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Freedom

Anarchist Weekly 

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What Was that Name Again?

Revolutionary Socialist Student Federation

Berlin—Directions of Protest

How to Beat the NAB/Coming Up for Air

Failure of Communication?

THE MOST FREQUENT complaint about 'student revolt' (to use the popular press's encapsulated summary of the complex ferment of ideas sweeping the world) is that it is impossible for the establishment or the older generation to know 'what they want'. There are none so deaf as those who won't hear. One would have thought it quite clear what the students had in mind but with some exceptions the popular press has once more failed in its function to explain to the public the facts behind all 'the mini-skirted Yugoslavian cuties, and dark sinister plotting aliens'.

It was possible for one to pick out, particularly from an excellent *Sunday Times* article and *The Listener* (those of us who did not see the BBC's *Students in Revolt* or Danny Cohn-Bendit's other appearances may have missed more clarification), a clear statement of anarcho-syndicalist ideas free of all Maoist and socialist excrescences.

Put rather simply, the idea behind the ferment is 'There's alienation from the existing political system, which the authorities and the power structure have arranged in such a way as to keep real dissent from challenging that power structure'. 'The modern state', quotes Anthony Smith—producer of *Students in Revolt*—in *The Listener*, 'they say, is an agent of violence which the workers have endured because they

had forgotten "that it was possible to fight".' Students, says Anthony Smith, have discovered that rebellion takes place in society, not when 'discontent boils over' but when it is clearly seen that rebellion can take place, that it is possible.

Anthony Smith concludes his article in *The Listener*:

What Students in Revolt demonstrated more than anything else is the fresh willingness on the part of the student militant to look at and dismiss as worthless what the rest of us are clinging to, however shaken our faith. The charge against them is probably that they see too little, but they see what the rest of us have developed the sophistication to ignore: that we are observing the rituals of the West without really believing any longer that they constitute a way of life; we have all voted in elections without feeling in any important sense that we are in control; we have piled up hire-purchase debts without feeling the pride of affluence; we have drawn out pensions and benefits without feeling any warmth of security; we have boasted of our social mobility while communication breaks down between generation and generation. We have endured the broken promises of democratic society and pretended that they were merely postponements. The student rebellion, as it gathers force in country after country, even if it does not change

anything in substance, may force people to look more closely at the contrast between the fundamental promises contained in our society and the extent of their achievement.

Daniel Cohn-Bendit's first 'confrontation' with authority was (according to the *Sunday Times*' excellent history of the French revolt, 26.5.68) an exchange with Mons. Francois Missoffe, Minister for Youth, who edited an anthology on the problems of French youth. Comrade Cohn-Bendit said, 'M. Missoffe, I have read your book. I don't altogether agree with you on some points.' M. Missoffe asked

'Why?'—'Because there is nothing in it, from beginning to end, about the sexual problems of French youth'. The Minister replied in the best Baden-Powell manner, 'I remember when I was young. In my day I had a special way with these problems. It was better to go to the swimming pool to solve them.'

At the LSE teach-in on June 13, Daniel Cohn-Bendit pointed out the dangers of the students getting locked in a circle of violence. He implied that the workers should have used the occupation of the factories to continue production and thus introduce workers' control. He

criticized the French CP, who had sold out the revolutionary occupation of the factories in exchange for elections. (It has been reiterated time after time in the words of Proudhon that 'universal suffrage is counter-revolutionary'.) Comrade Cohn-Bendit pointed out that French students could regain the initiative and set up a 'Free University' by starting the autumn term sooner than the authorities intended.

At the conference on Friday, June 14, which founded the Revolutionary Socialist Student Federation, criticism made from the floor included such remarks (according to the *Guardian*) as 'Tariq Ali represents nobody but himself' and 'Students in general are very fed up with being presented with "leaders" like Cohn-Bendit, Tariq Ali and Rudi Dutschke. The press and television just picks on a few colourful figures and then give them an importance they don't possess.'

Alexander Mitchell in the *Sunday Times*, June 16, wrote: 'With remarkable dedication to the political principles he espouses, Daniel Cohn-Bendit said "Power corrupts. I think

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WHY DON'T YOU GO TO MOSCOW?

HOW OFTEN in the midst of some eloquent, intelligent piece of oratory has some democratic oaf interjected at an appropriate (or unappropriate) moment 'Why don't you go to Moscow?' or more unapropos 'back to Moscow'. It looks smug and knowing at this point as if he had demolished the whole radical case. If his case were based on reason one could now point out that two demonstrations have been held to demolish his interjection.

One by the Committee of 100 to demonstrate against the Russian bomb and one last week very aptly in Mayakovsky Square to protest by leafletting against the imprisonment of three Russian writers and the persecution of Russian Baptists.

Some of my best anarchist friends are Christians and Church Group which organised this protest is largely Christian in content. It disclaims being 'nihilist'. It claims (debatably) that Christ was concerned with liberation. 'CHURCH', it says in its manifesto, 'does not believe in anything at all, although each person associated with it will have his personal theology or philosophy which when acted on, will shape the nature of a CHURCH Community'.

Under the heading 'Internal Structure' the manifesto states 'Again, complete freedom. There are no members, chairman, secretary, treasurer or whatever, rather you are all of these yourself the moment you move into action. . . . Duplicating facilities are available which will enable you to print your own leaflets in the name of CHURCH.'

This group arranged the distribution of the leaflets in Moscow. When two of them were detained, rather quickly, by KGB men, a third resumed the distribution until he was stopped and it is to be hoped and expected that the leaflets are being passed around in Moscow.

Official reaction was swift. Before the *Morning Star* had the embarrassing necessity of reporting the detention, it was announced that the leaflet distributors were being sent back to Britain. With the swiftness of which a totalitarian country is capable, no charges were made against them and they were flown back. One might ask what was the difference between their offence and the offences for which Gerald Brooke is now serving a long sentence? Basically the difference seems to be that now Russia is trying to win a contest with China on revolutionary zeal and the imprisonment of three worthy CHURCH revolutionaries would not look good, even in the *Morning Star*.

Nevertheless the KGB has not given up hope. Feeling a little sore about the detention of Russian agents in the unlikely suburb of Battersea, *Izvetzia* has dug up Plot B—'master-minded plot by British Secret Service Agent' and fathered CHURCH's little expedition up-

on Peter Reddaway of LSE 'closely linked with British Intelligence'. This is a natural reaction of a baffled security agency in a totalitarian state which just cannot believe that dedicated individuals can challenge and defeat in however limited a sphere, the power of the state, and CHURCH has done just that.

JACK RUMBOLD.

Defend Tom Hillier!

THE ARREST OF TOM HILLIER, a militant comrade and well-known trade unionist, is causing grave disquiet in the libertarian movement. The circumstances leading up to his arrest are as follows.

Tom Hillier was arrested, when two policemen visited his home, a week after he took part in a demonstration in solidarity with French students and workers on May 26.

The demonstration (reported in *FREE-DOM*) first went to the French Embassy and terminated in Hyde Park where there was an impromptu meeting on the grass by several hundred people. Many people spoke representing different viewpoints and organisations and it was a most interesting meeting of minds. Tom Hillier spoke as a Solidarist. At the end of his speech he made an appeal for funds to help comrades who were arrested at the French Embassy.

This is where the trouble started. Chief Inspector Donnelly intervened and said it was against Hyde Park regulations to make a collection. Somebody shouted out from the crowd that Tom should ask for people's unwanted 'litter'. When Tom good-humouredly did so, the Chief Inspector grabbed him.

Those near the platform surrounded the Inspector who beckoned for help. As he did so he relaxed his hold on Tom who left the park and went home.

The policemen rushing towards the Inspector had to run through the crowd still sitting on the grass. In their haste two policemen collided and fell. Others following also fell in a heap. Collecting themselves the police went berserk and hit out at all and sundry. The Chief Inspector also ran, lost his balance and went head over heels. It was like a Keystone cop comedy.

However, more police arrived who had completely lost their heads and started beating up people. I then got up on the platform and in a loud voice shouted: 'This police hooliganism must stop!' The crowd took up the cry shouting 'Hoo-li-gans, Hoo-li-gans' and somehow order was restored.

But the arrival of yet more police signalled the start of the most vicious

police brutality that I have ever witnessed. People were arbitrarily kicked, hit and dragged off to be arrested! A young girl of 15 was dragged mercilessly for fifty yards, her head down hitting the tarmac and iron railings until they bundled her into a police coach. It was an unbelievable scene.

Afterwards at a mass meeting of about 1,000 people the shamefaced police were lectured on how civilised people ought to behave.

And yet, on May 31, the police had the fantastic cheek to arrest Tom Hillier and to charge him with 'assaulting Chief Inspector Donnelly', and also of collecting in Hyde Park and for refusing to give his name and address. They took him to Hyde Park police station, where they fingerprinted him and kept him in all night.

Last Friday (May 21) Tom, who intended to defend himself, turned up at Marlborough Street magistrates court with eight witnesses only to be told that additional charges had been prepared against him. Evidently a yet higher policeman, Superintendent Garrett and a representative of the Director of Public Prosecutions had laid these new charges: 'incitement to riot against the peace' and 'using threatening words in a public place whereby a breach of the peace may be occasioned' (Section 5 of Public Order Act 1936 as substituted by Section 7 of the *Race Relations Act, 1965*). The case was adjourned to July 5 for the preliminary hearing at Marlborough Street magistrates court. His bail was fixed at £100.

The whole libertarian left and fellow trade unionists must come to the aid of Tom Hillier. He has a wife and three kids and he must not go to jail on these monstrous charges. But if found 'guilty' on these two last charges go to jail he must.

JOHN RETY.

Footnote: Comrade Hillier has now been charged with INCITEMENT to RIOT and asks any witnesses to get in touch with him at 59 Denzil Road, London, N.W.10.

BIAFRA—The Sordid Truth

AFTER TEN MONTHS of bitter and cruel fighting, the war in Biafra is beginning to attract attention. Fantastic estimates of the casualties begin to be publicised, some observers saying that there have been more deaths in Biafra in ten months than there has been in Vietnam since the Americans started their escalation of hostilities! The word 'Genocide' is bandied about as the Federal Government's forces massacre women and children, inexorably moving forward against the weaker Biafran fighters, who do not get taken prisoner, but are slaughtered where they stand.

Slowly, slowly, the sluggish British conscience is stirring, as the extent of British aid to the Federal Government is seen to be the main contributory factor to its success.

The Federal Government is behaving just like any central government faced with a rebellion that threatens its domination. Just as Russia had to shoot down the Hungarians, so the Federal Government of Nigeria has to hang on to its domination of Biafra province by force.

The arguments of the Biafrans are the same as those of satellites everywhere—their natural resources, their labour, are being exploited for the benefit of the central authority. When they announced their independence—i.e., their desire to run their own affairs—ten months ago, the answer from Lagos was to start shooting.

Ever since then the British role has been to supply arms to the Federal Government in considerable quantities—and Britain has not been alone in this. The Soviet Union has also sold arms to Lagos, and now that the extent of the massacre is getting out of hand—or rather, knowledge of it is getting out—Britain finds herself in a very tricky situation precisely because of Russia's contributions.

If it is possible for the British Government to squirm, that is what it is now doing, for public opinion is building up—even Members of Parliament are beginning to ask questions about arms to Nigeria—but Britain dare not cut off its supplies of guns and bombs to Lagos because the Nigerian Government has made it perfectly clear that if she does so, then the trade with Russia will be stepped up to make good the difference.

At the moment the cash value of the trade with Russia is quite considerable because the goods that Nigeria is buying is high-priced merchandise like Mig fighters, while from Britain they are buying smaller arms like machine-guns and bombs. If this supply ceases, then Russia will be only too happy to step in.

But this is not all. The Nigerian Government has also made it plain that trade in general goes with the arms deal. If Britain cuts down on the sales of arms, then the Federal Government will cut down on its purchases of 'peaceful' goods as well. Trade in general will suffer. And who will step in to supply the consumer goods and the generating plant as well as the military hardware? You've guessed it—the Socialist Fatherland, of course.

Such is the barrel that Britain is over in Nigeria. Such are the ethics of the situation. All the Biafrans want is a relationship with Lagos similar to what the Scottish and Welsh Nationalists want with London. To get it they declared unilateral independence. But whereas the Wilson Government has declared its horror at the idea of using force against the 'illegal' regime in Rhodesia, it has no compunction in giving massive assistance to the use of force in Nigeria—because, there, trade follows the guns.

This is the sordid truth of the matter. For this, it is genocide in Biafra.

P.S.

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FEW PAPERS can have had such a painful birth as the *Black Dwarf*. The first issue of this new left-wing fortnightly was originally announced for May 15, and a special 'pre-issue' was to be distributed on May Day. But the printers who set the pre-issue refused to handle it when they saw the page-proofs on April 30. They first complained that it was libel to accuse Enoch Powell of racism, but when they were told that anything they thought libellous would be changed, they dropped that story and complained that the whole paper had the 'wrong tone'. So the pre-issue was taken to the good old Goodwin Press and hurriedly reprinted for the May Day marches and meetings.

The material for the first issue was set by the Goodwin Press and then taken to another firm to be printed in photo-litho. These printers at first said there would be no problem with the political content of the paper, but on May 14 they said that after taking legal advice they couldn't handle it after all. So the issue had to be printed by another firm for May 22.

BY GOD, I love the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition for, at a time when most of the State-appointed leaders of European culture are literally trying to kick the student body to death, the Royal Academy is the one and only part of our Establishment that publicly apologises for living. 'Come Press Day and we dawdle up those carpeted steps with the practised sneer curling the lip beautiful, for there it all lies before us, the yearly culchrest of our bourgeois. The same uniformed attendant takes our Press Invitation and calls us *sir* as we breathe on his 1940 Defence Medal and we bring into operation that psychological block that was erected in the GoodOldDays when these same type of uniformed doorkeepers loudly told us to shove off for darning to stand outside the factory side gate to beg for permission to work. The same birdlike women build up a surrealist pattern of confusion over the issue of catalogues and there, on wall after wall, are the same paintings, timeless in a timeless world, of Home and Colonial buttered toast, gaslit streets, snow on the village church, sunlit lawns and cricketing vicars and all pre-Freud.

