

Brecht's Epic Trauma

A Hundred Issues of Anarchy - The Little Mags
Student Revolt in Spain - Cruelty for Profit

Vietnam: talks, talks, talks— but the War goes on

ON MAY 11, 1968 we published an editorial with the title 'Vomit-Makers to Meet in Paris', in which the writer said, 'There is a French saying, "Qui se ressemble, s'assemble", i.e. birds of a feather flock together. The North Vietnamese and American representatives are to meet in Paris for preliminary discussions on "peace"...'

This discussion has now been going on for more than a year, during which time the war has continued and has even been extended and intensified. In *Peace News* for June 13 appears the report of a new US raid on North Vietnam. The port of Dong Hoi, forty miles to the north of the Demilitarised Zone, was attacked. Nor is this all. Since this spring, according to *Newsweek*, American planes have been regularly bombing Cambodia, a neutral country, and dropping defoliants. No doubt the reason is that guerillas are using Cambodia as a refuge, yet it is clear that this action is merely going to spread the war more and more widely, as the guerillas go further and further afield in search of sanctuaries.

It is an odd thought that Britain entered the First World War, which began the present cycle of World Wars and Cold Wars through which we are now living, ostensibly be-

cause Germany had violated the neutrality of Belgium. I don't suppose anybody would think this a very convincing excuse today. Neutrality does not mean a thing. Raids on Laos are on an even larger scale.

Yet while the war is intensified it tends to slip into the background of people's minds. There are so many other struggles going on in the world. A couple of years ago I remember thinking that Vietnam was receiving all the attention, while other equally atrocious struggles were being neglected by the various protest movements. Now it seems the other way about. No doubt it is inevitable in a world where so much horror is being perpetrated. One cannot concentrate on all these different causes equally. The danger is that if something horrible goes on long enough it will come to be accepted as a fact of life, as The Bomb has come to be.

On June 28 the Vietnam Ad Hoc Committee in Glasgow is holding a march, beginning at Elderslie Street, at 2.30 p.m. The slogan of the march unfortunately is 'US out of Vietnam Now!', which is well enough as far as it goes, but it is clear from the poster issued by the committee, which is headed with a reproduction of the NLF flag, that they are backing Hanoi against Washington.

It is all too easy to forget that, while the Americans represent capitalist tyranny at its most blatant, the North Vietnamese regime is also a dictatorship. For more than a year representatives of both sides have sat around a table and discussed and discussed. Surely by this time something would have come of all these talks if there was the will? If an anarchist group took this length of time to come to a decision about a major issue affecting people's lives everyone would say, 'Well, what can you expect? Anarchism is totally impractical.' However, when politicians do it, it is taken for granted.

The truth probably is that the war benefits both sides, so long as it does not become too wasteful and destructive. 'Bombing pauses', truces, demilitarised zones and occasional withdrawals of troops, all act as limitations, preventing the situation getting absolutely out of hand. American industry is geared to war. It is a highly profitable business. As far as the North Vietnamese are concerned a foreign enemy to fight secures the loyalty of the population. Internal conflict has to be postponed indefinitely.

However, if the wastefulness of the war were to outweigh the profits of it, the Americans then probably would withdraw in earnest. Maybe this will eventually happen. The

but the War goes on



ON THE BARRICADES

WE ARE AT 23 Audrey Road, Ilford, the room is crowded, people are happy. At the moment Sikh comrades are coming in, they are trying to have a meeting, they are discussing what can be done. In another house nearby, comrades are also squatting in a house which the Council tried to destroy. But they have put the floorboards back and they are holding the top floor against all comers.

People here are elated, they have defended their home today against the hired thugs of Redbridge Council. This is the home that Mr. and Mrs. Fleming try to live in with their children. Mr. Fleming is an epileptic. His wife collapsed when Quatermain and his thugs burst into their home. A doctor was called, but he refused to treat her saying: 'She is not my patient.' But squatters came from everywhere.

Quatermain is not only a thug, but he is also a fool. After he occupied the house temporarily, he left the front door open. In came the squatters and out the thugs went, humiliated and defeated. The karate expert Quatermain (what is his real name?) got a black eye. He was shown up for what he is, a cheap confidence trickster, who can just about beat up women and kids (without catapults). He hit Olive Mercer in the belly with an iron bar, she lost the baby in her, but here he lost out.

The consensus of the meeting here was expressed by the tall bruiser next to me: 'He is a pig, ignorant man.'

There are now about a hundred people in this diminutive room-cum-kitchen. Here in this room is the beginning of a movement. 'What to do next?' How to make sure that thugs like Quatermain think twice before they try to enter other people's homes.

is not Mr. Q. It is Redbridge Council, their Finance Committee, their General Purposes Committee, their Development Committee. Behind them there are the whole might of the State. Curiously, the police in the district are wavering. Their power is threatened, they don't want private armies; if any eviction is done, they want to do it. They are dead angry with the local Council. The truth to be told, somebody tripped Mr. Q. up, one look at the feet could tell you who he was.

People here now know that we are capable of organisation, there are people here at a moment's notice, who don't need leaders, who are prepared to act.

After a long discussion, where all voices were heard, from the most violent to the most pacific, we are all agreed we are here to stay and defend this bit of earth.

Here we are thinking aloud: The only thing that works is violence—Violence begets violence—And public opinion. Priests are coming tomorrow to show their sympathy. Are we prepared to give up a day's work to defend this place?

The story of a labourer who was about to be sacked by his foreman. He went up to him and said: 'About your caravan. Bonfire night is going to be early this year.' The foreman looked at him and his burly friend and said: 'I might reconsider this. I don't think I have seen the whole picture correctly.' Our friend said: 'I don't want to hear the word sack again. I have abolished it from my vocabulary.'

Now some of the squatting group are taking to the lorries and going over to Esher where Mr. Q. lives in a large house with a swimming pool, with a maid to answer the phone. He also has a wife who is eight months pregnant. Therefore the voyagers will be silent out-

side his house, like a shadow on a wall, as a warning.

Those that feel it is their job to defend this house stay behind. There is a message from the other house. There people are singing songs and telling jokes. There is food and drink brought in from the neighbours to last them a week. It is now 1.30 a.m. The man was not at home. He is out on the tiles planning revenge. We are here prepared.

The campaign continues.

It is now 5.45 a.m. We are at Audrey Road, waiting for Mr. Q.'s revenge posse. A reporter told us at 4 a.m. that Quatermain informed the Press that he will come back here with 100 men. Everybody around me are carrying sticks, waiting. The barricades are up, people are intense, watching the front and back approaches to the house. We have connecting links with the comrades in the other house. A momentary excitement was caused by the arrival of four men in heavy suits. They were only special branch men. What a relief. It is fantastic that society, hiding behind its respectable facade, has made its courts and police impotent in dealing with us. Private armies of capitalism are wading in the battle instead of them.

It is now five to six, people are watchful but not unduly worried. They are talking in the kitchen about the abolition of the wages system. Comrades have been telephoned at 4 in the morning straight after the *Daily Mirror* tip-off—who is going to be more reliable: our voluntary helpers, or the mercenaries Mr. Q. pays £6 a throw to?

It is now six o'clock. Some dozen people in careful suits are gathering outside the house. Electric silence runs through the house. No; they are only the Press and TV.

The morning papers are lying strewn

growing internal strife within America itself may make it necessary to bring the troops and equipment home in order to use them against domestic enemies. At all events it is a 'wise policy' to keep the door open, so that it will be possible to withdraw if necessary without loss of face.

The talks also give the impression that something is being done. This has the effect of disarming protest

about the floor. The reports are remarkably alike—the police only interfered when there was violence; 'the doctor left the house after treating Mrs. Fleming'; in the *Guardian* a terrible bloomer: in a photo Mr. Q. is described as Ron Bailey. But otherwise the boys have been decent and honest.

It is now after six. If Mr. Q. is a fascist he is not the Mussolini variety.

Trial on July 2

The trial of our comrades Alan Barlow and Philip Carver is to be held at the Old Bailey on July 2. Many comrades who were informed that the trial was to be held on June 23 were given no explanation for the postponement. It is essential that the delaying tactics of the prosecution be understood. What is taking place on July 1?

movements to some extent, like the Test Ban Treaty, which did not get rid of The Bomb itself. Both sides can give the impression of being sincere, dedicated people, doing their very best to find a formula, but always being blocked by the machinations of the others. Meanwhile soldiers and civilians, men, women and children, continue to be killed and maimed.

A.W.U.

Punctuality is the politeness of princes. The Flemings' children have just come down from upstairs. Bright and wide-eyed, they are clean and neatly dressed. What do they make of us, crowding their little house, bleary-eyed, sleepless? They have been evicted before by the same man; is this what they call an early traumatic experience?

The hardest thing to write about is an anti-climax. We have to be prepared for a long struggle.

JOHN REY.

P.S.
Where do London Anarchists hide when the Barricades go up?

JR (19 Woodlands Rd. Ilford)

M.H.

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- We can get books to order (school and technical books included). Please supply name of publishers.
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'EVERYBODY WANTS TO GET IN ON THE ACT'

THE START of what promises to be an exciting time in the squat at Rumbold Road, Fulham, has been marked by an outbreak of the political disease known as 'Me-Too-ism'. Firstly, Chelsea Labour Party agreed to support local squatters. (There are none in Chelsea—and how near is 'local'.) In their newsletter they state 'The Chelsea Labour Party has long and strongly objected to the Council's profligate waste of empty properties and its reluctance to rate vacant private holdings on the same basis as occupied accommodation'. The same newsletter announces the forthcoming approval of a short list of parliamentary candidates for the next General Election. Coming events cast their shadows before them.

On Thursday, June 19, readers of the West London Observer (not the most revolutionary of newspapers) read the following advice to the 4,000 families on the Borough of Hammersmith's waiting list: 'Band together and take over all types of empty Council property, even though it's illegal.' A venue was suggested, three blocks of flats known as Samels Court (on sale at £6,500-£8,500 each) . . . 32 of which are still empty. 'Samels Court was built to rehouse families from the waiting list. Now the flats are being sold as luxury accommodation.' . . . 'The only way I can see empty Council-owned property being put to proper use is for families on the waiting list to become militant. They should become organised and get to-

gether and take direct action. After all, those houses were for them, not for the highest bidders.'

Who is this squatter *manqué*, this Ron Bailey come to Hammersmith? A Labour Party worker, naturally (Hammersmith is now a Conservative borough). He is none other than the chairman of Baron's Court Labour Party, which elected a right-wing Labour member, Ivor Richards. It was the Labour Government which permitted Councils to sell a proportion of Council houses; it was a Labour Housing Minister who changed his mind and backed reconditioning of old houses rather than redevelopment of areas; it was a Labour Government which cut back on schools, roads and housing and thereby sunk many housing schemes; and it is a Labour Government which fails to control the financiers whose high interest charges are subsidised by municipal tenants.

We who have grown prematurely old and cynical in progressive movements have discerned the signs of successful failure in the 'squatter' movement. The patronising slumming of Jeremy Thorpe, Bernadette Devlin and others, the acceptance by magistrates of the 'moral', if not 'legal', rightness of the cause and this 'kiss of death' from the Labour Party. Is it time to get out of squatting or to escalate it to the pitch where no politician will follow?

The stormy petrel of Peabody Buildings, Hammersmith, is George Simpson, 'who has had great experience on housing matters in the borough, having served on the Council's Housing Committee for eight years. He was vice-chairman for four years, and chairman during the last two years of Labour control at the Town Hall.' So says the West London Observer. During this period Mrs. Joan Foster was in the hostels run by the Council, the Council waiting list did not appreciably diminish, no homeless hostels were closed. What would have been the reaction of Mr. Simpson had homeless families taken over properties in the Moore Park Road area which were empty for twelve months during Labour's term of office whilst waiting for the 'go-ahead' on the development scheme—which never came?

Meanwhile Hammersmith Council, playing politics too, has got out a High Court injunction to restrain Mr. Simpson from inciting people to trespass on Council property. By this move Hammersmith Council have dragged Mr. Simpson's pseudo-squat down to the Punch-and-Judy arena of local politics.

In this way they have promoted the Labour Party to leadership of the squatters, which pleases the Labour Party too.

Mr. Lightman, Hammersmith Council advocate, said in the High Court: 'There have been instances of persons unlawfully squatting or trespassing upon Council property following the same policy as that advocated by Mr. Simpson.'

The beautiful symbiotic relationship of the Torylabs continues. 'If a revolutionary Labour Party did not exist, it would be necessary for the Conservatives to create it.'

JACK ROBINSON.

Peoples' Park—U.K.

ON SUNDAY, JUNE 8, members of the Bromley Federation of the Left, a libertarian organisation of local workers, students and council tenants, opened a Peoples' Park on a plot of disused Council land on Bromley Common housing estate. The land, officially the property of the Allotments Association, has been unoccupied for years despite repeated efforts by the local tenants' association to have the Council turn it into a playground for the local children who until now have had to cross a dangerous stretch of road in order to reach the nearest recreation ground, about a mile away.

A hole was cut in the fence which surrounded the land and signs were erected proclaiming a Peoples' Park and inviting the local residents to help in cutting the grass, almost three feet high in places. As soon as the park was opened the children flocked in, to play or just to watch, and soon afterwards their parents followed suit. Tenants from the nearby flats brought shears and scythes and began cutting away at the grass. We were even given soft drinks and an ancient gramophone (!) with a pile of 78s and a folk group played free music for the children who were thrilled to bits at having a real playground for once. Before we left, the kids gave us all three hearty cheers—that alone would have made the whole thing worthwhile.

But happiness, as we all know, is subversive and will not be tolerated by the authorities, in this case the local Tory Council who, on the following Tuesday, when everybody was at work, dispatched a troop of their trusty workmen to close the park and remove the signs. Fearlessly they did so and one can only admire the quiet courage they showed in dealing, unescorted and unarmed, with the angry hordes that faced them—some bored fieldmice and an empty beer bottle. But alas, their's was a futile effort for by Tuesday evening the tenants were once more busily cutting the grass while a local terrorist had erected new signs and cut another hole in the fence.

