

Who Decides the Budget?

To All Opponents of General Franco

ON FEBRUARY 8, 1968, the Anarchist Militant, Octavio Alberola, was arrested in Brussels and imprisoned in the Forêt prison.

Octavio Alberola has taken part in all the campaigns for political prisoners which have been undertaken by the Libertarian Youth Federation (FYL), an organisation demanding liberty for all Spanish political prisoners. In particular he organised a press conference in New York after the arrest of the five anarchist militants in Madrid to call attention to the gravity of the present repressive situation in Spain.

The present negotiations being carried on by the Franco Government in order to obtain its acceptance into the Common Market and the collaboration of the Spanish Police with the rest of Europe, including the Special Branch, makes it necessary for all anti-Franco militants to show their solidarity, material as well as moral, for those who, like Octavio Alberola, are struggling against the present regime in Spain.

Letters and telegrams of protest to be sent to the Minister of Interior, rue de la Loi, 6, Brussels, and the Belgian Ambassador, 36 Belgrave Square, S.W.1.

Comrades in London have at once begun a campaign for Alberola's release. Provincial comrades are asked to act on their own initiative. An indoor meeting at 7 p.m. on Monday, February 27, at Libra House (to which all comrades and sympathisers are invited) will discuss preparations for a protest demonstration scheduled for Saturday, March 2. (Assemble at Speakers' Corner, 11 a.m.)

FYL.
Anarchist Black Cross.

3 FACETS OF COSTA RICA

THIS IS COSTA RICA, in Central America, inhabited by whites who speak Spanish and profess the Catholic religion.

It is one of the few countries of Latin America which knows a bit of peace and tranquillity.

In 1949 the country abandoned the idea of an army and rejected military

The Only Country without an Army

organization. The nation needed only a few thousand police and coastguards.

Since distant 1949 the country has not felt the need of armed forces and has had no nostalgia for an institution which costs blood and tears.

More than by a fear of enemies, they are ruled by the desire to launch a positive and resolute idea: the idea that the only war to end war is to scrap armies and sack those whose only profession is that of arms.

5,000 CHILDREN DIE OF HUNGER EACH YEAR

Unfortunately this is not the worst social problem of our country; there are others just as alarming, or even more so, which are only just beginning to receive publicity. The Costa Rica press, the obscurantist Costa Rica press, is the principle culprit for the ignorance, lack of sensitiveness and the fear of knowing what is going on around us.

It is a good thing that it is beginning to be divulged that there is in Costa Rica poverty, dreadful poverty, and that the unemployed can be counted as sixty thousand, and still increasing.

We must decide to struggle and put an end to injustices, to exploitation, to unemployment, to poverty and to a regime in which a few have a lot and the majority have nothing.

THE IDEA OF LIBERTY

In Costa Rica, the intellectual, and the non-intellectual, in most cases, are convinced that they live under a regime of the most perfect liberty. Liberty for a Costa Rican consists of being able to choose between two lists of candidates (or three if you are lucky) all belonging to the same social class and able to criticize as broadly as possible, whatever is criticizable... these two sensations, the sensation of electoral freedom and the freedom to criticize constitute what the Costa Ricans proudly assimilate and export as liberty.

Translated from *L'Internazionale*, 1.2.68 (Ancona, Italy) by j.w.s.

Out of the Frying Pan into Britain

THE RACIALIST POLICIES of the British and the Kenyan Governments are causing great hardship to about 190,000 Kenyans of Asian descent—many of them Ismaili Moslems and Sikhs who at the time of Kenya gaining independence were offered either Kenyan or British nationality, a choice that they had to decide on within two years.

In Kenya there is what is called 'Kenyanisation' going on, with the best jobs and housing available to 'true' Kenya citizens.

The Ismaili Moslems and Sikhs have always been treated by the British to 'go-between' themselves and the oppressed masses. This was the reason that they were 'rewarded' by their masters with the choice of nationality. The guarantee was given to them by Duncan Sandys who was then Secretary for Commonwealth Relations. Now that his racist buddy Mr. Enoch Powell is trying to stop them coming to this country, Duncan Sandys is trying to wriggle out of his commitment (how could he be the leader of the right wing if he was in favour of coloured immigration?).

The situation is farcical as well as tragic. The British Government may plump for a quota system which will delay the process of letting the Kenyan fugitives into this country. In the meantime they will be exposed to the increasingly racist policy of the Kenyan Government. They will be marginally better off here—if the Jim Callaghans, Enoch Powells and Duncan Sandys haven't poisoned the atmosphere here even more.

R.

MR. JENKINS, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, said recently at a bankers' banquet, that he had 'no intention of presiding over an economic slither'. This, no doubt, was like music in the ears of the bankers, but it reminds us once again that the forthcoming budget will be a tough one.

Unlike the Tories, the Labourites are not ones to shirk their responsibilities. Even with so many by-elections pending, they will not make any concessions. There will be no pre-election booms which the Tories created every five years, but tough measures to restore British capitalism to a sound competitive footing. This is to be achieved by restoring the balance of payments surplus to around £500m. in the next few years. This surplus would be used to repay debts and to build up our depleted reserves.

Following devaluation, the competitive position of British goods for exports has been improved. The reverse is true with imported goods and so prices are rising for many basic foodstuffs as well as consumer products. The Government now aims at steady growth, based on exports, and to assist this cuts in public expenditure have already been announced, while the budget will restrict private consumption. This will mean restriction on hire purchase and higher direct and indirect taxation, resulting in another attack on the living standards of the working people. If workers try to

restore the balance, then a total wage freeze is threatened, if this is not already on the cards.

Although the Chancellor, with the assistance of the Permanent Secretaries of the Treasury, is the man to make the final decision on the budget, our creditors, the International Monetary Fund, will also be giving its advice. The *Financial Times* US Editor, Joe Rogaly, writes: 'It would be wrong, I was told on good authority today, to assume that this team will actually participate in the writing of Britain's budget—but, on the other hand, it will state its own idea of the extent to which the IMF believes demand should be cut, and the figure thus produced by the Fund team is one from which Mr. Jenkins will certainly be constrained to work.'

The IMF, like any creditor, states certain terms and conditions for loans. With smaller countries they insert a 'trigger clause' into financial arrangements and if the government of the country concerned does not carry out the conditions in the 'Letter of Intent', then the 'trigger clause' is invoked and the credit is cancelled. This country, apparently, has no 'trigger clause', but Joe Rogaly says 'there are pressures on Britain almost as strong'. To keep an eye on things, the IMF is sending their teams here four times in this year, next week, in May, July and November.

If the Chancellor took no notice of the Fund's advice, then they

LETTER

recognised that increased productivity was at the expense of workers and they wanted nothing to do with making higher profits and further unemployment.

A contradiction comes in here in that while the conference endorsed the 'Declaration of Purpose' and composite resolution of the TUC, Mr. Woodcock has said that his General Council will still run the day-to-day affairs of the TUC and they are not bound by the resolution. Other sections of the composite resolutions are as follows:—(1) Maintenance of full employment; (2) Effectively control both the import and export of capital; (3) Increase its efforts with regard to world trade and development; (4) Drastically reduce military expenditure; (5) Limit and stabilise prices, rents, dividends and profits.

The delegate from the Lambeth Trade Council put forward the Socialist Labour League's policy of demanding that the left-wing MPs mobilise the Labour movement against Wilson and re-calling the Labour Party Conference. She also called for the nationalisation of industries, but 'under workers' control'.

A number of delegates criticised the Liaison Committee for not playing an active enough part in the struggles during the past year. This is true, for except for the protest week last February, when they helped to organise a Sunday demonstration, their activities have been confined to Lobbies of MPs and union executives. To me and a number of other delegates this has been the disappointment about the Liaison Committee. It has not mobilised the rank-and-file in a struggle against the Government's policies. It has not carried out the very necessary job of liaison between workers in struggle, and neither has it linked up with the numerous rank-and-file committees in industry.

SAME OLD STORY

It has not done these things because it has only wanted to change things at the top of the unions, a new leadership bringing a different policy. It is the old story of going back to the branches to fight for new leaders. Surely it is not new leaders that workers want, but self-reliance in their own strength and power. The belief that left-wing union leaders and MPs can solve the problems of the

could, in the last resort, withdraw standby credit. Obviously the Labour Government will not risk this. The Fund will not say where the cuts will take place, but will give the overall figure for cutting demand.

NEVER ELECTED

Mr. Jenkins has already had a meeting with MPs and has 'noted' their budget suggestions, but the decisions have already been made and only the form has to be worked out. Anarchists have always pointed out that the real decisions are not taken in Parliament by the MPs elected by the people and that the power lies elsewhere. The officials of the IMF never come up for election, neither do the Permanent Secretaries at the Treasury, yet these are the people who are making the decisions which will affect our lives. They are decisions taken in the interests of a minority who are growing richer and more powerful at the expense of the majority. Wealth is still concentrated in the hands of a minority. 10% of the people own 90% of the property of this country.

While the people are facing increased prices, rents and a tough budget, the number of millionaires has increased and Imperial Chemical Industries have announced a leap of £15m. on 1966 profits to give them £115m. profit for 1967.

The Labour Government is really showing that they can run capitalism better than the Tories. At the moment they would be kicked out at a general election. However, with three years to go, they could pull it off again. But the lessons are that whatever government is in power, it will take the decisions that are dictated by the financial and social interests of a minority, who control finance and industry in this country. Until governments and capitalism are recognised as one and the same evil, there can be no chance of replacing this system with the anarchist alternative.

P.T.

'Neither Washington nor Hanoi'

THE LAST LARGE Vietnam rally proved the need for a more organised focal point for anarchists on future ones. We are producing banners for the rally on March 17 at 2.30 in Trafalgar Square, and will be publishing a leaflet to state the anarchist case—'neither Washington nor Hanoi'. Similarly worded posters will also go up before it.

This action is not intended to split the movement against the war. Our opposition to US war machine goes without saying. We hope it will be a chance to redeem the unsophisticated who have succumbed to the wiles of the VSC.

HARLOW ANARCHIST FED.

working class is so much rubbish. We have seen just how far one left-wing union leader is prepared to go when faced with a clash with the Government and Mr. Cousins would be no exception.

The alternative is to build a movement based on rank-and-file self-reliance, a building of confidence in workers that they themselves can smash the policies of the Government, that they can build a world without leaders and led, where co-operation would satisfy the needs of each and everyone.

P.T.

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KERALA by George Woodcock. Faber, 42s.

IN AN EARLIER travel book, *Faces of India*, Woodcock showed himself to be a perceptive observer of the kaleidoscopic scene that is contemporary India. The present book is the outcome of a subsequent visit to India in the winter of 1965-6, a visit concentrated on the exploration in depth of a single small state of the sub-continent. It is not another travel book but rather a rounded portrait of the history, culture, recent politics and problems of the Malayali people who inhabit India's famous Malabar Coast and its hinterland. The subject is well suited to Woodcock's pen and he narrates the complex story with all his usual skill and artistry. For the general reader, it provided a luminous guide to one of the most fascinating corners of the Indian scene.

At first sight Kerala appears to be a microcosmic model of India and its problems. It does, indeed, illustrate some of these problems to an extreme degree. Its lush landscape and tropical beauty provide the setting in which the vast majority of its 18 million inhabitants struggle to survive on an annual per capita income roughly equivalent to the weekly wage packet of the average industrial worker in this country. Eighty-five per cent of the people live in Kerala's straggling villages but 50% of the working population are either unemployed or critically under-employed. Population growth is at the rate of 25% per decade, with the result that there are now 1,200 persons per square mile—nearly four times the density that existed at the turn of the century. Pressure on land becomes more acute every year and food shortages and near famine conditions are endemic.

But, as Woodcock makes clear, Kerala is not merely archetypal of India: it possesses many unique features which have combined to form a quite distinctive society and culture. Among these features, until a generation ago, was the Hindu joint family system based on matrilineal instead of the usual patrilineal descent. Embodying the practice of polyandry, the system has left Malayali women with an influence and independence of outlook not found elsewhere in India. In addition, a long series of contacts by sea with the outside world, from the Ptolemaic Greeks through Vasco da Gama to the British, have left a permanent impression on Kerala's social structure and the economy. Among Kerala's legacies from the past are the high proportion of Christians in the population, the highest literacy rate in India, and the orientation of the economy towards cash crops, such as spices and coconuts, for the export market rather than towards food for home consumption. The combination of almost universal poverty with almost universal literacy has proved a particularly explosive mixture. Western-type education has created in large numbers of the population expectations which the present highly vulnerable economic system of an overcrowded country cannot fulfil. In this lies one of the major sources of the state's notorious political instability.

As Woodcock puts it, 'the intellectual stimulation provided by education and the habit of reading has combined with the frustrating sense of being trapped inescapably in poverty to produce a rebel mentality that seeks its outlet always in

Anarchist Federation of Britain

General enquiries should be sent to the London Federation. CAMPAIGN FOR THE RELEASE OF OCTAVIO ALBEROLA!

