

Freedom

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The Only Good Leader is a Dead One

IT IS A TRUISM that for an ambitious politician in a colonial country a spell in jail under the occupying imperialist power is practically a **must** if he wants to become head of state after 'independence'. Gamal Abdul Nasser was an exception to this rule, and the British never forgave him for it. His coming to power as President of Egypt, four years after the military uprising of 1952 which deposed King Farouk, without ever having gone inside a British jail, was rather like getting into Eton without having his name put down at birth and going to the proper prep school. Unforgivable.

THE CANAL AND THE DAM

What was even more appalling was that the man showed himself to be a cad from the word 'go'. He did not play fair with the old imperial grand-daddies who had built railways and that lovely canal through his country. He had the damn cheek to nationalise them, and the take-over of the canal in 1956 provided him—through no fault or virtue of his own—with his greatest political victory over the old imperialists.

Oddly enough, both of what are regarded as Nasser's lasting achievements are something to do with water. In a land of parched desert sand, relieved only by the uncontrolled fertility of the Nile, giving alternately flooding and drought, the building of the Aswan Dam has undoubtedly brought hope to many thousands of hungry peasants (although even Nasser never claimed to have built it himself!), while the seizing of the Suez Canal in 1956 was at once a claiming for the new Egyptian state of a great economic asset and a slap in the face for the hated British. Not since Moses parted the Red Sea has any aquatic exercise in the Middle East had such symbolic importance.

It is, however, entirely upon these two watery achievements that Nasser seems to have been able to build a fanatical following among

the Egyptian people. And even these apparent triumphs had to be paid for in very hard currency indeed by just those same Egyptians. The ham-fisted and provocative manner in which their President nationalised the canal provided the impetus for the extraordinary conspiracy between Israel, France and Britain to launch war against Egypt. It was not Nasser's doing that this failed; it was the opposition, not of the anti-imperialist East, but of America(!), together with a threat by international financiers against the pound sterling, that led to the British withdrawal and weeping collapse of Anthony Eden. But not before Cairo and Alexandria had been bombed and thousands of Egyptians had been killed and the Israelis had yet another military feather in their caps. The Aswan Dam brought no such immediate bill to pay. But in the long-term the price which the Egyptians will have to pay will be much, much more. For the Aswan Dam has been built with the economic and technical help of the Russians, which is why the British Press practically ignored its opening last year, but with the Russians, as with all good capitalists, nothing is for nothing.

Nasser had to accept military aid as well as economic aid from the Russians. Had to, for the Kremlin is not really concerned to provide water for the peasants of the Upper Nile, nor hydro-electricity for Egypt's new factories. Russia's leaders wanted to get a big foot into the Middle East—and Nasser opened the door very wide indeed.

THE BEAR'S KISS OF DEATH

So much military 'aid' flooded into Egypt from the Russians that

Nasser himself did his militaristic nut and began to believe his own belligerent propaganda. He even convinced the Israelis that he might be about to attack—so they attacked first, and the third military defeat of the Egyptians by the Israelis was meted out. This, the famous 'Six Day War' of 1967, enabled the Israelis to reach the Suez Canal, inflicting fantastic casualties on Egyptian personnel and Russian prestige at the same time as destroying enormous quantities of Russian hardware, and once again closing the Canal. Between 1956 and 1967, Nasser had also expended tremendous resources which his people could ill afford through his ill-timed intervention in the civil war in the Yemen, where gas-bombing of more or less open villages by his air force hardly enhanced his reputation, and where 70,000 of his troops wasted their lives, to no avail. One result of this was that the Americans were persuaded to do an arms deal with the Israelis!

When he died last week, Nasser had been President of Egypt for fourteen years and Prime Minister as well for three. (He was called back from threatened resignation in the middle of the Six Day War by popular acclaim and promptly gave himself another job as well!)

The size and strength of popular grief at his funeral last week could not have been stage-managed. It was undoubtedly genuine, although his factual achievements on behalf

of his people have been minimal, to put it kindly. Nasser was a militaristic dictator, who ruthlessly wiped out all opposition. At the last 'election' he clocked up 99.999% of the votes, mainly because any opposition which could have challenged his 'revolutionary' image was in prison or concentration camps.

As a military man, he was given to military adventures—and all and every one of them has been disastrous. Not a single victory stands to his name, but several ignominious defeats.

On the political side, his costly intervention in the Yemen actually strengthened Israel, his alliance with Syria in the 'United Arab Republic' came to nothing when the Syrians saw they were getting nothing but trouble out of it, and called it off, and his victory over Anthony Eden in 1956 was due entirely to the latter's own stupidity. It was also Britain's refusal to finance or build the High Dam at Aswan which threw Nasser into the 'Russians' arms. If we may be allowed to mix our zoological and biological metaphors, we may say that the bear's hug turned into a ride on the back of a tiger which became the kiss of death.

Egypt's man of destiny met his fate, not on a glorious field of battle but like any screwed-up Western business man. The tensions and stresses of the power game were too much for him. Coronary thrombosis is the great leveller of our time.

A DISASTROUS FOURTEEN YEARS

Nasser's fourteen years have in fact been disastrous for Egypt. If a quarter of what he spent on armaments (and this little country is now £1,000 million in debt!) had actually gone on the social revolution he

talked about, the Middle East would not be the dangerous mess it is today and more Egyptians would be alive to enjoy, for a change, being Egyptian.