To date, the Council has repeated its performance four times and each time the wicked tenants have reopened the park, putting up even better signs than those being taken down. The poor old Concillors themselves are being made to look like the fools they are and are afraid to take legal action because of the widespread support among the tenants for their park to remain open. The whole venture has, in fact, been so successful that the tenants and the Federation of the Left are planning an official opening of the park with a garden party, music, etc.—God and the National Guard willing, that is.

P.H.

Anarchist Federation of Britain

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. All correspondence to LFA, c/o Freedom Press. **FREEDOM MEETING HALL:** Sunday meetings at 7 p.m. commence on July 6 with Philip Sansom on 'Anarchist Identity'. July 13 Albert Meitzer on 'Spain and Revolution'. **LAVENDER HILL MOB.** Contact C. Broad, 116 Tyneham Road, S.W.11 (228 4086). **LEWISHAM.** Mike Malet, 61B Granville Park, S.E.13. (852 8879). **PORTOBELLO ROAD ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Andrew Dewar, 16 Kilburn House, Malvern Place, N.W.6. Meetings 8 p.m. every Tuesday. **FINCH'S ANARCHISTS.** Regular meetings. Contact P.P., 271 Portobello Road, W.11. **BEXLEY ANARCHIST MOVEMENT.** Steve Leman, 28 New Road, Abbey Wood, S.E.2. Tel: ET 35377. Meetings every Friday, 8 p.m., Lord Bexley, Bexleyheath Broadway. **S.W. LONDON ANARCHISTS.** Meeting alternate Wednesdays. Phone Brian 672 8494. **SIEGE OF SIDNEY STREET APPRECIATION SOCIETY.** Frances Cooper, 2a Fairfield Gardens, Hornsey, N.8. Wednesdays, 8 p.m.

EAST LONDON LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION

Support wanted for numerous activities in area. Secretary: Anthony Matthews, 35 Mayville Road, London, E.11. Meetings fortnightly on Sundays at Ron Bailey's, 128 Hainault Road, E.11. Ten minutes from Leytonstone Underground. Active groups in: LEYTONSTONE, STEPNEY, NEWHAM, ILFORD, DAGENHAM, WOODFORD and LIMEHOUSE.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

Every Wednesday at Jack Robinson's and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary, Peter Le Mare, 22 Hallowell Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham, 16. Libertarian discussion groups held 8 p.m. on each Tuesday at the Arts Lab, Summer Lane (not the Crown). S.a.e. to Secretary for details.

BOURNEMOUTH AREA. Local anarchists can be contacted through Nigel Holt, Rosmore, Harvey Road, Canford, Wimborne, Dorset. (Wimborne 2991.)

CORNWALL ANARCHISTS. Contact Arthur Jacobs, 13 Ledrah Road, St. Austell, Cornwall. Meetings on the second Friday of each month at 42 Penardves Street, Beacon, Camborne. 7.30 p.m. Visiting comrades very welcome.

CROYDON LIBERTARIANS. Meetings every 2nd Friday of each month. Laurens and Celin Oter, 35 Natal Road, Thornton Heath (LV 7546) or contact Keith McCain, 1 Langmead Street, West Norwood, S.E.27. Phone 670 2797.

EDGWARE PEACE ACTION GROUP. Contact Melvyn Estrin, 84 Edgwarebury Lane, Edgware, Middx.

HERTS. Contact Val and John Funnell, 10 Fry Road, Chells, Stevenage.

LIVERPOOL ANARCHISTS & SITUATIONISTS. Contact Gerry Bree, 16 Faulkner Square, Liverpool.

LEICESTER PROJECT. Peace/Libertarian

action and debate. Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. at The Crescent, King Street, Leicester.

MUTUAL AID GROUP. c/o Borrowdale, Carriage Drive, Frodham, Cheshire.

NORTH EAST ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Peter Ridley, 4 Rockcliffe Gardens, Whitley Bay, Northumberland. Phone 25759.

NORTH SOMERSET ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Roy Emery, 3 Abbey Street, Bath, or Geoffrey Barfoot, 71 St. Thomas Street, Wells.

NOTTING HILL. Meetings at John Bennett's, Flat 4, 88 Clarendon Road, W.11. Every Monday evening, 8 p.m.

ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.

READING (town and university) and WOKINGHAM. Contact address: Larry Law, 57 Kiln Ride, Wokingham, Berkshire.

REDDITCH ANARCHISTS AND LIBERTARIANS. Contact Dave Lloyd, 37 Feckenham Road, Headless Cross, Redditch, Worcs.

WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Regular meetings and activities contact Mr. T. Plant, 10 Thackeray Road, East Ham, E.6. Tel.: 552 4162.

ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION

Three-monthly meetings. Groups and individuals invited to associate. c/o Peter Newell (see N.E. Essex Group).

Group Addresses—

BASHLTON & WICKFORD. Steve Grant, 'Piccola Casa', London Road, Wickford, Essex.

NORTH EAST ESSEX. Peter Newell, 91 Brook Road, Tolleshunt Knights, Tiptree, Essex. Regular meetings.

BISHOPS STORTFORD. Vic Mount, 'Eastview', Castle Street, Bishops Stortford, Herts.

CHELMSFORD. (Mn.) Eva Archer, Mill House, Purleigh, Chelmsford, Essex.

ESPING. John Barwick, 14 Centre Avenue, Esping, Essex.

HARLOW. Ian Dallas, 18 Brookline Field, Harlow and Annette Gunning, 37 Longbanks, Harlow.

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

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

Secretary: Phil, 8 Stonecroft Road, Leyland, PR5 3AE.

BLACKPOOL. Contact Christine and Graham, Top flat, 4 Ruskin Avenue, South Shore, Blackpool.

BOLTON. Contact John Hayes, 51 Rydal Road, Bolton.

CHORLEY. Contact Kevin Lynch, 6 Garfield Terrace, Chorley.

LANCASTER AND MORECAMBE. Contact Les Smith, 30 Dunkeld Street, Lancaster. Meetings Monday at 8 p.m., Phil Woodhead's, 30 Dunkeld Street, Lancaster. Regular literature sales.

MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. 'The Secretary', Felix Phillips, 6 Draycott Street, Manchester, 10. Regular weekly meetings. Contact Secretary for venue.

MERSEYSIDE ANARCHISTS. Contact Jenny Rathbone, 20 Sefton Park Road, Liverpool, 8. Meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m., at Pete Duke's, Flat 6, 70 Huxton Street, Liverpool, 8.

PRESTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact J. B. Cowburn, 140 Watling Street Road, Fulwood, Preston. Meetings: 'The Wellington Hotel', Glovers Court, Preston. Wednesdays, 8 p.m.

STOCKPORT. Dave Crowther, 1 Castle Street, Edgeley, Stockport.

SURREY FEDERATION

EPSOM. G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom. Tel. Epsom 23806.

KINGSTON. Michael Squirell, 4 Woodgate Ave., Hook, Cheshington.

GUILDFORD. Peter Cartwright, 33 Denzil Road, Guildford.

MERTON. Elliot Burns, 13 Amity Grove, London, S.W.19. Tel. 01-946 1444.

SUSSEX FEDERATION

Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o Eddie Poole, 5 Tilsbury, Findon Road, Whitehawk, Brighton.

BRIGHTON & HOVE ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Nick Heath, Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road, Brighton.

CRAWLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Richard Ashwell, 87 Buckswood Drive, Gossops Green, Crawley, Sussex.

SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP (see details under Student Groups).

YORKSHIRE FEDERATION

Next meeting: Sunday, June 15 in York. Contact Regional Secretary c/o York Group (see below).

HARROGATE. Contact David Howes, 16 Park Parade, Harrogate.

HULL. Jim Young, 3 Fredericks Crescent, Hawthorn Avenue, Hull.

KEIGHLEY. Steve Wood, 26B Cavendish Street, Keighley.

LEEDS. Direct Action Society. Contact Martin Watkins, 6 Eberston Terrace, Leeds, 6.

SHEFFIELD. Dave Jeffries, c/o Students Union, Western Bank, Sheffield, 10.

YORK. Keith Nathan, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York.

STUDENT GROUPS

SCHOOLS ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact T. Swash, 49 Popham Road, London, N.1. Regular meetings each Friday.

ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY GROUP. C/o Ian and Peggy Sutherland, 8 Eslemont Avenue, Aberdeen, AB2 4SL.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Matthew Robertson, Trinity College, or John Fullerton, Jesus College.

CARDIFF UNIVERSITY LIBERTARIAN/ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Chris Short, UWIST Union, Cathays Park, or Chas. Ball, UCC Union, Dumphries Place.

SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP. John Byford, 26 Bedford Square, Brighton, Sussex. Meetings every second Thursday jointly with Brighton Group; bookstall every Monday outside J.C.R., 12-20 p.m.

YORK UNIVERSITY. Contact Nigel Wilson, Derwent College, University of York, Heslington, York.

EAST ANGLIA UNIVERSITY. Contact Dave Lomax, E.A.S. II, U.E.A., Norwich, NOR 88C.

LIBERTARIAN STUDENTS FEDERATION. Contact address: Keith Nathan, 138 Pennymead, Harlow.

LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact us at the bookstall in the Students Union Foyer every Friday lunchtime.

OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Francis Casline, Pembroke College, or Steve Watts, Trinity College.

MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY. Contact Mike Don or Bill Jamieson, c/o University Union, Oxford Road, Manchester, 13.

SOUTHAMPTON UNIVERSITY Revolutionary Anarchist Federation. Contact Student Union Bookstall lunchtimes on Tuesday and Friday.

LSE ANARCHIST GROUP. C/o Students' Union, LSE, Houghton Street, W.C.2.

KINGSTON COLLEGE of Technology, Penhryn Road, Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey. Contact

G. Wright. **MANCHESTER COLLEGE** of Commerce. Contact Kevin Hill, c/o Students' Union, College of Commerce, Aytoun Street, Manchester, 1.

WELSH FEDERATION

ABERYSTWYTH ANARCHISTS. Contact Steve Mills, 4 St. Michael's Place, Aberystrwyth, Cardigan, Wales.

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. All correspondence to—Pete Raymond, 18 Marion Street, Splott, Cardiff.

SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Ian Bone, 18 Windsor Street, Uplands, Swansea. Weekly meetings at 8 p.m. on Wednesdays at the Cardiff Arms (in the Strand).

LLANELLI. Contact Dai Walker, 6 Llywysnydd Road, Llanelli, Carm. Tel: Llanelli 2548.

SCOTTISH FEDERATION

All correspondence to Bobby Lynn, Secretary, 12 Ross Street, Glasgow, S.E.

ABERDEEN ANARCHISTS & SYNDICALISTS. Contact John Treasurer, 99 Upper Mastrick Way, Aberdeen. For sales of 'Freedom' and other literature contact Ian S. Sutherland, 8 Eslemont Avenue, Aberdeen. Regular meetings.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Robert Lynn, 12 Ross Street, S.E.

EDINBURGH. Tony Hughes, Top Flat, 40 Angle Park Terrace, Edinburgh 11.

HAMILTON AND DISTRICT ANARCHIST GROUP. Robert Linton, 7a Station Road, New Stevenston, Motherwell.

FIFE. Bob and Una Turnbull, 39 Stratheden Park, Stratheden Hospital, By Cupar.

MONTROSE. Dave Coull, 3 Eskview Terrace, Ferryden, Montrose, Angus.

ROSS-SHIRE. Contact David Rodgers, Broomfield, Evanton, Ross-shire, Scotland.

NORTHERN IRELAND

BELFAST ANARCHIST GROUP. Meetings every Saturday, 2 p.m., 44a Upper Arthur Street (top floor). 'Freedom' sales.

SOUTHERN IRELAND

ALLIANCE OF LIBERTARIAN AND ANARCHIST GROUPS IN IRELAND. c/o Freedom Press.

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BELGIUM. Groupe du journal Le Libertaire, 220 rue Vivegnis, Liège.

USA. James W. Cain, secretary, the Anarchist Committee of Correspondence, 323 Fourth Street, Cloquet, Minnesota 55720, USA.

TORONTO LIBERTARIAN ANARCHIST GROUP. 217 Torquay Drive, Weston, Ontario, Canada. Weekly meetings. Read the 'Libertarian'.

PROPOSED GROUPS

NORTH DEVON. All those interested in forming a local group please contact Hugh Bensley, 'Boathyde', Northam, Bideford, Devon.

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ASTON UNIVERSITY. Colleges of Art and Commerce. Anarchists and Libertarians wishing to form group please contact Malvern Hostick at 62 Wheelers Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham 15.

VANCOUVER I.W.W. and Libertarian group. Box 512, Postal St. 'A', Vancouver 1, B.C., Canada. Read 'The Rebel'—please send donation for postage.

A Hundred Issues of Anarchy

The editors of FREEDOM have kindly asked me to comment on the lessons to be learnt from bringing out a hundred issues of ANARCHY, and I cannot do so without thanking my colleagues in the Freedom Press Group for the complete editorial autonomy which I have had, as well as for undertaking the monthly donkey work of stamping and despatching, and dealing with orders and subscriptions in addition to the normal load of such tasks for FREEDOM. I should also thank the hundreds of people who have written for the journal, and Rufus Segar who has designed almost all the hundred covers, and has done them so well that some people prefer the cover to the contents.

ANARCHY, like FREEDOM, is a propagandist journal. Its purpose is to convince people of the validity of the anarchist point of view, and to persuade them to initiate some kind of anarchist action. This is the aim against which its success or failure should be judged. So perhaps the first thing to say about it is that from the acid test of sales, it has not been a success. The two dozen or so issues which have completely sold out have sold 2,800 copies. Every other issue has sold less than this. In an early issue, suggesting that it would be a useful exercise in mental self-discipline if we anarchists, instead of aiming at infinity, were to calculate what we might expect to achieve by 1970, I said that I aimed at a circulation for ANARCHY of 4,000 by that date. How wildly optimistic was that modest ambition! Most anarchist publications have suffered from the fact that, with their limited human and material resources, the effort to produce the goods absorbs all their efforts, and nothing is left for marketing. Obviously both ANARCHY and FREEDOM desperately need to find someone who will see it as his or her unique and indispensable task to push sales and find new readers.