There is James Fitton's yearly exercise in gentle piss-taking and Algernon Newton's deserted residential streets washed in the dying sun of ancient glories, Halima Nalecz's cheerful change of subject though not of method and David Oxtoby's marriage of academic geometrical abstraction and the wan but expensive outpourings of the Kasmin Gallery-style of giggle. And we take it all with a gay wave of the recording pencil, even to Claude Harrison's *Watson Family at Hamble* that manages to incorporate everything that the Royal Academy stands for, from Priest and Lawn and the Young Grammar School-

THE BLACK DWARF

But that wasn't the end of its troubles. When the publisher of the paper and proprietor of the business, Clive Goodwin, saw the first issue he didn't like it because it wasn't revolutionary enough; so he sacked the editor, D. A. N. Jones, and also scrapped the entire issue.

A new first issue was put together by Goodwin and the rest of the 'editorial group'—Tariq Ali, Robin Fior, David Mercer, Adrian Mitchell, and Mo Teitelbaum—and was finally published on June 1. Jones seems to have been very badly treated, but it must be said that the first issue which did come out is better than the one which didn't. It was certainly very different. The only material from the original eight pages which survived was a translation of a leaflet issued by the Nanterre students (no mention that they are anarchists!) for the May 10 demonstration, an article advocating the prosecution of Enoch Powell, a letter from a representative of the Springer Press,

a full-page article about Che Guevara by Ken Coates, and cartoons by Siné and Steadman. Material that perished included a double-page spread attacking the *News of the World*, the D. C. Thomson press, and the group which tried to start a new left-wing paper during 1965 and 1966, a page about the struggle in Latin America and Vietnam (with an article by Tariq Ali), a report of the Liverpool bus strike, various articles about racism and May Day, and an extraordinary editorial letter to Lumumba (yes, Lumumba). New material included a full-page front-page headline—WE SHALL FIGHT, WE WILL WIN, PARIS, LONDON, ROME, BERLIN—a typically angry article by David Mercer, a double-page spread about the French insurrection (with articles by Eric Hobsbawm and Clive Goodwin, among others), a full-page first-hand report of the May 10 demonstration by Jean-Jacques Lebel, a poem about Guevara by Mike Evans, and a

Rather Servile Establishment

type complete with guitar, to the blue sky and the House Built Upon Rock, for this is what the Academy is about and if we judge it, we must judge it by their standards.

But having ridiculed this rather servile establishment it should go on record that there is one aspect of the craft of painting that only through the doors of the yearly Royal Academy can we find it in full flower and for this reason, and I say this most sincerely, we should be grateful. Each year the Academy offers a magnificent display of technical virtuosity. Nowhere in this country is it possible to see, under one roof, the brilliant works of such men as Kenneth Newton, John Merton, Gerald de Rose or Jan Eversen. By all means cry *photographic realism* and no one will gaisany you, but then stand and admire the magnificent craftsmanship of these painters who, though they can be faulted for wasting their prodigious gifts on this artistic dead end, at least have gifts to sacrifice.

On one small wall are the paintings of Clayton, Harrison and Marcus Stone and these men give a virtuoso performance of the five-hundred-year-old art of *trompe-l'oeil* that in their hands is the end-product of years of dedication to their craft.

Trompe-l'oeil is that painting craft in which the artist paints his subject so realistically that one believes for a few moments that the two-dimensional paint marks are physical three-dimensional objects and when one stretches out a hesitant hand to test the deception one knows that here are masters of a chosen calling. It is indeed an artistic dead

end yet what a cul-de-sac in which to die. Jeer at these men by all means for not daring to face up to their own age and for hiding in some non-existent past but then place it alongside the mindless rubbish that fills the walls of Better Books or Indica and know that at least the Academy offer craftsmanship.

But it is the Tate Gallery in its role of chief mourner who is now demanding to share the suburban TV screens in that moment given over to art for the minority masses, with their exhibition of the works of Peter Lanyon and Alfred Wallis. These two men had little in common beyond the fact that each came from St. Ives in Cornwall and in this twin exhibition these two dead painters have been well served by the gallery. In the soft and filtered light of the Tate Gallery Peter Lanyon is seen at rare best and his quiet green and black and dull white catch the mood of the Cornish coast. Like so many other minor artists of talent, he was unable to absorb the influences of other painters and like his friend Patrick Heron, he produced pastiches of other men's work when all he wished to do was work out his painterly problems using their strength. Lanyon is dead and we are fortunate that he left us one fine painting. It is a monumental work reminiscent of Picasso's Grecian period in feeling though not in subject, but in place of Picasso's brute Mediterranean colouring Lanyon has washed his monolithic abstraction of the small fishing port of Porthleven in a spray of sea-worn green and white leaving us with a rare and beautiful

back-page article in red print advocating the use of red paint against people and places connected with the war machine ('this will make machine-breaking that much easier', it says, and to this excellent Luddite idea we may add that black paint could be used as well).

Since the first issue came out, its printers have also said they won't handle the paper any more. All this is a pity, because the *Black Dwarf* has the makings of a really good left-wing paper: it is also unnecessary, because there is really no need to go in for ambitious photo-litho printing, let alone to sack editors and scrap whole issues, if one wants to bring out a good paper. They seem to be trying to run before they are sure they can walk. But let's hope the new *Black Dwarf* gets properly born soon so that we can see what it's really like. The original *Black Dwarf*, which was brought out by Thomas Wooler a century and a half ago, was one of the best radical papers produced in this country. We could certainly do with more like it.

N.W.

ROUND THE GALLERIES

abstract regional painting.

Of Alfred Wallis one must say that too many live ghosts must have walked the Tate Gallery on the Private View day, for this old Cornish rag and bone merchant was well and truly taken for a ride by the bright boys from the big city. They found the old man painting his naive paintings on any piece of cardboard he could find and the bright boys bought them up for a few shillings a time. Wallis died in that poverty so beloved of the romantics and the St. Ives bourgeois refused him even a decent burial and it was left to a few artists and writers to give a small dignity to his final rites. The St. Ives Establishment acted in a contemptible manner not to an artist but to an old man, and I can think of little reason for holding this exhibition in London or in the Penwith Gallery, St. Ives, for neither Establishment can view these works with a clear conscience.

Wallis, of his simplicity, caught the feel of small ships in conflict with an undisciplined sea as they force their way on and through the skin of the deep waters. There is a physical energy within these tatty paintings that the academic marine painters invariably fail to capture for the beer bottle green seas that hang frozen in so many well-made frames in the conservative Bond Street galleries exist for no other purpose than to provide a fluctuating backcloth for a well-painted lugger as lifeless as a dead butterfly pinned on velvet.

But the old man is dead and the St. Ives Philistines and the London Bright Boys are now dining off the frail corpse of Alfred Wallis who was held in contempt by the bourgeois of his native town yet, because he loved the sea and the ships that sail on it, gave honour to a people unworthy of his innocent talent. ARTHUR MOYSE.

Anarchist Federation of Britain

General enquiries should be sent to the London Federation, c/o Freedom Press, 84a Whitechapel High Street, London, E.1.

- LEWISHAM. Contact Mike Malet. 61B Granville Rd., Lewisham, London, S.E.13. Phone 01-852 8879.
- KALING ANARCHIST GROUP. Get into touch with Ken King, 54 Norwood Road, Southall.
- FENCIES (PORTBELLO ROAD) ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact: Pamela Pearce, 271 Portobello Road, W.11. Meetings every Wednesday evening at Finch's.
- S.W. LONDON LIBERTARIANS. Contact: 14 S.W. Kingston, King's Avenue (Acre Lane end), S.W.4.
- WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Contact: Stephen Hynes, 2 Westbury Road, Forest Hill, London, E.7. Regular meetings and activities. Wednesdays, 7.30 p.m.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

Every Wednesday at Jack Robinson's and Mary Caspary's, 21 Ransford Road, S.W.6 off King's Road, 8 p.m.

Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald and Irene Brown's, now at 13 Nevins Road, London, N.W.3.

3rd Friday of each month at Dennis Pen's, 314 St. Paul's Road, Highgate Corner, N.1 (above Ransford Road).

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

- SCOTTISH ANARCHIST CONFERENCE is to get back in Glasgow from 29/30 at the Trades Council Club. Groups and individuals please contact Aberdeen SWP. Accommodation inquiries to Robby Lyon, 16 Rose Street, Glasgow, C.1.
- ABERDEEN ANARCHISTS meet 1st and 3rd Wednesdays of month at M. Dey's, 142 Walker Road, 2nd and 4th Wednesdays at Liz Smith's, 45 Central Road. Correspondence to either address.
- ABERDEEN ANARCHIST FEDERATION (SWP) local group. Folk Song Workshop and Committee of 100, Cadogan Clubbing Club. Contact: Ian Davidson, 15 Cotton Street, Aberdeen.
- BEXLEY PEACE ACTION GROUP. Enquiries to 150 Rydal Drive, Bexleyheath, Kent.
- BIRMINGHAM LIBERTARIAN AND ANARCHIST GROUP. All anarchists, syndicalists, individualists, etc., please contact Geoff and Caroline Charlton, 21 George Footland Road, Birmingham 17 (near Footland Road). Note new address.
- BOITON. Get in touch with Les Smith, 108 Rochelle Road, Birtley.
- BURNEMOUTH AND EAST DORSET ANARCHISTS. Please contact John McCall, 65 Norton Road, Burnmouth, Dorset (01243) 59590 or Tim Deane, Juliet, West Moor, Wimborne, Dorset (01420) 3588.
- Bristol Anarchists. Contact: Sue Fisher and Adam Nicholson at 15 The Paragon, Bristol, 8. CORNWALL ANARCHISTS. Contact: Arthur

ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN

General enquiries should be sent to the London Federation, c/o Freedom Press, 84a Whitechapel High Street, London, E.1.

- JACOBS. 76 East Hill, St. Austell. Discussion meetings on the second Friday of each month at Brian and Hazel McGee's, 42 Penardres Street, Beacon, Cornwall. 7.30 p.m. Visiting comrades very welcome.
- CROYDON and area Libertarians alternate Fridays, 35 Natal Road, Thornton Heath, Croydon.
- EDGEWARE PEACE ACTION GROUP. Contact: Melvin Elynn, 84 Edgwarebury Lane, Edgware, Middlesex.
- HERTS. Contact either Stuart Mitchell at South View, Pottery Heath Lane, Pottery Heath, Welwyn, Herts. OR Jeff Clives, 46 Hughenden Road, Carlsbadway, St. Albans, Herts.
- IPSWICH ANARCHISTS. Contact Neil Dean, 74 Cemetery Road, Ipswich, Suffolk.
- KILBURN, LONDON. Contact Andrew Dewar, 16 Kilburn House, Malvern Place, London, N.W.6. Meetings 1st and 3rd Tuesday.
- LEICESTER PROJECT. Peace/Libertarian action and debate. 1st Wednesday at 8 p.m. 1 The Crescent, King Street, Leicester.
- NORTH SOMERSET ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Roy Emery, 5 Abbey Street, Bath, or Geoffrey Barfoot, 71 Thomas Street, Wells.
- ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Swanton Road, Kent. Every 2nd week at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson. Meet monthly 1st 2nd 8 p.m.
- READING ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Alan Ross, 116 Belmont Road, Reading, Berks.

ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION

Third-monthly meetings. Groups and individuals invited to contribute. Meetings at Keith Pathiss, 138 Pentonwood, Harlow, Essex. Group Address—

BASHLON, M. Fowd, 7 Lingcroft, Basildon, Essex.

BISHOPS STOREFOUD, Via Mount, 'Eastview', 200 High Street, Herts.

CHILMSFORD, Mrs. J. Archer, Mill House, Parkside, Chelmsford, Herts.

EPFING, John Barrow, 14 Centre Avenue, Epfing, Essex.

HARLOW. John Dewar, 164 Carter's Mead, Harlow, and/or Geoff Hand, 6 Redricks Lane, Harlow. Meetings 2nd and 4th Wednesdays in 'The Essex Stripper', The Good, Harlow.

LOUGHTON, Group 'o Students', Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Borders Lane, Loughton, Essex.

MOUTH HADHAM, Lane Road, High Street, North Herts, Herts.

NORTH EAST ESSEX. Peter Newell, 'Maybush', Maypole Road, Tiptree, Essex. Group meets first Monday in each month, 7.15 p.m. at 91 first Road, Tiptree, Essex.

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

CHORLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Kevin Lynch, 6 Garsdale Terrace, Chorley, Lancs.

LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST PROPAGANDA GROUP AND 'HIPPI' MOVEMENT

Gerry Rice, 16 Falkner Square, Liverpool, 8. Meetings weekly. 'Freedom' Sales—Pez Head, Saturdays, Sundays, Evenings.

MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Sue Warnock, 9 Boland Street, Fallowfield, Manchester, 14.

Every Saturday 'Freedom' and 'DA' selling outside Farnhill Library, 2.30-4.30 p.m.

MERSEYSIDE ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Alex Howie, 16 Devonshire Road, Liverpool 8. Meetings 1st and 3rd Thursdays of the month, 8 p.m.

SUSSEX FEDERATION

Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o Eddie Poole, 5 Tibbury, Finden Road, Whitebank, Brighton.

HOVE ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Nick Heath, Flat 3, 20 Clifton Road, Brighton, BN1 3HN. Poetry readings, Fish Market Hall, every Sunday 2 p.m. Meetings every Thursday, Combination, 76 West Street, BN1 3PQ.

UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP. (See Student Groups.)

WELSH ANARCHIST FEDERATION

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. All correspondence to—Pwyll Raymond, 90 Albany Road, Cardiff.

MERTHYR TYDFIL ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence to Huw Rowlands, 16 Crosswell Street, MERTHYR TYDFIL.

SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact J. Roberts, 111 King Edward's Road, Beynnyll, Swansea. Weekly meetings, 'Freedom' sales and action projects.

LIVELIHL Contact Dai Walker, 6 Llywennydd Road, Llanelli, Carm. Tel. Llanelli 2548.

EAST LONDON LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION

Support wanted for numerous activities in area. Secretary: Anthony Matthews, 35 Mayville Road, London, E.11. Meetings fortnightly on Sundays, 12 Ron Bailey's, 124 Hainault Road, E.11 (J.E.V. 0339). Ten minutes from Leytonstone Underground.

LEYTONSTONE GROUP. Get in touch with Anthony Matthews or Ron Bailey (address as above).

STEPNEY. Trevor Jackales, 10 St. Vincent de Paul House, Dempsey Street, Clifty Estate, E.1. NEWHAM. F. Rowe, 100 Henderson Road, E.7. HORNLY. Del Leverton, 12 Hamilton Avenue, Hornly.

DAGENHAM. Alan Elliot, 88 Hatfield Road, Dagenham.

WALTHAMSTOW. Douglas Hawkes, 123 Hermon Hill, E.18.