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. c/o Libra House, 256 Pentonville Road, London, N.1. Business meetings first Sunday of the month. For details apply to LFA. New Meeting Place, Marquis of Granby, Cambridge Circus, Charing Cross Road. Sundays 8 p.m. FEB 25: J. P. Schweitzer Price of Freedom LEWISHAM. Contact Mike Malet, 61B Granville Park, Lewisham, London, S.E.13. Phone: 01-852 8879. EALING ANARCHIST GROUP. Get into touch with Ken King, 54 Norwood Road, Southall. KING'S CROSS GROUP, c/o Libra House, 256 Pentonville Road, London, N.1. S.W. LONDON LIBERTARIANS. Meet every Thursday, 7.30 p.m. at 14 Clapham Court, King's Avenue (Acie Lane end), S.W.4.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS 3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rumbold Road, S.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. REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS ABERDEEN ANARCHISTS meet 1st and 3rd Wednesdays of month at M. Dey's, 142 Walker Road, 2nd and 4th Wednesdays at Liz Smith's, 3 Sinclair Road. Correspondence to either address. ABERDEEN ANARCHIST FEDERATION (SWF) local group, Folk Song Workshop and Committee of 100, Collateral Climbing Club. Contact Iain MacDonald, 15 Cotton Street, Aberdeen. BIRMINGHAM LIBERTARIAN AND ANARCHIST GROUP. All anarchists, syndicalists, individualists, etc., please contact Geoff and Caroline Charlton, 32 Swindon Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham 17 (near Portland Road). Note new address. BOLTON. Get in touch with Les Smith, 22 Grosvenor Street, Bolton, Lancs. BOURNEMOUTH AND EAST DORSET ANARCHISTS. Please contact John McCain, 14 Milton Road, Bournemouth (B'm'th 22279) or Tim Deane, Juliet, West Moors, Wimborne,

UNGOVERNABLE PEOPLE

radical solutions'. Nehru once described the Malayalis as intellectual anarchists. This they are clearly not. But, in Woodcock's judgment, they are, like the Spaniards, 'emotional anarchists... with all the anarchist's strange mixture of conservatism and rebellion, with all his double yearnings for the golden age of the past and the libertarian paradise of the future, with all his flaming discontent with what is present. Like the anarchists, they have a strong feeling for local and communal loyalties, but, also like them, they can be inspired by universal visions.' The rebel mentality of the Malayalis has helped to make Kerala the most un-governable state in the Indian Union. Its political history since Independence reads like that of the French Fourth Republic. Nine different governments have come and speedily gone, and there have been three periods when parliamentary government has been suspended in favour of Presidential rule—in effect, rule by the civil servants. In 1957 Kerala's

politics attracted world-wide attention when, for the first time in history, a Communist Party was returned to power at a democratic election. To many Western political pundits the event seemed to portend the collapse of parliamentary democracy and the triumph of Communist totalitarianism throughout India. In fact, Kerala's first Communist Government was severely hamstrung by control exercised by the central Congress Government and it lasted only just over two years. Its attempts to challenge the power of the Catholic Church in the sphere of education and to influence land reforms led to a mass Civil Disobedience movement which the Central Government used as an excuse to dismiss the regime and to suspend the constitution. Political turbulence, however, continued unabated, coalition following coalition as parties formed and re-formed, split and united again, according to their judgment of their own political self-interest. Given the complex caste and religious

make-up of Kerala, its fragmented social structure, and the highly individualistic character of the Malayalis, only a broad coalition of political forces can hope to survive for long. Aware of this, the Communists last year succeeded in fashioning a United Front with the Socialists and the reactionary Muslim League to fight the election of 1967. The Front won a comfortable majority with the result that today Kerala is again under Communist control. This time, with a much weaker Congress Government at the centre, it will not be so easy to dislodge them from office. But whether they can succeed in governing for long this apparently un-governable people or solve the almost insoluble problems of the Kerala economy remains very much an open question.

G.O.

The Move YOUR Help Needed!

well-stashed middle class were mildly interested and nobody gave a damn about the subject matter. The critics of the established gits loved them prior to forgetting them for in a slack month these off-beat titles added an interest to some not very good paintings.

If the poet or the painter is so involved in an emotional situation that his only relief is to record it, then of necessity he must place on record that that burns upon his eyes or ears. When he can halt his brush or pen to seek a wittier line or a prettier pattern then the heart has emptied itself of that joy or anger and the cold, clinical and cynical mind has taken over.

One can view Miller's work without emotion for the only problem that it poses is that of so much contemporary art and that is, is it better than the beer adverts on the hoarding on the streets outside? One can and must in these circumstances return to the paintings of Gwen John in the certain knowledge that here was a painter who placed on canvas the agony of her brief years. She needed no polemic titles or fashionable style of the moment, only the long years of self-discipline and the love of truth that must transcend the ephemeral rubbish of the hour.

Minutes away from the Alwin Gallery at Arthur Tooth, at 31 Bruton Street, W.1, William Brooker has at last learned this. After half a lifetime wasted painting imitation Sickerts, Brooker has at last decided to paint his own paintings and not the second-rate versions of the second-rate dead. In place of the cluttered and overpainted canvases we have a brilliant display of craftsmanship. Empty backgrounds are drenched with grey shadows to form an infinite universe revolving around the two or three bottles on the spindly table. Bathed in an English light, these hard white bottles epitomise the mood and the melancholy of our era as surely as Courbet's clay bowl of bitter apples marked his moment in time.

ARTHUR MOYSE

Round the Galleries

matter of slighter merit. Miller's subjects, and I quote, 'are the Russian Revolution, the 1914-18 war, Communist Asia, and various other political eruptions of the 20th century'. These are all good rabble-raising themes that should have had all of us of the militant left baying like dogs at the portals of the Alwin Gallery (opposite Claridge's), for propaganda, sentiment and nostalgia should not be the prerogative of the Christmas card industry, the Old Comrades' Associations or the Communist Party.

But once you turn the emotive theme that grips the hearts of men into an aesthetic exercise then you fail to hold them for, to succeed, your subject matter must be pristine and all-important. All the geometrical patterns and all the fluid abstracts, no matter how brilliantly executed, will not cull the queuing heart when placed beside a Goya etching of timeless and universal human brutality for a hand, a badge, a boot or a helmet contained within a fragmented mass of interweaving colours are but an intellectual display as acrid as a university thesis on the death of kings.

Some three or more years ago, R. B. Kitaj turned the Marlborough Gallery into a temporary temple of anarchist mythology. He came to the Freedom Bookshop in Fulham and received old pamphlets and periodicals and he cut them up to form large and dramatic collages to illustrate in his particular fashion certain historic names and incidents peculiar to the story and practice of anarchism and the plush West End Marlborough Gallery hung them and the

Castle Street, Bishops Stortford, Herts. CHELMSFORD. (Mrs.) Eva Archer, Mill House, Purleigh, Chelmsford, Essex. EPPING. John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping, Essex. HARLOW. John Dears, 184 Carter's Mead, Harlow, and/or Geoff Hardy, 6 Redricks Lane, Harlow, Essex. Monthly meetings in 'The Essex Skipper', The Stow, Harlow. LOUGHTON. Group c/o Students' Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Borders Lane, Loughton, Essex. MUCH HADHAM. Leslie Riordan, High Street, Much Hadham, Herts. NORTH EAST ESSEX. Peter Newell, 'Maybush', Maypole Road, Tiptree, Essex. Group meets first Monday in each month, 7.15 p.m. at 41 Brook Road, Toleshunt Knights, Tiptree, Essex.

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

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OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Steve Watts, Trinity College. SHEFFIELD UNIVERSITY GROUP. Contact Robin Lovell c/o Students' Union, Sheffield SOUTHYARK COLLEGE (New Libertarian Front). Contact Dave Biggs, Room T/7. SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHISTS. To launch the group, an open discussion on Anarchism at the University, Falmer, nr. Brighton, Friday evening, March 1. All welcome. Contact Francis Jarman, 16 Charlotte Street, Brighton BN2 1AG.

PROPOSED GROUPS

EDINBURGH anarchists contact Konrad Borowski, 13 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh 3. Tel: WAW 7459. TAUNTON LIBERTARIANS. Contact Jill and John Driver, 59 Beadon Road, Taunton, Somerset. Meetings alternate Friday evenings. CROYDON, NORWOOD, BECKENHAM. Anarchists, Syndicalists, Libertarian or Pacifist Socialists to form Croydon, Norwood, Beckenham Libertarian Group. Contact Jim Radford or Laurens Oter, 35 Natal Road, Thornton Heath. ELTHAM (Libertarian/Peace Action). Contact Terry Liddle, 83 Gregory Crescent, S.E.9.

ABROAD

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The Politics of Garbage

THE LIGHTS WERE SET UP in the small tenement commune last Tuesday and the cameras were ready. The film crew was set to shoot and there was a knock at the door.

A cameraman opened the door. Three men walked into the kitchen. 'They didn't look like cops,' Peter Gessner, who was directing the documentary, recalled. 'They were tough, young guys in sportclothes. They had little beards. I thought one might be the super.'

Gessner started the cameras and turned on his tape recorder as the men went to the two youngest kids in the room and asked them to step outside into the hall. 'They didn't show any badges,' Gessner said. 'They didn't have a search warrant. It had the aura of a shakedown.'

In the hall the detectives identified themselves and told the two kids—whom they judged to be runaways—that they would be taken to the Ninth Precinct station. The 10 people remaining in the apartment prepared to come along.

'We're going down to the precinct,' one cop said into the tape recorder. 'Don't do anything to cause problems.'

Ignoring the warning, the kids called the PTA—a new neighbourhood group of protesters, terrorists and anarchists—and followed the cops and their friends to the station.

The kids were waiting in front of the desk at the Ninth Precinct at 10.15 p.m. when the PTA arrived. The PTA and the kids went outside to re-group. The problem, they reasoned, was one of definition. After all, they were all runaways, from something. The cops were just discriminating against runaways under 18.



Now 35 strong, they returned to the station and turned themselves in as guilty runaways. Rejected, they sat on the floor. Deputy Inspector Joseph Fink arrived. An argument ensued. There was no obvious leader, so police arrested one kid for playing a guitar and another kid for

dancing in the shadow of the desk sergeant's desk. Both were charged with disorderly conduct. The PTA and the remaining kids went outside to re-group again.

It was a genuine confrontation, genuine enough to call Fink back to the station

on a Tuesday night, genuine enough to move the aroused demonstrators to the sidewalk across the street from the station. There was one sign: 'Justice is Denied Until You're 18 and Then It's Dead'. There was an apparent backlash as a volley of eggs hurled from a window overhead exploded around the kids in the street. The station was shielded from the demonstrators by a line of mysterious paddy-wagons. One kid attacked the barricade with a spray can of white paint. He was arrested for criminal mischief after he painted 'COPS SUCK' on the second paddy-wagon.

By now the PTA had arrived in modest force, and it was time to stimulate the deaf ears of the opposition. Suddenly a shout: 'Let's block off Second Avenue!'

Now for a little action. The crowd rushed to Second Avenue, half a block away, and suddenly garbage cans were crashing across cobblestones, trash flying in headlight beams, cans and lids and rotten vegetables bounding over hoods and into car doors. Cabs swerved and kids cheered. Stacks of garbage, two day piles, everything, everything into the street. They scored 25 cans in twice as many seconds and then built a makeshift barricade across St. Mark's Place, halting the astounded traffic. It was a spree. The PTA was ecstatic.

They circled back down Second Avenue. Motorists on St. Mark's Place left their cars to move the cans. Second Avenue was full of garbage and not a sign of cops.

Suddenly they noticed a tall, blond kid out in the middle of the street, dodging cars and dumping strewn garbage back into the cans. The PTA was horrified. The kid dragged a can back to the sidewalk. The PTA approached him.

'What are you doing?' the PTA protested. 'You can't do that.'

'If you want to go stone the police station,' the kid replied, 'go do it. Don't take it out on these people.'

'It's a political act,' the PTA persisted. 'The whole society is the enemy. Not just the police.'

'I don't see how you're going to end repression by being repressive,' the kid said, and he started sorting up the trash

with a garbage can lid. A police car moved up slowly.

'Don't go out there,' the PTA warned. 'They're going to hurt you.' The kid kept scraping up the garbage and the police moved on.

The kids picked up some of the refilled cans and a few they missed on the first round and hurled them back into the street. Three patrolmen rounded the corner of St. Mark's Place at Gem's Spa and looked on aghast as the cans flew into the street. They raised their nightsticks and went hurtling toward the kids. The kids saw them coming and took off. The lead cop lunged at the last kid with his stick, hitting him in the ass. And the kids disappeared.

Two young Puerto Ricans stood on the curb and wondered at the strewn garbage. 'Look at this, man,' one said. 'It looks like a gang war.'

'Crazy hippies,' the other sighed.

The kids and the PTA re-grouped in front of the precinct station. The media had arrived. 'Hey, that's ABC!' a kid shouted as a network news car pulled up. Soon the lights were on again and the documentary resumed. The first thing the network cameras shot was the aforementioned graffiti on the second paddy-wagon. And then the paddy-wagons were driven off.

The crowd was involved in another strategy session. 'Listen,' a kid said, 'with all the media here, why don't we all get arrested. You know, walk in single file.'

'We already tried that,' another said.

The cameramen began to shoot the strategy session and a forest of erect middle fingers arose. The media were foiled.

The crowd then went to the door of the station, now guarded by seven cops, and asked to hold a meeting which they said Fink had agreed to earlier. One cop said that Fink has gone home. The kids persisted, and the cop agreed to let one kid enter. The others insisted on sending two representatives. The meeting

was stalemated.

Fink came out. 'What meeting?' he asked. 'I never agreed to a mass meeting. I agreed to meet with representatives.'

'We have no representatives,' said a voice from the crowd. Fink shrugged.

'We say, look, let the kids out and we'll talk,' said another voice. Fink smiled.

'If they arrest the runaways and break down our doors,' another voice threatened, 'we'll fuck up the street, that's all.' Fink said that the runaways weren't under arrest, they were only being detained, and he said that the detectives had been invited into the apartment. 'They're not in jail,' he said. 'The brother of one is coming to take him home.'

'He'll be back next week,' someone shouted. Fink shrugged.

'They've busted six pads this week and it's gotta stop,' another voice said. 'Every time they bust another pad it gets worse.'

'Take it to the Civilian Review Board,' said Deputy Inspector Fink.

'Captain Fink,' Abbie Hoffman pleaded, 'you're doing a bad thing. If you close the communes, you'll have kids running loose in the street with no place to sleep.'

'They can sleep here,' Fink smiled.

'Is that an invitation for kids to sleep in jail?' Abbie asked, astounded.

'Yes,' Fink said. The crowd cheered, but they didn't believe it. 'You can sleep at Abbie's house,' Fink added, as an afterthought. The kids grumbled, but Fink was paternal.

'You're making a lot of noise,' he said. 'You had better go home while you're ahead.'