THE ONLY CONSOLING feature of

the sales situation is that, as we all know, the minority press is much more intensively read by the people who do read it, than the large-circulation journals are. People who bother to seek out and subscribe to the minority press, are often people who exercise an influence in society greater than their numbers. They are often opinion-formers and activists. One of FREEDOM's great editors in the past, Tom Keell, declared that 'Our propaganda is necessarily for serious people in their most serious moods. If it is merely glanced through casually and cast carelessly aside, like the ordinary daily paper, nothing is accomplished.' Seen in this light, ANARCHY has a certain amount of success. Material from it has been reprinted all over the world and translated into many languages. The anarchist press throughout the world has used articles originally published in ANARCHY, and, perhaps more important from a propagandist point of view, it has also been reprinted, quoted and commented on in many non-anarchist periodicals and books.

Nor has ANARCHY hesitated to reproduce articles from elsewhere (sometimes eliciting more response for the author from his readers than in the original place of publication). This has been partly because of the policy of one-topic-one-issue, and partly because so much is published which is too good for our readers to miss just because they don't read every periodical.

The one-topic-one-issue policy which I have tried to keep to as far as possible has been intended to make the journal a monthly pamphlet to fill the gaps of contemporary anarchist literature. I am convinced that this is the most effective way to use an anarchist journal as propaganda and I am sorry that more use has not been made of it in this way by the anarchist movement.

The besetting editorial problems of any periodical of a minority movement are parochialism and sectarianism. You, as a curious outsider, pick up a magazine put out by some other minority and find that it is full of references which the uninitiated do not understand, and has a background of in-group feuding in which X is getting at Y over some historical or doctrinal difference which you can't comprehend. ANARCHY has tried, not always successfully, to avoid this: to take it for granted that anarchism is in the mainstream of modern social ideas, and to address itself to the outside world rather than to the in-group. This has involved going outside the usual circle of contributors to the anarchist press, and accepting the fact



“The English Revolution began yesterday in Hyde Park”



this issue discusses why it came to nothing

that their opinions are not always 'ideologically correct' even though the general tenor of their contributions is sympathetic. This is the policy which was followed by some of the great anarchist journals of the past — for example *La Révolte* in France and the *Revista Blanca* in Spain. It involves using the journal as a kind of anarchist shop-window, displaying to the world the quality and range of goods which the anarchist approach can offer. Looked at in this light, I think that readers will agree that an extraordinary range of anarchist insights and applications have appeared in the course of our hundred issues. The raw material for the individual propagandist is there, waiting for use.

Any editor, unless he happens to be a prolific writer himself, is at the mercy

of his contributors and what they will write for him. There are very many topics which should have been discussed from an anarchist standpoint in ANARCHY, and have not been. On the other hand, several of the themes which have run through the hundred issues have taken root and blossomed elsewhere since ANARCHY began. Take the idea of workers' control of industry. When ANARCHY 2 was devoted to this topic in 1961 we called it 'an idea looking for a movement'. By the time of the Fifth National Conference on Workers' Control, eighteen months ago, Geoffrey Ostergaard, writing in ANARCHY 80 felt able to describe it as 'an idea on the wing'. Or take education. No journal has published such a budget of authoritative material on the progressive movement in education. Today we have a growing questioning of the foundations of the education system, a movement for 'pupil power' in schools, a Libertarian Teachers Association, and a groundswell of interest and concern of an essentially anarchist kind.

Take crime and punishment. No more devastating enquiry into the nature of delinquency and the penal system in our society has appeared in any journal as in ANARCHY, and a whole school of criminologists has emerged in the last few years, whose outlook is essentially anarchistic (see for example ANARCHY 98 on 'libertarian criminology' and ANARCHY 101 which will examine detention centres and approved schools).

Finally take housing. ANARCHY has continually come back to this topic, advocating a new squatting campaign. Over the last six months, it has happened. The London Squatters' Movement has not developed in the way in which we all hoped. It has not been emulated everywhere into a nation-wide campaign of direct action. But Ron Bailey and Jim Radford and the handful of people who have thrown themselves into this campaign, have provided an inspiration which is not going to be lost in the future. The battle that has been played out in suburban streets between them as responsible citizens, and the authorities who have destroyed houses rather than risk their being occupied by the homeless, and have hired strong-arm men to throw out squatters because they couldn't legally get the police to do it, seems to me an object lesson in the truth of everything the anarchists have ever said about the nature of authority and the necessity of resisting it.

If ANARCHY has contributed anything to these four areas of social concern, it will not have been a wasted effort. And there is material in our hundred issues for many libertarian campaigns which have not yet got off the ground. For example, in the current

debates about the future of broadcasting in this country, there is nowhere better ammunition than in ANARCHY 93, with its advocacy of listener-supported radio, and in the arguments about the future of municipal housing, all the libertarian campaigning points can be found in ANARCHY 83 on the tenant take-over.

I am convinced that the most effective way of conducting anarchist propaganda through the medium of a monthly journal is to take the whole range of partial, fragmentary, but immediate issues in which people are actually likely to get involved, and to seek out anarchist solutions, rather than to indulge in windy rhetoric about revolution. A goal that is infinitely remote, said Alexander Herzen, is not a goal at all, but a deception. On the other hand, these preoccupations lead to a neglect of a whole range of topics which ANARCHY has ignored. Where, for example, is a thorough anarchist evaluation of events and changes in Russia, China, in Africa and Asia generally? It hasn't been published in ANARCHY. Or where, a really adequate anarchist analysis of economic and industrial changes in this



country? Not in ANARCHY, I'm afraid.

One of the weaknesses of the anarchist movement throughout the world, it seems to me, is a preoccupation with its own past. One of its great needs is a genuinely contemporary anarchist literature in which all aspects of the world we live in are examined from an anarchist point of view. Not for its own sake, but simply to make us effective instruments of social change.

C.W.



The Little Mags

AT THE PRESENT TIME we are going through what could be called a 'boom' in little mags. Never before have there been so many new magazines and small presses. About two years ago there were approximately 150 little magazines operating in Britain, now the number is nearer 300, which means, using some swift arithmetic, that a brand new mag starts up every five days... and that's some going. One wonders who can buy them all, perhaps it is just a physical manifestation of mass education, but whatever it is, it's a good thing for the state of poetry.

A good No. 1 to start with is Chris Morgan's *Rumpus* at 1/- a copy from Hendrefoilan House, Sketty, Swansea. Neatly duplicated on green paper, it is possibly a new venture for a student-orientated mag, dedicated to publishing not only student poets but other less academic people as well. The contents are well balanced in style with some good work from David Callard, Geraint Jarman, Gregory Silverman, C. W. Dix and others.

From Poetry Workshop comes a new booklet by Stephen Morris, *Short Poems For All The Girls*, at 1/- from Flat 3,

Clumber House, Park Drive, The Park, Nottingham. This is the ultimate in poetry dedications, no simple 'POEM, to Beryl Thugbotham' for Steve, each poem is dedicated to all the girls whose name begins with a particular letter of the alphabet, and naturally there are 26 poems. Perhaps Steve Morris should change his name to something like Henry Miller or Frank Harris, but anyway, for 1/-, this is worth getting.

After his break with the Directory of Little Magazines, Cavan McCarthy is moving ahead with a lot of booklet publishing. The latest is a re-print of Eric Thackers' *Dongdeath and Jazzabeth*, a long, weird and wonderful poem which utilises elements from D. M. Black's *Without Equipment*, Lewis Carroll's *The Hunting of the Snark* and pieces of Bob Cobbing's sound symphonies thrown in for good measure. Experimentation on a wild scale. At 1/6d from BCM/Cavan, London, WC1.

Meic Stephens, having sold his Triskel Press, has put the magazine published under that imprint, *Poetry Wales*, in the hands of a new editor and the first issue by Gerald Morgan (Vol. 4, No. 1) is now out. The format is changed and the

traditional cover abandoned but a lot of the old contributors are still there, good solid work from R. S. Thomas, Raymond Garlick, Peter Gruffydd, Steve Morris and others. There is also an interesting supplement on calligrams/concrete poetry, the first of this sort of thing from Wales, yet I feel the Welsh experimenters have a long way to go before they get to the standard of things coming from Scotland and other parts of the world. At 5/- from Talrynn, Ffordd Penmynydd, Llangefni, Anglesey.

The best book I have ever seen published in a duplicated format is Rudolf Sauter's *Crie du Coeur*, 80 pages of poems and illustrations done between 1918 and 1968. The poems themselves are modern in their outlook which is surprising since the poet was born in 1895, they show a maturity of style and at times some amazing and original forms and constructions. A good book dealing mainly with the oppressions and wars of this world. From Fort William, Butterow, Stroud, Gloucestershire.

The new *Asylum* (No. 6), under the sole editorship of Tony Dash, is now out, and the immediate change noticeable is that it is back to a duplicated

format; nonetheless, it loses little from this. There are some good modern poems as is to be expected, C. C. Hebron, George Dowden, Bill Wyatt, Henry Graham and others, but the main part of the mag is devoted to a 20-page supplement of 11 Cleveland poets ranging from T. L. Kryss and rjs to newer poets like Steve Slavik and John Rose. This Cleveland movement is interesting and, I think, significant. Read for yourself, 2/6d from 478 Stanley Road, Bootle, Lancs.

On the unusual side is *Musicasia*, at 1/- from Sangeet Sangam, 8 Birchington Road, London, N8. A mag dealing with Asian music and culture with the odd poem thrown in. This issue has articles on the theory of Indian music, sitar lessons, a review of the film *The Guru*, and plenty of photos.

A book I haven't seen yet, but by the standard of the poet's work should be really worth getting, is George Dowden's *Birth Vision and Green Song*. To be published soon at 5/- from Five Poets Press, 67 Marine Parade, Brighton, BN2 1AD. It will be a limited edition and I recommend ordering in advance.

The latest issue of *Phoenix* (5/- from Leopold Reif, 1 Berlin 46, In den neuen Garten 38, Berlin, Germany) is now out and will put a lot of our home-grown mags to shame. Sixty four pages long and published in a neat, clear litho format, it's well worth the asking price. A lot of the poems and articles are in either German or French but over half the magazine is in English with work by Adrian Henri, Brian Wake, Maurice Cockrill, Clive Williams and Geraint Jarman (Jarman's *The Return of Tu Mu* and Wake's *Strip Show* being outstanding poems indeed). *Phoenix* deserves all the support it can

get and anyone going to the trouble of buying the requisite number of International Reply Coupons won't be disappointed.

From Cardiff University (Pigeon Hole 'A') comes, I believe, the first little mag for a long time. It's *The Occasional Parish Butterfly* at 1/6 a copy which is a collection of stories, articles and interviews of general interest with the odd poem to add balance to the content. Issue No 2 has a good poem by the Russian poet Andrei Voznesensky and some well-written articles. The only complaint I have is that towards the edge of the page the print begins to fade, nonetheless worthy of 1/6d.

PETER FINCH.

RECTIFICATION

By a mistake of our editors in our last issue (May 31), the story 'YORGO THE GREEK' appeared under the signature of the author of the present article, José Martín-Artajo, when its real author was another Spaniard, JOSE DIAZ MARTINEZ. The similarity of these two Spanish names, and the fact that we had already by then in our office a couple of articles by José Martín-Artajo, resulted in the confusion of the two names when we were abridging the original of 'YORGO THE GREEK' (see footnote of said story in our last issue).

Brecht's Epic Trauma

BRECHT: A CHOICE OF EVILS by Martin Esslin. Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1959.

BERTOLT BRECHT (1898-1956) left an indelible mark on world theatre, and after him, theatre will never be the same again. It was his belief that the audience should leave the theatre in a critical state of mind, never having their conclusions made for them by playwright or players, and that at no time should they identify either players with characters they were playing or themselves with the characters. The word used is alienation.

This book is generally acknowledged to be standard reference work on Brecht and on German theatre. Esslin himself was born in Budapest, studied in Vienna, and fled in 1938, from the Nazi terror, along with many fellow artists and writers. So he is admirably placed to describe the life and times of Brecht, with whom he must have shared many common experiences of frustration and repression, even if they never met.

The political beliefs of Brecht are of particular interest to anarchists. The 'choice of evils' referred to of course is the choice between Capitalism on the one hand, and Communism on the other. And Brecht, described as a young anarchist and nihilist, always looked to Authority and the State to provide a nucleus of a society. Although falling foul of both evils in the course of his lifetime, although bitterly condemning the iniquities of both systems, he remained a Marxist to his dying day, and this book is valuable, if not priceless, in describing exactly why he did so.

PROECKL/BRECHT

Brecht exhibited, in his personal life, a fear of freedom, a total lack of conviction in the rights of the individual over the demands of the Party, whatever party that may have been:

Esslin: 'Brecht's preoccupation with the theme of consent, which in this context means the individual's willingness to sink his private feelings in the common cause of human progress, and to agree to become part of an anonymous and disciplined mass, reflects his own difficulties in the face of his decision to throw in his lot with the Communist Party. The immoralist, the anarchist and nihilist Brecht felt that he must find a positive creed. And in those years when the new barbarism of the Nazi movement already loomed on the horizon, the Communists seemed to many German intellectuals the only effective counter-force.'

This, having regard to the appalling fascist threat of the times, may be considered forgivable. Brecht accordingly wrote an opera, *He Who Says Yes*, based on a Japanese No-Play, where during a mountain journey, a boy falls ill, and consents to be killed rather than slow down the party's progress.

One of Brecht's friends in his early days was the novelist, Leon Feuchtwanger. He knew Brecht well, and the character of Kaspar Proeckl in his novel *Erfolg*, was acknowledged to be based on that of Bertolt Brecht. It throws light on the man whom few people really knew.

Esslin: 'It is significant that Feuchtwanger has made Proeckl not a poet, but an engineer, the designer of a people's car: an expression of Brecht's attitude to art as a kind of mental engineering. Proeckl, like Brecht, is talkative, yet reticent about his own personality and thoughts. And another character in the book insists that Proeckl/Brecht is driven into a collective, social frame of mind by certain deep deficiencies within him':

'That you have been taken in by Communism . . . is due to the fact that from birth you have been singularly deficient in social instincts. What for others is a matter of course, instinct . . . overwhelms you by its novelty, by its scientific facade. You are a poor creature. You are unable to feel yourself with other people. You cannot have sympathy with others; that is why you are trying to get things by artificial means. . . . And on top of that—you are a puritan. You lack the most important human organs: senses capable of pleasure and a charitable heart.'

