Van Heutz bomb have both been picked up and will be detained without trial and will be usualled announce they have until the police announce they have uncovered the whole plot. Easter weekend scores of people, down in detainees' address books,



Rob Stolk joked up a rumour that the explosion was really the work of fascists trying to discredit Provo. Didn't the CIA plant a man in the Black Muslims to blow up the Statue of Liberty and then have their 'exposure' exposed?

Provo is divided over violence. Bernhard de Vries told me he hoped to see Amsterdam's Provos breaking up into numerous small groups over this issue. Future violent actions would then be the work of small groups of three or four, giving more cover to individuals involved than had been so with the Van Heutz bomb. The Provo cellar is watched and comings and goings sometimes photographed. Holland has a maniac internal security service. A leaflet currently circulating has been put out by the 'Revolutionary Terror-ism Circle', which of course consists of no one in particular. 'We place our Terror against the Terror of the Security Service.' It goes on to ask: 'Do legal protests have any sense?', ending with seven incitements to throw bombs. Those hurled through were taken in for questioning. Provo the Spanish Embassy windows are

to be seen as a warning to international fascism that its opponents may be driven to violent acts of resistance. Suggested targets for the future include American Express Anti-American feeling is generally very strong among Provos.

The violence, however, is symbolic and tactical. It is not directed against persons and it is too sporadic be a campaign of sabotage or of violence on principle. It is aimed at the public via the mass media and targets are chosen to ram home the political context of violence else-Rob Stolk explains the current Provo interest in terrorism in this way: 'It depends on the Provo protest action of Pop Art.' largely expressed through outrageous cartoons, in their magazines acted out in street play. these are suppressed, unless 'there is a lot of fun and possibilities to have things happening', the use of violence becomes more likely. Provos have made it their business to learn how to make their own bombs. How many English anarchists are similarly prepared? What of propaganda by deed?

BLOWING AUTHORITY'S COOL

Take the lid off and spill the beans. Offer the public the secrets of the military and of big business. Then watch authority panic, lash out in embarrassment and further expose its criminal duplicity. LYNX, organ of the Hague Provos, recently published the proceedings of the Bilderberg Conference, a topsecret debate on Holland's place in NATO, chairmanned by Prince Bernhard. How Provos obtained the complete text is their secret. police seized the few copies that had not been sold, and by their ill-considered seizure of LYNX's press made national news of the Conference.

More to come. Amsterdam's Provos have conjured up an 'Econo-Results mic Terroristic Council'. of a Europe-wide investigation that takes in London's City, will be blown in Provo 16, the next issue. The scandal concerns the Teixeira de Mattos Company, a private bank that suddenly announced bank-ruptcy, but not before all the big clients had swiftly withdrawn their holdings. The man in the street with his smaller deposit lost every thing. The president of the bank never questioned or arrested and the lawyer who took up the case of the small clients was bought off. During the war Holland was a part of the German state. Over the years the personnel of authority don't change that much. Provo 16 will reveal how the bank was formed, by Dutch-German collaboration in the last days of the war, in a large part out of money taken from the Jewish community, and how various big corporations of today are connected with the affair; these include the of such refugee literature, forcing an Union Minière and the Société Général.

ANTI-FASCIST FEELING

On the Dutch Easter Peace March the theme was Vietnam rather than nuclear weapons. 'Johnson Moordenaar', at first an isolated shout, became a mass refrain in the heart of Amsterdam, chanted to the Provo handelap (one - two/one-two-three). The mounted police had to lump it, there were too many people to arrest, for words a judge has declared illegal. The presentation of the final demonstration showed Provo's imaginative influence. huge bell, tolled steadily by a man in black standing on a black trolley, was followed by three companies of demonstrators, 30 or so in each, the first bearing white wooden crosses, the next picture placards with the caption '250,000 dead in Vietnam', and the last group, all in gold helmets, was headed by a banner: 'Gold is the price of blood'.

Holland is now guest-nation for NATO, since headquarters were moved from outside Paris to Limburg in the south of the Netherlands. This vast complex is 20 kilometres from Maastricht where Provos publish a surreal Breakfast in Bed. magazine, Maastricht Provos cultivate a light-hearted joyful mood in order to win sympathy in a very reactionary area. When in a very reactionary area. Provos presented the visiting Head of NATO, General von Keyserling. with a record of his responsibility for Nazi mass-murders in Poland, he replied that he was not interested.

Provos constantly needle their elders with memories of wartime occupation. One cartoon shows the royal arms evolving into a swastika, another a furious policeman at the double belting into the same shape. A leaflet I saw, below three royal heads asked "Which of these is the greater democrat?", giving clues:—Carlos, husband of the younger princess: son of ex-King of Spain and would-be successor to Franco; Claus, husband of the elder princess: ex-Nazi Youth, ex-cornet in the Wehrmacht; Bernhard, husband of Queen Juliana: sung at his wedding, 'Horst Wessel Lied', the official Nazi hymn.

FEARLESS CARTOONISTS

Amsterdam cannot easily live down its history of free presses. Countless political and religious tracts were once published here while their authors hid from repression. The inside walls of the Provo theatre are to be covered with sheets

unmistakable backdrop into every photographer's picture. tion of Provo presses is usually kept Should one be seized, ecret. Provos in another town run off the next issues for their fellows. Open a booklet like God Nederland and Orange and the furore Provo cartooning has caused becomes intelligible. The ridicule is merciles. no holds are barred. Queen Juliana suckles a black German eagle. Or she sits by a red lamp, fingering her skirt as she watches for custo mers, her immense salary displayed on a window card. In another the Queen of Holland singe a variation on Marlene Dietrich: I am full of money from head to foot'. Churchy attitudes to sex are also staple for lampoons. A very ordinary little bourgeois hangs nailed over the sexual parts of Christ crueified. A fatuous monk boasts a church tower in place of genitals. A horri-fied matron holds a snake/penis at arm's length. In England monarchy and the established church are too flat to invite further deflating. But how many English cartoonists have the marvellous sense of the body and its satirical possibilities show in Provo cartoons?

Case for

OFF-THE-POINT PROVOCATION

The cartoonist applies the mag possibilities of humour. The sar appreciation of the sublimin thrust underlies happenings. recent idea from Amsterdam's hibitionist, Robert Jasper Groo veldt, is a relay race through t Like most of his actions I aim is to ridicule the consumer, it this case the blind aiding an abetting of American Worl abetting of American Wor Empire. Runners would carry co colas, their faces stuck in a tootl paste smile, handing out chewir gum to spectators and singin America's praises: 'Johnson is bloody good fellow' or such like This kind of protest, not quite to the point but slightly to one side, has been insufficiently explored as a variation on straight demonstrations. It requires less people, is more dramatic in its impact, and is more fun to participate in. But the main advantage is that the authorities rarely recognise for what it is in time to stop it. Playing with ideas like this, no Provo need ever repeat himself. The idea is to be continually surprising the general public, waking people up to themselves and their environment, in a way newsprint never can. Should the happener be jailed, like all good

THE STRASBOURG SITUATIONISTS

THE OLD WAY of dismissing any self-assertive student body was to treat it as a mere juvenile extension of treat it as a mere juvenile extension of the bourgeoisie, having its fling before returning to spend its life in the bosom of its class; whether it let off its steam in a left- or right-wing direction made little difference to the ultimate re-absorption into conformity. This view is certainly no longer valid; a degree of democratisation in education, slight though it may be, has increased the number of students in all countries and provided opportunities for a wider social provided opportunities for a wider social range than before. Now any revolu-tionary movement worth its salt cannot fail to take students into account the more so when a section of a student body sees a direct link between its own aims and actions and the general move ment towards improvement of the worker's position.

Hot on the heels of the Provos we have Hot on the heels of the Provos we have
the Situationists, although to treat them
as similar would be a mistake which
the latter group would never forgive.
The Situationists claim to move on an
international front, but their most
significant success so far has been the
taking over of the Students' Association
of Strasbourg, a branch of the National ourg, a branch of the National Union of French Students. Since the takeover they have been opposed by the serried ranks of the academic establishment, the professors in particular, and

even by the National Union of Students itself; in short, by all the people they describe with the blanket term 'cretins'. describe with the blanket term 'cretins'.

But the opposition doesn't worry them; on the contrary, they systematically provoke it. For to be a Situationist you must first of all 'situate yourself', and doing this means breaking with all the terms of reference of the society with which you find yourself at odds. which you find yourself at odds.

The important thing about these scathing young people is that they know what they're talking about, and that very few groups find any favour with them. Their professors are described as 'nostalgic old men, embittered at being forced by the economic system to abandon their rôle as smug watchdogs of the intellect for that of mere sheepof the intellect for that of mere sheep-dogs, guiding the white-collar brigade towards their offices and factories'. Fellow students are treated no less kindly for their faith in political solutions: 'The student dresses himself in the rags of a leftist movement that was obliterated 40 years ago by socialist reformism and Stalin's counter-revolution. . . He proudly opposes de Gaulle's archaic policies without realizing that he does so only in the name of past mistakes and that his youthful approach is thus even more youthful approach is thus even more antiquated than that of the power-complex that manipulates him.'