WALTHAMSTOW. Desmond MacDonald, 80 Walthamstow, E.17.

LIMEHOUSE. M. Soloi, 202 East Ferry Road, E.14.

STUDENT GROUPS

EAST ANGLIA UNIVERSITY GROUP (Anarchists and Peace). Contact Dave King, 219 Earlsbarrow Road, Norwich.

LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY GROUP. Contact us at the Bookstall in the Students Union Entrance Foyer every Friday lunchtime.

LSE ANARCHIST GROUP. c/o Student Union, London School of Economics, Houghton Street, W.C.2.

OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Steve Watts, Trinity College, Oxford.

SHEFFIELD UNIVERSITY GROUP. Contact Dave Jefferies (c/o Students' Union, Sheffield).

SOUTHAMPTON COLLEGE (New Liberatorian). Contact Dave Biggs, Room T7.

SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHISTS. For details contact Francis Jarman, 16 Charlotte Street, Brighton, BN2 1AG. Bookstall every Monday, 12-2 p.m. Palmer House (outside JCR).

LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

Meetings—discussions—activities. Contact Peter Ford, 36 Devonshire Road, Mill Hill, London, N.W.7.

VOLUNTARY WORK TEAM

Forwarding address: 11, Barrow Road, Manchester. (See Contact Column for present work project.)

ABROAD

AUSTRALIA. Federation of Australian Anarchists, P.O. Box A 389, Sydney South. Public meetings every Sunday in the Domain, 2 p.m. and Monday, 72 Oxford Street, Paddington, Sydney, 8 p.m.

EAST AFRICA. George Matthews would like to make contact. Secondary school teacher from UK. PO Box 90, Kakamega, Kenya.

USA. James W. Cain, secretary, Insurgency Anarchist Association, 323 Fourth Street, Cloquet, Minnesota 55720, USA.

GROUP (CREATION). Australian Anarchist, c/o Melbourne University Union or Paddy Evans, c/o the same.

MELBOURNE. Get in touch with Sebastian John, 31 Durrill Street, Carlton, Victoria 3053, Australia. Public meetings at Yarra Bank, Melbourne.

DANISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Gøteborgsvej 27, Viborg, Denmark.

VANCOUVER, B.C., CANADA. Anyone interested in forming anarchist and/or direct action group contact Derek A. James, 184 Grand Boulevard, North Vancouver, B.C., Canada. Tel.: 987-2693.

USA. VERMONT. New Hampshire Anarchist Group. Meet weekly—discussion, individual action. Contact Ed. Strum at FED 2, Woodstock, Vermont 05091, USA.

SWEDEN. Stockholm Anarchist Federation. Contact Nadir, Box 19104, Stockholm 19, Sweden.

SWEDEN. Libertad. Adolfska Vagen 6, Gøteborg, V.

TORONTO ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact R. Campbell, 219 Torzork Drive, Weston, Ontario, Canada. Weekly meetings.

BELGIUM. LIÈGE. Provo, c/o Jacques Charlier, 11 Avenue de la Laiterie, Sclaymon-Liège, Belgium.

HOW REVOLUTIONS HAPPEN

RE ARTHUR ULOTH'S 'Revolution and the Levellers', May 25, I will leave the levellers and diggers to Peter Cadogan but would like to point out that Arthur Uloth is mistaken about the Russian Revolution: he argues that it must have been made by a minority because 'the majority of the people, who were peasants, must have continued to cultivate the soil, though the armies marched back and forth. If they had not, the armies would have had nothing to eat'. But, in fact, a major factor in the Revolution was the action of the peasants who had been conscripted into the Tsarist armies. They deserted en masse precisely because of the shortage of food (plus other things that cause people to desert such as incompetent officers, defeats, general chaos and inefficiency and fed-upness with war), also because peasants left at home were expropriating the landlords and they wanted to get their share. They simply left the front and made their way back home in order to cultivate their land. The peasant soldiers were the vast majority in the 'workers' and soldiers' soviets which carried through the October Revolution, led in the final stages by the Bolsheviks. But the Bolsheviks themselves had not planned to make it—on the contrary, they had theoretical reasons for believing that it was impossible at that time. (They thought that the 'bourgeois' revolution must first be completed and industry built up by capitalist methods, before the 'proletarian' revolution could take place.)

The counter-revolution, which as Arthur Uloth pointed out, has always occurred after a popular revolution, was possible in Russia because, among other things, the peasants had to cultivate the land: so could not continue to keep an eye on what was being done by the central government. Bureaucrats, as usual, were able to usurp the power which had been won by the majority of the people.

Arthur Uloth asks 'does one have to believe in social change brought about by revolution? Can't we try to undermine existing society by setting up our own communities?' Perhaps we could try, in fact some of us have, but the point is that revolutions happen, not because we—an active minority—will them, but because society as a whole is ripe for revolution. In France in 1789, and Russia 1917, society was in decay; the ruling class had lost the power to rule effectively and the masses could no longer tolerate their conditions. The driving force was the desire of the majority of the people for social change. When these conditions are present, but not otherwise, an active revolutionary minority can get the ear of the masses and guide their action along what it conceives to be the right lines.

If we want to avoid repeating past mistakes, we can't do it by not having a revolution—it will happen anyway; and if we do not guide it into desirable channels someone else will guide it into undesirable ones. This is what is happening in France. The Communist Party, having first opposed the revolution, is now trying to take it over and will either sell out in some sort of coalition with the ruling class or transform France into a bureaucratic

collectivist state like those of Eastern Europe. In this country a similar situation will develop as the economic crisis deepens; but the Communist Party is much weaker—the counter revolution could be carried out by the present ruling class itself—as in Germany in the thirties—using fascist demagoguery and storm troops.

If we want a different outcome we shall have to do some quick and fundamental thinking. Most of us agree that our objective is a society without classes, without centralised government, without authority, hierarchy and bureaucracy—but on the positive side we are not so clear. This may prove to be our undoing, because in a chaotic and violent situation, which will arise during a revolutionary breaking down of existing order, unless one has a firm vision of what one is aiming at it is very easy to lose the initiative to others who know very well what they want and have a long experience in the working class movement of how to get it.

On the other hand we cannot on principle know what we want—because what we want cannot be planned ahead and worked out on the basis of blueprints—its must grow organically in the minds of the people out of their experience. I think this apparent contradiction may contain the key to the problem, i.e. what we are really concerned with is means, rather than ends.

Like gardeners, we can plant seeds in the earth and water them, but they grow each according to their own inner laws into plants which we have not planned. But the people who want power do not want people to grow according to their inner laws, they just want to build a social machine.

We must participate in the revolution, but in our own way, using methods which will promote the human qualities necessary for building a good society. These are primarily love (based on equality), respect for life and mutual confidence.

We could also start to form communities as suggested by Arthur Uloth, not to undermine the old society particularly, but to be seedbeds of the new. In the nature of things in our country these will be mostly in or near towns, and their members will include industrial workers and their families.

But the main thing is to prepare their personal basis—this can be done without actual communities—perhaps through closely knit non-violent commando groups which participate in revolutionary actions and in taking over the production of goods and provision of essential services (the lack of such action by the French workers will make it impossible to carry through the revolution—somebody has to do it, and if they don't do it themselves the bosses will have to come back, in one form or another).

A. VOGEL.

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

To Be a King

TO BE A KING by Dermot Morrah. Published by Hutchinson.

'Prince Charles will be the next queen'—Men's lavatories, Marquis of Granby.

THIS BOOK, published some time around March, is a wonderful successor to the *Woman's Own* in once again being very influential to the overgrown teeny-boppers of this nation who are no longer finding it easy to reach the pop singers of these modern times and can now only excite themselves with Britain's answer to Disneyland—the royal family.

The title page instils one with a sort of police-paranoia, when one's eyes are caught by the author's title, 'Arundel Herald Extraordinary', but after assuming a more natural frame of mind one can immediately conjure what sort of book is before one.

It delves, first of all, into the usual boring history of monarchy, Charles Windsor's background, mentioning of course his family, commending his father who has never done a day's work in his life yet sees nothing wrong in telling the workers how to work;

his grandmother who, the newspapers inform us, talks to dogs on March 17 whilst the US Embassy is being stormed; his mother who watches tribal dancing in coloured communities whilst she smugly watches her government develop racist policies.

The only interesting factor in the foreword are Morrah's brazen words: 'When he becomes King he necessarily becomes the universal representative, standing not for any group in the nation, but for the whole.' One quickly has to respond with Keir Hardy, 'Loyalty to the crown is used by the profit-mongers to blind the eyes of the people.'

If one can pass over from the foreword without falling asleep altogether, one is then able to absorb the whole history of Prince Charles' birth, which, to say the least, sounds very obscure. We are told that since 1668 the Home Secretary was supposed to be present at all royal births, ever since Mary of Modena was accused of 'having produced a changeling son as heir to the throne'. This was the first time since then that the Home Secretary was not allowed to be present. Then, to top it all, when the usual

IT SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD that the following is not an agreed statement of aims and principles endorsed by all 'members' of the Libertarian Teachers' Association. It is unlikely that any such statement could truly represent the varied and changing opinions of such a diffuse group. Partly for this reason, the formulation of 'Aims and Principles' has not been seen as a matter of immediate priority. Nevertheless all individuals linked with the LTA must necessarily accept the word 'libertarian' as descriptive of their attitude to education and it is likely that most would support the general outlines of the statement below—but there is no question of membership hinging on the acceptance of it.

PRINCIPLES, AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

(1) Education is to be understood as a continuing process in a healthy life. It is not necessarily enhanced by or inseparable from special people called 'teachers' or special places called 'schools'. True education may in fact be hampered by both. The Libertarian Teachers' Association is concerned with education in its widest sense and also with what is currently going on in institutions specifically designed to promote it—from nursery schools to universities.

(2) At both age-extremes attendance at educational institutions is voluntary, although some provisos should perhaps be placed around the word 'voluntary' in relation both to nursery school children and university students. In the light of the present general educational unrest and the unenthusiastic attitude of many children to the schools they are obliged to attend, the LTA questions the value of making school attendance compulsory, bearing in mind that children who are forced to attend a school that they dislike will be resistant to it and benefit little, whilst on the other hand there would be no need to apply compulsion to make children attend schools that were attractive to them. A change from compulsory to voluntary attendance would mean a revolution in attitudes towards children and techniques of teaching which would affect all sectors of the educational system.

(3) The LTA is in general opposed to the involuntary separation of children either on the basis of sex-difference or alleged intelligence. We therefore support co-education and non-streaming in all schools.

(4) Schools, colleges and universities should properly be controlled by those most immediately concerned with them: pupils, parents and teachers; students and lecturers. There are various methods of doing this and a minority of existing educational establishments in this and other countries exemplify ways of moving in this direction. The LTA supports the growth of shared responsibility, pupil-participation, student power and 'workers' control' in schools, colleges and universities. Whilst it may be helpful for practical organisational reasons to relieve busy teachers and lecturers of administrative work, the LTA opposes the traditional power-hierarchy that exists in most schools and colleges. If there is to be a headteacher or principal, his role should be functional and administrative rather than dictatorial.

(5) At this time, the existing Unions are dominated by headteachers and are over-concerned with spurious issues of professional status (for example: the attitude towards teachers' auxiliaries and 'unqualified staff'). The LTA supports all attempts to democratise the existing

LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

Unions or to create a new Union which would be more capable of representing and defending the interests of teachers.

(6) Whilst acknowledging the problems posed by over-large classes, often full of children conditioned to respond to force—the LTA is in principle opposed to corporal punishment and all other forms of institutionalised punishment. (This should not be understood to mean that adults should never be angry with children—or never show anger when they feel it.) Even though the effects of the carrot may not seem as insidious as those of the stick, artificial rewards (marks, house points, stars, etc.) do not aid freely motivated learning and are generally needed only because of the compulsory setting in which most teaching takes place.

(7) The current emphasis on competition in education—permeating the whole system but operative particularly through streaming, house systems and examinations—is to be opposed. Examinations imply that knowledge is a kind of 'private property' to be withheld from others and to be used as a lever to gain superiority over them. The LTA sup-

ports the critical movement away from examinations and the emphasis on co-operation as an educational aid.

(8) The LTA campaigns for an immediate end to such insular anachronisms as school uniform, religious indoctrination, and the prefectorial system.

(9) The LTA welcomes and gives support to all experiments inside or outside the official educational system which seem likely to extend the freedoms of those involved—both adults and children.

POSTSCRIPT

All libertarians are concerned with wholesale change in the social structure. It is important to recognise that educational advances will not in themselves inevitably result either in more liberated individuals or a more liberated society. It is only necessary to look at the American educational system, which already contains many of the features that we are proposing above (absence of streaming, informality between teachers and pupils, no uniforms, etc.) to see that it is still an efficient method of preparing the majority of young American citizens to accept with docility a society which is arguably the most barbarous and alienated on the face of the globe. There are many reasons to justify a liberalisation



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PRACTICAL PROPOSALS

We recognise that many of the above objectives can only be seen as long-term. Immediate action may seem only remotely related to their achievement. However, the libertarian tactic is essentially direct action in the here-and-now, embodying the ends as means in so far as this is possible. In the light of this, the following suggestions for action are made. These are addressed principally to teachers in schools but could be adapted to apply to lecturers in Training Colleges or Universities.

- (i) Try to realise the full implications of what in fact you are doing—or being made to do—at the present time.
- (ii) Introduce the voluntary principle at all possible points within the learning situation. Make clear the available options and try to extend them.
- (iii) The converse of this: with due circumspection, refrain from personally applying punishments or coercion as far as your particular situation permits.
- (iv) Try to mobilise that residue of dissident opinion which exists in so many schools, to speak out against the use of corporal punishment, the enforcement of uniform, etc.
- (v) Regard with compassion the fact

of educational methods—not least of which is an increase in the chances of happiness for those who are having to undergo them—but it is still broadly true that education reflects rather than causes change in the social structure. It is thus essential that the Libertarian Teachers' Association should maintain active contact with all areas of the libertarian movement: the various sectors of the radical peace movement; Radical Students Alliance; the Syndicalist Workers Federation; 'Solidarity'; the National Council of Civil Liberties, etc.—and that the interrelationship of these groups with their specific objectives should be emphasised.

This statement was discussed at a meeting on May 21, 1968, and signed by:

PETER FORD.
JACQUES GOLDMAN.
CHRISTINE A. HIGGOTT.
ANNE MYTHEN.
MICHAEL SULLIVAN.
C. R. VINCOMB.