The press packed their cameras and the kids wandered off, complaining loudly, and the PTA mused enchanted at what they hoped was a catalyst. It was past midnight, and soon they would sleep, perchance to dream of flying garbage cans.

DON MCNEILL.

(Reprinted from the village VOICE, December 7, 1967.)

POET WITH GUTS

WITHOUT MONEY of his own or a big backer Dennis Gould has got together the first publication of WHISPER & SHOUT: *Love and War Poems of Kenneth Patchen*. (Price 2s. 6d. or 1 dollar from Freedom Bookshop.) In his own words: 'This irregular and guerilla publication will try to print poems and features of guts and sensitivity. I disrespect governors and governments, law-makers and law. I respect conscience and direct non-violent actions'. He could not have chosen a more appropriate poet to begin the series with.

Patchen's poems register the profound unnaturalness and numbing horror of life spent in the shadow of atomic war, within nations that resemble Chambers of State Horrors. Thinking of Patchen there comes to mind the shepherd-poet who leaves the hills to warn the townspeople, lost in getting and spending, of tremors in the earth, to tell them of the coming catastrophe and the ever-present beauty; almost as the pastoral poets of the Renaissance through a shepherd figure contrasted simple natural living—the BEGINNING OF THE WORLD—with the complicated artificial life of the city. Patchen has said in a letter to Henry Miller, 'They're going to blow everything up next time and I don't believe we have long. Always men have talked about the END OF THE WORLD—its nearly here . . . I can't say it doesn't matter, it matters more than anything—but we are helpless to stop it now'. Four H-bombs under the Greenland ice. Next day's headlines bury the event. Living with a succession of apparently unrelated crises, oblivion serves as newsfake solution. Take your pick: slow death from the institutionalised lies of the mass media or instant death by Doomsday Machine.

For Patchen the means never justify the ends. In World War II he was in a prison camp for COs. His poems now declare his anarcho-pacifism. He sees that the enemy is not so often outside one as internalized (real reason for the poet's obsession with war) and that the last enemy is the individual's dishonest rationalization of ducked choice. His poems are prophecy: how

the responsibility for killing is lost through the impersonal transfer of orders, how the child's inborn sense of wonder is destroyed to fit him for useful membership of a consumption-crazed society, how a man must be true to himself else he collaborates with the forces of social expediency.

Anyone unblinkered by conventional pieties—a pair of the most basic: love your wife and children but support them by competing for the best job against other husbands, wives and their children, no matter if you kill your spirit or someone else's—anyone who has seen through the hypocrisy of an exploitative society, will welcome Patchen as truth-teller. Patchen's love for his wife Miriam is the ground of his refusal to live the Social Lie, we can be genuine and alive so long as we are undecieved and hurt no one. Often in mid-poem, just as one is lulled by the imagery of meaningful little things—stars, hairglow, the sound of bells or scent of roses, comes reminder of the arbitrary plight of the others:

'All that can happen to us is not known to the guns.' Again—

'On the inn wall I tack our two hearts.

Let not the bullets go through one before the other.' Or as in 'Not Many Kingdoms Left'—

'Away from this kingdom, from this

fast undefiled place, I would keep our governments, our civilization and all other spirit-forsaken and corrupt institutions.'

If you don't care for poetry then read Patchen just for his wit and aphorisms: 'Everyone is rich and no one has money.' 'God must have loved the People in Power for he made them so very like their own image of Him.' 'Law and disorder embrace on hate's border.'

The pity is that Patchen's poems will never be required reading for the regular guys and polite liars who find office and favour with the state or business. He is too subversive. At fifty-seven, in chronic confinement due to arthritis of the spine, he is still writing; his following—the beat, the dropped-out, the disaffiliated, and whoever recognises the death's-head images of a sick and violent society.

What Patchen says eclipses how he says it. His usual style is an artless free verse. Whether enraged or loving, satirical or fantastical, didactic or humorous, Patchen is always intensely caring and straightforward. Neglect of his work in academic circles is no surprise. He doesn't scatter any literary fodder for critics to champ upon. He insists on feeling and consequently suffers; but rejoices also in a time which, as Norman Mailer has remarked, is losing pleasure in its anxiety to avoid pain. Paradoxically, every man alive is on the verge of paradise even as the world is edged towards catastrophe. This is Patchen's theme.

G. GLADSTONE.



Rogues' Gallery

No. 1

REFUSE TRIAL by Justice Reginald Seaton, Chairman of Inner London Sessions. As senior judge (it was urged he retire long ago) he has choice of cases. Read on and remember.

1945. Editors of FREEDOM prosecuted for incitement to disaffection. Mindful of Seaton's fondness for prosecuting and his declared fascist sympathies, FREEDOM's solicitors retained him to prevent him becoming prosecutor. As such he was gagged.

1961. Demonstration against US resumption of nuclear testing. Seaton sentenced George Clark to 6 months for sitting down in Brook Street. During trial Seaton gave grounds for successful appeal by dismissing the key witness, Trevor Hatton, a Quaker who said he would affirm but not take the oath. Seaton lost his temper. 'Either you're a Christian or you're not.'

1963. Greek Royal Visit. Seaton sentenced George Clark to 18 months for incitement to cause a Breach of the Peace. His appeal successful, right of street demonstration upheld, through recourse to long forgotten Irish precedent.

1965. Vietnam War Demonstration in Grosvenor Square. Police motor-bike burnt. Chris Hill sentenced to 3 months on charge of assaulting PC, after PC on motor-bike rode into crowd. Seaton declared in court that there had been too many demonstrations at the American Embassy, that there was no chance of changing America's policy, and that someone had to be made an example of.

1965. Colin Jordan appealed against Magistrate's sentence under new Race Relations Act. Seaton allowed Jordan's appeal. Chief Justice Parker overruled Seaton, long known at the Bar as an anti-semitic, remarked that Jordan's words 'were not really offensive to the average reasonable member of the public but only to Jews, Communists and CND-ers'.

1967. Seaton sentenced Brian Jones of the Rolling Stones to 9 months imprisonment on drugs charge. Appeal now pending.

1967. October 22 Vietnam War Demonstration, Grosvenor Square. Magistrate Robey sentences Paul Trewhela, recently a political prisoner in South Africa, to three months prison on charge of assaulting PC and Anton Pinschof to three months detention centre on same charge. On appeal both sentences confirmed by Seaton, one month added to

Pinschof's. Other demonstrators on the same, often fabricated charge, got small fines.

Pinschof's defence asked how the accused could possibly have simultaneously knocked a PC down with a punch in the chest, and broken his big toe with a stamp on the PC's foot. Pointing it out to Seaton on a photograph of the moment of arrest that appeared in *The Times*, defence asked, 'How is the policeman's helmet still on his head if he was knocked over?' The PC's explanation: 'I tightened the chinstrap.' Seaton pored over the photograph which clearly showed the chinstrap swinging away from the PC's face, as he grabs Pinschof from behind. 'The courts must give the police some degree of protection,' Seaton concluded.

Here I refer to the *Sunday Times* of November 5 where a lawcourt reporter told Peter Dunne that Seaton 'goes to a lot of police dinners, obviously because he's Chairman of the bench but also because he's liked. Normally he does his best not to show policemen up'. Seaton himself told his interviewer: 'Generally speaking if you get a type of offence that becomes rife and it is really stamped on the tendency is for the offence to stop. . . . I do agree with corporal punishment, I think it's a great pity the birch isn't permissible today.'

Seaton's son, who is well known in Soho, by a freak of circumstances, once found himself in the dock, his father the judge. Father gave son ten years; the sentence was reduced on appeal to three years. Six youths Seaton sent to Borstal escaped, broke into Seaton's home and shit in Seaton's bedclothes. Poetic justice milord.

BLACK JUSTICE

WE GO TO PRESS ON MONDAY. LATEST DATE FOR RECEIPT OF MSS., LETTERS, MEETING NOTICES IS THE MONDAY IN EACH WEEK OF PUBLICATION.

Anarcho-Communism

CONTEMPORARY ANARCHIST VIEWPOINTS

THE GOAL OF ANARCHISM is the freedom of the individual to develop his faculties in a harmonious society.

Today, society does not permit this aspiration, because everywhere men are exploited, oppressed, alienated, divided and opposed against each other.

The exploitation of man by man takes several forms, the first of which is the traditional capitalistic type of exploitation, geared to the profit of the bourgeoisie and the property owners. Then, to this is added bureaucratic exploitation (State capitalism), benefiting a new class of administrators who manipulate a State machinery which, in turn, controls and directs economy, either partially or wholly. Everywhere administrators and bureaucrats organize society to suit their taste, and to their advantage, saving for themselves the highest profits, either directly by means of capitalist private property, or indirectly by means of management of State machinery and property, resulting in the unequal distribution of national revenue. Meanwhile, the workers are confined to their role of producers and only receive a minimal part of the total wealth.

The permanent existence of this exploitation is guaranteed by means of

the oppression and alienation of man by authoritarian institutions, the most prominent of which are:—

The Armed Forces and all the other forces of repression which maintain power by threatened or actual violence, and which, by the expedient of military service, spread militarism. This category also includes the police.

Churches, sects and masonic lodges, which under the pretext of seeking an understanding between men, exist only to minimize the extent of their servitude, to persuade them to accept it patiently, and to divert the confrontations of the class-struggle.

Various public institutions and courts, administrative and judicial, which in the name of the Law maintain inequality to the profit of the ruling class.

Finally, the State, which co-ordinates all its supreme authority by the propagation of a popular myth, under cover of which it takes the name religious, democratic or socialist.

Division between workers and between different nations is carefully engineered by every government in order to consolidate their power according to the old principle: 'divide and rule'.

The division of workers into professional categories splits them up into competitive and hostile groups, and causes, by means of small economic and social, advantages and rewards, the

solidarity of the workers to be broken. Also, and this is true of the East as much as the West, by especially favouring certain categories, it creates intermediary elites between the proletariat and the managerial class.

In the West the division of the workers into rival unions increases the confusion and helps to advance the cause of bourgeoisie and State. And in the East, as in all totalitarian dictatorships, the transformation of unions into State organs takes from them both their representative force and all possibility of struggle.

In both cases the unions, like the political parties, encourage the recruitment and training of a bureaucracy of 'proletarian' managers whose role is to increase the division of the masses and sap their vitality.

The division of peoples into nations causes the masses to oppose each other and maintains the power of the national ruling classes, which is founded on patriotism and pretended national interests.

And finally, the division of mankind allows colonial exploitation, which causes some nations to profit at the expense of others . . . of whole continents.

The mystification of the general public is practised by both economic and political regimes, and also by all parties and

ideologies, which, to defend their existence, must conceal their true purpose and their essential nature.

For example, economic regimes do not produce a fraction of the abundance which our technical accomplishments would allow. So that the liberal capitalism of the USA leads to instability and constant unemployment (except in war time), and also to a growing concentration of wealth in certain monopolies, while regimes with a mixed economy, such as are common in Europe and underdeveloped countries, cause a section of the national public to co-exist with a capitalist section at the expense of the workers. State economy regimes of the Marxist type, where property, the means of production, and all profit belong to the State alone, engender a new managerial class and, from State Socialism, move to State Capitalism.

Political regimes, instead of encouraging the real participation of the people, concentrate all power in the hands of a small minority. Parliamentary democracies, for example, employ professional politicians grouped in demagogic parties at the service of the great private concerns. Dictatorships, traditional or fascist, only illustrate how powerless the armies and military formations of the extreme Right are when it comes to replacing the old economic and ecclesiastical feudal systems. And Marxist dictatorships, set up, so to speak, in the name of the proletariat, only lead to the establishment of a bureaucratic elite of professional administrators.

The parties and ideologies of the Left can only lead to a political system opposed to their initial aims. Reformist parties of the social democratic type, wanting to reform the capitalist regime from within by concessionary measures have become completely sterile. Their confused ideology and their use of State methods make it impossible for them to transform capitalism, while the so-called Communist parties (Marxist-Leninist, Stalinist, Trotskyist, Khrushchev, etc.), under the pretext of radical change, accomplish nothing more than the installation of a totalitarian regime which is only another form of oppression and exploitation. Their abandonment of revolutionary methods forces them even closer to a reformist position, and their essentially dogmatic ideologies and their exclusive use of State tactics equally destined them to eventual failure.

PROGRAMME FOR A FREE SOCIETY

Libertarian communism is not the distant Utopia of a vague, theoretical ideology, but a society possible here and now. In fact, certain features of it are discernible even in today's Marxist or capitalist societies. The principal elements of a libertarian economic and social system are as follows:—

1. Socialism without State control.
The suppression of private ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, etc., must not be achieved solely in order to benefit the State. Instead, the transformation from private property to common ownership must be done directly by turning over the management of the factories to the workers and their organizations, while the social machinery must be brought under the direct control of the consumers.

Industry and the land cannot belong to individuals or to a part of the population, but to all, and they must be placed under the responsibility of the Collective which lives and works there.

The aim of Collectivization is to replace the motivating force of vested interest and profit (even under co-operative forms) with public service, but this pre-supposes an education of a different and higher standard than that which is produced by the State in a class-society.

2. Planning by the consumers.
The whole of the economy must be co-ordinated and directed away from the profit motive and in accordance with the real needs of the population.

The planning of production and consumption, and the decision as to what shall be the needs of the consumers should be the work of everyone, and not left to the State or a particular class or caste. The plan is determined by regional collectives representing the consumer, i.e. associations of the population on a local, regional and international level in order to fulfil needs and apply technical possibilities. These possibilities are then communicated among branches of industry by the industrial collectives who are entrusted with the application of the plan.

Planning, then, must cover integrally all production in an obligatory way, but resulting from the expression of the

need and wishes of the consumers, and allowing flexible adjustment of production units. This is only possible in the absence of a State organization which inevitably produces an exploitative ruling class.