This rigorous criticism is characteristic

of the Situationist attitude to all rebellious manifestations: the mod-rocker style of revolt is seen as false because its proponents reject work while relying on a capitalist system to supply the things they want; Provo is considerably better, but is ultimately dismssed as a 'merely reformist' movement burdened with an increasingly repressive hierarchy.

Institutionalized groups come in for the most devastating criticism of all, as in this section on communism from the recent Situationist manifesto: 'The results of the Russian counter-revolution were, within Russia, the development of a new form of exploitation, bureaucratic state capitalism; and, outside Russia, the proliferation of branches of the so-called "communist" international, branches formed with the sole aim of defending the Russian model and extending its influence. Capitalism, in both its bureaucratic and bourgeois variations bloomed once more, this time over the bodies of the Kronstadt sailors, the peasants of the Ukraine, the workers of Berlin, Turin, Shanghai and later

It would be wrong, though, to get the idea that Situationists can't manage anything more positive than insults and general abuse. The manifesto just mentioned sets out to examine 'the difficulties of the student life from the economic, political, psychological, sexual and above

all intellectual points of view, with suggestions for improvements'. Granted there's no shortage of coarseness, all of it deliberate, but a real clarity of vision shows itself as well, as in the analysis of the part students are conditioned to play within the capitalist framework: Student status is merely provisional, preparing the student for the definitive rôle in which he makes a positive and appreciable contribution to the functioning of the buying-and-selling system . . . Modern capitalism demands that students be no more than docile skilled workers, cogs in the big money machine.

Identification is felt with the student revolt in the US; and with movements in the Eastern bloc where student opposition to authority is seen essentially proletarian criticism of bureaucracy. This link with the working class is a prime situationist consideration, and the student movements in Britain and especially Japan are highly respected on this score. Little faith, however, is placed in trade unionism in any country; student trade unions, say the Situationists, would be no more than a caricature of a

These general attitudes, especially the solidarity with the working class and the rejection of institutions, demonstrate a real affinity between Situationists and Anarchists, an affinity strengthened by the overall Situationist aim: 'the proletarian, they say, is any man deprived of the power to control the course of his own life; it is the task of the student, and of everybody, to identify with this



Typical Malicious Approach

man, to join with him in a movement towards workers' control and individual

RAYMOND GUILLORE, in La Revolution abridged and translated by John Thurston.

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Provocation

magicians he will work his magic through the walls. Happeners seized Amsterdam's police have regularly drawn scores of Provos to protest and perform outside the

The Provo apple, now appearing as a badge in England, is a further example of applied magic. Drawn properly it is the perfect insignia for an underground movement. The apple represents an outline map of Amsterdam's main waterways, the 'eye' being the Spui, scene of the first happenings; it is also the apple of creation, a cigarette (straight or joint) smoker, an invitation to sexual pleasure, and a key.

KLAAS

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Beside the apple is often written the word 'Gnot'. There is an echo of God, but the nearest translation is bringer of satisfaction. Gnot will come to announce the era of Klaas. Klaas is an imagined future time when heaven or bliss prevails, when 'homo ludens' inherits the earth. There is of course a double pun in Klaas - at the expense of Prince Claus and upon commercial Santa

The more humourless radical may dismiss all this as a load of poetic rubbish. However, who is there who has never experienced a moment's bliss in their life and has not imagined its continuation? The quaint mythology of the Provos does have a rough and ready correspondence to reality. Some Provos already live the part of 'homo ludens'. Within the theatre they loon about, day and night, doodling or painting depth-lettering over the walls (examples of décor in English: I WANT MORE AND LET'S GO AND GET IT) or else sit quietly in the 'LSD Research Room', anticipating the era of total leisure.

In this ambience, origination of ideas like the Klaas Bank is less of a mystery. The Klaas Bank is a projected means of exchange which would replace money, money that standardises, alienates, and reduces all to its own value as lowest common denominator. Instead of money paper notes will circulate; their value would vary according to the number of individual signatures on a note. Every transaction or gift then becomes a real expression of the individual's sense of value. Like giving flowers to your girl friend the gift of a klaas note is a gesture of love. Widen the area of its disuse and money becomes progressively

less necessary. Witness the Diggers in America. The Klaas Bank makes a fool of the miser and nonsense of capitalism. Most subversive of all is its sacrifice of the sacred cow of the bourgeois, private property. No mine. No Yours. Everything Ours, everything gaining value as we add our names to it. The klaas note must be passed round, used by as many people as possible, else it has little value. The idea grows that property is worth

In practice old ideas of selfinterest and the business of lawmakers would hinder the clandestine development of a Klaas Bank within a money economy. The first cheque was bought for 15 guilders (30/-), but that is purely incidental, for the meaning of Klaas emerges precisely because of the obstacles to its realization: there can be no true social revolution without a new understanding between people. In other words psychological change will have to precede social change. The Klaas Bank could never be enforced by law. The lunatic Provos are the most truly subversive.



DIRECT ACTION OR REFORMISM?

Provo issues a direct challenge to the official spectacle. When Rob Stolk appeared on the Dutch equivalent of TWTWTW, the programme was at first scheduled to be a live broadcast from a hall in the centre of Amsterdam. Foreseeing there would be little chance given to express Provo's attitude to the monarchy, Provos planned to take the building over and convert the interview into a debate for the viewers and themselves. Word got out, however, and Provo's spokesman for the occasion had to be content with being pre-recorded.

I was puzzled by the inclusion between the pages of Provo 13 of an Armed Forces recruiting magazine-until a Provo explained. A thousand copies were stolen and

then inkstamped in characteristic dada fashion with 'Extra Christmas Colour Supplement' and a ring of gibberish. Provos are also apparently responsible for the removal of weapons from Dutch museums. Someone was arrested on this year's Easter March for displaying a beltful of bullets.

With a bit of imagination many official privileges can be made meaningless, at least temporarily. Provo Amsterdam is going to issue press cards with future copies on the principle that every reader of Provo is also a (potential) reporter/contributor. And recently they forged 20,000 entry cards in order to overrun an official motor vehicles exhibition. Each card was stamped FIRM: PROVO. FACTORY FOR THROWING AWAY CARS. All of which has some bearing on the fate of the White Bicycle Plan.

Bernhard de Vries has made way on the Amsterdam Municipal Council for Luid Schimmelpennick, the Provo who fathered the original White Bike Plan and still has high hopes for a modified version. He estimates that at any moment there are 3,000 bicyclists in the city centre. He will therefore ask the council to lay on 4,000 public bicycles, in conjunction with electric taxis (noiseless) and white buses (fumeless). Originally Provos painted their own bicycles white and introduced the idea to the public themselves-direct action and a revolutionary snub to private property. Presented through reformist channels the White Bicycle Plan may stand a better chance with Amsterdam's elders. However its fate indicates a major weakness of Provo. They lack the material resources and organisation with which to make a fait accompli of their White Plans, most of which the public would welcome once it were seen how these would humanise the urban environment. Thus Provo ideas suffer a demoralising time lag before being considered by the establishment. Can Provo congratulate itself on Philips, the largest corporation in Holland, forcibly presenting its Amsterdam employees with a bicycle each on which to come to work? The only hint taken in this case is that people need more space to move in.

Proyos will have to shake up established power far more thoroughly before it will be worth their while themselves doing the work of translating their ideas into action! For at present the authorities leave too little room for people to initiate their own projects, whether these be reformist or revolutionary in intention.

SPAN OF PROVO

Provo is so various, even con-

tradictory, that it defies labelling. New Provo magazines are starting all the time. In February The Awakener from Arnhem, in March one from Dordrecht. Groups outside Holland have recently sprung up in Copenhagen and in Frankfurt. Provo does printing for revolutionaries in Ethiopia, like Holland burdened with a reactionary The most articulate activists have travelled a great deal around the Low Countries to lecture on Provo to schools and societies, sometimes earning a living from talks. The Socialist Youth and the Left of the Universities are both much influenced by Provo. Other Provos survive without being employed by selling their magazine in their hometown.

Several Provos have written books about Provo, not to mention the numerous essays by sociologists and other pundits. Roel van Duyh, a prime mover and philosopher of Provo, is author of White Fear. Duco van Weerlee recently brought out a booklet, What the Provos want. Hans Tuynman's Full Time Provo gives a picture of the day-to-day life style of the happening Provos.

What sort of people become Provos? Apart from the obviousthat activists are mainly young people of middle-class background and include very few girls one has to ask Provos themselves who they are, and on this they will give you different answers. One will deny that poet and Simatist Simon Vinkenoog has any connection with Provo, while another said 'he's a real Provo for me'. Equally many of the Provos, who groove about between the barge, cellar and theatre, show no interest in Provo's municipal councillor. But someone else will extol Luid Schimmelpennick for his value as a 'Provo ombudsman', coming as he does from a traditionally liberal family, whose part in republican struggles every Dutch schoolboy knows.