ANARCHY 89 THE MAY DAYS IN FRANCE

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What was that Name again?

IN THIS PERPLEXING DAY and age one can never be sure which radical groups the CIA has subsidized and which ones it hasn't. Perhaps the only place you can lay odds safely is on a New York gathering with the subtle cognomen: 'Up Against the Wall, Motherfuckers'. Ideological differences notwithstanding, they sort of grab you. A fellow anarchist once described them to me as, 'They look like a bunch of pirates'. He had previously followed them as they proceeded through several streets of the lower East Side in all their hirsute flamboyancy, with bandannas wrapped around their heads, kicking over rubbish barrels and disrupting the status quo at every vulnerable point. The only props lacking were knives in their teeth and a plank to make the bourgeois walk. Even the TPF's seem reluctant to attack them—the TPF's being a select contingent of Orangutangs, alias the Tactical Patrol Force, from the NY Police Department, each of whom is either at least six feet tall or a judo expert. All have a cultivated (e.g. brainwashed) contempt for every member of the human race who doesn't happen to be a member of the TPF.

On April 6 I joined the 'Up Against the Wall' group as they did one of their things, and a unique enterprise it turned out to be. Originally it had been hoped that they might combine with an SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) demonstration at the 34th Street Armory protesting at the troops occupying the various black ghettos throughout this land of the free in response to the response to Martin Luther King's murder. I fell by the armory first and picketed for a stretch while the UAW delegate discussed possibilities of an SDS gathering moving south from 34th Street and meeting the UAW which would move north from 10th Street (their storefront headquarters) for a mid-town revolutionary rendezvous.

After preliminary negotiations (and my own circular peregrinations) I drove the 'Up Against the Wall, Motherfuckers' man back to the 10th Street headquarters to await the final results. On entering the place for the first time it was pretty obvious that I didn't fit in. Just about everybody psyched me out for the fuzz, and down there the fuzz is not your friend! Why do I have to be the only anarchist in New York with a job, a razor, and an electric toothbrush. And look the part. On the other hand I'm not sure that Bakunin would have fit in there much better than I did—beard or no beard. Anyway it turned out that I knew a few cats, but in that context nothing was likely to help. On the plate glass window, for example, there was a sign announcing that there were 'Only 72 Days Left'. Naturally I asked, 'Till when?' And the answer came back, 'Till the long hot summer!' Ever the one to quibble, I checked my pocket calendar and discovered that they were rushing things by several days—evidently they could hardly wait.

Meanwhile a couple of winos dropped in and agitated in their own ossified manner which accomplished little more than setting a stuffed chair on fire with a cigarette and subsequently starting a small altercation. All this time we were waiting for the final word on the combined demonstration over the phone (thoroughly tapped and taped, courtesy of New York's Swinest). Ultimately it turned out that the UAW/SDS combination scene was never to happen because one of the SDS-ers got himself busted for 'defacing government property'. Specifically he had chalked some sort of humane message on a recruiting sign and got caught. Hence most of the SDS-ers took off to picket the police station where he was being held, leaving the UAWs to their own devices. Oi weh!! One of their earlier exploits had been to dump garbage all over Lincoln Center in what they considered to be 'sort of a cultural exchange'.

Eventually about 10 or 15 UAWs tied their bandannas around their heads and set out from the store to stroll aimlessly (I thought) through St. Marks Place. Personally I figured the whole scene was a loser except for the fact that the bar next door had Budweiser on draught. Nevertheless when they entered Tompkins Square Park I tagged along while silently berating myself for wasting my all-too-overcommitted time. In fact when two guys I knew dropped out because they were fed up with 'twenty-four hours a day of agitation on adrenalin' I could only justify my own participation with the fact that I had heard one of the UAWs had been singled out by the fuzz for a frame-up. Conceivably my own bourgeois image might help him in court—especially when I waved my red and black electric toothbrush at the judge. The two drop-outs, however, suggested that I might well watch out for my own head. This made an uncomfortable sort of sense—I could envisage a hassle erupting with the TPFs clobbering me on one side of the head while the UAWs (still convinced I was a fink) pulverized the other.

One cat was waving a big NLF flag which I suspected we could easily do without. It had earlier been the subject of a great deal of controversy—both ideological and tactical—but he insisted that it was the most revolutionary thing happening on the whole planet (remember, this was April 6) and he would happily defend it all by himself. It looked as though he might have to.

As the group left the park and entered St. Marks Place everyone started clapping his hands and chanting: Beep BEEP—Bang BANG—UmGAWa Fire POWER. In 3/4 time yet. Obviously they were never going to get this dumb scene off the ground, least of all as a waltz. But they didn't try to walk in tempo; they were digging a different drummer, and he had started cooking. By the time they negotiated the three blocks of St. Marks Place they had collected about 50 people in back of them and the whole group had taken over the middle of the street, stopping traffic, and yelling: 'Long Hot Summer... Long Hot Summer'. A few more blocks and we turned south on Fifth Avenue and then whirled into Washington Square Park. When we debouched at the other end of the park there were at least 250 people with us. It was unbelievable. Walter Teague of

the US Committee to Aid the NLF had been addressing a large gathering in the park. As soon as we approached he jumped off his platform and joined us along with half his audience.

By this time we had about five NLF flags going for us, plus one Chinese. Everywhere we went we sucked people into the whoosh including, unavoidably, the fuzz. But these last never gathered up enough strength to stop us, so they took turns following us in squad cars and/or on scooters. There were only a few points at which they gave people any static. The first was when a small cluster tried to rip down the flag at a sumptuous Fifth Avenue apartment building. It offered a tempting target as it was flying at half-mast in honour of Martin Luther King who never would have been allowed to live there. One cop joined the door-men, who looked like night club bouncers, to defend it successfully. However, about an hour later when we surged by there again I noticed that the flag had been removed by the establishment.

On another occasion a fellow leaped up on the hood of a parked car to burn his draft card and several others jumped up on the roof in solidarity. A squad car came over and broke up the tableau. The last incident was when the occupants of one of the cars we had trapped took umbrage at the demonstrators pounding on it as they proceeded by. Whether or not it was known in advance I couldn't say for sure, but it soon became apparent that these were three plainclothes men in an unmarked vehicle. They leaped out and there was a small scuffle after which they went away.

Aside from these minor setbacks we spent several euphoric hours covering all the streets of the lower East Side, parading up and down, talking to people, agitating, disrupting, and generally stirring things up. I didn't see much actual destruction—one cat applied the Petrine Theory to a bank window with somewhat disappointing results. 'Strong glass', commented an observer wistfully, though I figured it for a weak rock.

Meanwhile people would join us and others would drop out—often to join in again the next time we came round. An acquaintance of mine heard us go by 14th Street and immediately left the pseudo-radical meeting he was attending in order to take part. After a while we got back up that way again and he left to go back upstairs to his meeting. I'm not too good at judging crowds but I would estimate that we probably had well over 300 people at our peak and possibly a total of 500 were with us at one time or another. The ranks seemed to expand and contract from block to block depending on where we happened to be, and whether or not we had broken into

a run to dodge the fuzz a little. At one point I got separated from the main group and started jogging down the middle of a street to catch up. The sidewalks were lined with spectators, their mouths still agape. Fifty feet ahead of me was an uninhibited young maniac all by himself in a full run. Without breaking stride he would leap straight up in the air intermittently, and scream 'Revolution' at the top of his lungs. I somehow felt old. But be that as it may, I consider this one of the best 'peace' demonstrations I was ever on.

Epilogue: In the last year or so the whole tone of protest has evolved into something more overtly revolutionary. A few nights ago (May 22) I was up at Columbia University when the cops moved onto the campus at 4 a.m. One of the greetings they received was from demure young co-eds shouting in unison out the windows at them: 'Up Against the Wall, Motherfuckers'. Non-violence was never like this. The *N.Y. Times* referred to it as 'obscenities' but actually it has become the leitmotif of the movement. All in all the pacifist elements seem to have lost the lead—I would surmise largely because they copped out on the anarchist implications of their own theory—leaving things to pass them by. Now half the lower East Side is studying karate, and ever since the Rusk demonstration last November they've been fighting the cops back. It used to be that when the passers-by shot off their mouths the protesters would respond with a friendly smile. Recently I saw an erstwhile pacifist I know getting some lip, and he looked the stud dead in the eye and told him, 'Up yours'. When the guy did a double take, my friend clarified, 'You heard me'. Some time ago I had heard 'Armed Love' recommended as a slogan, and I have been suggesting 'Stop the Troops in Vietnam, Bring the War Home' as a street chant. Personally I don't agree fully with either, but I think they make some sense.

Non-violence or no, I couldn't help but derive a certain satisfaction when I was told the following incident. Three days previous to the April 6 thing I was on, a memorial service was held in Central Park for Martin Luther King. Afterwards a large part of the group walked down town to demonstrate at City Hall. As frequently happens a number of bums poured out of one of the bars they passed and started dishing out the usual shit. Instead of turning the other ear the demonstrators sailed in and beat up everybody in the joint. On departing they pitched police barricades through the plate glass windows lest somebody miss the point: 'Up Against the Wall, Motherfuckers'.

R.S.C.

Armando Borghi

SINCE WE KNEW of the precarious condition of his health, the news of the death of Armando Borghi was expected and had the air of the inevitable.

It's not easy to write about Borghi in a short article, since his life was so long. Seventy years of anarchist agitation, and of his audacious intelligence and enthusiasm for the human ideal of liberty and social progress.

He was born on April 7, 1882, at Castel Bolognese, in the heart of the turbulent Romagna region, where one could still breathe the atmosphere of the 'carbonari' and the ideas of Giuseppe Mazzini still lingered on. At an early age Armando Borghi threw himself into the struggle of the agricultural labourers, and later into the strikes in old Bologna. He was always in the vanguard of the workers' claims.

Of a generous and impetuous temperament, he took the exploitation of the disinherited as a personal affront; he had a proud and resolute disposition and the social question was an essential part of his life, dedicated to the revolutionary movement. In fact, Armando Borghi began, at the age of 16, his life of agitator, orator, writer, and also of imprisonment, arrest in chains, all without interruption.

A son of working people, self-educated, a tenacious student, he developed a formidable style of speaking and writing which didn't please many people, but which was certainly effective and feared by his political opponents. As a writer, Borghi preferred newspaper controversy... but he was also, as his numerous books testify, a biographer, historian, sociologist and a profound anarchist theoretician.

As secretary of the Unione Sindacale Italiana, he translated from the French, and propagated in Italy, the theory of direct action, and applied it to the USI in the memorable struggles of the farm labourers in Parma, Molinella, Puggie and many other regions of the peninsula.

In the First World War, Borghi fought against hysterical military interventionism,

against militarism and the state which thought of the people as cannon fodder... in the stormy period after the war, the return of Malatesta, the occupation of the factories, the appearance of *L'Umanita Nuova*, the Milan trials, Borghi was always in the front rank.

As regards the Russian Revolution, Borghi went to Russia in the Summer of 1920 and had conversations with Lenin and Zinoviev, but after a meeting with the heads of the Bolshevik Party he became disillusioned with the situation of the Soviet population, stifled by the small camarilla who claimed to be leaders and guardians of the world proletariat. On moving from Petrograd to Moscow, his meeting with Peter Kropotkin made him understand better than anything what the dictatorship of the proletariat meant. For the rest, at this time the criticisms of A. Shapiro and Emma Goldman of the ideas of Lenin and Trotsky made it clear all over Russia and Europe that the arrogant and despotic Bolshevik state was going to lead to a monolithic tyranny.

The advent of Mussolini, his terror gangs and the suppression of every vestige of liberty in Italy made life impossible for the enemies of Fascism, and Borghi, like thousands of other anti-fascists, took refuge in France where, from the emigration in Paris, he continued his labours as journalist and speaker against Fascism, and especially against the renegade Benito Mussolini, who came from the same part of Italy and who had been his personal friend in his youth.

Then came his trip to the United States, and meetings with anarchist and syndicalist groups in New York and other cities. To tell the truth, Borghi was disappointed with the Italian-American anarchist environment. He was used to addressing huge crowds in the squares of Italian cities, but now he found himself addressing small indoor groups who, after the meeting, asked suspicious questions about his status as a trade union official in Italy. In any case, these anarchists did not accept paid officials, and were strongly

hostile to trade union leaders in their day to day struggles against the bosses.

It was fifteen years before Armando Borghi finally understood American anarchism, and how these scattered groups, without a shred of organization, managed to produce a weekly for so many years. It was the result of self-sacrifice and self-discipline for their paper which made them, and so many Italian immigrants, see in the *Adunata dei Refrattari* the porte-parole of their ideals and of their social struggle.

Armando Borghi returned to Italy in 1945, and one can say that the long years of exile in America were not in vain. He had assiduously collaborated on the *Adunata*, he had participated with word and writing in the anarchist movement, had made many solid friendships from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and now, the war over, he returned to his native soil to take up the anarchist apostolate of his youth.

Borghi has described in his book *Confirma Anarchica*, published in 1950, the dead state in which he found Italy, and his work, with a few comrades, to renew the anarchist movement. Fortunately the anarchist movement in Italy made slow but steady progress, resuming publication of papers and journals. The old comrades, released from jail, or emerging from their ruined homes, returned from exile, took up again social activity and were enheartened by a considerable group of young people, which augured well for the movement.

However, after two years in Italy Armando Borghi returned to America, to the great surprise of his comrades. He was quite entitled to do this, on the principle of individual liberty, but it created a painful impression since the general opinion was that his great experience made him the one most qualified to lead the great work of social reconstruction after a quarter of a century in the darkness of Fascism.

Later, however, Borghi was recalled to Rome to take up editorship of *L'Umanita Nuova*, a position which he fulfilled with ability, seriousness, and full responsibility towards himself and

LA BANDE A BONNOT

INSPIRED PERHAPS by *Bonnie and Clyde*, the French have rediscovered the 'Tragic Bandits', the Bonnot Gang. A film is being made of their exploits, and a song is broadcast on the radio.

The Bonnot Gang were a group of individualist anarchists in the period prior to the First World War. They had become disillusioned by waiting for a social revolution which never appeared, and decided to 'redistribute' the wealth of the employing class to their own and their comrades' advantage by direct means.

Bonnot was a pioneer racing motorist, and the method they chose was robbing banks. The police at this period had few motor vehicles. The band was destroyed eventually, some dying in gun-battles with the police, others executed or imprisoned.

The French Television sent a team down to the Rue Ternaux to interview the comrades of the Anarchist Federation. These did not think highly of Bonnot and his band. Their statements have infuriated the Parisian individualists. Some anarchists have strongly

towards the anarchist cause.