Esslin: 'This view . . . shows one side of his nature: a person basically tender, driven to suppress his emotions to appear hard and rational, a human being so deeply hurt that he has become afraid of being involved in the feelings of others, and therefore appears incapable of sympathy—and empathy. All this is highly relevant to the complex character of the young Brecht: after all, the whole theory of the "epic theatre" is based on the rejection of empathy and the

emotional involvement of the audience with the characters on the stage.'

And why was the young Brecht so deeply hurt? He had a deeply sensitive nature, and in 1918 was called up and became a medical orderly in a military hospital. There he saw sights and had to do work . . .

Esslin: 'himself that was a traumatic experience that left lasting traces in Brecht's character and work: his poetry is haunted by images of dismembered bodies; a fanatical pacifism became the basis of all his political thought, and his implacable violent attitude clearly springs from the impotent rage of the helpless bystander, yearning to inflict the same cruel treatment upon all those he felt responsible for such senseless mutilation; even Brecht's ostentatious display of defiant toughness in later life, the disgusted rejection of any thing even remotely smacking of high-minded sentiment, whether religious or patriotic, can be seen as the reaction of a basically tender mind, shaken to its core by the sheer horror of existence in a world where such suffering was allowed to happen.'

THE MARXIST

As early as 1923—at the age of 25, his name was No. 5 on the Nazi list of people to be arrested. He went into exile in 1933.

Esslin: 'Brecht's Communist views hindered rather than helped him to penetrate to the true nature of national socialism. He regarded it as a kind of conspiracy of the rich against the poor and completely overlooked the genuinely revolutionary and really frightening side of the Nazis. . . . The Ribbentrop-Molotov pact finally shattered Brecht's and many of his fellow-refugee writers' naive views on the phenomenon of totalitarian dictatorship.'

It did not shatter his faith in Marxism, however.

Esslin: 'The austere monastic side of Communism, its practice of self-denial and strict obedience had a magnetic attraction for the self-indulgent anarchist. Here was the rigid framework of order, which he instinctively felt he needed to counteract his drift towards amorphous emotions and nebulous formlessness. The nihilist needed a faith. He found it in the stark social logic of Marxism.'

In his play *St. Joan of the Stockyards*, the Salvation Army girl, driven to despair by the human suffering around her, tries to relieve it by kindness. But just before her death she says:

'For only violence helps, where violence reigns, And only men can help where there are men.'

Esslin: 'It is easy to see how this austere, poetic version of the Marxist creed corresponded to the subconscious needs of a young man of deep sensibility whose world had been shattered by the spectacle of horrible human suffering. . . . Brecht's aggressive nationalism, his obstinate refusal to recognise

MINORITY & MASS ACTION

Continued from page 5
far too widespread, and its corollaries lead to aberrations. After May '68 and before that date, a great number of minority struggles remained localised, in, for example, Britain and Japan, where harder struggles than those in France have not led to a general strike. The value of exemplary actions lies in the fact that they are real struggles against the bourgeoisie and not symbolic actions whose purpose is to show the masses what they should do.

Actually, in France, the tactic of most revolutionary groups, apart from recruitment, is to wait for an offensive in order to cry 'Down with repression'.

When the ruling class attacks, it does so on the terrain that it deems most favourable, so we have to take the offensive ourselves, choosing our own objectives, and having our end always in mind.

The end in view is the creation of the [libertarian] communist society, that is, the destruction of the material and ideological supports of the present class society, and the workers collectively taking their destiny into their own hands.

We must understand our revolutionary activity in its wholeness, as well as elaborating our theory through direct action, without letting ourselves be hypnotised by the construction or defence of the revolutionary organisation, violence, mass action, and the need for a coherent theory, as these become mere fetishes if they are considered in isolation.

ACHILLE TALON
in *Noir et Rouge* No. 44.
(translator: B.B.)

the existence of psychological factors or areas of mystery in nature, is the reaction of a personality that had felt deeply threatened and disturbed by the irrationality of the world around it and that therefore had to cling to its newly found belief in reason with grim determination.'

Brecht found plenty of metaphors to appease his conscience.

Esslin: 'As long as Brecht could believe in the scientific certainty of Marxism he was safe. Everything became very simple. Violence and dictatorship could be defended, as the character *Laslova* defends it in *The Mother*:'

'With freedom it is rather as it is with your money, Nikolai Ivanovich. Since I have been giving you so little pocket-money, you are able to buy much more. By spending less money for a time, you can spend more money later.'

For Brecht, in his own words, Communism . . .

*'is not madness, but
The end of madness.
It is not chaos,
but order.*

*It is the simple thing
That is hard to accomplish.'*

So the great man who denied the power of the subconscious to influence one's everyday actions himself fell victim to them. He took the easy way out, and became, politically, a simplist.

Brecht used to tell a parable of the evils of East and West to illustrate his political beliefs: A doctor in a hospital is faced with two patients equally afflicted with venereal disease: an old lecher (Capitalism) and a pregnant prostitute (Communism). He only has enough penicillin to save one of them. He will have to save the woman, because there still ought to be a chance that she will give birth to a healthy child. These infantile parables, which could be used to illustrate any point you wished to make, satisfied Brecht's conscience to such extent that he continued to support the police-state, the concentration-camps of the Ulbricht regime . . . it might, after all, be merely a transition to better things . . . this was the hope to which he clung.

Esslin: 'The Marxist dialectic, with its comforting doctrine that progress proceeds along zigzag lines and that even errors already contain the seeds of their own abolition, made it easy for him to develop the peculiarly split mind of the

believer, who perceives the shortcomings of his idol and is yet happily able to ignore them completely.'

Brecht's poem *To Posterity* says:
*'For we know
Even the hatred of evil
Distorts the features,
And anger over injustice
Also hoarsens the voice. Alas, we
Who wanted to prepare the ground for
friendliness
Could not ourselves be friendly. . . .'*

This is the tragedy of the man who believed that the subconscious should be written off. It is like a man who tries to cross a road with the belief that the motor car does not exist.

THE AUTHORITIES AND THE BRECHTIAN THEATRE

In October, 1947, Brecht, resident in USA, appeared before the Committee for Un-American Activities. He had to deny Communist sympathies, and got away with it because of the members' strange unfamiliarity with his writings. He claimed that pro-Communist thoughts in his writings were due to errors of translation and put up a performance close to that of *The Good Soldier Schweik*—the figure who pretended obedience at all times. His friends later remarked that the hearing had been 'like a zoologist examined by apes'.

His friends in America often reminded him of such painful facts of Communism like the Moscow trials and the Stalinist terror. Upon which Brecht would lose his temper . . . these were painful facts which did not fit in with his own personal political scheme of things.

He got into continuous trouble with the Communist regime in East Germany when he returned there in 1948. The whole story is chronicled in Esslin's book, but one incident worth mentioning is after Soviet tanks rolled into East Berlin to put down the rising of 1953. A letter was published from Brecht to Herr Ulbricht which said simply 'I feel the need to express to you at this moment my attachment to the Socialist Unionist Party'.

However, this was only the last sentence of a lengthy and clever letter in which Brecht had criticised the action of the regime in calling for Soviet help. Fearful of his life, although he had made careful provision for his own survival, it was not until after his death that the

following poem, *The Solution*, was published:

*'After the rising of the 17th June,
The Secretary of the Writers' Union
Had leaflets distributed in the
Stalinallee
In which you could read that the
People
Had lost the Government's confidence
Which it could only regain
By redoubled efforts. Would it in
that case
Not be simpler if the Government
Dissolved the People
and elected another?'*

It was the Communist Party who continually harassed his approach to the theatre.

Esslin: 'The party had decided that the only method of acting and production that was truly Marxist was the Stanislavsky method of the Moscow Arts Theatre. Brecht's whole theory is based on his conception that the theatre of Stanislavsky, by making the audience identify themselves with the characters, prevents them from seeing the world in a detached, critical spirit and is therefore un-Marxist and reactionary. But the party did not want the audience to be put into a critical state of mind. It wanted them to be hypnotised and made uncritical by having their emotions fully engaged in favour of the positive characters and against the negative ones. . . . Brecht wanted to let them draw their own conclusions from a critical reflection on the play. The party wanted the audience to be left in no doubt as to any conclusion they should draw from what they saw.'

For Brecht, it was indeed a choice of evils. Wherever he lived, he always had a placard hang over his desk that read 'TRUTH IS CONCRETE'. By placing his own conditions on what constitutes truth, by limiting his idea of truth to what he could perceive in his own consciousness, and the consciousness of others, he was never able to make it more than an inchoate thing.

Most people who have taken freedom for themselves and desire it for others, have journeyed into those parts of hell which have been described as 'the places *Virgil wouldn't go*'. Brecht never went there, it seems, so he could proclaim that the truth is concrete.

Truth is deeper than that. I.D.

Cruelty for Profit

'SERVE EGGS, SAVE MONEY' runs the jingle on the goggle box. Gratefully, we head for the supermarket, thankful for the cheap eggs on the rack. But what is the real cost of our cut price eggs? What, in fact, is the cost in animal misery behind the bargain prices? Is it really a case of 'Serve eggs, make money' . . . money for the hard-faced men who must surely qualify for the title of rats of the year, Britain's super-efficient 'factory' farmers?

Very few people realise just what goes on behind the scenes in one of these Belsen-like places which wrongly bears the name of farm. It is very easy, of course, when discussing food and how it is produced, to find yourself joining in with the vegetarians and other cranks, but on this issue public anger must become widespread. As anarchists, we uphold the rights of man. Factory farming is an issue over which we must be seen to uphold the rights of animals.

Let's take those cheap eggs. The way in which they are produced makes a mockery of the claim of our society to be civilised. It is yet another example of the fact that, under capitalism, the process of production, man's natural bent, is fraught with misery, cruelty and death. Battery hens are crowded into tiny cages (space costs money, every tortured inch must be put to profitable use), so packed that they cannot even stretch their wings and they can only stretch their heads by poking them through the wires. For a floor, these wretched creatures have wire mesh on which they must balance. Disease is rife among these travesties of living things, cancer a frequent killer.

Cancer in the hen, and you, at a nice cheap rate, then swallow the egg? The Food and Farm Society, a remarkably business-like and non-cranky group, have subjected these gruesome little balls to scientific analysis. The results show a considerable gap between the amount of Vitamin B12 in battery and free range

eggs. The contents of the battery egg showed lower concentrations of B12, riboflavin and niacin (all vital vitamins) than did the free range egg (laid by a hen eating natural food and running free).

Experiments with a ferret, an animal reputed to eat anything, showed that if a free range egg and a battery egg were cracked into the same dish, the ferret would only eat the free range egg. Cats too are fond of eggs, mine won't touch a supermarket egg with a barge pole. Cats and ferrets, one need hardly point out, gauge their food by smell. Something is wrong with those eggs. When the factory farmer is finished with the hens, what are they like? The following is a report on 4 ex-battery hens, rescued by a decent person from their prison.

'They were in a pitiable condition, white faced, their feathers dirty and bruised, and one bird had very few feathers at all. One had her toes broken on one foot and all had claws so long they could hardly walk. To stretch their wings they only gave them a little upward jerk. We housed them in a comfortable shed, gave them Parrish's food in water as a tonic, fed them on good food . . . and the result was 4 magnificent birds, happy, vigorous and laying eggs freely. They learned to scratch for insects and eat greenstuff about which they knew nothing at first.'

If that report had concerned people, the government would have been knee-deep in demands for action, but who cares much about hens? Man, comrades, lives not by bread alone.

Broiler chickens are tasteless little carcasses, flogged in the supermarkets at around ten bob each. These poor birds have a life of 9 weeks or so, and the manner in which they meet their end can only be described as bloody murder. In order to keep these tormented creatures alive (or rather existing) in their feathered Dachau, the 'farmers' fill them full of antibiotics. The massive doses so given

build up in the animal's tissues and huge amounts are passed on to man. With these huge amounts of drugs, a natural immunity and resistance to them is built up in man, the consumer. As a result, these drugs, when given to us in illness, are no damn good at all. A scientific investigation has warned that typhoid may soon be resistant to the drugs used to cure it. Meanwhile, our lovely radical Labour Government has just called for a 50% increase in broiler production! Well, someone did once say that the State was poison!

Our friends the Tories, taking time off from chasing foxes across the countryside, are right up in there with the factory farmers. Listen to this, 'We propose to increase to £1,000 our contributions to political organisations by way of supporting those who appreciate the fundamental role of the investor and the need to encourage the subscription of risk capital on which our national future so clearly depends'—Eric Reed of Allied Farm Foods, a broiler chicken firm. No prizes as to which 'political organisation' got the thousand nicker—it certainly wasn't the Anarchist Federation of Britain! Prominent Tory farmers in fact sat on a government committee investigating animal welfare, and this after a government report had stressed that the committee should have no vested interests! Saying one thing, and doing the other . . . the eternal story of the State.

One could go on with this horrible tale ad nauseum. A few more gruesome examples to finish with. White veal, a damned expensive middle class fad, is produced by keeping calves in virtual darkness and restricting their water supply. Anaemia does the rest. Pregnant sows are kept in tiny concrete cells, unable to turn round, for months on end. Pigs are fattened by a process akin to a Turkish bath, which might be good for people, but which, since pigs have no sweat glands, may be called torture. Is one being especially blood-thirsty if one recommends that, after the revolution, agricultural capitalists are kept in the dark, deprived of water, injected with cancer and bloody-well choked on poison eggs?

Papermaking Industry

IN EUROPE

THE PAPERMAKING INDUSTRY is an important and strategic one for modern capitalism, which needs vast quantities of writing paper, wrapping paper, and newsprint for the administration of society and industry, for education and for the presses; as well as for increasing amounts of high-quality papers for industry, e.g. fibre-glass paper for the electrical industry and base papers for the photographic industry.