Easily overlooked is the fact that many of the contributions to Provo are from writers quite unconnected with the Provo scene. A front? No, for there is no organisation behind Provo. Its attraction is for individuals. Finance? Provo more than pays for itself by selling 20,000 bring out the first issue was a present from a generous Provo who asked for his inheritance in advance. The theatre they could use for free but they prefer to pay to secure some rights. When in difficulties Provo can call on good lawyers. Provo is literally self-running and takes care of itself without any formal structure or offices. Everybody answers the telephone. Someone is always in the cellar. There appear to be no routines to consume the energy of activists. Provocation is the be all and end all. CND, compare cost and effect with Provo!

PROVOCATION

Provo's aim is to provoke everyone who is not already a Provo, particularly the functionaries of the State. It is the most extroverted movement imaginable. The struggle against authority, the struggle for more freedoms, is more important than any conception of class struggle. The state excludes middleand working-class alike from control of their lives. Provo has no illusions about the possibility of revolution in advanced Western European industrial society. 'We cannot con-vince the masses. We hardly want to. How one can put one's trust in this apathetic, dependent, spiritless horde of cockroaches, beetles and ladybirds is incomprehensible, wrote van Duyn in the first issue of Provo. But Provo must not neglect its own, the unaffiliated youth it has named the Provotariat, those with nothing to lose, those who hesitate to swallow the lies of the organized system. Their unfocused rage needs educating, rebellion of the teenager growing into rebellion of the adult. For the riots that terrify the authorities, to borrow words from Heatwave, are inseparably a form of self-realization and an objective assault on contemporary life. A society that has suppressed all adventure has made the only adventure the suppression of that society'.

Provo does not need to get bigger in the sense of occupying more seats on municipal councils (which would make of it just another political party, trying with decreasing impetus to reform the establishment it increasingly becomes a part of); rather it needs to provoke more and more effectively, until the day when to be in authority over others is regarded with universal distaste and submission to authority meets with universal contempt. Provo has been effective to date because it declines to play by the rules of the liberal protest game. The attitude is closer to schoolboy truant's: rules exist to be broken. Their anarchism is coupled with a shrewd appreciation copies per issue. The press used to of how fascinating the cowed masses find their disobedience, fascinating even after castration by the mass media. Provo does not despair because it is a minority style, without established power. With our spoofs and our stunts we will nuisance you intolerably, is their supporting faith. In this they are vindicated.

G.G.

NO ADVANCE ON 1956!

edition of FREEDOM, Spring 1967, which had eight pages. I now give mine. Kindly excuse their length. They are, however, the first I have offered to your columns, and they may be the last. They are also the fruit of some years thought, both on your work and politics generally.

It disappointed me that your first toppled statue. One of Kennedy's coffin would have disappointed me less. Both were tyrants, but Stalin for me the less so, called as he was 'Uncle Joe' by those about me in the war, naval ratings close to mutiny who knew instinctively that no matter what he'd done to ambitious intelligent Russians, he'd helped the dull ones, and that we could do with a Joe instead of Churchill and Mountbatten.

With the photo was the article on the Hungarian rising of 1956. It happens that I first read FREEDOM that year, when the truths about Stalin had been confirmed at the 20th Congress of the Soviet CP. That Congress decided me never to believe when the official statements of Community governments, though I would continue to read Soviet Weekly, etc., always modifying my picture with a scrutiny of the equally unbelievable anti-Soviet Western press. The need for this scepticism, which I still practise, was reinforced by the Hungarian uprising, with the disheartening lesson that, in the best of worlds, Communist will still fight Communist, and by the return from Hungary of Dr. Bone, whose imprison-

ment in Hungary had been concealed by the Daily Worker. As well as this scepticism, I adopted the philosophy 'I expect Communism. I don't fear it. look forward to it a little. But I won't work for it. Nor will I allow that a single man's death is permissible to bring

What attracted me to FREEDOM that non-intervention in Hungary in answer to Nagy's plea. Briefly you claimed that despite the Voice of America's inspiration to revolt in Hungary, neither Wall Street nor Whitehall welcomed it. And for the first time I saw with you that Soviet and Western leaders were a match in many ways.

Your article this year, 1967, however, makes no advance in the interpretation of 1956. It forgets that troops landed at Port Said as tanks ringed Budapest. It forgets that the Western press charged the Soviet Union with bombing Budapest and deporting people, charges forgotten later. About this I would like to point out, for the attention of the anti-Soviet writers in your columns, one respect in which, though most governments are black, the Soviet government is only grey. I mean bombing. So far as I'm aware, the Communist countries have to their credit not a single Guernica, Rotterdam, Coventry, Hamburg or Hiroshima. It will be shrilly argued that the Soviets have killed with tanks, and to die by tank-fire is no worse than by bomb. But tank-fire is more accurate and con-

fined to the guilty. The bomb almost always finds the innocent. And anyhow all Western governments have used the tank as well as the bomb.

A cause of this is the inflamed hysterical drunken thinking of the West. From World War I the bomber was prophesied as a weapon of success in war. Hitler, Churchill and Bomber Harris writhed in this hysteria, though Germans escaped the war only when troops wrested their land from them, not earlier when bigger bombs evoked better shelters.

I am saying, in short, then, that when the Americans bombed North, or in bombing South Vietnam when the Americans bomb North, marks Communist governments as more humane. Of course they are more politic too, since the bombing hysteria must have gained many enemies for the West, but if they are more politic then I prefer them, since the wisdom implicit in such real politic is such as I would desire my governors to have, if I must have a governor. After all it has been safe to be a Russian since 1945 and a Chinaman since 1948. But to have been a North American has not been safe at all. I might have died in Korea, in Vietnam, or in whatever idiocy the bomb-happy hysterics at the Pentagon

Let me finish, however, with a question or two. Will some comrade explain to me what I have to fear from Communists? Shortly after 1956, when I'd met a few Anarchists and began to think myself one, I was told about Kronstadt. So I read about it and wept a little. Then about the Civil War in Spain. And I wept again. Yes, I'm being ironical. All right, I'll admit it was sad. And

more sincerely still, I admit it infuriates me that the naval pigs thrown overboard from the Potemkin should have swum aboard again and now lord it over the lower deck like officers anywhere in the West. But what am I now being told? If I'm being told 'Watch the Commies!' well all right, I've got the message. But am I being told 'Don't join with the Commies even to establish their type of Communism, namely authoritarian Communism!' then I won't obey. I see



or Czech sort as a step on the way to in Czechoslovakia it's marvellously difficult to find anybody who'll take responsibility at present and

they take the mickey out of the Russians. I like the reasonableness of Communist life-despite its lesser freedom-to the crawling nest of property shite-hawks built over and on to England.

Nor have I anything to fear. With the Commies in Westminster and Whitehall. with the Opposition thrown into the Thames with the Peers-allowed to swim ashore soiled, of course-with the Metropolitan Police renamed People's Militia, with the mines and factories allegedly run by the workers, as now in the Soviet Union or Czechoslovakia, why then at least the buses will be free and I won't run the risk of being fined again for not paying my fare on the tube. And you'll be able to pitch yer tent on a bit of England that some duke or cunt doesn't own.

Prison? Purged? Don't you believe it. I'm stopping at the bottom. Kropot-kin's trouble was that his name got known. Schweik, the Good Soldier Schweik, Hasek's Schweik is the anarchist proper. He stays at the bottom. The boss always suspects he's lving, but can never be sure.

Honesty's only one policy. We've got to be dishonest now and again. And Faith's the big sin, as Percy Shelley always sings to us. Cos when Eichman looks back he's got to find ruddenly that the platoon's not for led up behind

In Czechoslovakia I found that Party people lamented that the hert people wouldn't join the Party. Good. I also heard that down in the couth near the Austrian border were young people like our layabouts. Good agr in. The state will wither away yet.

Your fellow Schweik STUART MITCHELL.

ADVANCE AUSTRALIA FAIR!

TRAP, a novel by Peter Mathers. Cassell (Australia); about 21/-.

SINCE ITS EARLIEST days Australian writing has laboured under its own unique set of difficulties: where exactly was a writer to begin in a country with no literary tradition and virtually no history of its own? The obvious influence, of course, was from England and this influence, while it could not be ignored, was accepted, for complex reasons, only grudgingly; for a time, in the later 19th and on into the 20th century, literature in Australia grew side by side with nationalism, and the results, although on the whole unfortunate, showed remarkable staying power: for decades the Australian reader was forced to dredge for his identity in novels, stories and poems in which any germ of an idea found itself submerged in a welter of self-consciously nationalistic artifice. The continent's flora, fauna and physical characteristics, admittedly unique, were described lovingly and ad nauseam; all characters spoke in vernacular cliches and were themselves clichés; Australianness at all costs was the watchword.

This pseudo-literature came to its full flower in the concept of the 'bush mystique', the presentation of a supposedly typical, but in fact falsely mythologized, Australian who lived in the rugged outback, often in great isolation, and who possessed a set of virtues and laudable faults unequalled anywhere else in the world. This kind of phoney, gutless nostalgia dies hard and even today when four-fifths of the population live lives of urban ease, the literary quarterlies still tend to convey the impression that Australians are a tough rural people, rough diamonds in constant, self-purifying struggle with their environment.