Nevertheless, two factors contributed to his making implacable enemies in the sphere of our own movement: one, his brusque and impetuous temperament, and also, the majority of the exponents of the anarchist movement in Italy could not tolerate any influence on the editorial board of *L'Umanita Nuova* from the American anarchists with whom Borghi had lived for so many years. There were petty adversaries who deprived *L'Umanita Nuova* of their collaboration and showed themselves to be authoritarian and arrogant with their attitudes of petty tyrants at the Congresses in Bologna and in Carrara in 1965.

objected to the film's projected title *Les Anarchistes ou La Bande à Bonnot*, wishing to suppress the first two words, on account of the bad impression they give of what the anarchist movement stands for.

On the other hand the individualists point out that the social conditions of the period were, despite the horrors of the later twentieth century, much harsher than anything ordinary Western Europeans have to encounter today. In refusing to submit to the slavery of office or factory, the Bonnot Gang were attempting to achieve something in their own lifetime, some freedom here and now.

Risking their lives, it was not unnatural that they should despise the masses, who submitted to appalling conditions. The individualists maintain that in disowning Bonnot (it is not a question of glorifying him but of understanding him, they say), the anarchist movement is betraying its own people, even if only posthumously, to authoritarian society.

A.W.V.

In the last three years, despite declining health, Borghi continued to interest himself in our movement until he died, calmly, on April 21, in Rome at the age of 86 years.

To be sure, Armando Borghi had his faults, but these do not cancel out his brilliant virtues and the indisputable merit of having dedicated his long, active life as a revolutionary to the disinherited and to social progress.

I send my fraternal greeting to the comrade, friend, and proud anarchist veteran who has now left us.

DANDO DANDI
in *L'Adunata dei Refrattari*
New York, 11 May, 1968.

trans: j.w.s.

Revolutionary Socialist Student Federation

FOR A LONG TIME within the libertarian movements there has been a tendency to simplify the ideas that we project, such as workers' control and federalism. This was natural as mostly our role has been to be active in the movements of protest and direct action such as CND and C of 100.

We evolved, together with other groups during that period, a method and critique of direct action and of protest in relation to government, bureaucracy and capitalism that was general and related to the social structure of Britain as a whole. Events have now taken us well beyond this point. The active occupation of the universities and art colleges has produced another problem of altogether different though related dimensions.

At the LSE on Friday and Saturday, May 14 and 15, there was a founding conference of the Revolutionary Socialist Students' Federation. The conference was well attended by many universities and political factions within those universities. However reluctantly, they came together because of the pressing need to exchange experiences and ideas on a level that has never occurred before within the British university system.

The demand of the students was two-fold. They were as determined as the continental students that their struggle should take place in the broader issues of society as well as within their own universities and they were worried about their own and the traditional Left's inability to answer the problems of organisation within the revolutionary movement. We must not think that we can absolve ourselves with a smile on the comment 'traditional left'. We may have answers and points that can assist the students in their struggle against authority but we will be no better than any others, if we do not participate in that struggle and show what we mean through struggle and by assistance, than any party who condemns them or cannot understand them.

THE FOUR POINTS

The second day's discussion on the political programme and the organisation of the RSSF was very interesting, although somewhat disappointing. The four political points were accepted with reservations by most of the people. They were related to the advocacy of student power and workers' power and the fight against the forms of society that exist today. The third point about the support of National Liberation movements was not really accepted by the bulk of anarchists

present but they felt that the wording was such that it did not commit them to unequivocal support of the NLF or any such body so, rather than leave an organisation that was fundamentally about their own fight and ideas within the university, they would stay inside the organisation and continue to express their view.

HANG-UP

There were a number of points about the methods of organisation adopted that will, however, continue to bug the RSSF unless it sorts the problem out in its October con-

ference. Although it created a single membership organisation, it created a totally federal and local system of delegates and although it conceived of itself as an agitational group, its organisation was based on institutions and isolated areas which often have little contact with each other. This is not to say that these aims are incompatible but they can cause a great deal of misunderstanding and trouble when the time comes for co-ordinating some activity or methods which one group basically will not want. The trouble lies, I think, in the emotive hangover for Bolshevik types of organisation amongst the Marxist and Libertarian Marxist Groups. A form of organisation which they reject in horror when they see it in front of their eyes as they do in the SLL and Healeyite YSL. The role of the anarchist and libertarian students is to point out this problem and draw the obvious general lessons from it. These lessons can be applied.

WORKING METHODS

On the level of the actual conduct of each institution or university, the Leicester group threw up some very interesting ideas. They were very close to the idea of the discussion and agitation groups of the German SDS; however, they preferred to call them cadres with the somewhat authoritarian other-directed overtones which was in fact totally absent from their recommendations. They called for each group to set up agitational groups which not only extended their activities into other colleges but also into other day

release courses and sixth form students. The main difference between their ideas and most other similar ideas was the manner in which they presented them and the close reasoning that showed they had taken their own advice to heart. The document was presented by a composite group of Marxists and Anarchists.

Of course the whole conference wasn't all commonsense; there were a lot of people trying to push their own 'line' and others still attempting to expose the Labour Party... an impossible feat to get any further with this one, unless they are suggesting public disembowelling of the Cabinet. The interesting thing was these speeches were listened to and dismissed in the minds of most people present without the usual hysterical faction fighting which often takes place in these circumstances. The mood was tolerant but they were not deceived—they knew who the enemy was and they weren't working within them.

This conference, more for its attitudes than its decision, was a great advance on any previous attempts at student unity. It had been a long time coming. I think that it is essential for any anarchist student to join it and work within it. There may be places where that will be impossible but I don't think that there will be many. The Marxists who are active and tend towards libertarian ideas can be even more affected if Anarchists and Libertarians work amongst them. But it is no use thinking that we have the answers because we do not have them any

more than anyone else. The answers will come from out of the struggles.

The student situation is a complex and subtle one so we must take a few leaves from other books, from the SDS both in Germany and the US, and we have to understand this struggle not just in the isolated sector of education but in the larger scene of revolution. A revolutionary society will never be a monolithic one such as the Bolsheviks threw up, it will be pluralistic and decentralised. This is why we must work inside such organisations as they are based on the place of work and reflect the demand for such a society in their methods of organisation and the demands they make for their lives.

DIGGER.



Unions & Imperialism

THE ARTICLE in *Le Monde* (16.3.68) about the activities of North American trade unions in Brazil is only one example of the function of a trade union which is integrated into a capitalist society. Whatever its nationality, the integrated trade union has the same logic of existence: to 'defend' 'its' undertaking, and as part of a capitalist system, the international domination of 'its' capitalism or imperialism. Internationalism is no more than a screen in a capitalism, that for more than fifty years, has accepted and absorbed trade unions. The last war saw the international trade union federations reform around the dominant capitalisms (USA, Russia). Changing international agreements have brought to light some precise revelations, where formerly there was only guesswork. We have on different occasions said what we think of 'free' trade unionism, even when it was likened to 'libertarian' trade unionism. It isn't the story itself which interests us here, but the reflection that it must bring on the function of the trade union in our society and on the significance of struggles when they can be manipulated and orientated within the strategy of a capitalist society.

It all began in April 1966. The president of the Rio petrol workers unions, the writer Lourival Coutinho, was visited by a Mr. Ephraim Velasquez who greeted him in the name of the FITPQ—the international federation of petrol and chemical workers. Delegate to Brazil of the FITPQ, comfortably installed in a house in Rio, and in direct contact by telex with the headquarters of the organisation in Denver, Colorado, he asked Mr. Coutinho to help him study the reform of the Brazilian system of work contracts in the petrol sector. He wanted Brazil to adopt the system of collective contracts that was in operation in the USA.

The free and easy manner of the FITPQ delegate shocked Mr. Coutinho as in Brazil the state administers all the petrol industry through the monopoly Petrobras. Mr. Velasquez was surprised that the president of one of the most influential trade unions of Brazil could feign ignorance of the fact that the North American trade union organisations maintained permanent delegations in Latin American countries, charged with forming a 'free and democratic trade unionism'.

Mr. Coutinho, who is exempt from all suspicion of 'subversion' or 'communism' in the eyes of the military, succeeded in discovering some very shocking things about the vast network of North American trade union agencies implanted in Brazil. Certain facts shed light on the

methods of infiltration. They can be summed up in three types of activity which, according to the Brazilian investigators, are the foundation of the suspicions of irregularity, corruption and interference in the domestic affairs of the country.

(1) The holding, in Brazil, of conferences and seminars under the patronage of American trade union organisations, the objective being the making of 'free' trade unionists.

(2) The direct financing of 'aid' undertakings, the organising of instruction courses and official visits to the USA, which are offered by American agencies to certain Brazilian workers' leaders.

(3) The publication of periodicals in Portuguese which practice political indoctrination by the embassy or American agencies.

In July 1964 the regional inter-American workers' organisation (ORIT) organised in Rio a 'national conference of trade union officials for the defence of democracy and the well-being of the workers'. The regression which had followed the victory of the military action in April had not ended, and the trade unions continued to be the chosen target of police operations. Among the personalities who participated in this conference figured notably some officials of ORIT: Morris Paladino, Manoel Pavon, and Eligio Pacco, the attaché for labour affairs at the American embassy, Herbert Packer, delegate of the AFL-CIO (American trade union federation), the director of the department of social projects of the American institute for the development of free trade unionism, William Doherty, and, as representative of the inter-American federation of petrol and chemical workers (FITPQ), Roberto Gross.

According to certain US trade union leaders, all these organisations were directly dependent upon Iadesil (American institute for the development of free trade unionism) which itself is a dependant of the AFL-CIO, both organisations having a very close rapport with the State Department and the CIA. Thanks to the Harvard University professor Arnold Zack and his book *The Worker in Developing Countries*, the Brazilians have been able to discover the rapport that exists between the CIA and the various American trade unions charged with implanting a 'free and democratic trade unionism' in Latin America. It will suffice to call upon his evidence to describe the conference which was held at Rio in July 1964, the 'conference for the defence of the democracy and well-being of the

workers'.

One learned that the conference had approved the following decision: ORIT entrusted Iadesil with the job of constructing two centres for the formation of free trade unionism in Brazil: the first for the workers of the North-East, the second for the urban workers of Sao Paulo. In 1965 the US ambassador, Lincoln Gordon, expressed his satisfaction at the success of these organisms "which exist essentially to help the Brazilian workers to establish in their homeland a free and powerful trade union movement". In two years these centres of Iadesil will have produced more than five thousand "free trade unionists" in Brazil.



The US representatives have given some endowments, controlled by the Brazilian trade unions, to the workers organisations in the interior of the country, for the construction of social assistance centres. Frequent instruction courses for Brazilian workers' leaders were planned by the AFL-CIO. More than two hundred trade union leaders were sent to the USA in 1966.

(From *Informations Correspondance Ouvrières*, April 1968)

THE COMMONWEALTH

"Was the earth made to preserve a few covetous, proud men to live at ease and for them to bag and barn up the treasures of the Earth from others and these may work hard, beg or starve in a fruitful land, or was it made to preserve all her children?"

A Digger manifesto, 1643.

IT IS INTERESTING and encouraging to read the recent FREEDOM correspondence regarding the Diggers, Levellers and the English Civil War period, when the term Commonwealth was first widely used, and there was a real opportunity for the creation of a more radical society, wherein people could live happier as free men and women—in fuller service to one another.

A revolutionary situation and as such demanded revolution. In such circumstances the method of reform is not sufficient. Now, events have turned full circle.

In the seventeenth century, we had the ending of the King's monopoly and the beginnings of mercantilism. The freedom of merchants to trade, export and bank, some land reforms and wide changes in agricultural methods and practice, together with the beginnings of the factory system.

Soon too, the first of Empire, with the cruel conquest of Ireland, its widespread plunder and murder—the massacres at Drogheda and Wexford—the storming of Tredol, with two thousand living men put to the sword. The circle is made. We are in a similar time of flux. The ending of Empire. The advent of the technological age, with increasing widespread use of automation and vast changes in the ownership of land and farming techniques.

The spearhead of the English Revolution were the Puritans. It was a religious age, whose conception was complete—not possible for us. A struggle for spiritual, political and social freedom. Its adherents came from all classes. The New Model Army was largely imbued with Leveller inspiration, and Cromwell himself was in deep sympathy. The many pamphlets circulating amidst the army at this time confirm this. But the city and merchant bankers who made funds available for the soldiers pay and the army expenses—with their representative Fairfax—were quite conscious of the full implications of the struggle and the attained supremacy of their own wealth, privilege and power, which pattern was then imposed upon our society for the succeeding three centuries. Cromwell made

the agonising decision. There was the brief battle at Binford, the killing of honest Trooper Lockyer. The public flogging on Ludgate Hill of John Lilliburne, Cromwell's friend and often erstwhile bedfellow on his campaigns.

Lilliburne eventually joined the Quakers. This sect had many adherents and much influence amidst the people and it is to them that we largely owe our country's tolerance to freedom of conscience. Peaceable, fearless and steadfast—the truthfulness of their leaders and their sense of equality found increasing support.

Nevertheless many, such as Robert Huberthorne, James Naylor and Gerald Winstanley, formerly a 'Digger', among others—were mostly done to an early death by persecution, their bodies buried, stigmatised—bored through the tongue by the authorities of the day. They had a close relation to the Levellers and Diggers. Thus did George Fox's influence prevail. To him social and economic revolution was of little importance to the fellowship with his maker. He had gotten little beyond 'poor houses for the poor'. Because of this Quaker life, since the Civil War, has been one of generous and often noble charity instead of social truth and renewing.

Anarchism means a great commonwealth of free peoples, all over the world, without distinction of sex, race or creed. They have to control their own lives, what they do and how they do it. That means control of things, of raw materials, transport and industry. It means fuller economic and political freedom and social equality.

The young of our generations are increasingly recognising this, conscious that the life patterns of their own and successive generations are now being formed. Courage they have, patience and persistence they need. Remembering with Jose Enrique Rodo, that, 'The best work is that which is realised without impatience for immediate success; the most glorious effort, that which places goal beyond the visible horizon'.