The industry is one of the few old established ones which are not declining (such as mining and shipbuilding). Due to the increased demand for paper since the war, the number of people employed in the industry in non-communist Europe has risen to almost half a million and is one of the greatest in Europe in value. Total value of output in 1958 was £1,500,000,000 and has been climbing steadily in value since.

Britain is the most important single country with 21% of European production and over 100,000 workers. This is the only industry which is practically keeping abreast of the new expanding industries (such as cars, electrical engineering, etc.).

THE PAPERMAKING INDUSTRY IN BRITAIN

One of the biggest sections of British workers living on subsistence-level wages are adult male workers employed in the paper industry. With minor variations the same tactics are being used by employers in this industry to reduce wage costs and lengthen hours as they were using a hundred years ago.

Firstly there is extensive use of female children. Advertisements for employment always ask for youths rather than men. Women working in mills are usually either between 40 and 60 or between 15 and 20 with the latter group often in the majority. Mills are still usually dotted about in the middle of areas of working class housing, and the pressure on children in these districts to leave school and help make up a respectable family income is enormous and irresistible.

In mills we still find the boss calling his workers by their Christian names, when there's a rush on he helps by carrying things around, taking off his jacket and rolling up his sleeves and working with the men.

There are also little tricks to encourage workers to think of themselves as part of a big family. The bonus is paid perhaps, not on an individual basis, but on total work leaving the mill every week. Workers often actually go up to others and complain that their stupidity is endangering the bonus of the whole mill.

The large number of hours worked in the papermaking industry ties in with the wage structure of mills, where the low hourly rate is supposedly compensated by long hours. Gains in wages, conditions, and hours are usually made when workers manage to compare their conditions with those of workers in other industries.

Conditions in some ways are fairly good. The canteen produces reasonable food, but it is usually more expensive than most works canteens. The toilets are in poor condition, they don't even have paper. Wages in mills are pretty low. Most workers seem to think they are reasonably well off, but that's only because of the bonus, and even so many have to work long hours of overtime to

get a living wage.

The average wage for shift workers would work out about £16-£18 a week, but this is counting bonus, and this is not for a 40-hour week but for 3 weeks of 40, 48, and 45 hours respectively. So that if they only had a 40-hour week, the wages of shift workers would be cut by over £2 a week. This means that their basic wage is only £11 to £13 a week of 40 hours. Engineers' wages are between £13 to £14 basic. General labourers are between £10-£11 basic.

The workers in mills are very poorly organised; afraid to take action in defence of their interests in case they lose their jobs and pensions. Pressure can also be brought on workers who live in mill houses and can be persuaded not to take any union action with the other workers, from fear of being evicted.

There is also a low degree of solidarity between different shifts and groups of workers. Although the workers are badly organised they are really in a position of strength. Most of the paper produced in mills is for industrial purposes and a strike would have far-reaching effects on other sections of industry.

UNION ORGANISATION

It is usually non-existent. There is a fake staff or management-run organisa-

tion where the shop steward is in the manager's pocket. Healthy union shops exist only where a conscious political element of some kind has intervened (usually the communist party), but it is usually an incredible effort to keep organisation alive. Wages are so bad in some factories that the workers believe they cannot afford to pay union dues.

SHOP STEWARDS

Who leads the struggle at plant level for improved pay and conditions, acts as the organiser for the unofficial strike, and worries the management? Above all, the shop steward. This would be true of any other industry but not in the paper-

factory.

(3) More management-union planning to reduce the large number of hours worked, which will ultimately give more leisure time to the workers. This part could not be applied unless there was a substantial pay rise to offset the cutdown in hours.

(4) There should be immediate scrapping of production bonuses in all departments not related to the production of paper. Why scrap the PB if it supplements our wages?

Departments not in direct production of paper find they have a smaller percentage of PB plus the fact that the PB varies considerably from week to week.

their rights. But in the end it comes down to one basic fact: a shop steward must have the backing of the workers in the factory if better pay and conditions are to be won.

(7) Works committees should be set up representing all the unions in the factory. This gives better bargaining strength and also promotes better understanding among different sections of workers.

(8) Safety precautions are very poor in mills and perhaps some sort of incentive bonus by the management would offset the number of accidents.

(9) In daily management of the em-



mills. There we find the shop steward is weak and incompetent and therefore the shop is unorganised and the employer usually does what he likes.

IMMIGRANTS

Immigrants who find work in papermills tend to keep organisation weak. Few have a sympathetic attitude towards unionism—an attitude which is understandable when the only unions they tend to come into contact with are weak ones. They are prepared to work for very low wages and are generally welcomed by managements who take advantage of people who don't know their rights.

CONCLUSIONS

(1) Nothing short of complete unionisation and solidarity among the workers can end the appalling bargaining weakness of the paper workers.

(2) A substantial increase in the hourly rate, plus better working conditions, should be enforced by the union in the

Analysing these facts the workers in other departments should go for an immediate and substantial increase in 'Real Wages' and thus scrapping the out-of-date PB which can only work for the employers and against the workers.

(5) Outdated agreements should be scrapped, which usually only hinder management-union negotiations.

(6) Better qualified shop stewards. Shop stewards should have a good sound knowledge of union structure, rules, regulations, etc. I don't mean to imply that every trade unionist should be his own lawyer, but I do mean that union officials, shop stewards, should have at least a working knowledge of labour law. They should familiarize themselves with the Government White Paper on Prices and Incomes and any other Government legislation which affects wages and conditions in industry.

These Government White Papers are pounced upon by employers to discard wage claims by workers who don't know

employment in which we spend our working lives, in the atmosphere and under the conditions in which we have to work, in the hours of the working day, in the conditions we have to eat in, and even the manner and practices of the foreman with whom we have to be in contact, in all these matters as workers, we have a right to voice our opinions equally with the management.

This short report may not point out all the grievances in the papermaking industry but it deals with the main ones and if my recommendations are acted upon immediately the papermaking industry workers will take a great step forward in their wages and factory conditions. In some places even a copy of the factory act on the wall could mean the end of exploitation and be a great leap forward for an under 21-year-old working for 54 hours for £8 in a 19th century shack called a mill.

Glasgow

ALEX LAWRENCE.

FOR SEVERAL YEARS now there has been, in the industrialised countries, an increase in radical action on the part of minority groups acting outside, in spite of and often against the traditional political organisations. This action has often taken a violent form.

What is new about these minority groups in 1969, is that they have stopped calling on the masses to join them in creating a revolutionary organisation with which to attack the bourgeoisie, but have taken it upon themselves, as minorities, to attack the system, while waiting for the majority to destroy it.

This change of attitude did not originate in the minds of a few theoretical geniuses, still less from the example set by a few activists, but from a ripening historical situation.

Violent action by revolutionary minorities is not new, however. In Spain, for example, from 1923 to 1936 there existed several autonomous groups involved in direct action, exercising self-defence against the private armies of the employers and the state police, and attacking the most crying aspects of capitalist domination.

It was part of the time that during a strike, however limited (rise in wages, conditions of work), the support would be gained of a group of revolutionaries (who may or may not have been directly involved in the strike) who would discreetly visit the bosses and put pressure upon them and their property. The workers often knew of this only after the blow had been struck, and this method often produced excellent results, even on the level of immediate demands.

One of these groups, which was well-known because of its famous members: Durruti, Ascaso, G. Oliver, etc., was 'Los Solidarios', which functioned independently from 1923 to 1936, financing workers' organisations through direct action.

There were similar groups in Italy at the same time, which fought the private

armies of blackshirts, which, in the end, proved to be the stronger.

The class struggle takes various forms. It is sometimes violent. It can appear as collective violence on the part of the majority of workers (uprisings in Germany in 1919, for example), or violence on the part of minorities or individuals.

For example in France today violent acts are performed by individuals or independent groups. We do not intend to take these acts one by one to determine which are revolutionary and which in the end merely provoke repression or play the bourgeois game, but rather try to realise how the struggle can clear the way for the destruction of capitalist society, which can only come about through the violent action of the majority of the workers, and how the violence of groups and individuals fits into the general struggle.

It is tautological to say that all violence exercised against the bourgeoisie or the material manifestations of capitalist society, is in principle part of the revolutionary struggle, one must distinguish whether these acts are more or less efficient from the point of view of the general struggle, and of knowing if they effectively attack capitalist society.

One must consider the reply of the bourgeoisie which is often capable of filling the breach which has opened in the system.

Every act, whether violent or not, every piece of writing or declaration, every attitude taken, which impedes, however minutely, the well-functioning of bourgeois society, appears to it as a provocation, and repression soon follows; but repression sometimes creates a chain of events which hinders the workings of

the system even more seriously.

THE BALANCE OF FORCES

The meeting on May 3, 1968, at the Sorbonne was followed by police intervention, but during the four weeks of their occupation they did not intervene in the running of the Sorbonne. But towards the end the balance of forces had changed. The 'militants' who thought that, by expelling the 'Katangans' and cleaning the place up, they would be able to continue the occupation, showed that they had no conception of the mechanics of repression.

It isn't the degree of violence in the action that produces the reply on the part of the bourgeoisie, but the balance of general forces that exists at the moment, and still less does the decision of some political group provoke action on the part of the masses.

The dispersal of forces, and the appeals of the FER against provocation, did not prevent the barricades of May 1968; no more than the calls for direct action by certain anarchist groups have let loose a reaction during the last twenty years. They were always thought of as jolly idiots by the workers and the police.

ANY PRETEXT WILL DO

When that part of the bourgeoisie that is in power believes that it is necessary to let loose a massive repression against all the opposing forces, any pretext will do, and they will invent them, fabricating plots against law and order and public security, and either act as agents provocateurs or invent an international conspiracy that calls for 'special measures'.

The bourgeoisie has had resource to these measures each time its hegemony

has been threatened, not only by an opposition that calls itself revolutionary, but also against legal, parliamentary and reformist opposition, when it was not possible to integrate the reforms demanded into the system, not counting any grave crisis that threatened its very existence.

The result of this confrontation provoked by the bourgeoisie, at the time and under the conditions that it deems most favourable to itself, depends upon the actual balance of forces, which is not the same as the number of militants active in the opposition forces. The destruction of the social-democratic movement in Germany in 1933 is evidence of this.

ATTACK ON THE OPPOSITION

The Spanish Government, with its recent state of emergency, has not only attacked the revolutionary opposition in the shape of the urban commandos and the student left, but also the Catholic reformist opposition in the workers' commissions, the humanist lawyers and teachers, and even the monarchist factions close to the government. It is now more perilous to be a humanist in Spain, than to be a leftist in France.

However, it is possible for us to criticise, for example, limited and localised strike movements, and at the same time admit that this level of struggle reflects the situation in certain sectors of production on the level of the consciousness of the workers concerned. We think that the different illegal acts, attentats, clashes with the police, vandalism, etc., are the more or less spontaneous action of groups and individuals which are expressing their revolt against the society that oppresses

them, in their own way.

These acts are part of a struggle against the system, and develop in number and violence, according to a developing consciousness; but we reserve the right to criticise their form, their objectives, and their limits from a class, and not a moral, point of view.

The revolutionary minorities have no practical direct influence on the behaviour of rockers who are involved in clashes with the police, nor on the sacked worker who throws a molotov cocktail at his boss's door. There are, however, cases where organised groups have an influence on the actions of a relatively important number of people; when they are concerned with provoking or hindering a confrontation with the police during a demonstration, or determining the course of an occupation; in fact when they attempt to influence the level of the struggle.

It might seem 'materialistic' to say that if the confrontation must take place because of the historical conditions, it will take many forms, and that the masses have within themselves the consciousness of the struggle.

It has been said that the voluntarism of a small group can neither let loose nor hold back the confrontation. However, this does not mean that revolutionary groups and organisations cannot, without playing a directive role or substituting their own action for that of the proletariat, place themselves at the forefront of whatever struggle they choose, taking the offensive at the moment, and using the methods, that seem to them most favourable.

THE REAL STRUGGLE

The value of action by minorities cannot be worked out according to whether or not it lets loose action on the part of the masses; and the mechanistic view: March 22 Movement → closure of a faculty → closure of a university → barricades → general strike, is unhappily

Continued on page 4

Student Revolt in Spain

JOSE MARTIN-ARTAJA*

A MADRID CONSERVATIVE daily paper asserted some days ago that the present convulsions inside the Spanish University constituted an authentic political assault which has already converted the University, our University, into an occupied University; and this political assault has 'the effectivity of a tide rising a little more every day and never stepping back'.

This is true; and, in answer to it, a recent meeting of University 'Rectores' has decided to put forward immediately 'all necessary measures to restore completely the academic order'. What these measures are, we shall know after the Christmas holidays—from next January 9 on.

Also, in the 'Cortes' some voices have been asking for a 'governmental energetic solution to the public order problem' which the events in the 'campi' constitute. These events, fairly frequent during the first term of the present 'academic year', have been a series of 'illegal students' assemblies, professors' chairs occupied by force, students' 'trials' of professors, distributions of subversive leaflets, strikes, demonstrations, material destruction, incendiary attempts, etc.; and, on the other hand, academic trials, massive arrests, fines, prison penalties by military or 'Public Order' Courts, prohibition of meetings of any sort—cultural or not, etc.

At the beginning of the last Christmas holidays (December 14), more than half of Madrid's University was on strike. In some cases it meant protesting against

academic trials of students and also against the presence and behaviour of the police inside the University, and claims for 'representative immunity' for the representatives elected by the students. In other cases, the reasons were predominantly academic and professional—as in the case of several 'technical schools' in which students, for the first time in many years, began to realise the possibilities of speaking aloud about matters that concern them: representation in the University's government, composition of the 'study plans', organisation of the professors' chairs, fund administration, etc.

All of a sudden, following the French example, a general attack began against the old Napoleonic University, over-centralised, over-bureaucratic, and obviously insufficient for present times: insufficient room and insufficient professors (lectures for hundreds of students each time), insufficient professors' salaries; study programme insufficiency, lack of real means for any representation or participation of the students in matters of their 'legitimate' academic concern; and, not least, the class character (de facto) of the University: the average number of workers' children that come in do not exceed the two or three per cent.