Happily the coin is two-sided: there have always been some writers more concerned with expressing their own truths than with providing the expected thing, and it is their work which, in the long run, has given Australian fiction its justification. Of these Patrick White is by far the best-known and is probably still the only Australian literary figure whose thought and technical command entitle him to international standing. Yet his novels, although set in Australia, are less concerned with that country than with his own systematised working-out certain mystico-religious problems. And so, in spite of the recognition that

was kindled by White's Tree of Man in 1956 and which has grown continuously since then, the Australian novel, the book that establishes itself and the country as it really is, has remained unwritten.

In so far as it is unambiguously conwith contemporary Australia, Trap is far more ambitious than anything Patrick White or anybody else has done: far from perpetuating the old fake myths, this first novel explicitly sets out to shatter them, to reveal the totality of a country where in some quarters the highest praise is still 'You're a white man'. At the general level what Peter Mathers is trying to do is to seize Australia by the scruff of its self-satisfied neck and shake it hard, forcing it to make itself known-and to know itself; more specifically he is dealing with what it has meant, and means now, to be an Aboriginal, a black underdog, in this big, welcoming, 'tolerant' land; and more specifically still he wants to examine the effect that one Aboriginal has on one representative Australian.

Jack Trap is 40 and running to fat. He is, the dust-jacket tells us, 'an aweinspiring mixture of Irish, English, Aborigine and even Tierra del Fuegan' But he looks Aboriginal. David David is 25, from Melbourne, and pure white under his suntan; he is a social worker and has been commissioned by a rich art dealer to make a study of Trap. The book is his diary, a record of his confrontation with the strange Aboriginal who, as the relationship progresses, looms as an ever-larger threat to the fundamental tenets of the Australian way of life as lived by David David. Through the diary entries we read of Trap, of his ancestors, of a couple of subsidiary characters and their ancestors; indirectly we read the history of Australia and of black-white relations in the course of that history. For the whites, with all the advantages, victory was quick: for the Aboriginals, decimated, driven from their tribal territories. forced to degrade themselves in order to live, life degenerated into a meaningless series of events controlled by the incomprehensible humours of their conquerors. To feel safe with the Aborigine the white man has had to break his spirit and keep it broken; the responsibility for this falls on all Australians, yet most of them are hardly aware of the existence of the Aborigines, much less of an 'Aboriginal problem'. David David is suddenly, and forcibly, faced with what his country has done, and is still doing, to its original inhabitants.

To know Trap is to be influenced by him. . . You go to him a reasonable conservative sort, a defender of established things, and you leave fermenting with ideas of — wait for it — anarchism, nihilism, Buddhism, allisms and wild, general revolt.'

'Trap, an employee, hates the employer class. And also, as he puts it, the boss's mercenaries, the foreman and his kind.'

Trap has lived and worked at many jobs in many different parts of Australia. He has ben insulted and goaded by whites because his skin is dark, mistrusted by Aboriginals because it is not dark enough. He has been beaten up by policemen and has done his share of beating up. He has done time. He is too tough to be broken by the authorities, too smart to be exploited by the liberal do-gooders; he is the kind of Aborigine nobody wants because he refuses to be told what he is or what he should be; to him, the only acceptable estimate of his personal worth comes from himself. One by one he shatters the illusions which are the pillars of the 'maturity' David David is preoccupied with establishing within himself; in their place he sows an undefined but progressive malaise in the face of which the narrator's faith in White Australia

there are arrests, and Trap is charged with attempted murder. 'A gesture was needed,' he had said. He had never really expected the venture to succeed, but he has left his mark: David David, out walking that evening after hearing the news of Trap's arrest, surprises and frightens himself by throwing a brick through £7,000 worth of plate glass window; the window belongs to his side of society, the side that has refused Trap and his race the most elementary human recognition. 'I still have the Trap taint with me,' he says, 'I must, must, must, must beware.'

The central concept of this big, eclectic novel is a good one and via the Aboriginal question we are offered a kind of comprehensive look at Australia that has not been attempted before. Why is it then that, taken overall, the book is rather disappointing? Stylistic considerations certainly play a part here: the writing is deliberately sprawling. overblown, picaresque, slang-ridden; and while this approach often suits the book's mood and intent, equally often it leaves an impression of self-indulgence on the author's part; there are so many words at times, so many calculated colloquialisms, so many whimsical parentheses, that the important part, the mean-



rapidly recedes. But Trap is striking much deeper: defying the rough-justice authorities and the simpering Aboriginal aid societies, he sets out to attack Australia on a national front; with a group of Aboriginals he treks north to establish a co-operative community, with the intention of demonstrating that these 'inferior people' have the capacity to make and implement an independent choice. Then, at the last minute, the Great White Society is saved by its bulldogs: the party is provoked en route,

from David David that this irony comes; for he, in his abysmal ignorance, can hardly understand the situation he is caught up in, much less assess it in any ironic way; yet it is his diary that we are reading, and this element of inconsistency calls attention to itself in a way that weakens the overall structure.

Trap himself comes across well enough, but far less devastatingly to us than to the diarist-narrator; the trouble here is that we get most of our knowledge of him at secondhand—only rarely

does he get the chance to speak for himself. The occasions when he gets this chance are among the tersest, most pointed parts of the book:

What you bastards don't want is anyone who's not the sun-bronzed digger type. So most of us Abos are out... And do you really think there are many of these ideal diggers? My arse. I'll tell you this — there's not many of us but we're getting the guts of things. And if we can't get concessions from you we'll try battery and if that doesn't work we'll go all cunning...

Trap's strength is undeniable; but it comes to us almost always in diluted form. This is because the diarist-narrator, David David, never really establishes himself as a person in his own right It is the reader's task to interpret the narrator's personality from the diary, but the only real evidence takes the form of too obviously 'significant' admissions which David David lets slip from time to time: he reveals his desire to model himself on a businessman friend, a go-ahead type with fashionably arty pretensions; he laments of Adamov, a wine-shop proprietor, that 'his attitudes are anything but those of normal, decent, proud Australians. I am sure he is a Communist. If not, then he is a nihilist." His naïveté is too contrived to ring true, and so he is not as complete, as believable as he needs to be; with the result that the book's crucial point, Trap's ultimate impact on white society, is badly weakened, because Trap is confronted with little more than a paper

Thus Trap is far from being a total success; but it is certainly not a book to No white Australian can read it and be the same again, for it throws in his face the failure of his materially successful society to treat all its members with the fundamental respect to which they are entitled. Modern Australia bears the inherited responsibility for the brutalization and virtual destruction of a gentle and dignified people, one of the oldest races on earth; Trap gains its prime strength from the conviction with which this point is made, and from its direct relevance to the question of fundamental equality anywhere in the world.

This book's faults should not be allowed to obscure its very real merits: Peter Mathers has a breadth of vision and attack hard to find anywhere else at all, even among established writers, and it will be interesting to see where this quality is brought to bear next. Some self-control is needed if execution is to match intention, but still, the writer's eye seems to be there, and Australia could soon find itself with a very disturbing novelist on its hands.

JOHN THURSTON.

More Letters

NOTHING TO FEAR

IN HIS CRITICISM of my article on 'Education', Tommy Phelan argues that since each and every one of us is society, we are all therefore responsible for what goes on in society. I wouldn't dispute that we are all part of society but it seems to me specious to claim from that that we are all responsible for what the State does. The fact is that fewer and fewer people have any responsibility at all for what goes on in society. There is too much coercion to allow of much real responsibility. We inherit a society. which is already formed and which is geared to resist change-geared to suppress all action towards personal responsibility in any but a few of its members. It is easy to trot out the old glib cynicism that people only get the kind of government they deserve. Of course this is an irrelevancy in our own day of mass brainwashing and was probably just as unmeaningful in the time of Plato and the iron fist. Nobody 'deserves' anything. Behind the idea of deserving lurks the bogey of the enlightened 'giver', and what can be given can just as easily be taken away. When one's freedom is at stake it is always wise to distrust the giver. And this isn't just another symptom of the anarchist's paranoia-Machiavelli knew it to be true and the ruling classes have seldom made the mistake of neglecting the principle: when A is forced to relinquish power to B, A must very quickly be put out of the way.

Mr. Phelan shows some distaste for

the 'culturally deprived' children who force him into authoritarian attitudes. As a teacher he would prefer not to be an authoritarian. But all authoritarians say the same thing. If only everybody stayed quiet and did as they were told, how nice it would be. I would point out that there are also culturally deprived teachers—and I fear this takes in the bulk of them—men who dish out so-called know-

ledge in sterile little dogmas for no better reason than that they themselves swallowed the whole lot unquestioningly. They forget that such fare is not to every taste—least of all, perhaps, is it appetising to the sensitive palate of the young. Fundamentally, Mr. Phelan is really

hunting up ammunition with which to defend a moribund system of schooling. Not wishing to attempt the refutation of Socrates (if he had, I'd have welcomed it: goodness knows, Socrates can be debunked), Mr. Phelan claims that the methods of Socrates were all right but that Socrates dealt only with adults. I don't see a great deal of merit in the point, even if it were true. I believe the child has just as much to bring to his own education as the adult. Children always ask more questions, and more difficult questions, than adults. But I would prefer Mr. Phelan to the speech of Alcibiades in the Symposium and ask him to remember that at the trial of Socrates the charge was that of corrupting the minds of the young.