3. Workers' control.
The control of production must not be limited to managers placed over producers, but must be carried out by the workers themselves, organized in industrial and agricultural committees. At the same time, the rest of the population must substitute local, regional and international organisms for the present organs of the State. Only thus will the political State be liquidated. Moreover, any lack of interest or non-participation of producers and consumers in the economic mechanism will result in the emergence of the old ruling class again.

4. Standardization of wages.
The actual tendency, present in both capitalist and Marxist systems, towards the growth of wages must be reversed so as not to create or perpetuate social inequality, and in order to avoid the appropriation of a large part of the total revenue by one class or section of the population.

The remuneration of individuals comes from two main sources: one part from wages paid for work performed, and the other from social allowances (National Assistance, benefits, pensions, etc.). It is this second part which must constantly increase at the expense of the other, and in conjunction with the multiplication of free collective public services.

The disappearance of different income brackets must lead to the disappearance of social classes and the introduction of an anarcho-communist society. In such a society increased production will encourage the development from standardized wages to free distribution of goods and social services.

5. Internationalism.
The disappearance of national States can only be achieved by the creation of international associations, on the one hand, and the decentralization of national structures into regional and local cells, on the other.

The workers must co-ordinate their action beyond frontiers, and must destroy those mental and political barriers created by history.

Instead of decadent, struggling nations, the workers must build for themselves a Socialist world.

6. Federalism.
An anarcho-communist society must be federalist if it is not to be totalitarian. Federalism is realized in three ways:—
(a) The organization of economic units of production and consumption, achieved as a result of workers' control of industry and agriculture.
(b) The creation of local, communal, regional and international collectives, freely constituted and federated.
(c) The multiplication of those existing tendencies among the workers towards free organization and expression within the collectives.

REVOLUTIONARY METHODS

Anarcho-communists are in the vanguard of the revolutionary struggle on account of their specific organization, which is neither authoritarian, nor dogmatic, nor centralist, but federalist. The groups federate, remain autonomous, and decide in common their ideological unity.

Tactical unity is not sought after; instead the line of action decided upon by the organization results from the actual experiences faced by each group.

On the social and economic level anarcho-communists join in the syndicalist struggle and agitate for more and more workers' control of industry. On the political level, they reject parliamentary methods and administrative class-collaboration, remain faithful to a radical anti-militarism and anticlericalism and organize independently of the State, and outside it.

Anarcho-communists are an avant-garde minority with a double purpose.

Firstly, they wish to help the masses to a greater awareness of the fact that, under the present regime, their education and advancement is obstructed and retarded. And secondly, they are preparing decisive revolutionary action to be unleashed under favourable circumstances on a suitable occasion.

From that moment the education of the masses can be said to have really begun. It is this process of combat, allied to self-education, which constitutes the fundamental nature of Revolution.

The following manifesto has been freely adapted from one issued by the Union des Groupes Anarchistes-Communistes, Paris, 1962.

WE WERE FIVE

IT HAPPENED IN THE DAYS of our youth, when belief in the lofty ideals of our cause was strong and the will to sacrifice for it was ever-present. We met during that meaningful and lovely period, all five of us comrades in the Movement, and for many years afterward maintained a close and intimate bond.

I came to Chicago from Philadelphia in the winter of 1913. The chief activity of our Movement, at the time, was the anarchist Red Cross.

Two affairs given by the Red Cross, the Prisoners Ball and Peasants Ball, usually brought out the whole radical colony of Chicago.

Bessie and I became involved in the work of the anarchist Red Cross. During the course of our activities, we made the acquaintance of three comrades who remained our dear friends for life.

All five of us, without prior agreement, usually found ourselves involved in the same kind of work or serving on the same committees. Before long, we became the inseparable 'quintet'.

Our close friendship endured until the Russian Revolution in 1917, when some of us went there. During this chaotic and turbulent period we lost contact with one another.

This is how I remember the four who are no longer with us:

SAM SHULMAN was a warmly responsive comrade; quiet, very intelligent, a friendly, lovable smile always brightening his face. He did not go to Russia with us. He withdrew from all activities during the Palmer Raids and dropped out of sight. My many attempts to find him ended in failure. Years later, he was said to have been seen in California.

SAM (SAMKE) FRIEDMAN. Short in stature, a clothing worker, he could not tolerate a wrong. When Sam discovered a wrong, the person committing it was fortunate if he escaped his ire. Aside from this and other little eccentricities he possessed, Sam was a good friend. There are few like him. We prized his friendship dearly.

His devotion to the Movement was boundless and he demanded of others that they give of themselves in the same measure.

Samke Friedman left for Russia with the first Chicago group. For a short time he was with Machno's army. Once, after a big and bloody battle with the Whites, Machno's headquarters was forced to move to another city. The evacuation completed, there remained only a small detachment of Machno's army in the rear. Although the abandoned city was no longer safe, Samke returned to it, to make certain nothing of value had been left behind. His intuition proved right. In one of the desks, at former headquarters, he found two large envelopes. He stuffed the objects in his pockets and left. Later, when opened, the envelopes were found to contain part of the army's dwindling treasury.

Later, he lived in Odessa, where he married Dora, a comrade. In 1923 they succeeded in leaving Bolshevik Russia. I met them in Constantinople, Turkey, by accident. From there, they went to Paris and became active in the Jewish group.

We kept in touch, through correspondence. Eventually a daughter was born to them. But their family bliss was short-lived. The Second World War brought with it the German assassins who arrested Samke and Dora. The five-year-old child was hidden by French comrades.

As they were being led to their death, Samke scribbled a little note, addressed to us. He pleaded with the finder to forward the note and hurled it out of the sealed train that was taking them to the extermination camp.

Eventually the note reached us. It was very brief. 'We are being taken away,' it read. 'We do not know where. Take care of our child.'

This was the last we heard of Samke.

BARNEY MILLSON was a youth filled with the joy of life. Always in buoyant spirits, he at the same time approached the work in our Movement with earnest and sober mien. He was always eager and available to do work for our cause. Although perennially hoarse, Barney was a good speaker. He was the chairman of the ticket committee. The Peasants Ball did not entail too much work. This affair was so popular, some people were turned away at the door. But the Convicts Ball was another matter; this one required a lot of work. Two months before the affair, the committees began visiting organizations, urging them to buy tickets.

Barney visited landsmanshaftn, women's organizations and other groups to interest them in the Ball. Frequently the right to address those assembled was not granted; but Barney did not give up easily. As soon as he began to talk and depict the life of the political prisoners in Russia, there was scarcely a dry eye in the hall. Barney never left a meeting empty-handed. He was a master agitator.

Caught up by the news of the revolution, Barney left for Russia with one of the early groups. I maintained contact with most of the comrades who went to Russia. But nobody knew where Barney disappeared between 1917 and 1921. On my way from Moscow to Kharkov one day, I ran into Barney at the Kursk railroad station. Our stopover lasted an hour and this gave us the opportunity to talk. He told me a little about his experiences. For some time after his arrival in Russia, he was plagued by illness. Later, he studied medicine at the Kursk University. The girl he married, a comrade, also studied at the university.

Toward the end of the twenties we received the tragic news that Barney Millson had died after a long illness.

MOISHE GUTTFRIND. The silent type, he was a member of the anarchist

Red Cross. I became intimately acquainted with him in 'Alarm', an international group. Soon Gutftrind joined our small circle.

He was very eager to go to Soviet Russia but for a very important personal reason could not go and stayed behind in America.

I did not meet Moische again until the thirties, and under entirely different circumstances. The noble dream once so tenderly nurtured lay in ashes and our fervent hope for a new world in our time had been dealt a severe blow. We met virtually every year and during all that time of shattering disappointments and retreats, Moische's faith did not waver. On the contrary, when I left him in 1917, he was influenced by pacifist notions, but in the thirties he sounded the fiery revolutionary. He belonged to that small group in the Movement that was always 'dissatisfied'; this was apparent in his talks, reports and letters to our press.

It puzzles me why Moische did not rise higher in our Movement; he certainly possessed the necessary aptitudes and talents.

Moische is entitled to credit to his account what in our Movement was considered an outstanding achievement; he reared his children in the spirit of his own convictions.

During the period when the youth organization, 'Vanguard', was active in New York, I attended one of their meetings. Afterward, a girl with a lovely smile approached me and introduced herself as Audrey Gutftrind, Moische's daughter. Several years later, Audrey and David arrived in Chicago to organize a young anarchist group.

We were five. Sam Shulman disappeared, Barney Millson died, Samke Friedman and his wife fell victim to German barbarism. Next to depart was Moische Gutftrind. One has remained who will hold aloft so long as he can the banner that brought the five together.

BORIS YELENSKY.

ANARCHY 84

ON SALE NOW DISCUSSES

POVERTY

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God's Own Country

WHEN JAMES THE SIXTH of Scotland became James the First of England, his court left Edinburgh. England was the richer country, London the more important city. It became the capital of the United Kingdom, largest free trade area in Europe. The upper classes in Scotland began to talk of representation at the centre of power—union of the Parliaments. At first the English ruling class was less keen, but slowly the idea gained ground. Scotland had never been conquered. Voluntary union would strengthen English rule in Ireland and Wales. An 'active foreign policy' required some guarantee that the Scots would not remain neutral, or worse still, turn hostile. Furthermore, the establishment needed to consolidate its power in England itself. And so, in 1707, the two Parliaments simultaneously passed Acts of Union, the basis of 'Britain' and the Empire.

The Act, at least in theory, was a treaty between two countries. It was also (in theory) the last act of both Parliaments. It set up a new 'British' body with a written constitution (violated many times since, most recent example being the Greek Embassy case). The biggest concession to Scottish feeling, the one which won acquiescence if not enthusiasm, was establishment of the Presbyterian form of church government 'for all time to come'. In Edinburgh, church bells played 'Why should I be sad on my wedding day?'

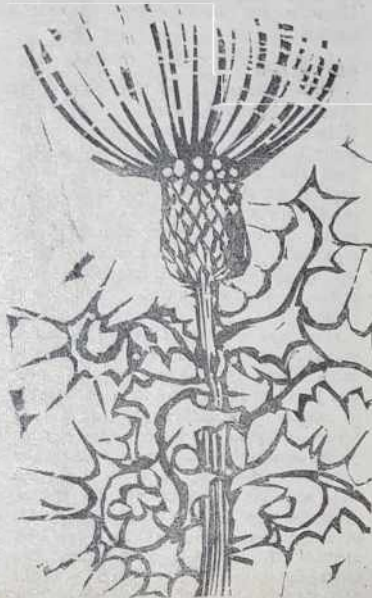
The lawless Highlands were pacified by the usual method of divide and rule. Where doubt existed as to land ownership (and records were few), the authorities followed the sensible course of giving to those who had. After the 1745 uprising, rebel properties were given to loyalists. Clans became regiments. The Black Watch was born. The Gordons, The Seaforths. As patches of red spread over the globe, the bagpipes skirred in many a far-flung post of Empire. Scotland (or at least the privileged minority) became junior partner in the biggest business in the world, and talk of dissolving the partnership was regarded as treason.

Them days are gone forever.

THE NATS COME IN FROM THE FRINGE

Today the Nationalists are the largest party in Scotland. New branches are growing, huge quantities of badges are sold, and there is no shortage of funds. Here in Montrose (pop. 10,000) they have offices, 300 members, and a full-time organiser. If this proves nothing else, it shows the failure of the Act of Union, which aimed at 'indivisible unity'.

The SNP has some good arguments. In all Europe only East Germany has a higher emigration rate (perhaps if Hadrian's Wall were rebuilt...). This in spite of the fact that the Scottish economy is quite strong. With exports well over £450,000,000 in 1965, Scotland has no balance of payments problem. Norway, with a much smaller population and fewer resources, has trebled the popula-



tion of its Northern Territories, while the Scottish Highlands have become a stock-brokers' playground. But these are economic arguments for decentralisation. The SNP has more on its side; there can be no denying the emotional appeal of 'independence'.

IS IT A POPISH PLOT?

Take this book, the most precious thing this world affords. Here is wisdom; here is truth; these are the lively oracles of God—from the Coronation ceremony. Words spoken by the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, on presenting the Bible.

The River Boyne is in Ireland. By its banks, on July 12, 1690, the army of King James (VII and II) was defeated by that of William, Prince of Orange. (James fled to Dublin, where he announced 'my cowardly Irish troops deserted me'—someone made the immortal reply: 'I see you got here first'.) Every year on the anniversary of the battle thousands of Scottish men and women march with pipe and drum. Their banners are works of art, made with loving hands. They march to 'kick the Pope'; for King Billy was Protestant, and James a Catholic.

An early Nationalist election gain was the Rectorship of Glasgow University. This was hailed as proof of the young intelligentsia's support, but it turned out to be a Pyrrhic victory. The new Rector, Compton Mackenzie, was fairly successful in living down his English birth, but he had an even greater disability—the Roman religion. As J. M. MacCormick wrote in *Flag in the Wind*, 'the lie that our Party was under Catholic control took firm root and spread all over the country like some foul weed'. This undoubtedly set the National Party back many years.

I was talking to a friend of mine, a fisherman, the other day, about the SNP victory at Hamilton. He dismissed it with the words, 'A' thon fowk fit wiz

lowpin about in kilts—thir nuthin bit a bunch o' bliddy Irishmen'. There is a grain of truth in this. During the great famine many Irish families emigrated to Scotland. It is a measure of their misery that they preferred the Gorbals. Some, from Ulster, brought the Orange Lodge with them. They had no difficulty in getting Scots to join. Their descendants are completely integrated. But most of the immigrants were Catholic. No doubt some of those who were 'lowpin about in kilts' at Hamilton were of Irish-Catholic descent.

The Orange Lodge is a minority group. Their main strength is in the Glasgow area. Most nominal 'Protestants' have little interest in religion. But, to quote MacCormick again, 'I had scarcely realised how deep seated was the fear among a considerable section of the people of Scotland of a Catholic revival.' Personally, I don't think the SNP is a Popish Plot. No doubt the Catholic Church would like it to be, but it just isn't on.