So on what did his personal popularity rest? Like all dictators, Nasser relied on the frustrations, fears, prejudices and hates of the people he exploited. He may have been sincere, but his sincerity was limited by the patriotic and nationalistic boundaries of his militaristic vision, which tied him to the power game and which has in its turn tied his country just as surely to subservience in the imperialist hierarchy as it was under the British—only now with a great deal more danger. Nasser was a failure—and his people loved him. Why? Because they, too, are failures—but he, at least, put up a fight and said it was for them. Nobody had done that for the Egyptian poor before, and they fell for it. Nasser made a big noise, beat his breast, slapped the imperialists' faces and breathed fire and vengeance and national greatness and hatred for another little nation that they all thought they stood a chance of—some day—actually defeating.

On such bullshit is a great leader built. And because all leaders are built on bullshit, now that he is gone, all the Western leaders are ready to say what a great guy he was—while the Eastern leaders make damn sure that they choose his successor.

For us, we look forward to the day when the Egyptians can grow out of the need for leaders, when nationalism and patriotism are miserable memories for them, as they are for us, when they refuse to be tools for anybody's power game, when they can say, as we do: 'The only good leader is a dead one'.

JUSTIN.

SHIT STIRRING BY THE GOVERNMENT

THE ROLLING STRIKES of Local Authority manual workers are already (on October 3) having an effect on London, the Midlands, the North East and the West Country.

The black plastic bags, issued by the Local Authorities, together with the piles of rubbish left at the markets, are once again becoming a familiar sight in London. It is important to remember that this official strike is really a continuation of an unofficial struggle begun last autumn by the lower-paid council workers, whose important work and services are, for the most part, taken for granted.

This year's official strike, however, is affecting all branches of council workers, such as dustmen, sewage workers, ambulance drivers, meals on wheels, school buses and grave diggers. It could involve about 770,000 workers employed by Local Authorities throughout the country. In the past the men's unions have not been renowned for their militancy and in all fairness the same could be said of the members, but last year, after years of getting the rough end of the wages stick, all this was changed and the union executives have taken a lead.

The three unions involved, the Transport and General Workers' Union, the General and Municipal Workers and the National Union of Public Employees, are claiming an increase of £2 15s. per week to give their members a basic weekly wage of £16 10s. The employers have replied to this with an offer of an increase of £1 16s. per week. By previous yardsticks, this offer is a considerable one, but since the termination of the Labour Government's wage policy at the

end of the summer last year, wage claim percentages have been rising.

SHOWDOWN WITH ORGANISED LABOUR

The Tory Government now say that they must stop or slow down this inflation of prices and wages and are setting an example to the private sector by standing firm against the council workers' claim. From their point of view, the council workers are an ideal subject if it proves necessary to have a showdown with organised labour. Primarily, the economy of the country is not affected. It is the public who have to bear the brunt, while the Government and the council bureaucrats can make capital by stressing how the children and old people are suffering because meals are not being delivered.

During last year's strike, refuse was piling up at a rate of 10,000 tons per day, but with the present strike this figure will be exceeded. However, the main weapon to force the Government and the employers to concede is the disposal of sewage. So far the managements have kept these plants going and the storage capacity has helped, but after about three weeks, purification will break down completely. Bristol City Council have already started to pump untreated sewage into the River Avon,* while the Government has plans to move in the army to work the sewage plants. However reports vary as to the danger to health from sewage and the ability to cope without proper operatives.

Strikers and the public should not be swayed by the horrified utterances of

council officials. In the past these same officials have cared little about the lack of refuse collection or the pollution of rivers and have shown little concern for the people in their boroughs. Now they moralise and attack strikers for hitting people 'who can't hit back'.

The Town Hall politicians and their officials are not concerned about the public. Many of them, with the Government, see the issue as a way of putting the trade union movement in its place. A defeat for organised labour here would make other sections think again before putting their claims so high or taking action. The stand by the local councils is in line with Tory policy of weakening the trade union movement and as such it should be recognised that other workers have a responsibility of supporting them, partly by not moving refuse or helping with sewage. As for meals for children and old people, sandwiches can be made and a neighbour could lend a hand by cooking for the old folk whom they know usually receive meals.

What the strike has done is to illustrate how vital to the public rather than the economy are these services that are operated by council workers. After only a few days the rubbish is quickly mounting, a lot of it being waste paper. This shows how much plastic and paper is used in packaging, which is ultimately just wastage. All this has to be manufactured from vital raw materials and the questions that should be asked are about this wastage of natural resources on something which is designed for no other purpose than to make a product attractive from a selling point of view.

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TORY WHITBREADS RAPE SALMESBURY

'FIELDS NOT FACTORIES' is a slogan painted upon a bridge over the River Ribble, near the ancient Roman village of Ribchester. Some miles away a group of cottage-dwellers have bought a field to prevent luxury bungalow development. The industrial revolution transformed vast areas of East Lancashire into an obscene hell. Creeping urbanisation is presently eroding away fertile agricultural land and devouring richly wooded areas, grimy terraced streets, bourgeois ghettos and bleak moorland remaining.

New roads and towns are rapidly destroying what little countryside remains around Blackburn and now Whitbreads are poised to rape the village of Salmesbury. As soon as it was known that 55 acres of beautiful land was to become a £7,000,000 brewery, opposition (from local people, concerned rural councils, preservation and conservation organisations) was intense. The traditional exercise of a public inquiry was agreeably surprising, inasmuch as the inspector concerned recommended an outright refusal of the application. This after a relatively thorough inquiry which lasted five days and included several visits to the site and a journey to Whitbreads

Luton brewery to assess the environmental damage there. Nevertheless, Whitbreads donated over £20,000 to Tory Party funds last year and consequently the Housing Ministry overruled its own inquiry inspector's advice.