Universities, claims Mr. Phelan, do victimise rebellious students but ignore them. I think the LSE students might question this. But if Mr. Phelan wants a purely academic instance which he can verify for himself, let him read Stephen Spender's autobiography World Within World. There he'll come across the amusing story of Christopher Isherwood at Oxford. In his final examinations Isherwood answered all the questions in rhymed couplets-he was failed. I could list not a few more personal instances of victimisation of students at various universities but Mr. Phelan might then accuse me of drawing on my imagination. Of course if one never steps out of line, if one never asserts oneself, if one never questions the crap that is set down before one, one will certainly be ignored.

Mr. Phelan cannot accept that the present-day university is authoritarian in character. This I find strange. What does the university do 90% of the time but preserve traditional values, regardless of the innate worth of these values? And what is the function, I would like to know, of this medieval institution, now that everyone has easy access to books, if it is not to impose outworn attitudes? Does it not hold the young

mind in chains, mapping out a course of reading which the pundits have already officially interpreted, lecture the student on the official interpretation and then test him to see how much he has remembered of what other people think? If that isn't brainwashing I don't know what is. Such a procedure would be laughable if the results weren't so tragic—men who will never in their lives again dare to make a decision unless they are first of all certain that the power of the Law and the State is behind them. For the State takes no chances when it comes to creating the faceless ones who will serve it.

Mr. Phelan claims that the anarchists go wrong in thinking that people can be educated into anarchism. Freedom, says Mr. Phelan, is a state of mind and not the end product of a conditioning process.

I am not quite sure what Mr. Phelan means by 'a state of mind'. I like to think of freedom in more clear-cut terms: like having the maximum possible control over one's own life and affairs—the maximum possible control, that is, based on no external or coercive influences, in relation to similarly free human beings.

If Mr. Phelan had-read my article a little more closely he would have seen that the crucial point in my argument was that I was against 'educating' people into anything. If Mr. Phelan believes that what passes for education today is nothing other than a conditioning process, then we are in agreement. But it does seem as though he is innocent of any conception of education which would be different from what we have at present

What Mr. Phelan is really saying is that we think we can brainwash people into anarchism. I can think of no more futile idea. It would be like trying to teach a man to swim by drowning him. But whilst it might be futile to try brainwashing people into freedom, the State certainly knows how to condition people out of it. And that, with respect, is what I think Mr. Phelan and his like are doing. And that is what I am against.

And, furthermore, I do not agree with Mr. Phelan and others who say that anarchism must always be 'a minority creed'. In the first place, in no strict sense is it a creed. What have creeds and binding ideologies to do with anarchism?

Is sensible husbandry a creed or the practical management of one's own affairs? Did the man who shaped the first wheel owe his inspiration to an ideology? Like that man, the anarchist has discerned a natural and very practical way to eliminate the evils which abound in society today. I do not believe that the entrenched power of the masters, who promote and live off these evils, can succeed forever in keeping the masses blind to so natural a remedy. Anarchism is practical action and I do not believe the mind of man will ever rest easy too far away from what is practical.

I said at the outset that education was a tricky subject to deal with encompassed as it is with so much bitter class feeling, snobbery and simple-minded prejudice. think I have been proved right. For in the rather confused arguments of Tommy Phelan all these are patently obvious. I would say to Tommy Phelan: Please read my article again, a little more closely this time, and do make an effort to be a bit more objective. You take me to task perience a little imagination often yields surer insights than an abundance of Lay your schoolmaster's dogmatism aside for a moment. You have little to fear, if you only knew it.

FARQUHAR MCLAY.

MITCHELL ON MITCHELL

Dear Comrades,

In Freedom (25.3.67) there was printed a review by A.W.U. of a book on Leslie Mitchell (or Lewis Grassic Gibbon). In this, the writer spoke of Mitchell's views on anthropology, and his representation of the author's views seems to me to be basically correct. But he goes on further to speak of Mitchell's social and political beliefs and claims that he 'passionately believed in the natural goodness of man'. I do not think that this need necessarily follow from the author's belief in a primitive Golden Age before the dawn of agricultural civilisation. To me it seems that Mitchell held the view that man is the product of the specific economic, social and historical circumstance in which he finds himself. At an early stage

in human development these had been conducive to a happy anarchy, but in the Heams or Aberdeen (disguised as Duncaim in *Grey Granite*) in the early 20th century they were most certainly not.

century they were most certainly not. Mitchell sought to escape from such simple and unsatisfactory classifications of human beings as either 'good' or bad' and thus avoided the pit into which his two predecessors, Barrie and Douglas-Brown had fallen. The former's idyllic sentimentality and the latter's black melancholy are both unsatisfactory accounts of human behaviour and it was between these that Mitchell tried to steer. His characters act according to the situations in which they find themselves. E.g. in Sunset Song, Ewan is torn from his peasant existence and tantalised by the First World War. His relationship with his wife Chris, before pure and admirable, now becomes corrupt and tortured. Asked whether man was 'good' or 'bad' Mitchell would undoubtedly have answered 'neither'

A second point is raised when A.W.U. doubts whether Mitchell was really a Marxist, and implies that his characters do not look forward for their salvation but 'go through life listening for echoes of the Golden Age'. Mitchell was a Marxist (and was expelled from the CP in the 30's for refusing to toe the party line). His books-especially the trilogy A Scots Quair-have a consistent Marxist structure and message, the wealth and subtlety of which can only be appreciated by reading the books themselves. His peasant characters may look backwards but in Ewan, Chris' son, we have a sympathetic and sensitive character who looks uncompromisingly forward, beyond the ruins of the peasant class from which he is sprung, to a future in the hands of the working-class into which he has been driven. And the whole trilogy is really about the creation of this character.

Space forbids any more writing so I will end by thanking A.W.U. for bringing to the attention of anarchists a writer who is almost unique in having successfully combined a socialist content and method into a great work of art, in having helped to point the way towards a socialist culture.

Fraternally,

Hanoi—

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BEHIND THE LINES

Continued from page 1 unifying tactic is the permitting of some religious freedom. Catholic churches and seminars are allowed to operate and a Catholic priest alleged that many Catholic churches had been bombed. Some Buddhist sects were allowed and many pagodas exist, over 100 allegedly destroyed by bombing. It seems certain that the majority of Buddhist sects in Vietnam are not allowed to practise in the North however. (See Adam Roberts' 'The Buddhists, the War and the Vietcong', The World Today, May, 1966.) Salisbury remarks that the comments of religious leaders in Communist countries need careful assessment, since, if they are to keep their faith alive, they often have to make compromises with the Communist rulers. For the value of its unifying effect, other Communist regimes-even Stalin's-have relaxed their oppression of religions during times of stress and it is far from sure that oppression will not be renewed after the war. The complete suppression of the Buddhists and the slaughter of monks in Tibet by the Chinese Communists, for example, seems to point this way.

Salisbury shows that the idea that Hanoi could be Titoist in its foreign policy is quite false: it is tied both to Russia and China by the firmest of military alliances and is absolutely dependent on them. North Vietnam was running a remarkable deficit in aid, probably in amounts equal to or more than its internal state budget'. Soviet aid in 1965 was \$550m, and considerably higher in 1966 and Salisbury comments: 'The possibility of actual repayment of these vast sums seemed . . uite beyond question. North Vietnam and no means of generating the kind of ash flow which that would require' (p. (85). China is the North's chief source f food and, without it, they would ind it difficult if not impossible to arry on. China provides rolling stock, cycles, small arms, trucks and many of its light industries-textiles, rice mills, sugar refineries, cigarette factories were installed and equipped with Chinese aid and machinery. Without spare parts and technical assistance these would break

Though related strongly to Hanoi in the obvious ways, the NLF has many independent tendencies. Would a de facto government of much of South Vietnam with its apparatus, its bureaucracy, its habits of government, Salisbury asks, quickly yield its powers to the North? The spokesmen of both think of Vietnam as one country, but say that re-unification may take a long time. There were apparent differences about military tactics between the two. The NLF programme seemed to differ greatly from Hanoi, calling for democratic freedom, neutrality and a 'mixed economy'. Salisbury seems to place far too much weight on the possibilities of

an independent, neutral South. Every US escalation forces the NLF and the North more closely together and into an increasing dependence on other Communist countries. He doesn't mention the purge of all non-communist elements -leaders of religious sects, mandarins, intellectuals, Trotskyists, socialists and other nationalists-in 1946. But their fate and the fate of anarchists and other revolutionaries in Russia, Spain and elsewhere, and of coalition governments with Communist elements, does not hold out much hope for those non-Communists within the NLF or for other elements in a South coalition government. Salisbury does say: '. . . I had heard this kind of talk before from Communist groups which were not strong enough to take power. For instance, in Eastern Europe at the end of World War II, in countries like Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania, there had been coalition governments in which, in some instances, the Communists were minorities. There had been elections in which non-Communist parties had participated and parliaments with non-Communist majorities. But, after a few years, the Communists tired of this and with the aid of the Red Army established . . . dictatorships. This might readily occur later in South Vietnam' (p. 165). The Unified Buddhist Church in the South would put up a strong resistance to this kind of attempted take-over and Bernard Fall points to other elements which would do so, but the hope, it seems to me, is a very slender one.