OUR GLORIOUS ALLIES

When you look at the SNP's allies in other countries, the whole thing becomes a farce. The Duke of Montrose, now a member of the Rhodesian Government, has been connected with the nationalist movement for many years. After the Hamilton by-election, SNP headquarters received many messages of congratulation from Rhodesia. An even stranger ally is Baron Barclay, a French aristocrat, descendant of a Scottish mercenary. The Baron has founded a 'Vive Ecosse Libre' movement in Paris. He claims Scotland will be in the Common Market before England (you never know...) and wants to revive the 'Auld Alliance'. Some Nationalists admire Charlie De Gaulle and his 'independent' foreign policy. So far 'Moi' has made no comment, but if the SNP looks like winning he will no doubt be tempted.

This idea of reviving the 'Auld

Alliance' is sheer lunacy. The alliance ended with the army of the Congregation driving the French troops out. The Congregation didn't like Catholic rule. Next to the Pope, De Gaulle is the most powerful Catholic in the world. Then there's the question of Brittany. Scottish Nationalism is allied with Welsh Nationalism. Plaid Cymru is allied with the Breton Nationalists, who are struggling against French rule. Charles' enthusiasm for self-determination means Quebec, but not Brittany.

INDEPENDENCE AND AFTER

The word 'independence' in the nationalist sense means separate government. The Tory, Labour, and, to a lesser degree, Liberal parties are 'unionist'—that is to say, they want to keep the United Kingdom. I, as an anarchist, am opposed to all governments, whether 'united' or 'national'. I know many people support the SNP because they think it stands for freedom. The left wing hope to press a Scottish government into social reform. But the SNP is a 'classless' party—that means it tries to pretend that class divisions don't exist. Barring accidents, home rule should be achieved within ten years. The nationalists used to say 'we will disband after independence'—now it's 'there will still be a need for a national party'. No doubt anyone who disagrees will be regarded as unpatriotic.

Independence will not fundamentally change the life of the people, since it will leave the authoritarian structure of society intact. This structure rests upon the consent of the slaves. Consent is given because they have swallowed the propaganda which has been fed to them since their schooldays. I end with a quote from *Is Scotland Educated?* by Alec Neill. 'Goodness does not mean suppression of life's desires: it means approval of life's desires. I see no hope for Scotland until she and her kirk go to the Devil.'

DAVE COULL.

Portugal's Reluctant Serviceman

THERE must be many here who doubt the wisdom of calling up and conscripting large numbers of young men for long periods of military service in Africa. With its national service at about the longest in West Europe, the future is grim for the young in Portugal.

Just now the Government has stepped up the recruitment of volunteers in the 18 to 20 inclusive age group, to prepare more officers for when the age of military conscription falls to 18 shortly. Notices are already up in our village, calling on all those who can read, write and count OK, to sign on now and have a chance of promotion, if they show willing.

More than two years seems the shortest term of military service anyone can expect to get away with, and over three years isn't rare either. There can't be many who support this policy and among the workers and peasants there are a lot who are, it seems, openly against it. More than the low wages, conscription has got people going. Before, emigration was the answer to poverty; now even this is cut off from those who crave it most, and those nearing the age of military conscription have a job getting permission to leave the country.

It must be sickening for those who have to serve in the army of Portugal, the army pay (or pocket money) is only about 6d. a day to start with. Overseas service pays better, but that doesn't mean there's any mad clamour for it. Many would probably sooner have the 6d. and stay in Portugal, than go to Angola and

the like.

On top of this, the standard of living here is much lower than in much of Spain. The land labourers in Alto Alentejo, for example, get no more than 40 Escs. (10/-) a day, and the town tradesmen often under 60 Escs. (15/-) a day. The cost of living in those peasant villages, which are often without electricity, is less than in Spain. Even so, we who are used to living and working in Spain and have lived in Portugal, can't see how they can eat on these wages, let alone anything else.

Naturally, a lot leave the country and some even go to Spain after better pay and conditions. The Government stops a bit of it, because it still has military designs on Africa and it needs the men, but some do a bunk and many more would leave illegally if they had the chance.

Salazar himself doesn't seem to have any intention of coming out of Africa, no matter what it costs his people to stay in. Small nations, like our own small political groups, are ever ready to be militant and take anybody on; on the off-chance of making a name for themselves they'll bugger the cost and consequences. But the thing is, will the people who're used to living on 40 Escs. a day be willing to die for the system which pays it them? If there is a major conflict in Africa involving Portugal, as seems likely, will the workers fight for fascism?

WAR IS POLITICS carried on by other means and Realpolitik, as distinct from the specious bromide that makes up electioneering campaigns, is about two things—power and wealth. Every state in the world, and it matters not a jot what fine-sounding propaganda label it has attached to itself, exists primarily to maintain and perhaps extend its own power and to safeguard the economic system which is capitalism in one form or another.

Capitalism differs from the tribal or feudal systems that preceded it in that these saw themselves as static or timeless whereas capitalism is dynamic and constantly requires greater markets, supplies of raw materials, populations, production and profit. Its mechanics, like the mechanics of the actual industrial processes, become ever more complex and to safeguard and to some extent control this complexity the state apparatus has grown in size and power. Obviously a time must come when the competitive capitalisms of the various states and power blocs become so complex and so desperate in their rivalries that war is resorted to so that one capitalism temporarily weakens another or takes over wholesale its resources. It is argued that war today would soon become nuclear, but would it? The favoured few who have constructed underground shelters for themselves to sit out a nuclear war obviously don't think it would be the end. (In some of the underground complexes set up by giant US companies there are even kept micro-films of share records.) And what is to stop the situation of 1984 (in which continual war was fought in the Southern hemisphere to absorb over-production and keep up loyalty and discipline in the super-states of the Northern hemisphere and in which the 'belligerents' had agreements not to directly assault each other's homelands) being resorted to? It is not beyond the ingenuity of power politicians.

This war is the end-product of capitalism. There are two other objections. The first is that, as capitalism is grossly competitive, there are bound to be countries, districts and huge numbers of people—pensioners, unskilled workers, unemployed, Afro-Asians who have got in late on the act—who are ground down in the general scramble and are left homeless, poverty-stricken, destitute or starving. This is the 'moral' objection to capitalism or, if you are one of the

victims, the immediate personal objection. The last objection is 'aesthetic'. Surely there is a better, more meaningful and more dignified life than debasing yourself and having no other aim than madly producing and consuming?

Why then do so many ordinary people support capitalism? The first reason rises out of the 'aesthetic' objection mentioned above. There are plenty of people who do not have the consumer way of life as their only end. They care, often deeply, about such things as religion, humanitarianism and simple patriotism and yet they support, fight and die, albeit unknowingly, for capitalism. This is because capitalism is always dressed up as something else. Apart from the very honest Ayn Randists and (I think) the John Birchites in the US, the disciples of capitalism never inscribe its true name on their battle banners and exhortations. It is always 'gallant little Belgium, the defeat of the fascist beasts, democracy, our way of life' for which we are bidden to fight and die.

The second group of supporters of capitalism are those who have been bought. To them justice in South Africa is nothing when the present system is financially advantageous to 'our' economy and their living standards. The Vietnam war is fine because it ensures high production and wages and is happening elsewhere. The defiling of the British countryside and the wrecking of the cities as part of capitalist 'progress' are unheeded beside thoughts of the new car that the new prosperity will bring.

The buried are those who fight capitalism, face to face, often with weapons in their hands, in the cause of something better. They are in their graves, in oblivion, or buried in the sense that they have been successful in the power struggle and have now become like that which they once fought against.

Apostles of the non-violent confrontation have never said how they hope to win over enough of the bewildered or the bought (who form a large slice of the population) to make their ideas feasible. Violent revolutionists (who invariably end up if successful as new tyrants) have an increasingly tough time in the modern world. General Giap, the brain behind the Vietnam communist strategy is an eminently practical man. He has under his command an army of tough, resolute guerrillas in the struggle

to drive a particularly gross and nauseous capitalism—that of the US—out of his homeland. Ten of the bewitched and/or bought pampered US soldiers are hardly worth one Vietcong so far as fighting qualities are concerned but the US has a highly sophisticated weaponry. The leading capitalist nation, which takes on the world policing role, the US today as it was Britain in the 19th century, invariably wins because it has the best weapons and it has them because the leading capitalist nation always has the best technology to produce the weapons.

Regis Debray, the French guerilla intellectual, now in a Bolivian prison, has written a book *The Revolution in the Revolution* that shows a way round General Giap's problem. Debray wants several Vietnams going on at once so that the US becomes militarily over-extended. These Vietnam situations are brought about by small bands of guerillas acting in unison in several countries whose activities will provoke US air force intervention in the usual callous manner and this will so anger the masses that they come over to the guerillas' side and then the thing snowballs into a victory for the guerillas. This seems practical (although Che Guevara died trying it) but so far as I am concerned any strategy that relies on the provoking of the use of napalm on villages is not worth thinking about.

What then to do? Is not the most effective way of 'confronting' capitalism simply turning your back on it and endeavouring to steer clear and trying to build up alternative ways of life which may or may not become widespread? At least nobody gets napalmed and it is practical on at least a small scale.

JEFF ROBINSON.

Subscription for a Friend?

National Liberation or Class War?

This article first appeared in *Bulletin de liaison* (August, 1967) of autonomous anarchist groups in France. (Translation by Bob Blakeman.)

LET US SEE if the NLF (of Vietnam) is a revolutionary organisation.

It is evident that the sole fact that the NLF supports the armed struggle against US imperialism does not prove that its views and actions are revolutionary (just as the Gaullists, in 1940, participated in the armed struggle against German imperialism).

THE NLF PROGRAMME

Let us examine the programme of the NLF, in particular the famous five points of its Central Committee.

The first point accuses US imperialism of having sabotaged the Geneva Agreement. We already have here the embryo of a false analysis, since this implies that they need not have been sabotaged, that is, that an agreement between nations can be valid.

The second point states that their aim is to create an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral state. This is not an aim which anarchists can support.

In points 1, 3, 4 and 5 they always refer to the notion of 'people' and not of 'classes', which makes one think that it is not the world bourgeoisie that have made and broken the Geneva Agreement, but only US imperialism, and that the Vietnamese form a whole in themselves, that is, that there are no dominant classes in Vietnam, nor any aspiring to be such.

NLF OBJECTIVES

Also let us look at the declaration of N'Guyen Hno Tho, of the NLF in *L'Humanité* (28.8.66):

'Our objective is to set up in South Vietnam a united national democratic

government re-uniting the representatives of all social classes, of all beliefs, and of patriotic notabilities and political parties. . . . (Even the French Communist Party does not go that far on the road to reformism.)

For a revolutionary to support the NLF and its political positions, in these conditions, is to make the same mistake as to support the Gaullist programme during the Resistance, the Popular Front in 1936, and the CNT collaborationists with the Republicans in Spain.

This is to fall into the trap of uniting against our privileged enemies in particular, which is only one aspect of the general repression, and it is to support the theory of revolution by palliatives.

We will elaborate on this when we make a criticism of Frontism. But before this we must refute another argument. One often hears it said that the NLF is in fact supported by a revolutionary organisation (the ex-Indo-Chinese CP) itself supported by the workers' state of Hanoi, and that the alliance is only tactical, because after the victory the bourgeois elements will be jettisoned in order to construct the socialist order.

Apart from the fact that we always have the same attitude to a Communist Party or a 'workers' state', we must criticise more deeply the position of the Indo-Chinese Communist Party and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, in order to understand what Marxist-Leninism is, that is, the strategy of compromise built into a programme, revolution by steps, that is, an idealist vision of history, a sort of messianism.

PERMANENT INSURRECTION

Since 1930 (see *Solidarity* pamphlet and *Voix Ouvrier*) the peasants (95% of the population) have been in a state of permanent insurrection against feudal exploitation. On the whole they support

the Vietcong which they see as a force capable of breaking the social structure. The first insurrections were supported by the ICP; however, after the 7th Congress of the Comintern (1935) which advocated the tactic of the Popular Front (alliance with the so-called progressive bourgeoisie), the ICP took a step backwards: it abandoned the slogan 'Down with French imperialism' and the struggle for independence.

The ICP faithfully followed Stalin's directives after the Russo-German rapprochement of 1939, defending German fascism against French aggression. Since 1940 the Americans have been interested in Indo-China. At Yalta (1940) Roosevelt proposed to replace French occupation by an international (in effect US) occupation, Stalin agreed.

In March, 1945, the Japanese launched an offensive against the French garrisons. The USA refused to help; the French forces were decimated, the Japanese proclaimed Indo-China independent, but continued their occupation. The ICP prepared for the occupation of the country by the allies. Americans and British occupied the south of the country, Ho Chi Minh took Hanoi; he supported the USA. France in its turn declared Indo-China independent and undertook to pull out its troops in five years. The ICP followed the directives of the USSR; a strict application of the Yalta Agreement; Indo-China was made part of the West. There was no question of social revolution or of independence.

MILITANTS ASSASSINATED

The nationalists and revolutionary militants (Trotskyists especially) were systematically assassinated by the ICP which supported the pro-French puppet Bao-Dai 'as the symbol of our desire to stay within the framework of the French Union'.

tions of top bureaucrats in the party machine (who just happened to have lost favour with the Fuehrer), and such denunciations were made by the humblest party worker, and were regarded by Western Fabian fellow travellers (yes, Fabians fellow travelled with Hitler and Mussolini, as well as Stalin) as proof of party democracy and the ability of the people of a powerful nation effectively to influence and change their rulers. Such Fabians were all too ready to show that the situation in the country of their choice, though not perfect and sharing some of the ills of this one, was nevertheless much healthier.)

'Jugoslavia is the only sophisticated political state that has so far tried to practise direct democracy. It is imposed from above, an attempt by an authoritarian government to throw away its authority, to train a people to govern itself, to allow the state to "wither away".'