A NEW MINISTER . . .

The first reaction of the Government to this wave of criticism was the appointment of a new Minister of Education and Science last spring, Sr. Villar Palasi. New Universities were created in the provinces, 'autonomic Universities'

in Madrid and Barcelona, the system of particular economic help was increased by the institution of 'scholarship-salaries', and a decree was issued which was supposed to prepare the opening of 'representative channels' for the students.³

That decree (dated September 20, 1968) speaks indeed of 'freedom, autonomy, representativity, participation, responsibility, publicity and authenticity'—nothing less, as the principles which will inform the future students' associations. But this wonderful document is, alas, extremely ambiguous in its concrete dispositions (once again!).

It is evident that the Spanish University sets up, and is more and more concerned with, political problems not strictly to do with the University but national. Apart from an extremist minority whose aims we should qualify as utopian, the principal political topics which actively preoccupy the conscious Spanish student are: the democratisation of the educational system, the freedom of political association (and expression), and the independence of the trade unions (and syndicates in general). Each day, more and more, the University becomes 'an instrument of political and social action, and not only an educational institution'.⁴

But access to the University is still a privilege. In its relationship with the working classes, the highest goal reached up to date has been, as Professor Elias points out, 'to convert the few proletarians who, through a paternalistic system of grants have been able to enter it, into authentic déclassés, if not into direct class deserters, enemies of the

working classes'.⁵

The only correct solution to this situation would be a 'real incorporation of the working classes in the University', a general and total incorporation which would represent a decisive, deep transformation of its entire life and organisation. 'The bourgeoisie is taught in the University,' says Prof. Diaz, 'the ideology that the defence and justification of their social order demand for; the presence of the proletarians in the campus would make an unavoidable change in such a situation'. (An affirmation, by the way, that seems to be valid for some other Western countries also.)

The students' desire for participation in the University's government is but a reflection of their (and the whole nation's) will to get participation in the nation's public life—through real 'representative channels' and under the protection of a real 'right of association'.

The recently issued 'Estatuto del Movimiento'⁶ has been conceived in this spirit of self-deception. Beforehand, it was supposed to be the means of making possible the public expression of the citizens' different political opinions. After its issue it is obvious (as the objective magazine *Cuadernos para el Diálogo* points out after studying it minutely⁷) that 'the political monopoly has not disappeared at all . . . thus the "Movimiento" . . . still looks like a one-party'. The exclusion of the most populous sections from such 'Estatuto' is so evident that even some top members of the very 'Movimiento' have stated that the 'Estatuto' constitutes a fraud on those who still wanted to believe in a possible evolution of the establishment towards more democratic forms.

Meanwhile the working world waits and gets itself ready—through the 'Comisiones Obreras', for example, an underground labour movement which, in spite of the intense police and judicial persecution, gains ground among the working class.

The police repression explains too, of course, the 'sterile atomisation' of the active university groups.⁸ There are more

than twenty illegal associations, in Madrid and Barcelona together, of various numerical importance and ideologies: anarchists, Trotskyists, pro-Chinese, pro-Soviets, left-Christians, socialists, Christian democrats, left-falangists, Basque and Catalan separatists, etc., etc.

NOTES.

*This article has been written together with a Spanish student living in Spain who, for obvious reasons, prefers not to give his name.

¹The 'Rector' is the head of each of the Spanish Universities, a post approximately combining the functions of the English Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor (Translator's Note).

²The so-called Spanish Parliament (Translator's Note).

³After the self-disintegration of the old SEU (Spanish University Syndicate, monopolistic and hierarchical, created by the Falange), the Government tried to substitute it by creating the APE or AE (Students Associations) which were not accepted by the students and constituted a quick and spectacular failure; the students then organised their own Syndicate, the SDEU (Spanish University Democratic Syndicate; SDEUM in Madrid, SDEUB in Barcelona), which was immediately declared illegal by the Government.

⁴E. Tierno Galván in *Cuadernos para el Diálogo*, Madrid, May 1968.

⁵E. Diaz, id., id.

⁶'El Movimiento' (lit., 'the Movement') is a very versatile concept which denominates occasionally either Franco's rebellion from 1936 on, the rather abstract ideology of Franco's régime, the Falangist Party, etc.; it lends its name as well, as a sort of prestigious adjective, to several political institutions of Franco's régime (Translator's Note).

⁷Madrid, November, 1968.

⁸*Don Quijote* magazine, Madrid, October 10, 1968.

Madrid-London

1-8.1.69

The Man who never was

MY LIFE by Sir Oswald Mosley. Published by Nelson, 36 Park Street, London, W.1. £3 10s.

POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND PUBLIC ORDER by Robert Benewick. Published by Allen Lane, Vigo Street, London, W.1. £3 15s.

ANY MAN'S SELF-TOLD life story makes sorry listening for it is the perennial tale of an innocent in a world of villainy, noble ideals prostituted by the betrayal of lesser men, of selfless devotion to unworthy associates, the base ingratitude of fair weather friends and the perfidious and Machiavellian behaviour of unsought enemies.

It is a story common to all of us and let us be sympathetic listeners to each other's song of sadness but never seek to print our own lamentation for only the committed, the libelled, the dedicated or the masochist will bother to wade through those hundreds of pages of apology for living. Each and every month the publisher's vans unload the latest autobiography of some man of action or of letters and they fill a bookseller's window until the next *crève coeur*.

Let your enemies write your biography for if you are worthy of their assaults then, by the same token you will be defended, but if you must write your life story then let it exist as a work of art in its own right. Let it be malicious, let it be dishonest, let it have wit or an open contempt for the readers. Let it retail in named detail all the unrepeatable gossip of the dining room or the lavatory. Let it dishonour confidences, expose private tragedies, deliberately pervert truth to prove a point and let it earn you the contempt of all your contemporaries and you will have written a minor masterpiece worthy to share a shelf with the writings of Aubrey, Boswell, Casanova, Evelyn, de Sade or the Sunday newspapers.

Here before me lies the life story of Sir Oswald Mosley and it will never take its place among that honoured and well-read vocal minority for it possesses neither wit, great love nor great hatred. Five hundred and twenty-one pedestrian pages reveal nothing of the man or the borrowed cause that won him an unrewarding place in the history of this country. And yet, as one conscientiously plods through these dull and pedantic pages, one must finally come to accept that this is truly the mirror of the man for, though Sir Oswald spent the whole of his political life pirouetting in the spotlight of public interest in the company of the leaders of the Labour and the Conservative Parties and the political

things of Europe, he would now appear to have been but a political puppet wooed by the Left and the Right not for any particular talent in himself but for his wealth, his influential associates and the value of his social background.

MEMBER FOR HARROW

After four years' colourful service in the First World War, Sir Oswald was returned as the Tory member for Harrow with a majority of over 10,000 and there was a world waiting for this 23-year-old youth. The Tory Party used him for their own ends but they had spawned a political maverick radical who quickly won applause though not support and in 1920, with little intellectual effort, he crossed the floor of the House and four years later curled up in the womb of the Labour Party. Much was made by Mosley and his fascist propaganda machine on his performance within the Labour Party and it would ill become us to belittle the attempts of any man who tried, without success, to alleviate the misery of the millions of working people of this country, but in all those years Sir Oswald was always the radical ready to draft a sop to save a sick society rather than a revolutionary prepared to destroy an evil.

In the 1930's the young intellectual lions of every political party were drafting programmes for economic and social reforms and all in all they were but an interchange of a few and limited number of ideas based on the new teachings of Keynes. Mosley found pleasure in the company of the intellectuals of the hour and, by nature a mild absorbent of other men's ideas, it followed that he would produce his own programme for our economic salvation. Macmillan, Bevin, Boothby, Mosley or Strachey, no matter what their party label, turned to Keynes for their inspiration and Sir Oswald's scheme was common to the radicals of the day.

AGRICULTURE DESTROYED

Mosley's plan was for a State loan to finance a £100,000,000 road scheme, the whittling down of the country's labour force by pensioning workers off at sixty and the raising of the school-leaving age. I have simplified proposals that Sir Oswald devotes over ten pages to but, when one reads of the plans for an Economic Council and all the games with the currency and the consumer credits for the unemployed, one feels slightly sick. In that period of nationwide social misery any scheme was welcomed but the simple and inescapable fact was that as a nation we had deliberately destroyed our agriculture and in a world that could not buy our manufactured goods

we could not buy food and would not feed ourselves.

No matter how much money was pumped into schemes for road buildings the working class could not be fed. There was semi-starvation in the Welsh valleys and children were crippled for life through rickets, and still the fabians of the Right and the Left demanded public building as a solution for these people saw work, not as a means to an end, but an end in itself, and they refused to face up to the fact that all the paper money paid out as wages for worthy public works would not buy us bread for as a nation we had, through national stupidity, become dependent on overseas granaries and as a nation we were destitute. Sir Oswald devotes 10 pages to his Birmingham Proposals, as they were known, and it makes drear reading in retrospect when one realises that children were dying of semi-starvation and what was needed was that every single inch of cultivable soil should have been given over to the growing of food. But Sir Oswald loved his Birmingham Proposals and for the rest of his life it became one of the grand myths of the Fascist Party.

Divorced from his intellectual associates Sir Oswald appeared to be incapable of producing one single original idea, phrase or slogan and he must surely have reached his nadir as a political economist when he writes that the present-day Jamaican immigrants should be repatriated to a homeland given over to a single crop economy and that this crop should be sugar tied to the vagrancies of a world market. Sir Oswald is one of those men who seemed forced by his mercenary nature to flow into any inviting political vacuum and, having exhausted the heights of the Tory and Labour Party high table, he turned to the gaudy political gangsterism of Europe for his next step into limbo.

THE BLACK SHIRTS

In 1932 Sir Oswald put on his black shirt and declared the British Union of Fascists open for business. This in retrospect was the end of Sir Oswald as a political force for he appears to be a man completely devoid of imagination and wholly without any political sense. There was a market in every country in Europe for a paramilitary right wing party and fortunately for the people of Britain Sir Oswald grabbed the bait. There was the frightened lower middle-class aching to recapture the discipline and the romanticism of the war years. There were millions of unemployed workers demanding the right to live with dignity and there were the restless upper class waiting for a strong arm squad to

maintain industrial order and Sir Oswald turned up in his Italian uniform, his Italian salute, and Mussolini's political emblems and opinions. Mussolini may have been Europe's political clown wheezing to the applause of his numerous relations but Sir Oswald seemed determined to turn it into a double act.

Those he did not frighten he alienated, for he seemed incapable of learning the fundamentals of his chosen trade. He built up a paramilitary organisation and feared to use them as an army. He took the English lower middle class condottieri and instead of giving them a pseudo-British military-styled khaki uniform he marched around the Town in the comic uniform of a nation that the British loudly professed to despise for their lack of military ardour.

He lost the intellectuals because of the strong arm behaviour of his followers. He hurt national pride by submerging the national flag within his own Party pump. He ranted of a Wagnerian glory and produced a policy specifically designed to win the support of the small shopkeepers. He talked of the dignity of labour and drove the working-class off their own streets so that he could address his captive and paying audience of uniformed shopkeepers and he alternatively courted and abused the Jewish people. Too pure to step down into the gutter with Streicher, too gentle to be a Himmler, too well bred to be a Rohm and not intelligent enough to be a Goebbels, Sir Oswald posed and posed again in his personal spotlight as a clubroom Hitler while his movement destroyed itself in fratricidal internal warfare while the Leader was away slumming.

A PALACE PRISONER

If in some fantasy future Sir Oswald had won control of the State one could not conceive of him accomplishing anything for politically he had nothing to offer. He would have ended up as a palace prisoner, forever reviewing troops, while the hard-eyed men took over. One does not dispute for one single moment Sir Oswald's claim that should the Germans have invaded Britain he would have dashed down to the beaches with a sword in one hand and a flag in the other but the German political arm were fully prepared to bring with them their own British fascists to govern in their name and could Sir Oswald have held back those of

his followers who would have co-operated with the German military? Every other invaded country in Europe failed to control this scum so why should our power-happy lads have been different?

One gift that Sir Oswald does possess, however, is a real and lasting hatred for those who challenged his authority. One looks in vain for any reference to John Becket or 'Mick' Clark for there is not one single one to them in the 521 pages, while William Joyce is dismissed in 12 lines. Yet these men were the Fascist Party. It was they who fought in the streets, spoke from the corner platforms and formed the recruiting and the rallying point for all those who sought their salvation in the armies of the night.

Joyce was the Fascist Party's only hero and its only martyr. He was a Savonarola not a Nechavé ready to put the world to the torch as long as it burned for the greater glory, and if Sir Oswald can be dismissed from our attention it must surely be for these lines that he wrote of his old comrade who was hung by the very society that Mosley claimed to wish to overthrow: 'He was not a man to mind losing a job, but he was intensely vain; a quite common foible in very small men, as Bacon shows in his essay on the diminutive.' Vicious, superficial and heartless for if the fascists are ever remembered it will be because of William Joyce and those of us who threw many a brick for the left will always remember that short scar-faced man with affection for in the dark world of gutter politics he was a worthy opponent and for Sir Oswald, Robert Benewick's well-documented dissection of the formation and the fall of the British Union of Fascists wherein Sir Oswald can look back on his future and read of his old comrades whom he chooses to forget.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

In the next
Supplement- July 26
**THE STRUGGLE
IN IRELAND**
An Anarchist
Analysis

We are the People

we are the Future, we will surely win

THE ORTHODOX MEDICAL complex today operates as a subsidiary of the profiteering drug industry. Vast sums of money are wasted, much work is consumed and many human lives are sacrificed on the dangerous altar of drug therapy. This at the expense of research into the root causes of mental and physical sickness and investigation of methods of claimed prevention rather than cure. Health is an area of false specialisation and health workers are one of the most exploited and abused sections of the working population. A considerable number of hospitals still endure rigid authoritarian systems of control and suffer paranoid and paternalistic management. Individuals holding some degree of effective ruling power are mainly patronising and the mental condition of hospital workers is largely feudal. Nurses are generally kept apathetic and mute by the misused mythology of 'vocation', 'calling'. This disastrous sentimental image, this Florence Nightingale mystique, is deliberately propagated and sustained by the nursing councils, press and the two concerned unions, COHSE and NUPE.