The inquiry of course was a tedious formality and work had actually started on the site a fortnight before the Minister's decision was announced. Also a local vicar was advised to apply for planning permission for a new vicarage at this time.

Villagers and supporters have held one bitter protest meeting. They are presently directing all available energies towards bringing site work to a halt until the Ministry decision is reversed. Blackburn has three existing breweries and hardly needs a fourth. Villagers have to fight an alliance of profiteering business, corrupt government and a power-crazed local political establishment. Blackburn Tory Council giving Whitbreads most enthusiastic support. Yet this is but an initial struggle for a new town is planned to fester over the beautiful Ribble Valley and the slogans and sabotage and public demonstrations of dissent are but faint echoes in the wind.

DAVE CUNLIFFE.

IF YOU SHOULD visit Leicester go out of your way to find the anarchist *Black Flag Bookshop*. It is the work of Alan Ross, Di and Arthur Humphrey and friends and a real contribution to the education of free men and women. Right bang smack in the international community of Irish, English, West Indian, Pakistani, Polish people. In a street, like a dozen other streets round about, with solid rows of housing, front doors jutting on the pavement and back garden lavatories in a tiny square of earth with an alley for back entrance.

The shop was once a corner shop probably selling sweets and groceries as most did. Now it stocks secondhand paperbacks, magazines, posters, and a good selection of anarchist literature. Already it is making a local impact with young people and children who are accepted as individuals not as 'children'. The local Catholic priest spent two hours talking and finding out about the necessity of anarchism. Copies of Nicolas Walter's pamphlet *About Anarchism* sell regularly to people first coming into contact with such ideas. Situated as it is in a poorer part of wealthy Leicester, open to all and keen to make contact with all sorts of people who do go in to look, it is impossible to overestimate the importance of such a venture. Also being in a side street the premises are not so dear, people live in the rest of the house; and it is in, and can become part of, a living community.

If you want information/help to start similar bookshops and centres write to

Di and Arthur Humphrey at Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilne Street, Leicester.

DESPITE THE COMMERCE and prison-like stockade there were some encouraging signs at the Isle of Wight Festival. Because of musicians and audience containing Americans the V-sign, symbol of the *Resistance*—a movement organized against the draft in the States—was quickly taken up by the festival crowds, generally becoming a token of peace and friendship.

Freek broadsheet newspaper, a free handout arranged by *Friends* magazine, and *Ink*, the new *OZ* offshoot, printed practical information and inside facts on the festival promoters; *Seed* tent sold good rough food; *Release* helped all who were in some need; a group suspiciously like civil defence called *Civilian Aid* ladled out free soup by the gallon; several individuals served up hot drinks at a shilling a time from their own vans and provided both a cheap service and a handsome profit no doubt; and glad on the eye—the odd pairs of naked breasts apart—anarchists disguised as ordinary people selling *FREEDOM* and *Anarchy*—but we could have had a free and handsome stall.

As for the music—well, if you have heard Joan Baez and Leonard Cohen then go on and buy their recent records. They along with Joni Mitchell stole the mammoth casting by simple and direct singing... words audible and meaningful mostly. We left, van loaded

RIFFRAFF

down with hitchers, singing and saddened to leave friends we'd made and perhaps thinking of how usefully one singer had used her money, her eight thousand pounds! £2,000 to Summerhill School and the rest to be divided among war resisters groups and community projects in America. You can guess who the fairy godmother is? She who has taken part in civil disobedience campaigns and money-raising tours for *Resistance* with David Harris, her man and father of her child. Who sings the traditional song *Queen Jane* and Bob Dylan's *Hard Rain* with her own personality and her own powerhouse voice.

THE *Journal Of Albion Moonlight* is a much neglected and unknown book by a poet whose lifetime has spanned working in a steel mill to lying a great part of the time in bed with a spinal disease. Why this book has not been published over here but is only available as a New Directions paperback is beyond me. Henry Miller in his most clear and sensitive essays has described Kenneth Patchen's book with words of loud praise. Alex Comfort long ago recognised his work in a preface to *Outlaw Of The Lowest Planet*, one of Charles Wrey-Gardiner's Grey Walls Press books, a collection of Patchen poems published in 1946. And in the beginnings of Lawrence Ferlinghetti's *City Lights* (Pocket Poets) books Kenneth Patchen had two volumes issued which are in print and worth buying; to have the little books around for friends and strangers to see. At long last in Jonathan Cape's wisdom they published his *Selec-*

ted *Poems* (1968) which at 38s. is expensive, but hunting in libraries and stuffy bookshelves may reveal it. Apparently *The Journal Of Albion Moonlight* was inspired by the anonymous ballad *Tom O'Bedlam* which has the following haunting words for the final verse:

'By a knight of ghosts and shadows I summoned am to tourney, Ten leagues beyond the wide world's end. Methinks it is no journey.'

And here are a few of Patchen's words in this quite, quite neglected and unique book:—'Wars are conducted that the people may lose sight of their own need to wage war. The people always fight for the cause which enslaves them; that is, the cause of their rulers. Not content with condemning their subjects to a life of hunger and slavery the powers that be craftily call in the wretched subjects of a foreign murderer to complete the job. This is done for the sake of trade and markets, mind you. It would be an unforgivable impertinence to ask: Whose trade? Whose markets?'—*The Journal Of Albion Moonlight*. New Directions (18s. approx.).