'One of the most striking recent developments is the establishment of the Rowen Engineering Factories in Scotland and Wales. There have been plenty of experiments before from Robert Owen to Scott Bader in co-operative, profit-sharing, consultative enterprises; but usually ultimate financial control lies somewhere outside the body of workers. . . .'

The evidence is that though John Morris has come to realize that the essence of class society now lies in control of production not in de jure ownership, he has still to learn that workers' control means just that, not that workers should participate with a minimum of wasted time.

'Various sub-committees save the factory meeting wasting its time on detail; prepared proposals, including recommendations on hiring and firing, are put before a meeting. In practice, the hiring of new employees is usually endorsed at once; but a dismissal means long discussion, and is really proposed until after several warnings.'

The whole pamphlet underestimates the difficulty of attaining direct democracy, it carefully avoids using the traditional word for libertarian socialism—anarchism—and obviously the reason for this is linked to his underestimation of the difficulties and his refusal to consider the fact that the socialist states are not merely marred by authoritarianism but are class divided societies, where power interests put the Stalinist regimes into power for precisely the same reasons that the 'forces of order', as they were called, put Hitler into power in Germany. The fact that John Morris was in the past a keen member of the Committee of 100 while remaining in the Communist Party, and that he stayed with the 100 after the bulk of the wishy-washies had left it, must be 'counted unto him for righteousness', but does not alter an essential fabianism of approach.

LAURENS OTTER.

Ho Chi Minh permitted French troops to penetrate freely into the interior of the country. He called on the population to celebrate the arrival of the new occupying forces. So the French reinforced their positions until the day when suddenly they bombarded Haiphong (24.12.46). The French Communist Party ranged itself on the side of French imperialism.

In September, 1945, the French Government (in which the Communists participated) asked for a military budget of 100 million to reinforce the expeditionary forces. The Communists voted for this. In January, 1946, a new military budget was approved by the Communists.

In December 1946 the 182 Communist Deputies approved unanimously a message of congratulation sent to General Leclerc for his action in Indo-China.

During the debates in the Assembly (14.3.47 and 18.3.47) the Right-wing Deputies applauded the Communist Deputies for their support of French aggression.

FRONTISM

This is the not-too-glorious past of the French Communist Party and the Indo-Chinese Communist Party; the latter now controls the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the 'workers' state' which, in its support for the NLF, refers three times, in its four points to the Geneva Agreement. That is, it plays the reformist, diplomatic and parliamentary game worthy of its past and of its political conceptions, in particular Frontism as a strategy.

Frontism, or union with 'advanced bourgeois parties' entails practical concessions, moreover, it can only deal with one problem limited by time and space; it entails polarisation limited to one aspect of repression; therefore the organisation is absorbed in a short time by the bourgeois ideology. It is in the same way, and by the same process, that a centralist organisation which has as its objective the taking of that supreme element of repression, state power, becomes integrated into the bourgeois world and therefore counter-revolutionary. It is the politics of national unity and the popular front which led the French CP to support French imperialism in 1946, Ho Chi Minh to support Bao Dai against the Vietnamese revolutionaries, and which will lead to a betrayal of the Vietnamese who fight to set up a Stalinist regime. So much for socialism!

Besides, the word 'socialism' isn't mentioned once in the four and five points of the NLF and DRV.

Frontism is also the consequence of a conception of the role of an organisation, that is that which pretends to represent other things than itself such as the 'objective' interests of a class or a people. Out of this grows the 'infallible' organisation and everything must be subjected to its strategy; its strategy becomes the Revolution. It becomes an end in itself, it is the bearer of Revolution, and it is not afraid of allying itself with the bourgeoisie, of sacrificing revolutionary struggles in order to control them better. It is itself the Revolution.

It is the communist international directed by Stalin to which the Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions were sacrificed. It is the Bolshevik Party of Trotsky and Lenin against Kronstadt and Makhno.

REVOLUTION BY PALLIATIVES

Frontism, we have seen, is the theory of revolution by palliatives (the palliatives are in effect the progressive march of the organisation towards power).

Thus Che Guevara affirms correctly that in order to aid Vietnam it is necessary to open up new fronts of struggle everywhere in the world, but he claims that these fronts must be above all anti-American imperialism.

But imperialism is only the arena, and not the supreme arena at that, but only the most advanced, of a certain highly-developed capitalism; it is not the mark of other naissant capitalisms such as those of the third world. And so the bourgeoisie of imperialist countries enter momentarily into conflict with the rising bourgeoisie of backward countries who wish to develop the forces of production for their own ends. Thus the slogan 'Against Imperialism' finds its echo among the advancing bourgeoisie. Hence the necessary alliance with them. Finally it isn't the proletariat which needs this alliance to live, but the bourgeoisie, which in order to realise its national revolution (its 1789) must lean on the oppressed classes whose struggle is thus alienated and overridden.

In effect the struggle of the oppressed is against imperialism and against the rising bourgeoisie, which are only two aspects of the same oppression.

Even so, in the cases where imperialism is defeated and the so-called revolu-

tionary party takes power, the apparatus of this party finds itself playing the role of flatterer to the rising bourgeoisie (c.f. Cuba) which always finds a way of changing so as to embed itself in the system.

The struggle therefore must take place in the realm of the direct hold on the means of production by the producers and in their own authentic control.

The only problem is this: in the countries of the Third World, are the workers capable, by themselves, of realising primitive accumulation (is it necessary in the setting of world revolution?) and of developing productive forces and of directing them in the sectors which they themselves choose? Or is it necessary to entrust this work to a gang of technocrats supported by the Party, or to a National Bourgeoisie?

THE REVOLUTIONARY VIEW

The only revolutionary view is the first, even if it leads to a certain number of temporary failures.

Marxists of all tendencies choose the other view. They prefer the NEP to Soviet power.

WHAT ARE WE TO DO?

To claim that since the NLF isn't revolutionary, what is happening in Vietnam isn't revolutionary, and therefore doesn't interest us, would be a mistake of the same kind as that which consists of supporting (verbally of course) the NLF for want of something else. To group all the combatants in Vietnam under the NLF is to play the game of the latter, that is to say, to claim the representivity of an organisation outside itself. In the same way one could say that there were no longer Anarchists in Spain after Montséry, Oliver and others had entered the government.

It is this conception of organisation which makes certain Trotskyists commit a grave error. Not being able to have a position on Vietnam, to support the struggle means for them to support an organisation at all costs, even if it has been openly opposed to them (concentration camps for Trotskyists on the initiative of Uncle Ho).

As far as the Anarchists are concerned there are those who consider the NLF and the Vietnamese engaged in the struggle to be the same and reject them both, and those who support the NLF.

On one side there is abstentionism, on the other activism, two attitudes arising from the same Marxist and bourgeois conception of organisation, both of which feebly hide the failure of revolutionary perspective when one abandons the standpoint of class struggle.

For us the valid point of view on Vietnam is this: there is a confrontation between two imperialisms from which a rising bourgeoisie is trying to profit, superimposing itself on an authentic popular revolution. The NLF has always denied this revolution and presents the struggle of the Vietcong solely as a war of National Liberation.

Therefore if we reject the concept of nation (which is a product of bourgeois ideology) and use that of class, we can see that the only means of supporting the struggle of the peasants and workers of Vietnam is to weaken the bourgeoisie where we are. The best help is for us to get rid of our capitalists and our bureaucrats.

It now remains for us to analyse revolutionary perspectives in France and to define our actions there. In this respect the analysis of the situation in Vietnam has been useful since it has allowed us to define some positions and some mistakes we should not make.

From our point of view the Vietnam Committees are the expression of a double theoretical and practical error.

1. They support unconditionally a non-revolutionary organisation and an idealistic concept of revolution.

2. They hide the true problem which is the class struggle in France and make the people think they can do something for Vietnam outside direct action.

Of what does direct action consist in the conditions in which we find ourselves, that is facing the French bourgeoisie and American penetration? It consists only of action against American installations which, moreover, would contribute to the denouncing of reformist and legalist organisations, whose support would only be verbal.

We must therefore denounce the Vietnam Committees and place ourselves on other ground. Of course we can also talk to people in the street, we can attend meetings and put over our point of view and start discussions on imperialism, the class struggle, etc. . . . which may cause the Vietnam Committee to split. We must always defend the totality of our positions.

NANTERRE ANARCHIST GROUP.

Direction of Democracy?



'Our world is not well governed. War and poverty, hatred and violence, kill and wound every day. Nations that are at peace and well fed today are afraid of the future. This world is dominated by democratic governments. Their democracy is indirect or representative; in most of the major countries, the people hand over the power to make all-important decisions to a small group of professional rulers, who enforce their decisions by law courts, policemen, soldiers. Usually the people may change their rulers every few years, replacing them by other professional politicians whose outlook, policy, and powers are very similar.'

(The opening paragraph of *Direct Democracy*, by John Morris, on behalf of a study group, published by Jane Prince.)

AT FIRST READING that opening paragraph might be taken as an anarchist statement. One might on second reading object that it appears to imply that the common people had some choice in the matter, short of revolution and is indicative therefore of a failure to comprehend the necessity of revolution to anarchism, but anyone who has not so left themselves open to having two meanings read into their writings must be remarkably lucky.

Much of the pamphlet in question is written in similar terms with similar ideas, yet I found the first two times I read the pamphlet that on the whole I disliked it. So, when Freedom Press sent me an extra copy and asked me to review it, my first reaction was to stuff the thing under a pile of papers, which I thought I might with luck get round to looking at in 1968, and it was only that I failed to find my copy of the Ida Mets' pamphlet when I wanted that, that made me sit down and do this.

It is hard to say exactly what it is in this pamphlet that makes me feel dissatisfied, I can and will give a number of quotes which will pinpoint attitudes with which anarchists would quarrel but it must be understood that these are lifted out of context and that it is not fair to judge the pamphlet solely on them.

The 1917 Revolution made Soviet Russia the "fatherland of the international proletariat" and inspired high hopes among very many men. . . . But socialism prevailed in one country alone. . . . Stalin's excess killed men's trust in over-mighty party leaders not only in one man. . . .

Now this will seem unfair quoting when it is added that among the passages omitted for those dots is: 'National needs imposed upon Russia the autocratic rule of Stalin so that to millions Marxist socialism came to mean the dictatorship of party bosses.' But when one sees that Stalin's rise to power is described: 'When the man with an experienced clearer mind time and again proves right, his views are heeded uncritically; his fellows know in advance that what he counsels is right, what he frowns upon is wrong.' So that even though it says: 'The awful experience of Stalin is not to be explained away as a freak of psychology, a product of the Russian past or of communist principle. It is a monstrous enlargement, a gross and grim warning, of the distortions that power imposes on the mind of any supreme leader in any society' it is clear that the author has not considered the economic and class origins of Stalin's power; and that therefore the passages quoted, however much dragged from context, do represent his thinking.

'The system is basically authoritarian. The people choose every few years between two sets of professional rulers, whose policies are very similar in most important matters. The parties retain theoretical and emotional differences. . . .'

'In China, opposition has gone further. Demonstrations of millions of people have taken it upon themselves to dismiss and replace their rulers; whether or not these demonstrations were instigated by one faction against another, whether the rulers dismissed were the right ones or the wrong ones, the fact is that a vast people has learnt that it has the power to change its rulers. . . .'

(In the thirties, both in Stalin's Russia and Hitler's Germany, under different names the people's trial and autocritique sessions were characterized by denuncia-

Draft Resistance in US Worries Hawks

THE ARREST on January 5 of Dr. Benjamin Spock, Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Michael Ferber, Marcus Raskin and Mitchell Goodman—the adult group supporting the younger men's Resistance movement—marks the beginning of a crackdown by the Justice Department on those who counsel, encourage, aid and abet young men to strike the draft machinery.

This gesture is reminiscent of the period 1949-1951 when immediately following the passage of the Universal Military Training and Service Act (1948), Peacemakers put on a vigorous campaign for counselling and support of non-registrants by people above the draft age limit. In this campaign a few were apprehended, two being convicted. Some think that this crackdown will be against Resist personnel generally; others, that it will be against only a select few, in the hope that this will restrain and discourage.

Successive waves of resistance—April

15, October 16, December 4, and the date being announced now, April 3—are making an impact. Whereas Dr. Spock used to be pictured with a very worried face, it is quite clearly the government's face which now takes on a worried expression. Protests are becoming more open, desertions from the Army are more numerous, refusals at the induction centers to take the one step forward are increasing. But most important of all, perhaps, is the rise in resistance to the whole draft system—where fellows, even those who could be exempted, come out solidly against the whole apparatus. These people show they are thinking of more than just themselves.

The people who want a military victory in Vietnam, who are unwilling to discuss what is really going on in Vietnam, who have become increasingly irritable at the sound of dissenting voices, do have justification for being worried now.

Aside from preoccupation with the

military state of things and concerns which are always present in an election year, there is the matter of handling all these draft violators, processing their cases, housing them in prison. And some of this concern has to do with the additional cost involved, at a time when the subject of rising government costs is an extremely unpleasant one.

On Thursday, January 11, Attorney General Ramsey Clark took a report to President Johnson which showed that in 1967 draft card burnings and other violations of Selective Service jumped 77% from 1966, and 250% from 1965. There were 952 cases—a 20-year peak.

The report said that an increase of nearly 400 in the federal prison system over the previous year can be attributed partly to the fact that length of sentences being given draft violators is increasing. In 1966 the average sentence was 25.4 months; in 1967 it rose to 32.1 months.

Whether the Administration can slow down the draft resistance movement by

imprisoning some of the older people in it remains to be seen.

The immediate reaction of the anti-war forces is to rush to the support of the men. Numerous supporting rallies have already been held around the country, and there will be many more. Statements of support are being circulated. Following is the one put out by the Resist group, Room 4, 763 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Mass. 02139.

We stand beside the men who have been indicted for support of draft resistance. If they are sentenced, we, too, must be sentenced. If they are imprisoned, we will take their places and will continue to use what means we can to bring this war to an end.