Salisbury valuably shows a variety of delusions that Hanoi holds. Its thinking is distorted by a presumed parallel of the war against the French and the present war and that the US economy, like the French, is being undermined, whereas, in truth, the US economic base is far broader and can continue the war indefinitely with only a small strain. Hanoi imagines that the US attitude to Vietnam is simply an imperialist one, whereas, in fact, there is really very little in the country which is worth US attention and it certainly doesn't need Vietnam as a foreign market. It greatly overestimates the strength of opposition in the US to the war and places far too much hope of a serious Presidential candidate promising to end the war as the victorious Eisenhower did.

The possibility of a land war over the whole of Vietnam, perhaps spreading to other SE Asian countries, has increased, as has the danger of a war with China. Will Russia intervene, if the latter happens? And, even if peace comes to Vietnam, will equally fierce struggles take place in Cambodia, where, according to Mary McCarthy, Observer, May 14, the CIA are backing the Khmer-Serai against Prince Sihanouk or in Laos, which, Salisbury says, 'represented an equally dangerous problem. Laos had become a mere fiction—a land which was in the hands of an uncertain number of guerrilla operations, some sponsored by the US, some by the Communists, some of purely Laotian origin'.

If peace ever comes to Vietnam, it will be men like Salisbury, scrupulously honest opponents of the war, who will have contributed to it.

GODFREY FEATHERSTONE.

'A Non-Communist Vietcong would Attract more Support'-The Times

ACCORDING TO THE Daily Mail, a naked man, wearing a bowler hat, suddenly appeared on the 18th green, before two women golfers at Effingham, Surrey. Mrs. Alex Rundle, one of them, demanded, 'Are you a member?' 'No,' said the man. Mrs. Rundle thereupon hit him over the head with a No. 8 iron and he fled into the bushes. . . .

THE TITLE OF Lord of the Manor of Felsham and Drinkstone, Suffolk, is on the market in America for 600 books of trading stamps valued at about £800. . . THE TITLE OF THE Sunday Citizen is on the market, says the Guardian, if any would-be purchasers are 'thought sufficiently respectable politically'. Lord Thomson dismissed as 'a joke' his allegedly favourable response to Mr. Harold Wilson's plea for him to do something about the Citizen. . . .

COMMENTING ON the Citizen closure and carrying on the Morning Star's campaign for a Free Press, a Labour MP, Mr. Albert Murray, complains that the Morning Star, with a 58,000 circulation gets no Government advertising at all. Mr. Murray goes on, 'I know of no reason why information on pensions, or the Rent Act, should be withheld from Left Wing readers.' He goes on to advocate 'one of the chief ways in which the Government could help newspapers would be to set up a scheme of newsprint levy and subsidy.' The day before, Sam Russell in the Morning Star was deploring CIA subsidies to Encounter, Prevves, Temo Presente, Forum, Hiwar, Per Monat and Quadrant. . . .

THE SOVIET POET Yevgeny Yevtushenko said he planned to write a poem about what he saw at Fatima as Pope Paul prayed for world peace. Asked whether the poem might be a satire, the poet snapped (according to the Morning Star). Certainly not. I have too much respect for the feelings of the enormous multitude of humble people who gathered there . . . it was a very impressive ex-perience. It was the first time that I have witnessed such a manifestation.' He is giving a poetry recital in Lisbon secretary of the Polish United Workers' anti-religious. . . .

VICTOR ZORZA of the Guardian reported a Peking Radio item that 'The Soviet Revisionists have sent by air two turtles to the turtles' race in Washington-an eloquent indication of how low they have stooped in promoting "close cooperation" with the US imperialists.' A British referee at soccer matches in the USA has denied that he contrived fouls in order to give time for commercial sponsors to insert 'commercials' in the televised game. He admitted that he used injuries to allow sufficient time for insertion of commercial 'plugs'. . .

THE PRODUCER OF The Black and White Minstrel Show was astonished that anyone could read racialism into the show. The Campaign Against Racial Discrimination has collected 200 signatures to a petition asking for it to be taken off as 'hideous impersonation'. Mrs. Mary Whitehouse's group (of Clean-up TV fame) has made an award to Jack Warner of Dixon of Dock Green for promotion of a favourable image of the police. A writ has been issued by Mrs. Mary Whitehouse against the BBC and Mr. Johnny Speight (the author of Till Death Do Us Part) for an alleged

THE BEATLES are to be Britain's main contribution in a two-hour live television broadcast called Our World which will be seen simultaneously in 31 countries with an estimated audience of 500 million. The Beatles are writing a special song for the programme but because of language difficulties they will (says The Times) stick to basic English such as 'Hello', 'Love', 'You', 'Me', 'Us', 'Them', 'We' and 'Together'. The BBC have banned a Beatles' song 'A Day in the Life' which, they claim, supports drugtaking. It is about a man smoking 'a funny substance' and having a dream. The readers of the London Evening Standard (who, to parody Mr. Eliot, 'sway in the wind like a field of ripe

following a private visit to Spain. The corn') claim, by the divination of the Opinion Research Centre, that one in ten Party told members they need not be of them know someone who has taken drugs in the last year or so. 72% of those questioned thought that drugs were a serious problem in Britain, 93% of the over-65s thought it to be very serious. People were asked to say in which age group they thought drugtaking was widespread. Unfailingly 85% came up with the wrong answer that it was in the teenage group. The Standard explained that 'Interviewers were instructed to make it clear, where any doubt remained, that the question related to drug-taking in the harmful or dangerous and not in the medical

> Two teenage girls were rushed to hospital in Highgate suffering from the effects of drugs-barbiturates issued to the mother of one of the girls by her doctor. J. H. Plumb in The Spectator points out that hashish is as common in Islam as drink is in the west. In many areas hashish 'has been socialised as we have socialised alcohol; indeed, almost certainly, at a lower social cost in human wastage. Addiction is less; the results physically not so destructive." Society says that 'it is too early yet to talk about the full-scale legislation of cannabis. We need properly conducted physiological and sociological research nto what it does. At the moment .

the law prevents even this being carried out. A relaxation in this direction could prepare the ground for a rational decision on the wider issue."

A LEIPZIG COURT has reduced the death sentence passed on Marinus van der Lubbe for arson and high treason to arson, endangering human lives and attempted arson, his sentence was reduced to eight years' hard labour. Van der Lubbe, said by some to be an anarchist, was executed by the Nazis in 1934 for allegedly setting fire to the Reichstag. The prosecution has lodged an appeal against the findings and the case will now be referred to West Berlin's High Court.

RED & BLACK ACTIVITIES

if the war was further escalated, but

didn't specify what was meant by either

USN Edsell (which must be, by now,

one of the most visited US bases in

Britain) and distributed 275 'Green

Beret Blasts the War' pamphlets to

American servicemen there. They were

noticeably more hostile than ever before,

perhaps indicating their increased sensi-

On May Day, about 75 people attended

Labour Party meeting in the city.

A local councillor attacked the incomes

and Vietnam policies of the Government,

whereupon Hector Hughes, MP, an

octogenarian idiot, stood up, agreed with

everything everybody had said, said that

in this year of 1927 everybody was bigger

than their parents, and praised the brass

band. Next day, to everyone's surprise,

the papers reported 'Hector Hughes attacks US policy in Vietnam'. A resolu-

tion was almost unanimously passed

American action, but both MPs refused

to show their support for this. In all.

probably a total waste of time, apart from

tivity to anti-war agitation.

The next day, two anarchists visited

of these things.

JON QUIXOTE.

from Australia.

FOR the first time in the 50 years of annual May Day parades in Sydney the red and black flags of the anarchists were seen. The principal theme was worker control of industry. Indeed, for the two weeks prior to the march on Sunday, May 7, posters advertising the anarchist participation with this theme appeared all over the city.

Despite the alleged unpenetrable apathy of the workers, the Sydney Anarchist Group, in its one year of existence as presently constituted, has found, both in its public meetings in the local Domain and at evening meetings in its city premises, that most workers are greatly interested in the issue of workers' control when this is broached to them. This was reflected in the substantial representation achieved in the march. Apart from several flags, banners and placards supporting the central theme were carried and elicited strong support from the crowds which lined the streets.

In addition a Spanish contingent (FAI-CNT) featured recent repression in Spain. The war in Vietnam was likewise denounced. The Anarchist Group has consistently advised young men to defy the law on conscription and has strongly supported those who, in Einstein's words, have shown that 'to expect protection from government is folly' and have 'unequivocally refused all war service'.

Inspired by the success of this event the Group took a special bus on the following week to the neighbouring steel

town of Wollongong for their annual May Day procession. There, a quantity literature, including Malatesta's Anarchy and Berkman's ABC Anarchism, was sold and contacts made in a city where anarchism had been previously unheard of. A representative from the local university college made arrangements to have speakers from our group to visit them at a date yet to be fixed. Afterwards, the Workers' Club-a fine licensed premises-made us cordially

The lesson to be learned from these events is that anarchists must avail themselves of all means of communication to which they can obtain access. To fail to do so is to survive-at best-as an obscure and ineffective sect.

BILL DWYER.