GET YER YA YA'S OUT is the latest LP from The Rolling Stones. A group of musicians better known for Mick Jagger's dance than their own songs. But a better group to dance to at party or pub is hard to find. Also their songs should be well known since that sensual sexual sound of 1965, *Satisfaction* up to the release of *Beggars Banquet*, an LP by far the best I've heard of The Stones. On this album are tracks like *Sympathy For The Devil* which might yet be their anthem to beat all others. It is also on *Get Yer Ya Ya's Out*, an LP recorded live in New York. But I prefer the studio version as a harder and clearer effort.

However the excitement of this live recording and the audience atmosphere comes across and their music is a very important part of a climate of thought and expression which helps to free

bodies and maybe even a few minds. Music of any sort is no respecter of doctrines and by its nature is—if alive at all—a subversive influence. It would be petty-minded to ask if it creates anarchists but it most certainly creates anger and doubt in the minds of public officials; parents; priests; moralists and all those busybodies who feel so concerned to uphold a limiting and authoritarian outlook even within the range of what youth clubs *ought* (i.e. what 'Youth' should be allowed to dance to!) to allow in the way of dances. Of course even in small villages the disco' and the independent wild group musicians are 'allowed' since there would be few people visiting youth club dances... ever so little are our apolitical youth becoming free.

Interviewed by Radio Luxembourg, Mick Jagger mentioned how the soulbands of America are becoming politically aware. How a group of chanting and speaking negro poets backed by their own simple accompaniments on drums are sweeping soulcharts—that is selling many many copies—of ghetto poems not at all removed from manifestos of feelings and ideas. Ask around for this LP called *The Last Poets*; and awareness that people are open to communal expressions and outlets of shared experiences and frustrations. To find an English equivalent you would have to hear Leon Rosselson and Adrian Mitchell together on a Transatlantic LP *A Laugh, A Song And A Handgrenade*.

And for those not at all aware of the Rock musicians' social and personal make-up, the magazine *ZigZag* is worth a look. Jeff Cloves contributes a regular column from his hideout in Saint Albans. *ZigZag* is 2s. 6d. from Yeoman Cottage, North Marston, Bucks.

DENNIS GOULD.

MLC 28/835: CODE FOR PREJUDICE

THE Department of Employment and Productivity is willing to act as accomplice to racist employers who object to taking on black workers—provided the bosses can think of a 'reasonable' excuse.

Officially the Department's policy is that the subject of a man's colour should not be taken into consideration. If an employer does attempt to make any racial specifications he is warned that this goes against the Race Relations Act.

And for most unskilled labouring jobs this policy is carried out. Not that it can really smother a hard-line prejudiced employer—if a black worker is sent along he simply rejects him as 'unsuitable' or pretends the job has gone.

But in some cases the State shows its hypocrisy and will go along with the feelings of employers who are either themselves racists or who are afraid of the effect black faces may have on customers.

In the code—and all bureaucracy is governed by a 'code'—the signal that racial criteria are to be accepted is known as MLC 28/835.

This will be written on the order card—a card which details the job, duties involved, wages and conditions and 'other requirements'.

All hypocrisy resorts to euphemism to make its immorality easier to stomach. So, instead of the crude 'No blacks need apply', MLC 28/835 is used.

An example is a job which involved booking-in cars at a London hire company—where there would be a large amount of customer-contact and where the desire for profit might make it seem necessary to pander to racist feelings for fear of losing trade.

In this case the DEP accepted that the employer was justified in demanding that any applicant should be able to read, write and speak good English. But instead of simply saying this he was allowed to particularly specify 'No blacks'.

Once the 'code' is acted upon, there can be no exceptions for black workers who have been born, brought up and educated in Britain, who have as much opportunity to be literate or illiterate as anyone else.

Perhaps the boss was working on the Alf Garnett assumption that a black skin automatically means an idiot mentality. Or maybe his 'reasonable' excuse was just a tawdry cover to disguise the smelliest of prejudices.

Either way, the DEP accepted it. Of course, the Civil Service contains as large a proportion of bigots and racists as any other grouping and the bureaucrat dealing with this might not object or question too far.

The effect of the operation of MLC 28/835 is obvious and is a clear indication of the true attitude of a supposedly 'liberal' State.

If we must have the 'nigs' here, the reasoning appears to be, let's make sure we do all we can to keep them restricted to the most menial and low-paid jobs. We don't want any 'uppity niggers' in this town.

It's already well-known that records in the Unemployment Benefit section of a labour exchange are marked if the claimant is black or any other colour than white.

Though this is purely for 'statistical purposes', as they say. Like the Yellow Star in Nazi Germany perhaps?

'BUREAUCRAT'.

THE THROWN GAUNTLET

MR. HEATH has announced—without anyone mentioning a general strike other than a normally quiescent N&MGWU branch—that his Government is ready to withstand any amount of strikes up to and including a general one this winter. One of two possible logical interpretations can be put on this. The Tories believe themselves to be strong enough to meet an head-on clash with the unions during a low employment period, and they spent their silent three months planning for this and are now trying to incite strike action as a way of breaking the unions and then imposing their will. It's one hell of a bluff and the Tories are scared as hell of a strike wave throughout industry and by talking big about a general strike hope to kill it by pretending that that is what they want. Less logically it can also be just a politician believing his own propaganda.