We will not stand by silently as our government conducts a criminal war. We will continue to offer support as we have been doing to those who refuse to serve in Vietnam and to those indicted men and all others who refuse to be passive accomplices in war crimes. The war is illegitimate and our actions are legitimate.

(Reprinted from *The Peacemaker*—Cincinnati, Ohio.)

North-West General Strike

A MASS TOKEN strike of North-West Workers is on the cards! As a way of supporting the Roberts-Arundel strikers it has been long overdue.

The Stockport Trades Council will now press for a general stoppage, when they meet the executive of the Lancashire Federation of Trades Councils today (February 24).

Last week a few scabs let out at our lads on picket, but as usual the police made no arrest. No doubt the police have their orders on who to arrest and who to protect, but it's a bit much when the scabs can land out and we can't defend ourselves for fear of being arrested for assault.

BACK THE STRIKE

In Stockport, we have the best local union leadership we could hope for. Against us is a bent businessman trying to force a foreign way of life down our throats. Nobody but a gutless get, would stand for this!

The police also have been prostituting their services to keep Arundels going. So we ask you to support the strikers and victims of the police's violence in this strike by backing the picket or sending money to Roberts-Arundel Strike Fund, c/o AEU Office, 125 Wellington Road, Stockport, Cheshire.

Rent Strike

COUNCIL TENANTS at Skelmersdale, near Liverpool, started a Rent Strike this week. This they did because the Council of this new town is trying to put the rents up by as much as 6s. 4d. in some cases.

So, with rent collectors here being sent away empty-handed, the tenants have issued a leaflet calling the corporation inept, extravagant, incompetent snobs, and ordered them to 'quit town of Skelmersdale', and to surrender forthwith all their 'powers, status, and possessions to us by whose grace you hold them'.

In Peace News this week

Virginia Baskin: Profile of Mikis Theodorakis
Israel/Egypt
Bill Hillier on The War Nobody Wanted (Part 2)
George Buchanan: The Misinterpretation of the Mass
Peter Willis: Vietnam Cinema
Price 1/- from
Housmans, 5 Caledonian Road, N.J

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Estimated Expenses:
7 weeks at £90: £630
Income: Sales and Subs.: £587
DEFICIT: £43

PRESS FUND

London: D.K. 6/3; Group of Miami: £20; Oxford: S.W. £1; Oxford: Anon* 5/-; Leicester: P.G. 6/11; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; Ontario: J.R. 7/4; Cheshire: M.B. 10/-; Hitchin: L.A. 10/-; London, S.W.18: A.H. 5/-; London, E.5: G.H. 5/-; Hartlepool: B.C. 2/6; Brooklyn, N.Y.: P.S. £4.

TOTAL: £28 3 0
Previously Acknowledged: £81 13 7
1968 Total to Date: £109 16 7
Balance B/F Deficit: £43 0 0
TOTAL SURPLUS: £66 16 7

*Denotes Regular Contributor.

A DESPATCH of Reuters from Bangkok (*Post*, 27.10.67) mentions a tragedy which, it appears, is common enough in the South-East Asian countries occupied by American soldiers.

The young Thai (Siamese) loves children, but when his wife gives birth to a child with fair or red hair he repudiates both mother and child. For him, the child is living proof of sexual relations with a foreigner, usually an American soldier. . . . The mother, deprived of means of support, with a child of mixed racial origin, has to choose between taking a job at very low pay or becoming a "paid wife". A "paid wife" is a Thai who looks after, and perhaps loves a soldier, but who remains behind, abandoned with a few dollars when the soldier is repatriated at the end of his service in Thailand. After that, bearing in mind the competition for the favour of foreign soldiers, she will probably be forced into prostitution.

However, meanwhile, South-East Asia is being saved from 'communism'.

CLERICAL CENSORSHIP

The correspondent of *Stampa* (Turin, 24.10.67) writes that there was a television production of the 'Life of Caravaggio', last October, in which the authors had included an episode concerning Giordano Bruno, Caravaggio's contemporary and a prisoner of the Inquisition, and who was burnt to death in Campo de Fiori in Rome. The authors appeared to have forgotten that the Rome of 1667 is still the 'Centre of Christianity' and Giordano Bruno is still hated with unabated fury. The scene showing Giordano Bruno was entirely

A Threat to Art?

Dear Friend,

Until recently I was keen on socialism. Recently I was discussing socialism with some people and some of them confided that when the social revolution comes they would like to destroy all works of art. Doesn't this pose a threat to art?

Yours faithfully,

Bath. R. A. BIRD.

No 'Political Asylum'

Dear Comrades,

In *FREEDOM* (20.1.68) a comrade wrote that four American deserters had received political asylum in Sweden. That's not true, no American 'deserter' has received political asylum in Sweden! The young Americans who have escaped from the US Army to Sweden, have been 'allowed to stay for humanitarian reasons'. Meaning: 'They are so young and they don't know what they are doing'. The Swedish authorities have decided to let them stay only because of the public opinion. (An investigation recently made in Europe by the American Gallup Institute showed

POLITICS OUT!

THE ROCHDALE BRANCH of the Amalgamated Society of Leather Workers has unanimously jacked out of the local Trades and Labour Council.

The leather workers complain that the Trades Council is a political body giving complete support to the Government and the local Labour MP, who, they feel, 'has never opened his mouth in Parliament'.

Having no confidence in either MP or Government, Mr. J. Gratton, the leather workers' president and branch negotiator, said, 'We have decided to withdraw our support, financial and otherwise, because the members feel no purpose can be served by serving on an organisation which is purely political and in no way represents the trade union movement or the workers of the town'.

NORTH WEST WORKERS.

Through the Anarchist Press

suppressed by the clerical censorship, and the incident was stated to have been, on the screen, 'of only minor importance'. SUCCESSFUL PICNIC

Fresno, California:

On October 14 and 15 last, in this smiling and busy San Joaquin Valley, there was held the usual autumn excursion, with results that exceeded all expectations. In splendid weather the comrades and their families came from San Francisco, Los Gatos, and especially from Los Angeles. For the rest, those who could not come sent generous contributions.

As usual, there were animated but friendly discussions and various recreations that made the two days very enjoyable. There's no need to say that the cooking was excellent and the comrades provided a quick and admirable table service. In short, two unforgettable days in a most cordial atmosphere and all pervaded with the intimate satisfaction of having done something useful for our movement.

\$918 was received and distributed as follows: *Volonta* \$300, *FREEDOM* \$150, *Seme Anarchico* \$100, *Tierra y Libertad* \$100, *Vittime politiche d'Italia* \$100, *Adunata* \$108, *Internazionale* \$50, *Gruppo Giovanile di Milano* \$60.

On returning to our homes in various parts of California we wish to thank very much the comrades of Fresno for their generous hospitality, and we greatly hope to see everybody again at the picnic in May, 1968.

that nearly 80% of the Swedes were against the American policy in Vietnam!) This year there is a General Election in Sweden and the Social-Democratic Government won't take the risk of losing any votes, otherwise it wouldn't care for the Americans. No government cares for fugitives, if it can't use them politically! Naturally the Capitalist Sweden won't offend the Capitalist USA if possible.

So don't thank the Swedish Government!

With love from
Sweden. HARALD PILSTRÖM.

Vietnam

Dear Sir,

At a recent conference of radical, socialist and liberal students held at Sheffield University Union, a Northern Universities Vietnam Action Co-ordinating Committee was set up to act as an information centre and to co-ordinate activity both locally and nationally.

The Committee has no policy-making role: its function is to gather information from all the universities and colleges in the North of England and make sure that it is circulated around the widest possible audience in the North. At the moment, activity is centred around the week of activity sponsored by the Stop-It Committee, from March 11-17. We are also relaying information on research work being done in the universities that can directly or indirectly aid the Americans in Vietnam.

The way that the Committee works is that every university and college in the North elects a representative to act as an information gatherer and disseminator.

MOVING FUND

Target is £500.
Received to Date—£353 13s. 10d.

PREMISES FUND

Target is £1,000 per year.
Total received to date—£393 18s. 0d.
Pledges honoured to date—£270 3s. 9d.
Harlow An. Fed.—Gift of Badges.

THE FRENCH 'COMMITTEE FOR THE ENDING OF WAR'

This Committee has as its principal objective the unilateral disarmament of France. It consists of, amongst others, Maurice Nadeau, Yves Montand, and the film actress Simone Signoret.

According to the intentions of the Committee, the example of a France totally disarmed would inspire all other countries to similarly disarm all their armies.

ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATION IN JAPAN

The Japanese Anarchist Federation has been very active against war and militarism. On the occasion of Prime Minister Eisaku Sato's visit to the United States, there were vigorous manifestations of protest. On November 12 at Haneda (the Tokyo international airport), thousands of students staged a lively protest against Sato and Johnson. Eighteen were wounded and 333 students were arrested. On November 11, on the eve of Sato's departure for America, the old esperantist, Tadanoshin Yui killed himself, burning himself alive in front of the Prime Minister's house, leaving a statement in which he declared this was his act of protest against the war in Vietnam. This fine deed has greatly inspired Japanese youth in their protests against war, and in their strong desire for peace.

tr.: j.w.s.
(Sources: *L'Adunata Dei Refrattori*, 23.11.67, *L'Internazionale*, 1.1.68.)

This representative then sends the information to me, and I make sure that all the other universities and colleges get to hear of it.

Although the eleven universities represented at the conference all elected delegates, I feel that there are still many institutions—especially the colleges—that are not represented. Could I therefore appeal through your columns for any radical students in colleges and universities in the North to get in touch with me so that I may link them in with the anti-Vietnam war movement that is growing in the North?

Finally, may I once again emphasise that the Committee has no political axe to grind: it is neither a 'front', nor an extension of one party or another. Its function is solely to keep radical students in touch with one another on the Vietnam war activities being carried on.

Your fraternally,
DAVID A. CLARK, Convenor
(for Manchester University Socialist Society)

SWANSEA VIETNAM WEEK

FEBRUARY 26—MARCH 2

Monday, Feb. 26th
Afternoon—
Albert Meltzer speaking at Swansea University
Evening—
Poetry Reading by Denis Gould
Saturday, March 2nd
12 noon—
March through Swansea followed by Public Meeting
Evening Entertainment
All West Country and Welsh Anarchists welcomed
Some accommodation can be offered for Saturday

Radical Absurdity

'NEW SOCIETY' published last week a long contribution to pre-war political thought. Written by Professor Tom Wilson of Glasgow University, a specialist in the field of political economy, the article was entitled *The Contradiction in our Attitudes to Freedom*.

With the meandering tedium that is the special characteristic of *New Society*, the learned professor argued that it was illogical to oppose state intervention in people's 'private' lives and at the same time welcome it in economic life. He managed to spend six pages—I was unable to subject myself to the labour of counting the number of words—criticising this obvious absurdity without once referring to libertarian ideas. Here is an example of his reasoning:

Although the supporters of 'pot' cannot be classified in a simple-minded way as 'Left-wing', the majority are ostentatiously anti-bourgeois. We may infer that many who vehemently demand *laissez-faire* for the drug trade would dismiss *laissez-faire* in a wider context with contempt.

Dismissing *laissez-faire*, to the professor, necessarily implies supporting the state. So does rebellion:

Indeed the more he is a rebel, the more a man of letters can be assumed to be an opponent of private enterprise and an advocate of public ownership and state control. . . . For what has happened is that radicalism has come to be unnaturally identified with *étatism* and the rebel conceives it to be his role to recommend an indefinite extension of the role of the state.

The word *unnaturally* makes sense: the rest of the quote—and the rest of the article—is stupid and ignorant. I mourn for the students of Glasgow University.

Constitutional Absurdity

SUPPORT FROM the *Sunday Telegraph* for the African countries who will boycott this year's Olympics because of the decision to allow South Africa to participate. Douglas Brown wrote last week:

The black African nations are right to regard this South African pretence at multi-racialism as a piece of cynical window-dressing. The team in Mexico will be a temporarily integrated group representing what is still a totally un-integrated country.

The red-and-black halo which Dr. Leach earned by his Reith Lectures seems to be slipping. The students of King's College, Cambridge, where Dr. Leach is Provost, are demanding student power.

The *Evening Standard* reported his reaction last week:

'It's really a very funny situation,' one of his colleagues told my reporter. 'He has just been advocating a sort of anarchy on the radio but now that he's faced with it in his own college he has begun to hum and haw.'

Mechanical Absurdity

AND in the *Daily Telegraph* colour magazine a promising headline: *Down with Parliament*. The article, by Robert Broadmore, starts well:

'Parliamentary Democracy' is a crude and inadequate system of government from any point of view. It does not provide the means to govern in accordance with the wishes of the people.

The writer goes on to suggest that the system be replaced by computerised referendum. But he does not advocate the abolition of Parliament.

It would become responsible for suggesting and drafting measures to be submitted to a referendum.

And when we say *Parliament* we mean of course the government and the permanent officials who take decisions at the moment.

Mr. Broadmore's proposal would alter the facade of politics, not the reality.

Logical Absurdity

THERE WAS A curious discrepancy in a NOP survey of attitudes to the Vietnam war published in the *Daily Mail* recently.

27% of people thought that Britain should support the Americans in Vietnam, 59% thought Britain shouldn't, 14% didn't know.

But as many as 39% thought that America should invade North Vietnam if this was the only way to win the war; 42% were against this and 19% didn't know.

So some people presumably think that Britain should not support America in its war against South Vietnam but would themselves support an invasion of North Vietnam. Work that one out.

WYNFORD HICKS.

Freedom

For Workers' Control

FEBRUARY 24 1968 Vol 29 No 6

PAPER—ALL KINDS of paper—paper for writing on, for newspapers, for books, for recording the govnor's profits, paper for the administration bureaucrats, for the police records, paper for printing money, and paper for lavatories, paper so valuable and so useful that it is difficult to imagine modern society without it. And there is plenty of money in it for the big owners like Wiggins Teape and Bowaters, but for the workers who actually make the stuff there exists only low wages and bad conditions.