S. L. ROBINSON.

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Coming Up for Air

FOR A WEEK AT THE END of April, London's National Film Theatre held what I think can be regarded as the first full-scale festival of underground films. The LFM's Co-op week at the Cochrane in November 1966 was as experimental as the films themselves—a try-out which wanted to bring together the movie-conscious dropouts with the attempt to establish a movement which had remained subterranean, though since its inception, it was clear that here was the new answer for those seeking something if not 'different', at least something which gave a feeling of clannishness and was untainted by commercial intervention—in fact the natural successor to beat poetry and literature. Richard Roud obviously thought it was time these films (there were in fact sixty shown, which is a fairish portion from the work of the last four years), should get an airing at a better-known locale, while the films would stand a chance of gaining or diminishing in stature from those who saw them.

About half of the sixty films shown were new even to those who'd been sampling underground movies over the past year. The programmes were either made up of 'schools', from New York and the West Coast respectively, or the alternative was to show the work of two or three film-makers in a two-hour programme. The week finished with a seven-hour show on Sunday, and if you didn't know what underground cinema was about after being bombarded by this diverse collection, the chance is you never would.

For those of us on this island who've gone through years of attending the local where ice cream sales are carried out with almost religious intensity, and nobody spots if a reel is missing, where the plot seems literally glued to the action, until the French began telling us that content is nothing, but form is all, it is no wonder that a succession of plotless films which don't even bother to be polite to an audience reared on accepted conventions, leaves these young Americans open to a charge of indulgent showmanship, rather than the truer definition that they are working magic with the camera, and even failures have noble intentions.

Some films charged along at such a speed it was difficult to break down all the diverse elements into a coherent whole (a Cook's tour taken at super speed through the European capitals and playgrounds was Taylor Mead's 45 min. 'European Diaries'), while other films which would have been hissed at or met with bated breath at Knokke were tolerated and assessed, by the NFT members, who probably felt that they could speak with authority about the newest collection in the cinema of the unusual by the end of the week. Not for nothing can the BFI's art house get away with showing films with little instant 'appeal', though they are only one of many who show up the folly and the unworkability of the BBFC.

A start was made with the work of Conner, Baillie and Van Meter. Bruce Conner borrows footage from various movies of the past, edits it and calls the final result 'A Movie'. 'Report' uses newsreel film from Kennedy's term as President culminating in the assassination. The Dallas incidents are repeated over and over again with all the insistence of a tribal drumbeat, and this will either have you asking yourself if the camera lies and therefore forces you to take a fresh subjective view, or else make one think how much dramatization is dulled by repetition.

'Up Tight, LA is Burning . . . Shit' was the longest and the most interesting of this selection of films. Really an advertisement for the colourful sunny world of the hipster and his ideals, the film moves on to more menacing images of the Negro riots, the faces of bewildered people pushed around by the authorities, until the point is reached when the screen seems to be consumed by flames as if in revolt against so much

hate and mistrust. Towards the end both worlds come together on the screen and almost merge, for this is two aspects of Los Angeles life, and Van Meter is in no doubt whom the people of that city should reject in seeking new inspiration and meaning in life. In a programme new to this country, the comedy 'Oh Dem Watermelons' was the only film paying a second visit, as it was shown in the London Film Festival two years ago with 'Echoes of Silence', and very welcome it was too!

The programme built around Gregory Markopoulos was rather wearying. Only Jonas Mekes's 'Circus Notebook', shot at a brisk speed to accentuate the movement of the circus performers, was worth anybody's undivided attention. The best part of a colourful 20 minutes was the high-wire act which gave a good impression of time-space of the frames per second at which the film was being shot. Markopoulos's work is technically complex and very precise and the 'mind-flashes' in 'Thru a Lens Brightly' recall Resnais's 'Murail' in the parts where a rather venerable gentleman recalls his youth. After seeing the second Markopoulos film, 'Himself As Herself' a grave leaden-footed effort, I began to think any audience gets the worst of it when a homosexual film-maker gives his id an airing. Apart from the proven talent of Anger and Jack Smith, homosexuality on the screen seems either garishly vulgar, in a kind of bedraggled camp ('Little Stabs at Happiness'), or else all drapes and shadows, mutterings, grimaces and dark-glasses, which is what we get in 'Himself As Herself' which examines a personality divided against himself (this is a revamp of a Balzac conte about an

androgynous son/daughter of a male and female angel, which Balzac imagined himself to be at one point in his life) spells almost instant ennui for the audience, who weren't prepared to endorse Markopoulos's idea that a man's bi-sexual yearning involve throwing a fur coat over oneself in suffocating fashion.

Harry Smith, as far as technique was concerned, was almost better than anybody I saw during this crowded week. His kind of cinema which animates and re-groups objects on the screen was referred to as a magic cinema and his colour effects were sheer magic and can be called by no other name. Smith conjures some fun out of 19th-century ladies' wear catalogues, destroying the ad-man's dream of perfection, but this part, titled 'Heaven & Earth Magic' was less magical with the colour missing, but the whole programme showed how Harry Smith had developed his ideas in free-form graphic design cinema over the space of some thirty years.

The 'Breer, Kubelka & Vanderbeek' programmes contained some of the shortest of the shorts, which came and went before one could register just what they were about. Best of this bunch were the Austrian Peter Kubelka's 'Unsere Afrikareise' and 'Pat's Birthday' by Robert Breer in which Claes Oldenburgh and friends arrange a suitable happening to celebrate Pat's birthday.

Andy Warhol's 'Harlot' brought out the curiosity-seekers in droves, but standing, sitting or squatting in a very full house made no difference to the effect Warhol's film had on one's senses. I found it depressing and numbing—to describe his films as boring is being too generous, since the pickled eggheads who find something in his films to justify his methods assure me that the lengthy pauses which induce torpor in the average watcher's mind are the real purpose of these films and Warhol's admiration of his own work and making already bored people act out their boredom all over again for canned posterity, is significance and art! To me his films are the very negation of meaning and technique in cinema, though history in any branch of the arts has mercifully shown that shoddy showmen live a short life before a public avid for unorthodox rubbish, while the craft and humanity of a Renoir, Bresson or Franju lives on and perpetuates itself. A cretin could have made 'Harlot'. Select your angle, check the light meter, group your actors, give them a few flimsy lines, with the rest in winks, nudges and dumb-show, and you have a film which runs for an hour, says nothing in both senses of the word, and has the bed-sit hippies wasting an evening on the South Bank. Warhol parades his usual cast of emotional cripples, hustlers and phonies who practically flout their woodenness at you, while Warhol behind the camera parades his badness and sad lack of an inability to create with the celluloid at his disposal, in a kind of desperate despising of the opposite school who employ every trick ever invented. Within a single take, three men (one of whom is a female impersonator impersonating Jean Har-

low, who merely manages to look like a mangy Chico Marx), and a woman with a white cat, whose impatience provided most of the action, act out a glum fantasy. The impersonator and his plumpish companion are seated on a couch, the men are standing behind them. In 70 minutes running time, only the dummy in drag does anything more than just breathe, though the rather raffish chap to the right of the frame shows us a trick with a cigarette, but not until he's finished his friend's packet in doing it. Underneath its banal show exterior, the film is a satire on the sex-saturated star-system, but its static, grinding approach met a cold response from most of the audience, who seemed more active in their ways and means of shaking off boredom than the actors in the film. Only the cat, proud beast refused to sink into a stupor at the behest of Andy Warhol, but even he gave up the ghost halfway through, sinking into a deep sleep for the remainder of the film, disgusted with so much waste and inactivity.

The evening had a silver lining though in the work of Ron Rice, whose work was the revelation of this miniature festival. In its mingling of desperation and the attempts of the spirit to break free and thus ennoble man, Rice recalls Jean Vigo. Both men made a small but vital contribution to the cinema during a short but never wasted lifetime. To them cinema was improvisation, to be used with charm, forcefulness and warmth, in short a release to higher creativity and emotional freedom with anarchy their creed and method. The two Rice films shown were 'Senseless' and 'Chumlum', and I'd advise you to pester the secretary of your film society to show them, or if he can't do anything about it, bully one of the well-known distribution outlets to put it on their books.

'Senseless' is a hipster poem, dedicated to Zen, the free spirit, Jack Kennedy (?) and filmed, according to its maker, in super anti-realism. Amongst the repeated and for the most part pessimistic images (religion, bullfights, with one piece of optimism, a 'Jesus was a beatnik' placard) but here done with real imagination and meaning so that repetition does not stale.

There are sudden flights into poetic imaginary which one wholly accepts. 'Chumlum' continues to show a real grasp of film and its possibilities. Rice here films a kind of high camp Arabian Nights, all tossing hammocks and swirling costumes, but it is the sense of colour, flowing in and out of space in a repeated superimposition exercise that gives the film a lyrical flow. Quite remarkably done, these two films were a tonic. Rice died in Mexico at the age of thirty-one, penniless, an outcast, but by a different definition, peaceful and free.

'Herostatus' was given a late-night showing, so I went along in the hope that a new cinema movement might be starting here, and the first seeds were contained in this film. Sorry to report my hopes were dashed. This picture is long, ragged, and painfully symbolic.

Don Levy's effort has a sure professional touch (a dirty word probably among his American counterparts), and the film is better edited than any of the underground films shown, but this film has no real pace, or heart and 2½ hours to show a suicide which we know will never take place, a few withering glances at the ad-man's existence, and comments that have been made before about the murder of man's soul amongst the jungle of materialism, is far too long-winded. Some trick effects which owe something to Francis Bacon, Cocteau and Bunuel intersperse the film, but it seemed to me that you could blame your deranged condition on ad-men who sell and the women who act out the a-m's fantasies, which in turn give over-imaginative young men erotic dreams which spill out into daily existence; the only thing to do is to engineer a fake revenge. I stayed up till the small hours to absorb this pithy idea. The US film-makers would simply shrink from using such a top-heavy plot. I was glad to see the film was an original idea in script form, but it looks less original when it covers 150 minutes. These are the sort of mistake Emswiler would have avoided, since his films seem to explore the same subconscious areas as Levy's. No doubt Levy was making some comment on our present sickness and values, but I can't be the only person who is tired of petulant boys cast into the pop-star mould, and if you don't care much for Michael Gothard, then you won't really bother if he can find salvation or can get rid of these dreams of ladies in plastic mags.

Sunday was the chef d'oeuvre of the week. Twenty-two films spread over seven hours, combining fantasy and reality used in a subjective, even unrelated way which only later falls into place for the receptive mind. Steve Dwoskin, who has made his films here stood up well compared with the other films shown. Carl Linder was often startling; Andrew Meyer's 'Match Girl' was an interesting reworking of a Hans Anderson story, while Red Grooms 'Fat Feet' was the most enjoyable of all, a clever, amusing toytown fable using animated puppets and real people in bringing his town to life.

The very last film shown, Jack Smith's 'Flaming Creatures' really encompassed art in the real meaning of the word. Only too ready to feel uncomfortable at watching a drag orgy in minutest detail, the audience wholly accepted the film, which is good cinema while being more liberated than anything shown here yet. The censor would do his damndest, but with the number of clubs sprouting up, he is not the threat he once was.

So ended a season which was different in many ways. Introduced by P. Adams Sitney who spoke at almost every showing, I think, after this opportunity of seeing such a representative collection of underground films, we will have to closely watch future developments, and if these film-makers claim they are forging a new frontier in the seventh art, then will have to listen to them.

RON PEARL.

SMALL PRESSES IN A BIG WORLD

ONE OF THE MAIN FAILINGS of any capitalist society is the general inability of its people to distinguish between what is done directly for profit and what is not. In other words, the borderline between making a living and commercial exploitation becomes hazy. This is particularly obvious when it comes to poetry, a thing which by its very nature is not easily exploitable. The big publishers will not publish new poets unless there is a likelihood of them making a large amount of money. This results in many worthwhile poets remaining unpublished and unknown, their work being left to posterity, which ignores 99% of what it receives anyway.

The small press and the little mag, however, provide a way out. Run on a shoestring with no intention of making a profit (and in fact often running at a loss), they strive to present the otherwise unknown to the world. Publishing magazines and booklets in quantities of anything between 100 and 1,000 copies and selling them at very low prices, the commercial aspect is removed and the poem is allowed to exist for its own sake.

The best little mag that I've seen in a long time is the new issue of *Iconolatre*, No. 22/23, a double issue, at 3s. 6d., from 71 Ryehill Gardens, Hartlepool. Containing some brilliant poems by George Dowden, Wes Magee, Paul Evans, etc. (especially Wes' 'Dream of Leonardo'), a large supplement by the

Greek freedom poets, and experimental writings from Alex Hand and Co., it is well worthy of support. The whole thing is well put together, interspersed with interesting drawings and contained in an amazing transparent cover.

On the minus side is Keith Armstrong's book of 'poems', *Dreams*, at 2s. 6d. from Circle Books, 16 Davenant Road, Oxford. To call it a book is really a little ridiculous, for it is no more than four duplicated foolscap sheets folded in half and, after reading its immature and slightly pathetic contents, anyone who pays 2s. 6d. for it needs their heads read. It is interesting to note that Keith Armstrong is also co-editor of the *Informer* poetry magazine and one would think that because of this he would have some idea of what poetry is all about; however *Dreams* proves in no uncertain terms that he hasn't.

Inherited 5 comes from Peter Hoida, 7 Evesham Road, Cheltenham, at 1s. 3d. a copy. A fully printed mind blower of a magazine, now moving along the path marked out by *Oz*. Poems, drawings and photographs are printed on top of each other in what looks like another attempt to remove the poem from the bonds of the word.

The mysteries and complexities of the small press world are solved by an American publication, *The Small Press Review*, distributed over here by its new European editor, Valerie Burgess,

24 Foreland Road, Whitchurch, Cardiff, at 7s. 6d. An invaluable magazine listing the latest little mags and small press books from all over the world (and that is quite a few), containing good reviews and articles on the small presses themselves. *The Small Press Review* runs hand in glove with *The Directory of Little Magazines*, also distributed by Valerie Burgess at 15s. and well worth it. An amazing book, listing the world's 1,200-odd little mags, prices, type of content, etc., and gathering its information from a worldwide complex of editors.

A large section of the student magazine *Accent* is devoted to poetry written by children, and it is refreshing to see a clear and uncluttered outlook on life for a change. A very big mag for 6d. from St. Luke's College, Exeter.

The latest issue of *The Second Aeon* is now out and since I am the editor, I will say no more than that it contains poems by Adrian Henri, Mike Horowitz, Wyn Islywn Davies, Geraint Jarman, etc., and costs 1s. plus post from 3 Queensberry Road, Cardiff, CF3 7JJ.