SOME MEMBERS of the local group were present at a University Debate at the end of April, which passed a resolution calling for British dissociation from the American war in Vietnam. Apart from nauseating student frivolity, the affair was notable mostly for the appearance of a Russian diplomat who emphasised Russo-Scottish friendship and the sanctity of international law. Revolution RIP. He vaguely promised Russian help for the Vietnamese people

laughing at Hector and selling six copies of the 8-page FREEDOM.

nanding British dissoci

Income: Sales and Subs.: Expenses: 20 weeks at £90:

DEFICIT:

Turin: G.I. 2/-; Oxford: Anon* 5/-; Peterborough: F.W. 2/6; Brighton: N.H. 3/-; Northolt: Anarchist Group* 4/-: Bradford: B.D. 5/-; Aberdeen: I.M. 10/-; London: Anon £15: Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; New York: N.M. £6/2/6; Leicester: P.G. 11/-; Stranraer: T.N. 5/-; Glastonbury: D.P. 101-; London, N.W.3: D.R. 9.9: Ridgewood, New York: P.S. £1/8/-; F.G. 14/-; L.G. 141-; A.S. 14/-; Melbourne: M.S. 8/4; Pittsburgh: O.S. £1/9/-; Swindon: C.B. 3/-: New York: J.S. 17/6; California: E.V. 18/9; Missouri: W.B. £1/8/-: London, E.13: E.S. 4/6:

Redbridge: N.C. 4/-. TOTAL: £34 2 10

Previously Acknowledged: £451 8 2

1967 Total to Date: £485 11 0

'Peasants' Revolt' in Mayfair

Continued from page 1

But now they are at last admitting the existence of such laws within their armoury, and we should perhaps regard this as something in the nature of a warning shot across the bows. charge of Riot sounds very dubious, although I am no lawyer; according to Peace News (19.5.67), Riot is defined as a tumultuous disturbance of the peace' by three or more people, intending 'to assist one another against any who oppose them', executed 'in a violent and turbulent manner to the terror of the people'. It will be interesting to see how they find any 'people' who were terrorised by the non-violent actionists of that Friday night. Perhaps they will have to import some for the occasion.

Far more interesting and significant than the Riot charge, however, is the Forcible Entry Act of 1381. This appears to have been passed as part of the armoury with which Richard II cleaned up after the Peasants' Revolt! So despite the housebreaking overtones of 'Forcible Entry', this was an overtly political law introduced to deal with a revolutionary movement. The inevitable assumption on reading the terms of the Act within the context of its history was that 'none from henceforth make any entry into lands and tenements but in cases where entry is given by the law' meant that the common people were to be punished for banding together and taking over property. For once an ancient Act is not only relevant, but we should be proud that it is so.

John Ball, the wayfaring priest, agitator and prophet of the Peasant's Revolt, calls down the centuries to us in words so simple and alluring that we can almost thank the police for handing us such a perfect symbol. Listen to him speaking, through the medium of Froissart's Chronicle: 'My good friends, matters cannot go well in England until all things shall be in common; when there shall be neither vassals or lords; when the lords shall be no more masters than ourselves. How ill they behave to us! for what reason do they hold us thus in bondage? Are we not all descended from the same parents, Adam and Eve? And what can they show, or what reason can they give, why they should be more masters than ourselves?' Hence the revolutionary couplet of the time: 'When Adam delved, and Eve span, Who was then the gentleman?'

It was against ideas such as these that the Forcible Entry Act was passed, and against the actions to which the ideas led. Against such actions it is still used today. Little save the minor details of our lives has changed since 1381; one of the things which has changed is that our horizons are no longer bounded by our village or our county or even this island's shores. So we recognise the greater slavery of the people of Greece and seek to help them because we are one with them.

I think John Ball would recognise his heirs; whether we are worthy of the succession remains to be seen.

LIBERATION LEFT

Just a very brief note about N.W.'s tirade last week. His emphasis seems to be on not overestimating the movement whereas mine was intended to be on not underestimating the opposition. It is almost but not quite the same thing. His attitude leads only to cynicism, low morale and eventually to inaction due to lack of self-confidence. Mine can be equally destructive in that it can lead to paranoia and inaction due to fear. Somewhere along the way is a synthesis: a realistic assessment of our potential and current resources combined with awareness of what we are up against and the dangers that we face now and are likely to face in the future. It is the latter which I am so concerned that

people should recognise and be emotionally prepared to meet. Each of us has only so much courage; if it is dissipated needlessly in suddenly being forced to face up to truths we should have anticipated in tranquillity, then there is that much less left for genuine resistance where it is needed most.

LETTER

By the way, I totally disagree with N.W.'s rosy assessment of the situation in the early days of the Committee of 100 and suspect that he is falling into the trap (of which I may also have been guilty myself) of generalising from his own particular experience. He might have always been a revolutionary, but I am convinced that for most of the radical peace movement the current conscious awareness of the role is a new

*Denotes regular contributors.

Shots in the Arm

capitalist system. Over the last ten years, there has been a continued squeeze on profit margins for, as international competition has . increased, so have profit margins been reduced. Of course, if com-panies can no longer produce the

Contact Column

This column exists for mutual aid. Donations towards cost of typesetting will be welcome

Unfurnished Accommodation Wanted. Responsible gentleman, thirties, exemplary tenant, requires spacious thirties, self-contained flat/house, minimum three bedrooms, central London, quiet surroundings. Maximum seven guineas inclusive. No premium, Could decorate. Reciprocal references. Box 52.

Former Junkie. Wants job and accommodation in London. Box 54.

Accommodation. Anarchist seeks accom-

modation in Camden Town or Islington. Box 50.

Continental Hitch-Hiking. Is anyone else wanting to hitch-hike around continent, July to September? If so, please contact Judith Walker, Westfield College (University of London), London, N.W.3.

Meeting: Free Hugo Blanco; Protest Against Peruvian Repression. Friday, May 26. Caxton Hall, London, S.W.1. 8 p.m. Speakers: Bill Molloy, MP, Robin Blackburn, Faris Glubb. Chairman: Roger Protz. British Committee for Solidarity with Victims of Repression in Peru.

Leaflet. Lewisham Group. Basic Anar-chist Leaflet now available. 2/6 per 100 (postage extra 2/6 per 100). Orders to Lewisham Group address Work Wanted. Fairly intelligent and

responsible anarchist (18) needs congenial job. Anywhere, anything considered. Box 55.

ded. Literary (philosophical or practical) and financial contributions for 'STONEBREAKER'S YARD'. Journal of the Anarchist Movement in Northeastern Minnesota. James W. Cain, editor, Stonebreaker's Yard, P.O. Box 26, Duluth, Minnesota, USA

Accommodation Wanted-London, Two secretaries. Peace-loving, thoughtful, require bright flatlet; good cooking facilities essential. No petty restric-tions. Wanted end of May. With easy access to town. Approx. £5 to £5 5s. p.w. Box 56.

stance': for Peace Action. Published by West Midland Committee of 100. 1/- plus postage. Subscription 6/-for six issues. From Birmingham Peace Action Centre (formerly CND office), Factory Road, Birmingham,

group of people, The Diggers', who could be called the first practising English Anarchists, please contact P.D., c/o Lewisham Anarchist Group

modation Wanted. Camden Town or Kentish Town area. Young couple, expecting first baby, urgently need 2-roomed flat. C/o J. Thurston, 103a Camden Road, London, N.W.1.

ommodation Wanted London. Ac-commodation wanted in London area for Finnish student for three weeks, end May-mid-June. Can afford £3 a

week Co Lewisham Group address, ommodation Wanted, Anarcho-Syndicalist seeks flat in Hackney/ Islington area. Box 58

Islington area. Box 58.

Spain! Travelling-companion (either sex) folk-singer under 21 preferred, for travel in Spain. Aug./Sept. Box 57.

Aberdeen Anarchists. Require loan of, or information on, Balthazar Dromundo's book Emiliano Zapata (Mexico City, 1934). Gratefully appreciated. Contact Aberdeen appreciated.

Stuart Christie. Willing to work in renewed campaign? Write Box 60. Spanish Liberturian Movement in Exile. Lecture — Ken Hawkes (SWF) — in English: 'State Socialism or Workers' Control'. Sunday, May 28, 3.30 p.m. Roval Hotel, Woburn Place, London,

to join us. May 29-June 3 in Lejcester and Dudley; June 6-12 in Cambridge; June 13-20 in Bristol; June 26-29 in Reading Area. Contact Dennis Gould, c/o 47 St. Albans

I vou wish to make contact let us know

PROFIT is the life-blood of the necessary return on investments, then investors will not risk their money

This in itself illustrates the fallacy about an Incomes Policy restraining all incomes. If in a capitalist society profits are re-strained, then economic growth will be dampened down and if you are to remain competitive, you cannot afford to let this happen.

Obviously many companies and their investors were scared stiff that, with a Labour Government, their profits would be taken away. Even Mr. Paul Chambers, head of ICI, talks as though Mr. Wilson is against the profit motive. He speaks of State monopoly but, when it comes to ICI, it is referred to as an economic viable unit. But all companies have to be this, from the small building firm round the corner to ICI, and it was just a lack of this viability that produced a setback for British capitalism.