Which is true only a few people could possibly say, we can't and we have to guess; obviously one cannot see the TU leaders—left or right—building up for a general strike, though they may well go on mouthing militant words, and calling partial strikes; but there will be enough militant rank and file unionists around who think their leaders are taking them to a showdown and will be asking why not after the end of the winter. So the anarchist—or specifically the anarcho-syndicalist—case will have a particular relevance this winter that it has not had probably since the war and the year or so immediately thereafter; and even then this was a period when the working class had engaged in long struggles and exhausted itself, while now the working class has by and large stood aside while the 'fringe left' has waged direct action campaigns on squatting and the bomb, and the Stalino-Trots punch-ups on anti-colonialism.

In these circumstances it is more than significant that the Labour Constituency parties have moved sharply to the right, Barbara Castle topping the polls for an executive post.

For the whole of the Bevanite period the social democrat left worked through the constituency parties and were faced by the solidly right and generally apathetic trade unions who more than any other members of the Labour Party had submitted to established ideology. Now the boot may not be quite on the other foot, but at least it has been unclad, ready for exchange.

In Bevanite days, libertarians were faced with the fact that those members of the Labour Party, with whom on colonialism, on militarism, on racialism and so forth we could work, were

precisely those who wanted to increase the powers of the state, being under the impression that planning and nationalization constitute socialism. During the heyday of CND, though the presence of a few highly publicized union leaders—Ernie Roberts, Frank Cousins, Lawrence Daly, Dick Seabrook, Laurence McNamee, Arthur Horner, Jim Mortimer, Clive Jenkins—on Campaign platforms made this less the case, it was still true that the bulk of rank and file Campaign members tended to be also Labour Party constituency workers.

But the Wilson Government, the Barbara Castle plans, the continuance of Polaris, the Commonwealth Immigrants' Bill, Biafra... together have forced honest Labour Party workers to give up in disgust or turn to trade union work, and have also stiffened the backbone of the unions.

This still leaves us with a very long way to go, the present day unions are not in any sense adequate vehicles for workers' struggles and the workers have not produced in recent years the sort of rank and file controlled democratic committees that would be capable of taking such struggles out of the hands of the leaders and waging them more thoroughly. But, remember, that the evidence of France and Czechoslovakia two years ago, of Hungary twelve years ago and Berlin fifteen suggests these may arise very rapidly.

But this is not the immediate issue. Such is the nature of class-society-conditioning of those who live under it that normally speaking the majority are not open to anarchist ideas; the majority still won't be—but a political theory catches on on a significant scale when it is explaining something that is already happening, when the propagandists are advocating policies which would make sense of the spontaneous actions of a larger number of militants rebelling against their social position.

In the past few years anarchism has made sense directly to the small numbers who felt so deeply about militarism that they were prepared to act; it has made sense to homeless driven to squatting, to people engaged in a number of community project efforts, objecting to motorways and so forth; it has made sense to people who see their civil liberties endangered, people who want to get out of the army... but it has not had a direct appeal to the majority of industrial workers—the largest single section of society that we could expect to have interests to bring them into alignment with us.

But now!...

JOLFE ROSSE.

LETTER

Frank Keane Defence Committee

Dear Comrades,

I am sorry that this letter, bringing you abreast with the latest development, must come in the form of an appeal. That the appeal issues as a direct consequence of this development will be obvious from what follows.

Comrade Keane, as you probably know, is the subject of extradition proceedings instituted at the behest of the Irish Government and is appealing the decision of an English court to back the warrant. He is accused of the murder of a policeman, a charge which he denies. Need we say that there is no convincing reason to believe that the proceedings are other than a ruse by which the Irish Free State Government hopes to get its hands on a dedicated political opponent.

Within a few hours of the killing the police issued a list containing the names of persons they required to interview in connection with the incident. Comrade Keane, in a letter published in the Press, protested his innocence, but indicated his reluctance to assist the

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PRESS FUND

September 22 to October 2 inc.
Los Gatos: Italian Group per C.M. £18;
Peterborough: F.W. 4/6; **Bolton:** M.G. £5;
West Drayton: R.E.W. 2/6; **Stroud:** S.L.R. 2/-; **Harston:** J.H. £2/15/-; **Glasgow:** F.H. 8/-; **Collaroy:** R.G. £7/1/3; **Stockholm:** U.W. £1; **Wolverhampton:** J.K.W.* 2/-; **K.F. & C.F.*** 2/-; **J.L.*** 13/-; **Philipsburgh, N.J.:** Uno dei presenti (\$25) £10; **Glasgow:** A.J. 1/5; **Cardiff:** L.E. 15/3; **London:** K.H. £3; **Nottingham:** J.D. 3/-; **Los Angeles:** Italian Group Picnic per A.R. £20; **London:** Various donations in Freedom Bookshop £4/1/3; **London, S.E.19:** 7/6; **St. Austell:** A.J. 3/-; **Aberdeen:** I.S.* 1/-; **Corby:** T.P.* 10/-.

Total:	£74 12 8
Income Sales and Subs.:	£212 10 10
	£286 3 6
Expenditure	
(2 weeks at £150):	£300 0 0
Deficit b/f.:	£913 11 2
	£1,213 11 2
Less Income:	£286 3 6
DEFICIT:	£927 7 8

Still getting better, but still far from our target.
 *Denotes Regular Contributor.



All correspondence to
**Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road,
 Rotton Park, Birmingham 16**

**ANARCHIST
 FEDERATION
 OF BRITAIN**

AFBIB. To all groups.