Old and Pneumatic Poems by Brian Wake and Tony Dash costs 2s. from Aylum Publications, 478 Stanley Road, Bootle, Lanes. Now known as the Bootle poets, these two are competent enough although not deserving the distinction of having created a 'Bootle' sound. A good collection nonetheless,

with Brian Wake excelling with his 'Love Poem' (to dawn).

Another good magazine of recent origin is Steve Morris' *Poetry Workshop* at 1s. from Wolverhampton Art College, St. Peters Close, Litchfield Street, Wolverhampton. A nice mixture of local and well-known poets. The idea being to show the world to Wolverhampton and Wolverhampton to the world.

The philosophies of a form of hip anarchism, along with poetry and other writings are provided in *Hapt*, a voice for the alternative, distributed free from 144 Thrupp Lane, Stroud. Although sometimes confusing in its objectives, the magazine is a start in the formation of a new culture, and one, I might add, that not only removes the commercial aspect of things but abolishes money itself. For the price of a 4d. stamp *Hapt* is worth getting.

For a final two bobs' worth, a new and much improved *Riding West* is out. Available from 4 Nowell Place, Almondsbury, Huddersfield, it is an interesting mixture of every type of poem you'd care to name.

The small presses fight long and hard for the sake of true art, so don't just believe me, send your postal order off and find out for yourself.

PETER FINCH,
May, 1968.

REJOICING IN HAVANA

IT'S A STRANGE TIME when one sees the Vietnamese revolutionaries protecting the church's right to hold property. It's the same in Castro's Cuba where revolutionary socialism has just confiscated the goods of small merchants who are considered parasites, but will not give the same treatment to the church which isn't considered a parasite.

Better still, the following appeared in the anarchist journal *Tierra y Libertad* (Mexico, February 1968): 'On the 13th of December last Fidel Castro assisted at a ceremony organised in Havana on the occasion of Monseigneur César Zacchi's appointment to the diocese of Zella.

Also assisting were, among others, the Papal Nuncio for Canada, the bishop of Camaguey, the bishop of Havana, and the opportunist Calderio, alias Paul Roa, former faithful servant of the tyrant Batista, now Cuba's representative at the United Nations. It was announced that Marxist-Catholic dialogues would take place. . . .

Tierra y Libertad adds, 'One could imagine a thunderous voice with a Russian accent saying, "Hypocrites and professional imposters of the world: Unite!"'

From *Défense de l'Homme*
(April, 1968).

Berlin—Directions of Protest

FIFTH COLUMN

THE RAILWAY LINES are covered with weeds, and ruins still lurk near the gleaming façades of new Berlin. A city with a falling population, a sad city, a city where barbed wire lurks in the mind day and night. From England we tend to view the student awakening here with rather exaggerated optimism, in the same way as the First International was admired—from America. The feeling is widespread that Gandhi methods achieve nothing (or rather achieve something but not the desired goal; for example as a result of CND our Government is more cautious about what it says concerning nuclear force, but this is merely a case of not letting the right hand see what the left hand is doing). The tactics are those developed by the Provos: make Establishment drop its democratic mask by provoking its agent, the police, and thus showing to the world the true authoritarian nature of government. In the best of circumstances this is a subjective view of what results from the violent demos and pitched battles since in a battle of any kind issues become confused and there is sympathy for both sides from various quarters. In Berlin conditions are exceptionally difficult since the tendency to view the student as the villain is monotonously reinforced by the Springer monopoly of printed communication channels. Urban violence is anathema to the elder generation who, remembering the Third Reich, hold onto 'security' at any cost. One can see parallels with the Eldon-Sidmouth diehards in England after the Napoleonic wars. The politics of total belief mean blood, blood and more blood.

The banning of the CP in the Bundesrepublik has led, by way of reaction, to

an unusually widespread use of Marxist jargon among the students. Marxism is an additional spit in the eye of Establishment. Over the Wall Ulbricht equivocates since, while he likes to see West Berlin thus embarrassed, he fears the use of Marxism against his own authoritarian régime. Many students, the SDS in particular, are far too preoccupied with the seizure of political power which is trapped in the cycle of idealism → revolutionary action → disillusionment → increasing atrophy and bureaucratization → totalitarian rule using meaningless revolutionary jargon, as we have seen in so many revolutions which have failed to recognise the real nature of power.

The tradition in German universities to stress their complete independence of politics (more imaginary than real in any case) has been strongly rejected, and the opposite extreme adopted, i.e. all university matters are political, down to the smallest point of curriculum. ASTA, the Student Union here, is almost entirely SDS and regards itself more as the vanguard of the revolution than an instrument for collective bargaining. Action against such things as the compulsory study of 'The Anglo Saxon Chronicle' in the English Faculty (to the exclusion of more relevant modern material) merges with a strike to smash capitalism. The specific target of the Emergency Laws has caused a good deal of action. Students attempted to get workers to strike with them—leaflets were distributed in the factory where I am working—and to a considerable extent they were successful.

And behind the activity, what? There is no Greenwich Village here, no patchwork of anti-authoritarian community to fall back on should the situation get

critical (and it probably will). This I think is the most serious criticism of the student movement. There are the communes, of course. But these are very small and, the cynic would say, are only held together because girls are free merchandise. Nevertheless, they are the only hints of a positive move towards community forming. The Terror Commune tends to carry symbolic action into force (burning American warehouses to 'show what Vietnam is like') while leaving the social theorizing to the Marx-obsessed SDS. Also, they tend to play up their tourist value—'come and see Berlin's famous crowd of weirdies'. On May 13 at a packed lecture by Marcuse in the Audi Max of the University, Kunzelmann of the Terror Commune declared that we should act and not talk. The action that was immediately performed by the Communards was the removal of the University Emblems (on a large wooden structure) which was burnt outside. True, their view of life is more colourful and joyous than that of the SDS, but may we, in the midst of our admiration, be allowed to harbour just a little doubt concerning the wisdom of some of the things they do?

Out of the melting pot of ideas, of course, something worthwhile will emerge—indeed it already has in a sketchy sort of way. This is the good thing about the conflict: many minds awake to the true facts about our society. The buttresses upon which governments rely are seen as the myths which they are. The extent of this awakening gives some justification for hope.

Berlin

P.R.A.S.

June, 1968

CONTRA-CONCEPTIONS

WHILE THEY ARE at university students are encouraged to believe that they are essentially engaged in intellectual enquiry. The myth of the community of scholars, in which senior and junior members meet as colleagues to pursue the truth, is sustained by many academics.

But students are being prepared to lead, administer and manage society. The money spent on their education is an investment in the future not a gift to the god of learning. Their function is not to determine what questions need answering: it is to learn how to do the job that the ruling class wants them to do. This job is to answer only those questions which do not challenge the existing social order. It is to implement policies already decided.

It is not surprising that the institutional structure of the university reflects both the general structure of society and the subordinate role students are expected to perform. If students are being trained to fit into an authoritarian social organisation as its junior officers is as natural that they should be treated like cadets.

The purpose of examinations, for example, is to enable employers to grade labour, to force students to spend their time studying those subjects which their academic bosses (and, increasingly, their future industrial bosses) decide they should study: in every way to subject students to control. As Eric Robinson says in *The New Polytechnics* (Cornmarket, 30s.):

Our system of higher education... imposes continual pressure on students to conform and to surrender to social pressures. That is why students are in revolt... because of the basically restrictive conception of the education to which they are subjected.

(I am not able to review this book since I helped to prepare it for publication. Its theme is that the divisions between technical colleges and universities are indefensible; that both institutions should be replaced by *people's comprehensive universities*; that the creation of the new polytechnics represents a possible first step in this direction.)

But why should the student revolt happen now? One simple explanation is that there are more students—and they have ceased to be a tiny elite of rich men's sons learning how to pass the port: they have become a significant social/economic group. The more perceptive of them are fully conscious of the role they are drilled to perform:

the rest are becoming increasingly aware.

During the industrial revolution the real standard of living among labourers rose. But the men, women and children who left the fields and went into the mills and factories did not thank the capitalist class for improving their situation. Instead they gradually became conscious, through being herded together, both of the extent of the exploitation to which they were subjected and the power they possessed as a class.

The more students there are—and the larger the knowledge factories in which they are processed become—the more militant students are likely to be.

In Britain the students in universities and the other institutions of higher and further education are already on speaking terms. Put them together in *comprehensive people's universities* and the result would be a stronger movement for student control.

Not only that. Students in a particular field—teachers or art students—could plan the organisation of their work in conjunction with others—engineers, technologists, social scientists. Instead of saying 'We won't consider that point now, we'll leave it to the experts', it would be possible to say 'Let's get the architect, the statistician, the plumber'.

The polytechnic idea has obvious educational advantages. Those who wish our society to function more efficiently will support it. After all it can hardly be a disadvantage from the viewpoint of the bosses for a manager to know something about fields other than his own.

Unless of course his discussions with other students lead him to question the idea of management.

It is not possible to predict in detail the consequences of the creation of comprehensive institutions of further/higher education. But one thing is certain: the state will not be able to insure against the possibility of revolt by improving amenities and grants.

One of the amusing spectacles of recent weeks has been the perplexed cry of the British academic/administrator: 'But our students have such lovely study bedrooms—what are they complaining about?'

A computerised cafeteria in every lecture hall and a contraceptive slot machine in every bedroom will not remove the demand that students are making—for the control of their work and their life.

WYNFORD HICKS.

RATES & RENTS CAMPAIGN IN ABERDEEN

LAST MONTH the Labour Council was thrown out of Aberdeen after over 20 years in power. As a propaganda move they have since opposed the rents and rates rises proposed by the Progressives—conveniently forgetting that they themselves increased the rents by about 25% in 1966.

In order that opposition to these rises does not become channelled into a campaign to re-elect the Labour Party, Libertarians in Aberdeen are initiating a grassroots campaign which we hope will culminate in a rents and rates strike until the rises are repealed.

Due to limited resources we have to concentrate our initial effort to one area, Torry, where about 25,000 people live. We chose this area for two main reasons: (a) a nucleus of Libertarians live there, and (b) as an overwhelmingly working-class district with a mixture of council houses and semi-slum tenements, it is representative of the town as a whole.

We aim to leaflet every house in Torry, calling on people to attend a meeting to discuss methods of action; and also to distribute literature at factories in the area linking the rises to more general questions of unemployment and work conditions.

All advice by those who have taken part in similar campaigns, as well as donations to help cover the initial expenses (£14), will be gratefully received. I.R.M.

MOVING FUND

Target is £500.
Received to Date—£413 2s. 8d.

PREMISES FUND

Target is £1,000 per year.
Pledges honoured to date and donations—£403 16s. 2d.

Who Forgot?

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Estimated Expenses:
25 weeks at £90: £2,250
Income: Sales and Subs.: £1,987
DEFICIT: £263

PRESS FUND

Leeds: D.S. 1/-; London, S.W.6: M.G. £2/10/-; Perth, W.A.: B.S. 10/-; Oxford: Anon* 5/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; Chicago: H.S. 2/3.

TOTAL: £3 13 3
Previously Acknowledged: £416 9 0

1968 Total to Date: £420 2 3
Deficit B/F: £263 0 0

TOTAL SURPLUS: £157 2 3

*Denotes Regular Contributor.

The following is the text of a leaflet which the comrades in Aberdeen are distributing.—Eds.

RATES RISE of almost 4/- in the pound is approved for Aberdeen (on the deciding vote of the SNP councillor), and a massive rent rise is imminent for all council tenants; in addition it seems likely that the Government will approve a scheme to abolish rent controls in private housing.

These new burdens are being imposed on working people at a time when social benefits are slashed, prices are soaring but WAGES STILL REMAIN FROZEN.

The Town Council claims that these rises are necessary, but this is only because they have squandered so much of OUR money on useless and harmful projects. For example:

*The new multi-million Towns House in Broad Street was paid for out of the rates. This was done by a Labour Council while thousands waited on the housing list.

*A further £½ of a million is to be spent from the rates on a Police HQ. This decision was taken by a PROGRESSIVE Council.

*Over £1 million each year is paid back as exorbitant interest to the moneylenders from the rates.

*Our money is also wasted in other ways: £2,000 for the Lord Provost's car; £300 spent for a banquet for United States Navy Personnel, etc., etc.

A campaign to resist the implementation of these increases is being organized in TORRY, and we hope it will spread to other parts of the town. Several forms of activity are proposed:

1. MEETINGS all over the town to show our opposition to the increases and our determination to fight them. If you live outside Torry, call a meeting in your

area and contact us for help if desired.

2. DEMONSTRATIONS in Union Street and at the Towns House to publicise our case.

3. A RENTS AND RATES STRIKE with supporting activity from Trades Unionists.

All interested please attend a meeting called at THE MUSIC HALL (SQUARE ROOM), WEDNESDAY, JULY 3 at 7.30 p.m.

For further information and literature contact

M. DEY, 142 Walker Road, TORRY, or
I. MITCHELL, c/o Smith, 3 Sinclair Road, TORRY.

Continued from page 1

I'm corrupted. It's about time I left my position and disappeared back down into the movement. If you lead people they place faith in you. This corrupts. If you say or do something good then people lean on you and say 'He's okay—he'll do'. This is corruption.'

Comrade Cohn-Bendit went on, according to Alexander Mitchell. 'In any case, we don't believe in lasting management. I will cease to be an identifiable leader in less than two months. They don't need me. Whoever heard of Cohn-Bendit five months ago? Or even two months ago?'

Alexander Mitchell went on to interview Cohn-Bendit on aspects of his ideas although Mitchell displays an abysmal failure of communication when he says, 'Cohn-Bendit's poli-

ce, and was found to be carrying a false passport and two revolvers. He was condemned to a month in prison, and a month with remission, the court taking into account his need to take precautions against attacks by Franco police, who had already murdered his father in Mexico on May 1, 1967.

But the Belgian Minister of Justice has not yet transmitted the dossier of his demand for political asylum in Belgium to the UNO High Commission, although Alberola's lawyer handed it to the Minister on May 3.

All those wishing to participate in a campaign for the release of Alberola should contact the Comité d'Action Contre le Fascisme et le Neo-Colonialisme. Secrétaire Jean Godin, 14 Avenue Beau Vallon, Waterloo, Belgium, C.C.P. 72 49 75.

Latest news, Alberola has called off his hunger strike on the assurance that he will be released shortly. But this is no cause for complacency.

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS.