The advent of a Labour Government might have reduced the confidence of some companies and investors, but on the whole these surely were the rather old-fashioned sort or perhaps they really believed the Daily Express. Whichever party is elected, it still has to administer a capitalist society. The problems are the same and, in fact, other economically developed countries face similar ones.

With capitalism becoming more international, so are the problems and the remedies to cure them. The Common Market is one of the cures, in that by having a common system of tariffs, one market is created for all members to compete in. It becomes, basically, a larger home and big companies, like ICI, will be on a better footing to compete. One only has to look at the welcome given by the big business interests to the formal request to join the 'Six' to realise who had the most to gain from this country's entry into the Common Market. Certainly since the last application, British capitalism is in a better position to compete and this improvement has come about since the Labour Government came to power.

CAPITALIST PLANNING

One thing the Labour Party has always been talking about is plan-Many Labour supporters thought this meant socialist planning for the whole of the community, but this is not so. The Labour Government is all for planning for capitalism, for this and the continuing growth of the system are synonymous.

Nowadays, because there are huge companies and combines, it is necessary for the State to inter-vene in their affairs, but there has not been much of an uproar about The whole point of State intervention with an Incomes Policy has been to give higher profit mar-gins. It has also allowed companies greater accuracy of costing and so given them more scope in planning ahead

The State's plans for mergers of companies are welcomed and acted upon. They are, of course, an economic fact of life and necessary if, as in shipbuilding, the industries are to survive. An article in the Financial Times, May 12, pointed this out. 'The lesson for the shipbuilding industry is clear; fewer ships may be needed in future to carry the world's seaborne tradeand so fewer shipyards, grouped together or otherwise, may be neces-So even the present proposals for mergers may be over-

Because of the easier access to bigger markets, the process of mergers and amalgamations will con-tinue. Capitalism is becoming more and more international and policies of isolationism are a thing of the

RICH MAN'S AGREEMENT

Last week's agreement at the

Kennedy Round on tariff cuts was an achievement for the international Keynesian. It widens the areas of near free trade and so will increase the possibilities of world trade. In other words, it is another shot in the arm for the powerful industrial nations. Although this might promote trade between these nations, the tariff cuts in no way help the less developed nations of Africa, Asia and South America. Common Market, America and Britain, all have their tariff preferences with the poor nations of these continents, but there is no move by any of the rich countries to reduce them. The Kennedy Round was a rich man's agreement to make themselves richer.

While they might get richer, many of the workers who actually produce this wealth are themselves feeling the effects of capitalist rationalisation. This has not just meant a change of job, but unemployment. While this month's figures for unemployment in this country are down, the seasonal adjusted trend, nevertheless, shows an increase. Unless this trend is halted. a new peak of unemployment will be reached in the winter of 1967-68.

Britain is not the only country facing this problem. It is beginning to face international capitalism as a whole. In France, the trend is the same and, in recent strikes, demands have included security of employment and illustrate that workers there are conscious of the threat. In Germany, unemployment is also rising. In the industrial area of the Ruhr it has reached 6%, showing the changes in industry, with some, like coal, sinking and 100,000 coal miners facing the sack. The industry is privately owned and mergers are likely in the near

From the above it may be seen that common problems face workers in all these countries. It must be admitted, however, that workers have failed to see, at least on any scale, for a long time now, the necessity of facing these problems together. Even the highly organised shop stewards at Fords of Dagenham failed, a few years ago, to establish any substantial links with their counterparts at Fords in Germany. They even feared the effects that the new Halewood factory might have on their own plant.

I know that problems facing the unofficial rank and file organisation in industry in this country are tremendous. It is difficult enough to link up with workers in otherparts of the country. However, it is imperative that struggles of workers do not remain isolated and fragmented. Every opportunity should be taken to establish contact with unofficial groupings both here and abroad. The internationalism, which was a part of working-class tradition, must be revived and enlarged if workers are to put up a fight, let alone overcome, the present rationalisation that is taking place within capitalism.

STRIKE APPEAL

IT WAS on Friday, April 21, that the Workers' Union decided unanimously to strike at the Coneygre Foundry Ltd. in order to protest against sackings and the dictatorial behaviour of the manage-

Pakistani, along with one English worker, are fighting this just struggle in support of two trade union principles, namely work sharing rather than sacking, and in the case of redundancy the operation of the 'last-in, first-out' principle

The management are operating a policy of racial discrimination, and are carrying policies designed to divide workers. They have already sacked 21 workers who are coloured. Despite appreciable efforts by the Transport & General Workers' officials, no agreement For Workers' Control MAY 27 1967 Vol. 28 No. 16

PROTECT US FROM OUR FRIENDS

THE GOVERNMENT have dropped the Longbridge Group of car delivery agents well and truly in the mud. Some time ago a wage freeze order was slapped on the drivers' claim, and since that date they have refused to bring their wagons back loaded from the docks, in other words a return journey empty. The drivers claim that returning full was part of their productivity arrangement for the increase. The employers wrote to the Ministry claiming they were losing money through the drivers' actions, plus the fact that in their estimation the drivers were taking industrial action against the freeze, and therefore were liable to prosecution under the Prices and Incomes Act. The Government, after sitting on the problem for over three weeks, informed the employers that, after consulting law officers, they had no case against the drivers but if the employers paid they would be liable to prosecution.

Obviously the Government had no intention of sticking its neck out at this stage of the wage freeze, and decided to allow the car delivery employers to carry the can. That, Mr. Wilson, is not the way to win friends.

RATIONALISATION

A plan is afoot for workers to belp manage the nationalised steel industry. The idea is to have only people working at different levels including managerial. They would be part-timers and would continue in their jobs. Shop stewards would have to relinquish their union duties during their three-year term of office on the Board, but only because of the demands that will be made upon them.

The price for this great honour is rationalisation of the industry to the extent of a possible 30%, in this case it is bodies for honour and glory. The TUC, to their credit, have given the proposal the thumbs down and described the idea as a waste of time. The plan was not subtle enough, the catch stood out a mile.

Whilst on the subject of the TUC, i incomes policy committee rejected 3 claims out of 43 at its last sitting. 'Any thing they can do we can do better,' and what's more they are proving it. CHAMPION OF FREEDOM

The Daily Telegraph, in its editoria 22.5.67, poses the question of union affiliation to the Labour Party and end its party piece with. Which is to be preferred—the role of privileged poodle or that of responsible citizens?'

The whole editorial sounds nice an

democratic and talks about change the character of the movement. It then goes on to mention Robert Carr's speech Conservative trade unionists about the damage that can come to trade unionism in Britain from the maintenance of the historic links between the unions and the Labour Party.

Surely the Conservatives do expect us to believe that all will be well under Tory Government. The Labour Party has opened the door for them to rush in. The Shadow Minister of Labour paints the picture quite clear —'Do as you are told or else'.

BILL CHRISTOPHER

BILBAO (SPAIN)

THE STRIKE at the Echevarry works (cold-rolling) has now entered its fifth month. Five hundred and sixty four are maintaining the conflict most courageously, seeing strike, then lock-out, then strike successively. The original cause of the strike was apparently a claim for certain economic advantages, which was not only rejected by the company, but accompanied by the dismissal of 25 employees considered by the company to be the leaders of the strike. Working towards its own ends, the company then ceded some of the advantages claimed, on condition that the 25 workers remained out of their employ. Rejecting this arrangement, the workers found themselves locked out by the company, which also annulled the pre-viously ceded advantages. Then, the factory was reopened previous to the readmission of some of the dismissed, but there followed another refusal by the strikers, with consequent retaliatory

Out of the whole thing, one thing is apparent; the Echevarry strikers were cked by the solidarity of the Spanish

Recently (April 4), after a full four months' strike, a demonstration in the streets of Bilbao, in support of the

The Indian Workers' Association, Great Britain, declares its full solidarity with the strikers and appeals on their behalf for generous contributions.

Please send all contributions to the Central Executive Committee, Indian Workers' Association, Great Britain, 1 Birch Croft, Birmingham, 24.

strikers, saw 8,000 sympathisers attending. Always prepared for the carriage of misjustice, the authorities dispatched several squadrons of the armed police against the demonstrators, initiating quite a disturbance and causing dozens of wounds and detentions numbering about

On account of this disturbance, there reigns great excitement and enthusiasm amongst the public and student circles of the Basque capital

The Latest on the Strike

The La Vanguardia Español newspaper reports that negotiations have been restarted between the representatives of both sides. The workers demand the reinstatement of all the sacked persons without exception. La Vanguardia adds that the factory has practically come to

The company is prepared to reinstate the workers, but reserves the right to make an exception of any whom they consider to be 'a menace to the normal running of the plant'. The representatives of the workers have replied that this insistence by the company is a serious threat to the solidarity of the

Translated from Le Combat Syndicaliste by R.J.A.

Thousands of workers from the Bilbao area have again shown their solidarity with the Echevarry works strikers by staging one-hour strikes. Despite threats by the Civil Governor of the Biscay Province that the May Day demonstra tion, planned by 'disaffected elements', would be broken up by the police, workers nevertheless came out on the streets of Bilbao.

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