Just how bad are these conditions is revealed by paperworkers themselves in an excellent little journal, *The Aberdeen Paperworker*, produced jointly by the Aberdeen Rank & File Paperworkers, the Aberdeen Syndicalist Federation, and the Aberdeen 'Solidarity' Group. Aberdeen has been a paper-making centre for almost 300 years and employs about 5,500 workers.

As a member of SOGAT—the union to which most paperworkers belong—I am appalled that our union should have tolerated these lousy pay and conditions for so long. I hope printworkers (especially those who, like myself, work in the comparative prosperity of Fleet Street) will read this account of the lives of Aberdeen paperworkers and then raise hell in the Chapels and get some solidarity going if, as seems likely, the situation in Aberdeen explodes into direct action.

Below we print extracts from the pamphlet. It is the only way to review it decently. Copies can be obtained at 6d. each from M. Dey, 142 Walker Road, Aberdeen. I hope they sell thousands of them.

J.L.

Aberdeen Paperworkers' Appalling Conditions

DONSIDE MILL
DONSIDE PAPER MILL, which is owned by the Clan Group, is situated on the banks of the River Don, just as it enters the city. They make paper which is exported all over the world, and have just completed modernisations and extensions which were opened by Princess Alexandra last year. There are about 800 people employed in the mill, on a three-shift basis. Wages are about the same as for other mills in Aberdeen, £8 10s. a week for paper sorters, £10 for labourers and £16 for engineers and machine-hands.

There are two paper-making machines, No. 1 and No. 2. During the summer

of 1967 I was employed as an engineer erecting extensions to No. 2 machine, which cost about £1½ million. Casual labourers (students employed by the mill as cheap labour) were getting 5s. 3d. an hour and the electricians were highest paid, with 10s.

CONDITIONS
 The students had to work in hellish conditions; splashing about in filthy water in the pit under the machine, covered in dirt and deafened by the noise of pneumatic drills. No rubber boots were supplied! They also worked on top of the machine, about 30 feet above ground, degreasing rollers which started to turn alarmingly as soon as you stood on them. I saw no safety precautions and cat-walks were suspended from bits of wire tied with a good old-fashioned granny knot. In addition, the heat generated by No. 1 machine was phenomenal, and it was practically impossible to breathe on top of it; clothes were covered in sweat minutes after climbing to the top and the workers were only one stage from being lifted for indecent exposure!

The clearance between shuttering being erected on top of the machine and the overhead crane was about 9 inches. The crane was operated from the ground and one night one of the workers was lying exhausted on top when the crane passed over him; he received cuts on the face, if he had been lying on his side he would have probably been killed. The crane driver still does not know about it. . . . The driver frequently had to clamber about 60 feet to the top of the crane to get a clearer view. There was no ladder, and he had to climb up part of No. 1 machine, which was still running, and then up the girders supporting the roof.

For those employed erecting the machine, the canteen facilities were atrocious. Tables were erected in a shed which had birds flying in and out and shitting all over the place. The cook frequently went outside, urinated against a wall, and came back in to serve the food. No hot water was supplied for washing!

I.C. (An AEU member).

STONEWOOD MILL
 Stonewood was privately owned until the mid-fifties, when it was taken over by Wiggins Teape, who also took over the envelope factory of Pirie-Appleton's in the town. Since the take-over much modernisation has been done, including construction of new storage sheds and more recently a £1,000,000 extension has been completed. The Wiggins Group is an enormous one, with factories, mills and depots in most West European countries as well as India, South Africa and the USA. About 20% of British paperworkers are employed by them and the percentage is always rising due to take-overs and the construction of new mills, e.g. the £20 million pulp-mill in Fort William is owned by Wiggins. They claim to make the widest range of quality papers in the world and it is at Stonewood that much of this is made.

Their profit in 1965 was £6 million and, in 1966, £5 million. If this is not enough evidence of the extent of monopoly capitalism, Wiggins' itself is part (33%) owned by the giant British-American Tobacco combine.

CONDITIONS
 Most workers in Stonewood seem to think that they are reasonably well off, but that's only because of the bonus and even so many have to work overtime

and even take part-time jobs. The average wage for shift-workers would work out at about £16-£18 a week; but that is not for a 40-hour week, but for three weeks of 40, 48 and 45 hours respectively. So that if they only worked a 40-hour week, shift-workers' wages would be cut by about £2 a week.

JOB ORGANIZATION AND THE UNION
 There is only one shop steward for 1,500 workers, a situation which workers in other industries may find hard to credit. The management will allow no more and neither the unions nor the men seem prepared at the moment to put up a fight on this important issue. Recently there was more discontent than for years over a bonus dispute; a pay rise was granted after long negotiations, but the management began cutting the workers' bonuses until they were about 15s. lower than they had been, which cancelled out the wage rise. If a shop steward's committee had been in existence then, with the custom of regular meetings, elections and reports back to the men, it could have served as the focus of a struggle on this issue, which, instead, was gradually let slide and forgotten, leaving the bosses £1,200 a week richer. . . .

Quite often in Aberdeen the Communist Party takes the opportunity given it by apathy and manages to control union branches. The local trades council is one of the only two in the country controlled by the CP. However, there is no Communist activity of any kind in Stonewood, not even the selling of literature. The nearest approach was a notice which appeared recently, asking workers to come to a productivity conference, at which various local capitalists and J. Milne, secretary of the trades council and member of the CP national executive, were to speak!

A NOTE ON LABOURING

I worked for two weeks over Xmas in Stonewood, as a casual labourer in the 'squad' which is a group of about 20 men who do general labour all over the mill. The sort of things we did were shovelling snowdrifts; cleaning the beaters; digging wet, sticky clay out of a broken machine, up to our knees in the stuff and in pitch darkness; and finally shovelling four tons of coal into bags for the manager's central heating. We worked a 40-hour week and were paid about £8 10s. basic and £2 bonus. One lad was off 1½ days with tonsillitis and found himself with a wage packet of £5 5s., little more than he got on NAB, and less once he'd paid 12s. 6d. bus fares and his stamp. What made the job bearable was the tea-breaks. The gaffers turned a blind eye if there was no pressing work and you could easily take 20 minutes in the morning and afternoon.

The difference in outlook between the limited section of workers I met was great. The older ones were lost to any ideas of militancy, accepted their low wages as a natural phenomenon and had often reactionary, even racist ideas. The younger had often a firmer grasp of things than the 'official' experts in our society and had much more libertarian attitudes to things outside their own environment. I don't believe that this is just a question of age, the younger workers have had an entirely different social existence from their elders, and I can't see the mill going another 40 years without a strike.

A SOGAT member.

MUGIEMOSS MILL
 Mugiemoss Paper Mills in Aberdeen employs about 1,100 people.

I remember one day when we were all working in the packing department and a fire broke out among the bales of pulp about 200 yards away; thick smoke was pouring into our department making it impossible to breathe. Some of us went to our union rep. and asked him what he was going to do about it, but as it happened he was nearly finished for the day and did not want to stay another five minutes to see the boss. However after some persuasion he finally went up to the boss's office and said, 'What are you going to do about this smoke, SIR?' (three bows to the east), and the boss said, 'I'll see about it later.' So off went our union man home on his bike, not caring a fuck what happened to us.

However nothing was done about the smoke, and after half an hour or so about a dozen of us (seven females and five males) walked out. We stayed out the whole afternoon and came back in the next day. And we got paid for our time off as well.

I think that this example of the union at Mugiemoss is an illustration of how pathetic it actually is. It is mainly the fault of the workers who do not demand their rights.

At the mill there could be a great deal of improvement to the structure of the buildings themselves. Some beams are cracked and dangerous; guards for machines are scarce and men are often asked to do the work of two, and they do it without complaint. Accidents are a common occurrence in the mill. . . .

A YCL member.

MUGIEMOSS AGAIN

CONDITIONS IN THE MILL
 At school one is given the impression that Britain's industry is new, clean, swinging and up-to-date. The 'Moss soon shatters that illusion, with the high girder across No. 2 machine proudly proclaiming that it was erected in 1916. In fact, the entire No. 2 process, from pulpers to reellers looks as though it was assembled in the last century.

Of course, all the machines in the 'Moss are not as bad as that. The newest one, No. 5, has only been in production about two years—and already it has

'Cloth Cap' on Board

IT IS VERY improbable that you will get any great directorial skill from anyone who has been wearing a cloth cap; so said a managing director at Manchester this week.

Would workers' managements elected by the blokes on the bench be better than some of the clueless managements we have now, appointed, as they are, from 'gift of the gab' salesmen? We think they would!

But as G. D. H. Cole said in 1916, we should be in no rush for Workers' Control. The unions, he said, 'should aim at securing the fullest possible machinery of joint negotiation; but they should refuse to accept any suggestion for joint control which would involve any sacrifice of Trade Union independence and freedom of action'. He added that 'if industrial democracy is the end in view, labour has a long way to go, and it must set its own house in order before it can hope for any great success'.* Anarchists say there's still a lot of house-

claimed one life.
 A man was leaning on an unguarded pulper conveyor belt when the operator started it from the other side. He was caught between a roller and the belt, dragged through and died on his way to hospital. The firm was found guilty of not having an adequate guard on the machine and was fined—£100! Some fine, when a train robber gets 32 years' imprisonment. I would not be surprised if the company makes enough profit in two hours to cover the fine.
 An SWF member.

CULTER MILLS

The town of Peterculter (pop. 2,000) lies five miles up Deeside from the outskirts of Aberdeen. The mill, which dominates the town, started producing paper in 1750, and it remains the only industry in the town. A large part of Peterculter's folk work at the mill, and many others come out from Aberdeen in the bus every day. On the whole 70-mile stretch of Deeside there is no other industry, and a minority of the workers come to work every morning from Balmater (35 miles away) and even Braemar (52 miles away). The only alternatives are emigration or lackeying on the Deeside estates.

The mill employs close on 600 people, making it the smallest in Aberdeen. It was until recently a private company, but it amalgamated with a Fife paper-mill to form a new £7,000,000 group. Little of this money finds its way into the workers' pockets, since wages are as low and conditions as bad as in other mills in the North-East. The heat and dirt of a paper-mill have to be seen to be believed.

Paperworkers will tell you that fires are a frequent occurrence at a paper-mill. These are to some extent unavoidable, but the least you would think the management would do would be to have adequate fire-fighting equipment. The Culter management thinks differently. The hand fire-engine in the mill is in a terrible state of rust and decay, and all the fireman can do when a fire breaks out is to run and phone the fire brigade!

The only repairs the fire engine gets is a polish once every three years when the factory inspector comes for his cuppa tea. Only in January a worker was burned to death in the mill when trapped by a fire. I have no figures, but am sure that accident rates in the paper-mills must be the highest in the country.

Workers' control would be fairly easy to implement in a paper-mill. A large part of the work is automated and if production was lowered slightly to allow the workers time to take decisions about production at mass meetings, the bosses and their cronies could be done away with. God knows what they do all day anyway! I certainly hope that the Militant Paperworkers' Group gets the interest and support of paperworkers in Aberdeen, who have stood for their rotten conditions too long.

A SOGAT member (Culter Branch).

work to be done before the trade unions will be ready to tackle workers' control seriously.
 *World of Labour, G. D. H. Cole. Preface to the 1917 edition.

Shop Stewards Aboard

TRAWLER BOSSES have just turned down a long-standing union demand, that trawlers at sea should have shop stewards aboard.

The recent deaths and disasters at sea have shown that trawlermen must have the organisation to defend themselves on board ship. Government legislation and the admirable actions of the wives is not enough to put this dangerous trade on a safe footing.

The men must have shop stewards aboard to put their views and be in a position to take action to force a return to port, if conditions are bad. This is a straightforward syndicalist stand, and we hope the union will press on with its demands for shop stewards.

Contact Column

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

Open Meeting. Libertarian Teachers' Association. 8 p.m. Sunday, February 25, Housman's Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Road, N.1.

Resistance. Vol. 4, No. 4 (1/3d. postage paid) from Birmingham Peace Action Centre, Factory Road, Birmingham, 19.

'An Ode to Wilhelm Reich.' The complete Reich-weltanschauung in two stage-acts, by Sam Cohen. Send two dollars (or one dollar if in the US) to Detroit Drama Workshop, 19211 Tracey, Detroit, Michigan 48235.

Accommodation Wanted. Anarchist seeks accommodation in Cornwall or Pembrokeshire. Can pay rent. Box No. 2.

Social. Saturday evening, March 16 (Eve of Vietnam Demo). 'Roebuck', Tottenham Court Road. For Anarchist Black Cross. Folk singers, etc., welcome. 4/6d.

Piano for Sale. Ancient but workable—nil, o.n.o. Apply Mike Malet, Lewisham Group. Own transport!

US Draft Dodgers and Deserters. Sanctuary in remote parts of Scotland. Contact Aberdeen SWF, c/o Iain Macdonald, 15 Cotton Street, Aberdeen. Call in person—do not write.

Accommodation Wanted. Anarchist seeks accommodation in Cornwall or Pembrokeshire. Can pay rent. Box No. 2.

Anarchists in Canterbury please contact Robert and Ricky Bell, Garlinge Cottage, Garlinge Green, nr. Canterbury—to start group with perhaps weekly meetings.

Room available for short or long lets. Use of kitchen and bathroom. Family house. Contact P. Ford, FIN. 6954.

T.N.T. Manchester's first anarchist mag. now out. Single copies 1s. post free; multiple copies 9d. each, plus postage from 9 Boland Street, Manchester, 14.

Badges. 'I'm Backing Freedom', 'Freedom Needs a Home', 'Anarchy is on the Move'. 1/- each. Proceeds donated to P & M Fund by Harlow Anarchists.

Love and War Poems by Kenneth Patchen. Now available from Freedom Bookshop (2/6 or 1 dollar).

East Anglia. If you're near Ipswich, call on us. We stock all Freedom Press publications, and have FREEDOM and Anarchy regularly. Orwell Books, 44 Upper Orwell Street, Ipswich, Suffolk.

If you wish to make contact let us know.