Both the United Nurses' Association and the Nurses' Action Group have engendered national publicity which has in turn generated some militancy within the institutionalised psychological climate of nursing. Mass-media grew fearful of the monstrous brat it spawned and the *Sunday Mirror* recently delivered a vicious, albeit amusing, personal attack on UNA's Pat Veal because she chooses to administer colonic irrigation to tired businessmen in order to supplement her income. By Christ, I only wish there was a steady demand for stimulating enemas in sleepy Blackburn to settle unpaid bills.

The Tories gained control of Manchester Corporation by promising to cut the rates which means cutting or curtailing the wages of their employees. In 1945 they had tried to get rid of an epileptic hospital they run 30 miles away in the Ribbles Valley. The National Health Service declined the offer. When the PIB 60th Report recommended that £100 a year be given from April 1, 1968, to all staff in hospital institutions catering for long-stay, mentally sub-normal and geriatric patients, the Manchester bureaucratic machine trembled. Soon the MOH had declared that Langho was a residential home and not a hospital. With spastics, geriatrics, sub-normals, cripples, blind, diabetics, psychotics of various kinds, this is manifestly untrue. All the patients are epileptics who consume large amounts of sedatives and are subject to states of psychosis in pre-fit and post-fit periods. Increasingly, patients in advanced stages of physical and mental sickness, unwanted by other hospitals, arrive at Langho. Existing facilities are inadequate and consequently there exists a climate of violence. Manchester Corporation runs this hospital on the cheap by nursing staff helping the overworked gardeners (two men to run vast grounds, who work 13 out of 15 days), operating a telephone switchboard, portering and doing domestic work; besides running the staff mess-room. Overtime is worked at normal hourly rates of pay and unqualified junior staff are given the responsibility and duties of charge nurses without charge nurses' pay. At £15 plus for a 42-hour week there is naturally a perpetual shortage of nurses and for one man or woman to care for over 40 patients, some with extremely serious medical problems and others with long histories of unprovoked violence, is almost inconceivable but is in fact normal routine.

This was the first such recommendation that the administration resisted so determinedly and is a dangerous precedent. Conversely they have not been slow in implementing the pay-as-you-eat scheme which has meant that resident staff can be 24s. out of pocket every week. COHSE carried on a fruitless correspondence for 14 months and even allowed this to lapse for long periods. Because of such amazing inactivity and disinterest, a few of us resigned from the union and began to agitate. With a complex rota system, communication was difficult and meetings impossible to arrange. Information has been disseminated by leaflets distributed by hand. Posters never managed to stay for long on the various official notice boards. Many nurses took the seemingly easy way out and left to work at other local hospitals.

The Langho Action Committee tried to run the struggle on an anarchistic basis with non-anarchist workers. Our central demands were clear and straightforward. Better conditions and implementation of the *Geriatric Lead* without further delay, with full back pay. The administration was informed that we had determined, by free discussion and agreement, that we

were not interested in any possible compromise or qualified 'solution'. By then we had developed a deep critique of existing hospital administrative structures and were calling for the entire health service to be turned over to the community and operate under the direct control of nurses, patients and with participation from the entire community concerned.

As soon as mass-media began to take an interest in the conflict and we attempted to forge links with the rest of the working community, the Deputy MOH, Staff Administrative Officer and Staff Officer, rushed over to discuss the situation with nursing staff but they came with no powers of negotiation. Manchester pleaded that it would cost them £10,000 a year but forgot to mention that the majority of patients come from outside the Manchester area and their true share would only be £1,000.

On a windy Sunday afternoon we demonstrated in Manchester's Albert Square and auctioned off the century-old town hall. We were supported by anarchists, students, hospital workers and two Labour Councillors. Curiously enough, most militants were on duty that day so outside support was essential and encouraging. The people's hall was bought by Felix Phillips, on behalf of Manchester Anarchist Group, for 200 government-issue toilet rolls. Thus it has been justly returned to the people. It will be a measure of our strength when we can remove all the bureaucratic squatters from it. After a token walk round the square with our posters we went back to work throughout another long and difficult night.

MOH Dr. Kennedy Campbell was still defiant when the press went to his home that night but the following Tuesday saw the Health Committee capitulate. The Establishment Committee and the Finance Committee have still to approve, despite the newspaper claims that we have won. If there should be any more obstruction, we will initiate forms of direct action which will not affect the 500 patients. Recently, after a police investigation, the DPP refused to take action against Manchester Corporation on the grounds that there was not

THE LATEST EMBARRASSMENT to the Chichester-Clark junta has been the Baillie report. Commissioned in panic back in January after some drunken police had smashed up the Leckie Road and St. Columbs Wells at 4 a.m. on January 5 after the PD Belfast-Derry march, the government had hoped to calm the situation. This it failed to do when it was announced that this 'impartial enquiry into allegation of police misconduct' was to be conducted by a senior police officer.

Five months later it is complete and even more embarrassing. The 'government' have announced that it is not for public consumption and its contents are 'irrelevant' since the recent 'Amnesty' (see FREEDOM No. 00) also applies to the

sufficient evidence to prove that any member of Manchester City Council had a financial interest in the decision to curtail the scope of the Direct Works Department. Langho nurses will not be as easy-going as the DPP.

On May 1 anarchist Vincent Johnson helped organise a canteen boycott in protest against the pay-as-you-eat scheme, at Sefton General Hospital in Liverpool, with 90% success. Langho nurses have been brought into direct confrontation with the System which manipulates and exploits them. They have been forced into some recognition of its essential repressive nature, how it functions and operates. Unfortunately nurses, like most workers, are presently incapable of acting on issues which they mistakenly imagine are not their concern. They will not act in solidarity with other workers, unless they can see immediate or eventual personal advantage. Nursing action groups are basically authoritarian, limited in their demands and impoverished in imagination. There must be a libertarian follow-up to exploit the revolutionary potential which undoubtedly exists among health workers. Such an impetus could spread and engulf workers at every level on all fronts. *We are the people, we are the future, we will surely win.*

DAVE CUNLIFFE.

Aberdeen-Bosses' Paradise

THE RECENT SCOTTISH EDITION of FREEDOM carried a story about Edinburgh, in which the city was described as being quiet and bourgeois. The same would appear, to the casual observer, to be true for the Granite City of Aberdeen. The physical facade of the town gives an immediate impression to the casual visitor of a city of considerable prosperity. But behind the grand Victorian facade of majestic Union Street is a city which, some say, is in the process of dying. It must be borne in mind that the granite palaces which typify the Aberdeen landscape were erected when Victoria was Queen and the wealth which built them was a product of Victorian enterprises. Aberdeen is the site of many traditional industries, the most obvious being granite and fish. Today, these basic industries are in constant decline and little is taking their place.

For the business community, the halcyon days of bonanza fish catches, of the erection of granite buildings the world over, were a goldrush. Vast fortunes were made and ruling families created. Today, these ruling families still wield immense power, running the city to suit themselves, and rarely does the public see more than the tip of the iceberg of Aberdeen's own, highly unique, ruling class.

The Aberdeen worker has always 'had it hard'. Wage rates in the city are often simply not believed by people down South who hear of industrial conditions in the city. Yet, in this still often feudal corner of Scotland, were planted many of the seeds of trade unionism. Ploughmen in Aberdeenshire were organising in combinations when the Tolpuddle Martyrs were bairns. Today, their descendants live hard lives, on an agricultural wage which wouldn't keep a mouse, and from which the only escape is the high road South, the ship to Australia or Canada, and the ever-welcoming gates of the Gordon Highlanders' barracks.

In the Aberdeen of 1969, radicalism of sorts mingles with a reaction which has its base in the 19th Century. The city boasts perhaps the finest social services in Britain, yet one estimate has put the average wage at £3 less than Central Scotland and at £7 less than S.E. England. For many in this city, a living wage

means overtime, overtime, and more overtime. What happened to the radicalism of former days in Aberdeen? Perhaps part of the answer lies in the fact of a massive emigration. A recent report indicated that Aberdeen's birth rate was only just holding its own against an increasing rate of emigration. For many years the cleverest, the most independent, those who sought a good life have been draining away from the dying city. Those who stay become progressively more docile and daily more fatalistic. All over the city's industrial scene, whenever militant action on even the most minor issue of workers' rights is suggested, can be heard the cry of 'What good will it do?' In Aberdeen 1969, no one really cares. Eyes are fixed on the road out (even revolutionaries have been known to flee!), young men finish their apprenticeships and head for the affluent South. The older longingly scan the newspaper ads for that illusory good life beyond the sea. In Aberdeen, things get worse, not better.

Aberdeen, a city of 200,000 people, tucked away in the sleepy North East of Scotland, is, believe it or not, the most expensive place to buy property outside London. There are few real slums, to be sure, but this fortunate fact is due to the endurance of the granite buildings. Aberdeen's housing problem is vast, but unlike the horror of the slums of Glasgow or London, lies unseen. In Aberdeen 1969, one in two young couples are living with their parents when their first child is born, one in four when their second child is born, and one in ten when the third child arrives. Five thousand are waiting for a home on the council lists. And Aberdeen's super cool council recently gave a warning that council building might even cease!

The reason that a councillor made this statement may be found in the fact that the city labours under a huge municipal debt. In 1964 Aberdeen owed £36,000,000, over £200 for every man, woman and child. By 1969, the total debt had reached £50,000,000! Against this background of overcrowding (and with 20,000 housing units lacking modern waste, exemplified by the new city chambers, a multi-storey tribute to the self-seeking rulers of the decaying body

police. This we find hard to comprehend. Is the government implying that policemen have ever been guilty of misconduct? If so, this is a serious allegation and must be substantiated if the commonfolk (sic) are to have any faith in their elected representatives (sic). For have not the Bannbridge Unionists, 3 high court judges and assorted organisations from Presbyterian ministers to Donaghadee lifeboatmen all publicly declared that the RUC and 'B' Specials can do no wrong! Given this, is not the inclusion of the RUC in the terms of the Amnesty a scandalous slur on their pristine reputation?

The suggestion by some that the inclusion of the police in the terms of the Amnesty was necessary in view of

the forthcoming Burntollet book, due to appear just before July 12 (of glorious memory). But to give in to this line of reasoning is to imply that the government have less than 100% confidence in the boys in blue—obviously unthinkable. That everyone but those who don't want to, knows by now, the failure of the Irish forces of law and order to apprehend the miscreant extremist Protestants responsible for the recent bomb atrocities has dealt a bad blow to morale. What better way to reassure the minions of the law of the government's faith in them than for them to emulate that fine old ex-Irishman Wellington and say 'Publish and be damned!' (and they will be).

JOE HILL.

Through Red & Black Glasses

ON THE TELLY recently it was stated that crates of rats were being given priority at airports to be imported into Glasgow for experiments at our universities. Capitalism thrives on exports and imports. British capitalism gets profits from exporting manufactures and from importing foodstuffs. One wonders why, though, that so much trouble is being taken to import rats when they can be caught in several areas in Glasgow. Are Glasgow rat-catchers asking too much for their labour?

In the Vernon Street-Fernie Street area, factors have been persuaded to block up disused wash-houses and holes have been filled in. But still rats can be met in the stair head according to one of the tenants of Vernon Street, Glasgow, N.W. They can be seen in the back courts in the midday sun and they go about in droves at dusk. Audrey Hetherington (one of the tenants) asks, 'What are the Corporation doing about it?' The regrettable answer is, 'Nothing'.

There are still rats in some areas of Gorbals where the late Alice Cullen (who died recently) was Labour MP for 21 years.

Tradition dies hard. For 30 years Labour controlled Glasgow Corporation. Corruption among Labour Councillors has been going on for decades and recently it has been exposed more so than ever. Baillies have been brought before the courts for bribery and corruption and have been served out prison sentences. Many people are beginning to realize the need for a do-it-yourself movement. Local politics as well as national politics are unveiling themselves and the people are seeing the true portraits of the political Dorian Grays.

'RENTS BEFORE RATS'

Glasgow Corporation is now controlled by the Conservatives—the Labourites being ousted out at the recent municipal election.

But rents are uppermost in the minds of the Corporation. Already they have decided on an increase for Council

politic of Aberdeen. Even the councillors' chunties are embossed with the civic seal. All is dignified in Edwardian Aberdeen.

Despite surprising outbreaks of militancy (to which I shall refer later) the overwhelming aspect of the Aberdeen scene is utter apathy and active reaction. For years the populace have voted Labour, nationally and locally. Yet, on the issues of the day, I have rarely met such Toryism, and I have travelled far. A teacher, fleeing to the happier climes of the South, recently wrote in an educational publication about how he had been struck, on coming to Aberdeen, by the existence of an apparently idle middle class which to him, as an outside observer, seemed to lie across the city like a wet blanket, to the casual onlooker asleep, but exerting a choking effect on local progress and on local thinking. In too many places in Aberdeen, workers think like their bosses. Where else, I ask you, do council tenants rave blue murder about subsidised housing, where else does the Lord Jesus decide the outcome of industrial disputes?

Perhaps the people of Aberdeen, if they will but look, can see the influence of the traditional rulers (and of the manner in which our 'underground government' has control of our Labour council) displayed at its most open in the issue of bringing new industry to the city. The record of the municipality in this respect has been worse than that of many burghs one-eighth the size of Aberdeen. A few years ago, at vast expense (but no doubt at a great profit to a certain city printing firm who have a virtual monopoly of council printing),

houses. Rats they don't want to hear about. I say to the Audrey Hetheringtons, 'Boycott the municipal elections and assist in the organisation of tenants associations.'

THE SHOP STEWARDS MOVEMENT

This is the most important development of the Labour movement in the twentieth century: a truly democratic movement. The shop steward is the direct representative of the workers. He is subject to immediate recall, unlike our MPs who are fixed for a comfortable five years.

The narrow structure of the trade unions hinder the advancement of the shop stewards movement.