Having received one report only for the bulletin this month, we feel that it would be a waste of postage to send just this. (Apologies and thanks to Ian Sutherland, Aberdeen.)

No offers of a host for AFB conference yet, and similarly no change of venue for AFBIB.

Please make next month's AFBIB a bumper issue by sending your material by the last day of October. AFBIB meeting and production, Sunday, November 1. Please send a delegate to Birmingham if at all possible. (Accommodation provided if necessary.) Address all letters to:

**Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road,
 Rotton Park, Birmingham, 16. Tel.
 021-454 6871. Material that cannot
 wait for the bulletin to be sent to
 R. Atkins, Vanbrugh College, Hes-**

lington, York. The Contact Column in *Freedom* is also available for urgent information.

Groups should send latest addresses to Birmingham. New inquirers should write direct to them or to the AFB information office in Birmingham.

AFB REGIONAL GROUPS

There are now anarchist groups in almost every part of the country. To find your nearest group write to:

North West Federation: Secretary, Tom Howard, 163 Ryelands Road, Lancaster.
Corwall: A. Jacobs, 13 Ledrah Road, St. Austell. (M. Ma. B.)
Essex & E. Herts.: P. Newell, 'Aegean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester. (QM. FL.)
Surrey: G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom.
Yorkshire: Martin Watkins, 3 Marlborough Grove, Leeds, 2.
Scotland: Tony Hughes, Top Flat, 40 Anglepark Terrace, Edinburgh 11.
Wales: c/o P. L. Mare (address above).
N. Ireland: c/o Freedom Press.
S. Ireland: 20 College Lane, Dublin, 2.
University and Student Groups: c/o P. L. Mare. (Abbreviations: M—meeting; Ma—magazine; B—badges; Q—Quarterly; FL—free leaflets)

The Decline & Fall of the Labour Party

IN 1956 IN BRITAIN, the resistance to Suez-Hungary was to departures from the norms of Cold War Co-existence—not objections to the basic division of the world and the power struggle this represented. In 1968 solidarity with French and Czech risings called the power system in question even though it did not come out squarely against both sides. The Wind of Change was the recognition in theory—as well as in practice—by the leading Conservative spokesman of the fact that nationally and internationally a 'Welfare State' mixed and planned economy had come, that this did not in fact pose any threat to established power but it necessitated—for the rulers—that they pay lip service to beliefs of democracy, peaceful co-existence of nations. . . .

It was on the basis of this Wind of Change Conservatism and of Gaitkell's belief in a mixed economy ('Managerialism is Twentieth Century Socialism') that the consensus of 1958 was built, supported by a broad coalition spectrum ranging from Nye Bevan to Enoch Powell through Macleod and Butler (and tangentially Jo Grimond).

The post-Bevanite Left Labourism and Left Lib-Labbery that then arose round Cousins was immediately influenced by the Revisionist-Communist (proto-New Left); advocacy of the Polish Premier's formula; 'more socialism in social democracy, more democracy in communism' allowing for a gradual intermingling of the systems; and of Wright Mills' thesis that since the Communist degeneration was the product of Communist isolation, that both the further development of this and a recurrence of McCarthyism could be prevented by building a block between the Cold War powers; and to do this one must call in the new third world nations, UNO, the intelligentsia of the West, reinforced by coloured people's organizations, other minority groups, students, and others; and tended to neutralism in this sense of not firm attachment to either side.

It is impossible for us in the West to analyze the undercurrents of resistance in the Stalinist states, as information is lacking—but it is intriguing to ponder as to whether disillusion with the West as a potential saviour set in after the West's failure to help (shutting down radio stations, etc.) at the time of Hungary, and provision of an excuse by Suez; was responsible for the fact that there now appears little evidence to suggest that anyone in the East wants a return to 'Western Democracy' (however

few may have wanted it before, certainly some did).

By 1964 Wilson was able to convince people that if they wanted to preserve the system basically as it was, they would need some change to reinforce the structure. Labour was elected out of devotion to conservatism. He was not able to repeat this this year, as it was so obvious that there was no difference between the parties, so little change was coming from Labour, so much was promised by the Tories that there was no reason to presume Wilson would prop up the system better than Heath.

CHANGE ONLY TO PRESERVE

There was within the trade union movement, and even the Labour Party, a sizeable body of thought that Wilson was not doing the job for which he was elected; but since as it and he had been committed to change only to preserve the general mixed-economy-Wind of Change society, even though it may well have seen those changes as principles whereas he had seen them only as tactics, it was committed to the myth that there had been from 1945-1951 a silent revolution, and while this might need to be taken one stage further there was no need to make a basic challenge to society fashioned as it was by the Attlee Government. It, like Wilson, failed dismally in an attempt this year to paint the Tories as backwoodsman intending to dismantle their great reform system of the 'Welfare State'—capitalism is far too cunning to do anything so foolish to deprive itself of a healthy and educated working class doctored and schooled at the taxpayer's (the consumer's and the worker's own) expense.

Those who believe that changes should be introduced for their own sake were a negligible force, during Wilson's tenancy of power. Now that Labour is out of power, many Labourites will advocate changes purely for the sake of getting back to power, many more will continue to believe that change is necessary to preserve the Welfare State, but with Powell and his supporters firmly out on a limb, and less in the way of 'Welfare State-dismantling' likely to be done by Heath than was by Churchill and Eden, this will be an untenable position; so that the only possible basis for any left movement—even a Labour left movement—is commitment to a belief that change is necessary for its own sake, that is on a basis of criticism of precisely that society which the Attlee and Wilson

Governments themselves have shaped—or at least left in being.