ALBEROLA

OCTAVIO ALBEROLA began a hunger strike on June 11, determined to continue it until his release. Son of a well-known militant of the CNT, he has participated since the age of 19 in the anti-Franco resistance movement. He entered secretly into Belgium intending to confront Señor Ullastres, Spanish Minister to the Common Market, and demand a declaration in favour of the liberation of political prisoners in Spain. If this was refused, as he expected it would be, he planned to hold a press conference to denounce the Spanish dictatorship, and read a document drawn up in Soria prison by two political prisoners, Luis Andres Edo and Miguel Garcia Garcia. After this conference he would demand political asylum in Belgium.

He was arrested on February 8 by the Belgians, at the request of the Spanish

Failure of Communication?

tical Utopia is almost impossible to comprehend. One cannot see why. Is it just because one takes anarchism as an idea too much for granted? Or is the gigantic leap of the imagination (and the intelligence with it) too great for Fleet Street—or the readers of the *Sunday Times*—to make? One hesitates to label journalists as a body, stupid or blindly refusing to see, but one or the other must be the explanation.

Mitchell reports that Danny Cohn-Bendit has no firm proposals for the post-revolutionary situation, only speculation about its 'possibilities'. He rejects the theory that people must know where the revolution is heading before they will join it. He does not believe that an alternative model should be drawn up. Cohn-Bendit instanced the French Revolution of 1789 as developing its own momentum and direction, he repudiated the label of 'idealists' and pointed out that they were the 'realists'. None of the political leaders knew where they were going.

Disillusionment had set in both against communism and capitalism. The people believe in authority. This is a belief we have to prove mistaken. There does not have to be order as we know it now. There will be equal hours for work and leisure and equal pay. Mitchell reports Cohn-Bendit, 'This is not idealistic. The resources of a technological society are vast. I can't see why only a few people should go to the Café Royal for coffee. It should be for everybody.'

The students, claimed Danny Cohn-Bendit, showed 'that if you want something you've got to work hard and take action to get it'. The students in taking over the universities set an example to the workers to take over the factories. The students have discovered their role in society, that of real political action 'because they are in a privileged situation'.

'The problem everywhere is how to

JACQUES GORGE-ROUGE.

Dagenham Girls Show the Way

ALTHOUGH THE STRIKE by 187 women sewing machinists at Fords (Dagenham) is purely an economic one, it has highlighted a question of principle, that of equal pay for equal work. Many have nailed this principle to their masthead, but have then done nothing to achieve it. No doubt Mrs. Castle, Secretary of State for Employment and Productivity, on over £9,000 per year, has achieved it, but it was not long ago that she supported this principle for others and described it as an 'elementary piece of justice'.

However, she was not in the Government then, and, now that she is, she is 'deeply concerned about this dispute because of the serious and progressive effect it will have on exports and also the difficulties it has given rise to on Ford's negotiating machinery'. She also said: 'It is important in the national interest that there should be a return to work immediately.'

The ladies at Fords are claiming skilled rates of pay for their job which would mean an extra 5d. an hour, putting them into C grade with a starting hourly rate of 7/10½d. rising to 8/10½d. To Fords, this would mean another £155 per week on their wage bill and Mrs. Castle has realised that if they do pay this 5d., then it would open up the way for other claims for regrading.

'SCRAPS OF PAPER'

Fords recently negotiated a regrading system, which took industrial consultants a year to work out. The 22 unions finally agreed to it, but now it could collapse. It is

small wonder that Fords have attacked the women for not keeping to agreements. Mr. Batty, Managing Director, said: 'Are collective bargaining agreements to be honoured or are they just scraps of paper upon which nobody can rely?'

Procedure agreements are lengthy and cumbersome things and are often vague as to when they have reached their end. What is more important is that they always work for the employer. After all, I've never heard of a procedure agreement that could actually prevent redundancies once a company had decided on them. These agreements are just 'scraps of paper' because they are made by unequals. The employers want them to be binding by law and are peeved because the Royal Commission did not support their view.

Women working in industry have been described as 'slave labour' and, with 8 m. employed, they form a cheap source of labour. Half of the fully employed women earn less than £10 per week, of which 2 m. get less than £6. This pool of cheap labour is a source of substantial profits for the employer, so much so, that if they had to pay equal rates at once, Britain's competitiveness would disappear.

Women do not just work for pin-

money now. Their wage packets are an essential part of the family's budget. This is borne out by the statements of the strikers—'You don't go into a place like Fords for pin-money—where the work is hard and production targets demand 55 seat cushions an hour and 240 bucket seats a day. For this, they take home about £12-£13 per week.'

As in other disputes, there are other issues involved. The women have complained about conditions where 'if it rains, the rain comes through the roof'. Some women have been too frightened to complain and so 'they have sat there in the rain with their macs on'. A reporter from the *Financial Times* did ask Fords if he could see the place where the women worked, but the request was refused.

Since 1962, when they sacked 17 shop stewards, Fords management have enjoyed industrial peace. Now, according to union officials, 'the wheel has turned full circle again. You can feel the change.' But even so, the unions involved, the National Union of Vehicle Builders, to which the majority belong, and the Amalgamated Engineering and Foundry-workers Union, were surprised by the conviction and enthusiasm with which the women stood by their claim.

Freedom For Workers' Control

JUNE 29 1968 Vol 29 No 20

HALEWOOD TOO!

The strikers have gained not only the sympathy of their counterparts at Halewood, who are also now on strike, but of workers generally, even though the strike could close down Fords. (The strike of 23 maintenance men at Lucas last week could have brought the whole motor car industry to a standstill.) The claim is now seen as a start of a campaign to 'end sex discrimination on pay'. 'This is definitely sex discrimination. We get lower pay because we are women,' said Mrs. O'Callaghan, a NUVB shop steward. Three men machinists also on strike get a higher rate than the women.

The unions recognised the strike after they had been out for a week. The unions-employers Ford National Joint Negotiating Committee did reach agreement on a peace formula of a 'fact-finding committee'. The NUVB representatives disliked the plan but accepted the majority decision. However the strikers turned it down unanimously. Mrs. Rose Boland, another of the shop stewards, said: 'This does not give anything at all. We are not going back until we get "C" grade.'

Mrs. Castle has now set up a court of inquiry into the dispute, headed by Sir Jack Scamp. The strikers' reactions to this were: 'It makes no difference. We are not going back to work until we get the money.' Let's hope they stick by this. The reasons for doing just this are shown by the experience of workers at Pressed

Steel Fisher's Oxford car body plant who are demanding an official strike because of the delay in publishing the findings of their court of inquiry into the strike in April. They went back to work when Scamp started the inquiry.

The NUVB will want more information about the inquiry and it seems that they were not too happy about the grading when it was first introduced. The executive will, no doubt, be putting out feelers to see if they can placate the strikers if they think that certain things can be brought out in the inquiry. However, the only thing that is going to influence Jack Scamp and the other members of the inquiry, which includes a woman, is the continuation of the strike. The women will not have to wait six weeks for the finding to be published if they stay out.

Mrs. Castle is asking union leaders to recommend a return to work. The unions will try, behind the scenes, to get the strikers to change their minds, for other unions will be putting the pressure on them to do this.

However, the only chance of getting the 5d. will be to continue the strike. The women have the sympathy of other Ford workers and if they maintain their struggle, this could be the opening dispute in the struggle for equal pay. So far male workers haven't assisted, but the Dagenham women have shown the way and it should not stop there.

P.T.

'THE PEOPLE WITH THE LEAFLETS'

How to Beat the NAB

Contact Column

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

Les Amis de Jules Bonnot meet every fortnight in Chelsea. Those willing to attend are asked to contact them any Sunday night at the 'Marquis of Granby', Cambridge Circus, W.C.2. Addio Luciano Bella (33 r.p.m. 12" record) anthology of Italian anarchist songs. Price 54 from Edizioni del Gallo s.p.a., 13 via Sansovino — 1 20133 — Milan (Italy).

Anarchist Doctor. Could someone recommend one. London area. Box No. 13. Student and toddler seek accommodation N., N.W. London. Ring NOR 1242 evenings.

Threats to Civil Liberty. Meeting this Friday, June 28, at 7.30 p.m., Holborn Assembly Hall, John's Mews, Northampton Street, W.C.1.

Biafra Rally, July 7, 2.30 p.m., Trafalgar Square.

Conference. 'The Free School in the Unfree Society' Day Conference organized by the Libertarian Teachers' Association, Saturday, July 20, from 10.30 a.m. at 36 Devonshire Road, Mill Hill, London, N.W.7. Send 5/- P.O. before July 14 to P. Ford at above address.

Communal Farm. Am now doing research into aspects. Any ideas? Write Dava, 137A Burnt Ash Hill, Lee, London, S.E.12.

Work wanted. Woman teacher, refugee from State school rat race seeks work. Near Greenford preferred. Box 12.

Voluntary Work Team. Present address: Formby Hall, Formby, Lancs.

Loving foster home is wanted for boy (3½ years), pacifist family. Box No. 9.

Family with four children urgently seeks unfurnished house out of London. Write 655 Fulham Road, S.W.6.

Peace News—Weekly, price 1/- from 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

Solidarity Pamphlet—'Paris: May 1968', 1/- from H. Russell, 53a Westmoreland Road, Bromley.

Direct Action—Monthly, 6d. from 34 Cumberland Road, London, E.17.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

THE EAST LONDON Libertarian Group has been in existence for only about three weeks. In that time we have indulged in numerous activities throughout the East London area. I am not, here, going to describe them all in detail, for that would take too long, but I will mention them.

We have distributed leaflets throughout London and Tilbury Docks, for some Tilbury lockgatesmen who were faced with the sack, and who are attempting to set up a rank and file union in opposition to the T&GWU, in which all officials will be elected and subject to immediate recall by the members. We have produced a leaflet for some tenants in Bromley-by-Bow (there is a possibility of a struggle here), and held a street-corner meeting in Ilford. We have also produced a pamphlet on unmarried mothers homes in the London area, describing the appalling rules the girls have to abide by. (This is available from us—price 6d. plus postage—see address in groups column.)

However the particular activity I want to describe here is our fight against the local Ministry of 'Social' Security. No doubt it will be common knowledge how people are treated by NAB officials, so I won't go into that, except where it is relevant to this particular struggle.

It all began on Friday, May 24. Mrs. Margaret Wells was given only £2 10s. benefit, instead of the £7 she was entitled to. The official, Mr. Lidgley, explained that as she was not working, and had no sickness certificate he could give her no more. This ignored the fact that Mrs. Wells, separated from her husband and so with no means of support, was nearly eight months' pregnant, and obviously could not work. Mrs. Wells took the £2 10s., which was not even enough to pay her rent. I was present with Mrs. Wells and our demand to see the manager was refused. So we decided to see him anyway and went and sat in his office and refused to move, until Mrs. Wells was paid her full amount. The police were called and we were removed; but Margaret won. She was given another £1 on the spot and promised the rest on the Monday morning, which she duly received.

However the group thought that this could be taken further, and a leaflet was

produced describing these events and suggesting ways in which other claimants could beat the bureaucrats. The results of this were incredible. When some group members distributed them both outside and inside the local NAB office, at 3 Lemna Road, E.11, on Tuesday, June 4, the officials were completely taken aback. When we were inside the office their whole attitude to claimants changed. They were called 'Sir', officials were apologising for keeping them waiting, assuring them it wouldn't happen again, and generally, for once, social (rather than anti-social) security was handed out. Anyone who has ever been on assistance will understand how amazing this is. On top of all this the Ministry suddenly discovered that they'd underpaid Mrs. Wells in the past, and gave her, without her even asking, £7 18s. 6d. 'back pay'!

The local papers loved all this. We made front page news: but what is really important is that the reports were good, and explained how we had won. People then started to contact us, and tell us how they'd been messed around, and had money deducted.

So on Friday, June 14, we accompanied some claimants to the Ministry offices. To say the officials went potty at this would be an understatement! They were absolutely rattled, as well. They tried to persuade claimants to have nothing to do with us. They pointed out to claimants that our members had no right to be present at the 'confidential' interviews. All this did not fool the claimants who merely replied that they wanted our members present to advise them. So the officials could do nothing.

The events of this Friday show just how successful 'kicking up a fuss' can be. One woman we accompanied was paid, after being refused benefit for four previous weeks. The case of another man is still in the balance. Meanwhile all the claimants were taking our advice and not letting the officials mess them around. The whole place was full of rows. The attitude of the claimants to us was very friendly: they were very pleased we were there. This is illustrated by the following case.

We heard a row going on. It was obvious that a woman had been refused benefit. So she yelled at the official, a

Mr. Cartwright, that if he didn't pay her 'she'd go and see those people with the leaflets'. She did just this, and so rattled the officials that they left this case to the Deputy Manager. After I'd waved the Act (Social Security Act 1960) at him, and faced with the prospect of a sit-in by us and other claimants, he agreed to pay the woman her rightful £6 6s.!!

Meanwhile another woman had had £3 deducted from her money, and she came to us also. When we took up her case, the officials were now so scared that they paid her £3 immediately. The local papers on the following Friday (June 21), were full of this. 'Protest Pays' said the headline, and went on to describe the cases we had won.

One can always trust bureaucrats to get the wind up—and they did. When Margaret Wells went to the Ministry office last Friday, June 21, to claim the welfare milk tokens she is entitled to, they refused to deal with her claim, unless she gave them all her possessions she had on her (and then would not be able to give out leaflets). When she refused, they ordered her out of the building. This was the situation and 4.05 p.m. when I arrived at the office. I immediately dodged past the official posted on the door to keep us out and demanded that they deal with Margaret's claim. The police were called, and I was removed. The door was locked, windows were bolted and claimants who wanted to leave the building were shown out of

a back entrance, which was heavily guarded.

But the bureaucrats hadn't reckoned with solidarity action. As soon as the police were gone, a claimant opened the window, and I climbed in, and went straight up to the manager's office. When they threatened to call the police again I invited them to do so, but explained that if they did our group would 'move in'—30 people on the Monday morning. This took them aback, and they agreed to deal with Margaret's claim if I left the building. I accepted this, left, and Margaret went in. Again doors and windows were bolted to stop me from getting in, but again a claimant opened the window, and amid great cheering I climbed in again and started to speak to claimants. I took up the case of a man who had not been paid. When the officials saw me inside again they went berserk and again called the police. I was again escorted out, but not until the man I was helping was paid out!

Next week local papers, I am sure, will have this story. It will look nice for the Ministry of Anti-Social Security. 'Claimant victimised—but officials back down', 'Another victory for libertarian group after attempted victimisation'. Such may be the headlines. We await further developments. I will keep FREEDOM readers informed. One conclusion only is necessary—the officials are on the run!

RON BAILEY.

Solidarity !

SUPPORT—DEMONSTRATE—DONATE !

Mutual Aid !