In many factories joint shop stewards committees are already functioning. These committees operate irrespective of the different unions who have membership in the factory. But because of the affinity to the respective unions and political parties these committees have their limitations: they forge their own shackles. If they could only liberate themselves from these allegiances they could become the embryo of a new kind of society: a society in which the political parties are not needed and the trade unions are obsolete. For the economy of the country could be administered by the workers committees; the role of the unions would have changed its character from defensive organs, as wage bargaining institutions to administrative organs of production and distribution.

As Marx once said, 'We could inscribe on our banners, not the conservative motto of a fair day's work for a fair day's wage, but the revolutionary watchword, the abolition of the wages system' (see *Wages, Price and Profit* by K. Marx, p. 97).

But as yet, since they haven't torn themselves asunder, they remain defensive organs. Nevertheless they are the only effective defence organs; the

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a thick brochure describing attractions of Aberdeen to industrialists was sent all over the country. If the volume had been designed to keep people away from the city, it succeeded brilliantly. Pictures inside showed the city replete with trams (scrapped years ago) and one picture, taken in the dawn of time, showed Union Street complete with Ford Tens. The garments worn by the citizens portrayed within were really out of date... even for Aberdeen. Yet, at every election, the Labour and Tory machine (recently joined by the rather fishy SNP) grinds out the old tripe about 'attracting industry'. When I worked for Aberdeen Town Council a few years ago, rumour was rife among staff at one time, to the effect that an engineering firm, seeking to employ 70 people, had visited Aberdeen, liked a site, and their enquiries had been completely ignored and rebuffed by the city. The rumour also said that this rejection was inspired by the interest of certain businessmen, who were connected with the council.

Yet, sometimes this desire on the part of Aberdeen's bosses to preserve their dirt cheap labour from the expanding capitalists of the South does rise to the surface. The owner of one of the biggest local fish firms was loud in his warning cries about the plan by a national frozen food company to build a huge factory in the city. Paternalism still looms large on the Aberdeen social and industrial scene. The bosses in many cases regard the workers as 'theirs', while the workers live in awe of the father figure. In many cases, first names are the order of the day. The atmosphere is rather like that

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TUC, the Good Policeman

THE NEWS THAT the Government was not introducing penal clauses into its Industrial Relations Bill brought much relief to many Labour MPs. From reports it seems the news was greeted with some jubilation. This was probably genuine, from their point of view, in that they saw it as a victory and a just reward for the pressure they had brought to bear on the Prime Minister and his Cabinet. Many also think that they now stand a better chance of being re-elected at the next general election.

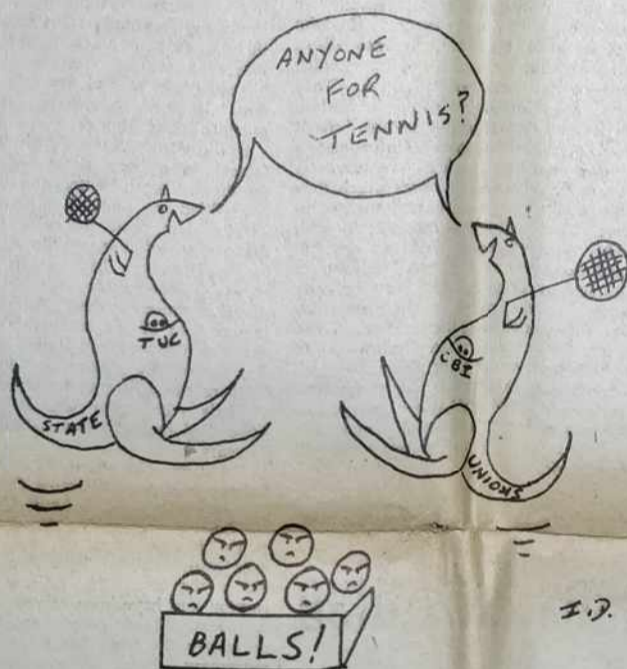
But the fact that the Government had decided to abandon these clauses cannot be claimed as a victory for the Labour movement. Under the Government's threat of penal sanctions against unofficial strikes, the Trades Union Congress has, as Mr. Wilson keeps claiming, moved further in the past few weeks than in the past 40 years. The trouble, as far as trade unionists are concerned, is that the TUC has moved in the wrong direction.

It could be argued that their

'Programme for Action' and their 'solemn binding' undertaking to deal with 'unconstitutional strikes', in the same spirit as the Bridlington Agreement, are tougher than the Government's proposed penal sanctions. The TUC now has the power to intervene in a dispute which 'has led or is likely to lead to an un-

strong as it would be if the State had imposed fines. The outside threat would have involved many more trade unionists. This is why I have written before in these columns that there was no room for compromise on this issue. Whichever way it went, men and women on the shop floor are at the receiving

THE CENTRALISED COURT



constitutional stoppage of work, which involves directly or indirectly large bodies of workers or which, if protracted, may have serious consequences'.

FINES AND EXPULSIONS

If after ascertaining the facts, the General Council of the TUC think it unreasonable to order an unconditional return to work, they would try to assist in getting a settlement. But, 'where, however, they find there should be no stoppage of work before procedure is exhausted, they will place an obligation on the organisations concerned to take energetic steps to obtain an immediate resumption, including action within their rules if necessary, so that negotiations can proceed.' This means that unions will fine and expel members who do not comply and if the unions themselves refuse to take this action, then the General Council has the power to expel the union from the TUC. The Bridlington Agreement gives the TUC the same powers when dealing with the poaching of members. Only once in 40 years has a union refused to abide by such a ruling and this led to their expulsion.

From the above, one can see that these powers represent a considerable threat and will inhibit shop floor organisation from pursuing any claims for higher wages and better conditions. Expulsion by a union in a 'closed shop' industry could mean loss of livelihood and, in any case, will only assist the employers to operate a 'black list'. These powers could, in fact, be used for just that purpose, with the employers and the trade unions operating a joint 'black list' against militants.

With the policing being done by the unions' elected members, the support necessary to fight such disciplinary action might not be so

end. There can be no jubilation at the outcome of the talks between the TUC and the Government. The talks have been dramatised as a cliff-hanging drama when all they were deciding was who was going to act in the role of police. It was two arms of the 'Establishment' deciding on how to curb the organised strength of the working class and who would intervene in a dispute like Leylands, where they would probably have been told to go back to work as all the avenues of procedure had not been exhausted. But the lessons are that the strike weapon has to be used to gain results. Forty years of peace at Leylands have shown this and any restrictions obviously assists the employer.

THE 'TINGE OF ANARCHY'

Trade unionists, however, cannot look to the TUC or their Executives, for that matter, for a lead in any struggle. Like the Government and the employers, the TUC and the trade union leaders see unofficial disputes as a problem to be solved, rather than the symptoms of an unequal relationship between labour and capital, a clash of interests that are not reconcilable.

Unofficial strikes have been called the 'tinge of anarchy' by a spokesman for the Bank of International Settlements, and the different arms of the 'Establishment' have their different ways of dealing with them. The TUC is now obligated to make a success or the Government, either the present or a newly-elected one, will bring in legislation.

Trade unionists are on a slippery slope. The only answer remains strong organisation which is determined to defend the strike weapon, by using that weapon when and if necessary.

Freedom For Workers' Control

JUNE 28 1969 Vol 30 No 20

ROUND ONE TO LEYLAND WORKERS

AS THE BRITISH LEYLAND dispute entered its fifth week, signs of a settlement were as near as they had ever been. The big guns were ready to take over the Government's conciliation machinery, the Engineering Employers' Federation and the national officers of the AEF. Some broad agreement had been reached in London but the problems of existing piecework and women's bonuses were still outstanding.

On Wednesday, June 18, the top brass got round the table again, and a formula was agreed to put before the Leyland workers the following day. Leyland's management had conceded the workers' demands for piecework bonuses with the usual string of 'improved productivity'.

At a mass meeting on Thursday a return to work was agreed by the men. Len Brindle told the meeting that the agreement was only a broad principle for a return to work. Detailed negotiations would continue on how this agreement would affect women's bonuses.

Obviously Leyland management have a lot of rethinking to do, the paternalistic approach of the past has been broken.

As Len Brindle pointed out, 'We had verbal understandings but these were always broken by middle management.'

Middle management is always the most dangerous of the species, because at this level ambition for promotion is at its highest. Middle management tend to be tougher so that in finality concessions have to be offered by higher management which leaves them in the clear and therefore 'what good boys are we'.

It is also obvious that Leyland management will have to improve their local level procedure, because it has been agreed that failure to agree at local level will be processed through national procedure at York. Everyone is agreed that this procedure is long and cumbersome, which helps to build up frustration.

This five-week dispute has shaken Leyland's management to its very roots, and they are not out of trouble yet. Round 1 goes to the workers. Successive rounds also have to be won, otherwise the five-week dispute was a waste of time. Solidarity during the dispute was such solidarity cannot be allowed to dissipate.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

ABERDEEN

Continued from page 7

of a milder authoritarian family and the psychological power of the boss is such that any protest dies a mental death.

Nevertheless, in quiet corners things are moving. The city's trade union structure has been dominated for years by an incredible collection (and coalition) of right-wing Labourites and Moscow-line Communists. The local trades council is one of only two which is completely controlled by the CP in Britain. Coupled with the apathy of workers in the past few years, this rigid union hierarchy has helped to keep the temperature low. Some city workers are seeing through the unions and the bosses. One unexpected incident has been the trawlermen's strike. The trawler workers have put up with hellish conditions and rotten wages for years and have faithfully followed their crooked TGWU leadership like sheep. Unofficial action, resulting at times in near violence, has forced the union officials (and the public) to take notice of the men's many grouses. We would have preferred it had the men left the dispute (which at the time of writing has tied up virtually every trawler in the port) in the hands of their own unofficial committee, but even with the officials it seems certain that concessions will be won. Even the most bureaucratic bureaucrat will work wonders when he's sitting on top of a powder keg.

Thirty workers at the notorious Ross Chicken factory are on unofficial strike and 80 girls walked out of Wiggins Teape's envelope factory—the first manifestation of militancy in the paper industry for a while. Tenants of the infamous Mrs. Grant, as reported in last week's FREEDOM, have shown the way for other exploited tenement dwellers in Aberdeen, and the demands of the people of old housing areas in Woodside for the council to clean the place up represent something new among Aberdeen's formerly rather docile council tenants. It seems certain that the next round of rent increases by the council (and, as the Scottish edition of FREEDOM has warned, the next lot will be soon) will not go unopposed. To such a struggle Aberdeen Anarchists and Syndicalists will render every support.

The role of revolutionaries in the 'Granite City' would appear to be both political and industrial. Politically, we should set ourselves the task of exposing, in the most militant manner, the twists and turns of the politicians who wine and dine at the expense of the people. We must also expose such people as the Trotskyists and Communists who are merely seeking a place at that table of plenty.

Industrially, two tasks appear before us. The first is to organise, within the existing unions, those workers in the older industries who are not yet organised, and who are being raped by our 19th Century employers. Even a corrupt union can do a little to alleviate the lot of many Aberdeen workers. In the more advanced sectors, such as the paper mills (owned increasingly by US capitalism) the task must be to create autonomous workers' organisations, on a syndicalist basis, with which to carry the existing trade union struggle into a revolutionary aim of workers' control.

IAN S. SUTHERLAND.

RED & BLACK GLASSES

Continued from page 7

only organs which the workers have direct control over. The TU top brass and bureaucrats are part of the establishment. Their interests telescope with the interests of capital and government.

So then even for defence the shop stewards committees must be extended throughout every factory, every workshop large and small. They must grow in the depots and the yards, in the mines and in the means of communication, and on the land. There must be liaison between these committees and a programme of action thought out. This is a pressing necessity if the anti-trade union legislation threatened by the government is to be defeated. For those who have still got some faith in political parliamentary action let me say, 'Believe if you will but do not let blind faith begot the scientific truth that the shadow of political activity can only be observed and reckoned with when the real substance of economic activity is on the move.'

R. LYNN.

Contact Column

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

Urgent. Squatters groups meeting. This Friday evening, June 27, at Freedom Meeting Hall, 84b Whitechapel High Street, E.1. Contact Jim Radford: 01-650 7517.

Birmingham Peace Action Centre, Factory Road, Birmingham, 19, will cease to be used from July 31, 1969, but GPO is to transfer mail for next two years. Future action addresses Birmingham will be notified internally. 'Resistance', published from Birmingham PAC, has also ceased to exist.

Sheffield area: Comrades please contact Tikka at 169 Regent Court Flats, Sheffield, 6.

Leeds Group would like to contact comrades in the Leeds area who wish to be circulated with information and our publications. Contact via secretary, Keith Nathan, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York.

Competent learner would like use of potters wheel and kiln in London area. Phone 969 8053 (Cathy).

'Freedom' sales in Birmingham. On the ramp of New Street Station, every night and Saturday afternoons.

Communes. John Allemany (27 Chieftain Crescent, Willowdale 431, Ontario, Canada) wants first-hand information.

Ken: Can sock me gravy soon? Ta mate. —Bill.

June 29. Spanish Protest March. Assemble Hyde Park, 3 p.m.

'The Libertarian Teacher', No. 5. Journal of the Libertarian Teachers Association, now available, 3/- postal order, inc. postage. 36 Devonshire Road, Mill Hill, London, N.W.7.

Rest, holiday, recuperation in peaceful Lincolnshire. Anarchist, pacifist household. Vegetarian if preferred. Nominal charges. Iris and Peter Allen, The Old Vicarage, Honington, Grantham, Lincs.

Help! Can you help with the despatch of FREEDOM (July 10, Thursday p.m.) and also on Friday.

Rectangular metal badges (red/black or plain black) 2/6 each post free. Bulk rate (10 or more) 1/- each. Flags from 10/-. Cash with order please. Hazel McGee, 42 Pendarves Street, Beacon, Camborne, Cornwall.

Birmingham discussions. Every Tuesday 8 p.m. at the Arts Lab, Summer Lane (Not the Crown).

Peace News. Six weeks trial offer for 5/- 5 Caledonian Road, N.1.

International Summer Camp. July 27-August 23 in Cornwall. £1 booking fees to Ann Lindsay, 39 Upper Tulse Hill, London, S.W.2. Information leaflet and map now available.

If you wish to make contact let us know.