ASSUMPTIONS SHATTERED

Once given a situation where the broad conventional left accepts the need for fundamental change and recognizes that far from taking us on the path to socialism the Attlee Government reinforced the old order, our job as anarchists will be made immeasurably easier. All sorts of assumptions common to the old left are shattered, all sorts of deductions—which themselves form premises for a revived left—follow. For when it was assumed that Labour had in the post-war period paved the road for a socialist future, then it was also assumed that socialism could be won by entirely parliamentary means and that Labour was an adequate vehicle for this; now when it is not held that we are on the road to socialism one or other of the parts of this must be rejected, either Labour is not adequate or Parliament is not adequate, no doubt frustrating that both are not rejected, but nevertheless an improvement. When it is assumed that parliamentary means to socialism were sufficient, it might be held that on certain matters—for instance, militarism—individual personal commitment mattered, but generally it was held that as long as one did one's democratic duty and voted, that this was all one had to do—though in practice union militants, charity voluntary collectors, keen voluntary organizers of co-operative, mutualist, or other associations, colonial freedom movement militants, and a number of others despite their parliamentary theories, practise do-it-yourself politics that conflicted with the belief that all that was necessary is to support parliamentary movements for change.

NOT ROCK THE BOAT

Where it is held that reformism backed by direct action is sufficient, it is assumed that the industrial movement and other such parts of the economic and social labour movements should be subordinated to the political wing of the Labour Party. It would therefore be bad for them to strike when Labour is in power (though again in practice many Labour constituency militants despite their theories do not

argue this) or even when it would embarrass Labour at an election; and that critics of the Government in Parliament must not do anything to rock the boat, must subordinate their views and promises to the electors, to the Party's will, so that even purely parliamentary advocacy of socialism must be given up as it embarrasses the reformist government.

Where it is held that the capitalist class will abandon power to a reformist government passing laws, where it is held that the constitutional forms of parliament are adequate for the changes, that in order to change the system one must go through all the time-wasting processes of passing laws to nationalize this, and that the other, each industry going to the House of Lords once or twice, signed by the Queen, the lot and taking not less than two and a half years; no attempt is made to alter the constitution, House of Lords, Monarchy, Press, Bankers are unlikely to be challenged.

The list is infinite; and the evidence is that, however half-heartedly, the mass 'left' will abandon belief in the Labour Party, in Parliament or in reformism. This of course will enormously increase the influence of a number of Marxist factions—Trotsky who favour work in the Labour Party but who claim to oppose parliamentarianism and reformism; the various Popular Front-advocating Communists, Maoists and Castro-ites who, while advocating a parliamentarian strategy, again claim to oppose parliamentarianism; the ILP right-wing and the Radical Alliance which offer different parliamentarian vehicles, and with these latter the pacifist socialist, Fellowship Party, and the non-reformist but nevertheless rigidly parliamentarian, SPGB and SLP; but, though a mixed blessing, it will still make it unnecessary in the future for anarchists to spend so much time converting people to an understanding that supporting the Labour Party as the lesser evil is misguided. On the other hand we will have to spend more time preaching the original anarchist case against state socialism, as the wider left will stand far nearer the socialism of Marx than it has done. L.O.

Theatre. The security arrangements taken for his visit are quite fantastic. Even O'Connell Street, our busiest thoroughfare, will be sealed off completely for at least six hours. You will note it is far more important that the American President be protected during his visit to get permission to build NATO or American bases on Irish soil than that the ordinary citizen should be allowed to go about his lawful occasions and earn his living.

Both the Irish Branch of Anti-Apartheid and the Irish Council Against Blood Sports held their annual meetings during the week and are full of plans for the coming twelve months. Will there be a full twelve months or will the world, like the sow, have eaten its own farrow? Only time will tell.

The Minister for Commerce has invited Japanese capital to invest in Ireland, while the Minister for External Affairs is in Brussels. However Roadstone and Cement managed to merge and frustrate the bid by Ready Mix for taking over Roadstone, rather to the relief of the Government as, if the bid by Ready Mix for Roadstone had persisted, they would have been forced to legislate to ensure that the controlling influence did not pass out of Irish control.

In the six counties the resignations of both Sir Arthur Young and General Freeland came together in the one week.

SHIT STIRRING

Continued from page 1

TOWN HALL RED TAPE

The services that are provided by council workers could be organised far better without the control of the Town Hall politicians and officials. In an anarchist society, these services would be organised by the workers in co-operation with the people. The unions and tenants' associations could form an embryo for this co-operation today, with these local services being organised by the people who operate them and those who need them. The Town Hall bureaucrats provide nothing but red tape. If the strike continues then we, the public, should show them where we stand and provide the Town Halls with some of the refuse which would have been collected if they had given the council workers their wage increase. P.T.

*As they did seven years ago before new sewage plans were built.

Of the latter one British General is very like another, but the appointment of Shillington to succeed he whom Paisley calls 'Sir Artful Tongue' is another kettle of fish. Shillington is a real old-timer of the RUC with 37 dirty years work behind him. It was he who asked for CS gas to use in Derry and was responsible for the use of heavy machine guns against the flats in Belfast. Naturally his appointment is hailed with joy by William Craig and Ian Paisley who breathe that NOW they will get a restoration of Law-and-Order, i.e. brutality to the minority and privileges for the Old Class Rulers.

Continual 'no confidence' motions are passed on Chichester-Clark and he swears he will hold on and push through the reforms anyhow, though the ordinary poor person sees very little of these reforms in action so far. Mrs. Anne Dickson also had a motion of 'no confidence' passed on her by her constituents. I have a ghastly feeling that soon Ireland *in toto* will relapse into the dark ages of the last fifty years.

President Nixon is supposed to be arriving for a visit on October 3. Plans are maturing to 'welcome' him, though not perhaps such plans as his pal Jack Lynch envisages!! His American bodyguard and Branch men are here, and every Arab in Dublin has been pulled in and questioned already.

If I were as terrified as Nixon I would stay at home, to show the white feather quite so openly hardly enhances the American image, already very clouded in Ireland.

I forgot to mention that on October 1 our Government put up postal charges to astronomic heights—6d. for a local p.c., 9d. for a letter, and foreign mail and parcels are beyond the power of anyone who is not a millionaire to pay. Many a poor old age pensioner with a son in Canada or elsewhere will have to limit herself to one letter a year at most. The daughter of humble country folk who is now working in Dublin will no longer be able to receive the longed-for monthly letter from home. H.

FRANK KEANE

Continued from page 2
police by reason of a previous experience at their hands. He has been victimised before, and further the organisation to which he belongs, Saor Eire, has de-

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We have a large stock of second-hand books. Please let us know what you want. This week's selection.

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Fundamentals of Psychiatry	Edward A. Strecker	6/-
Plato's Britannia	Douglas Woodruff	4/-

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mandated a public inquiry into the whole case, provided that some degree of immunity is granted to Keane and the others involved. Clearly they do not fear the truth, only the Free State Government has need of that.

The fact is that Comrade Keane is unlikely to get legal aid and his solicitor has informed us that £150 is necessary to cover the costs of his appeal. The committee therefore feels justified in appealing to your organisation for direct financial help. We would also ask you to bring the matter to the attention of your members, individuals among whom may be willing to help.

The matter is most serious, indeed it may not be too much to say that the life of a socialist republican is at stake. His extradition must be prevented at all costs.

111 Thorkhill Road,
Thames Ditton, Surrey

J. QUINN,
Treasurer.

THIS WEEK IN IRELAND

A VERY GRIM WEEK both sides of the border, with a man shot dead in the Shankill Road on Wednesday evening. The rioting began in the Shankill area on Saturday night. There had been a soccer match between the Linfield Club and some other. It is the custom of this extremely Protestant club to swagger home to the Shankill Road area where both the players and the majority of their supporters live, passing Unity Flats and screaming obscenities and insults and blasphemies at these people. Usually the Unity Flats residents retaliate and throw stones and a bitter free for all develops. This has been going on for over fifty years, long before the flats as such were built.

Last Saturday a huge force of troops and RUC stood between the flats and the triumphal march area, and for once the flat dwellers, sick to the heart of rioting and death, refused to be drawn and stayed within doors, blinds drawn. This infuriated the Loyal British Subjects of Her Majesty so much they turned on the troops and RUC. These in their turn over reacted and gassed indiscriminately. The battle continued on and off and still does, although it has quieted down a little *pro tem*, but the weekend lies ahead.

Mr. John McQuaid, MP, says there will be no peace in Belfast until the Catholics are turned out of their homes in Unity Flats and the flats turned into shops or offices. Back to the eleven people in one hovel of a room, I suppose?

Major Chichester-Clark totters on his throne, and has 'gone sick'. It is quite possible the final debacle may come even tonight when the Security Council meets. If not then, it can only be briefly delayed. You may remember that when the Major was first elected, Ian Paisley, triumphant at having got rid of Captain O'Neill, said he seemed a decent fellow. Now the same gent is howling for his blood. The hard-liners are so much more sure of themselves and stronger since the Conservative Government got into

power, they have been back-peddalling on all reforms ever since, and now are fully prepared to take over with Craig or Faulkner as Premier. For a time Faulkner seemed to be going moderate, but now he is reverting to type, being pretty sure of a plum. It is doubtful indeed if Westminster will take over completely or really do anything but bubble a bit. There is a blood-bath ahead and we who love our country are afraid.

South, the bank strike drags on into its sixth month, and though it is just possible there will be free ballots this afternoon, it seems a bit doubtful.

The real earthquake of the week was when Justice O'Keefe dismissed the Jury in the Arms Conspiracy case and retired himself, on a very flimsy excuse indeed. He is a son-in-law of De Valera, a staunch Fianna Fail member, and quite pre-trial admitted in public he would be unhappy to take the trial as he and ex-Minister Charles Haughey had been beside each other on many occasions.

Ireland being such a small country, everybody knows everybody else, and most of us are more or less related. Since judges are appointed by the Government, it must follow willy-nilly that accused and judge know each other whomsoever is called to try the case. Actually such shocking corruption amongst other members of the Cabinet were coming out, one feels O'Keefe lost his nerve.

The trial is supposed to start again next Tuesday, but no judge has been appointed so far, and most of us think the Attorney General will declare a *nilhil pros* and the case will go into the lost limbo, leaving a nice clear field ready for Charles Haughey to oust Jack Lynch and become Premier.

From 2 o'clock on Saturday afternoon a picket will be held on the American Embassy. On Sunday afternoon there will be a march to the Embassy followed by a mock trial of Nixon for murder conducted by the actors of the Focus

MEN AGAINST THE STATE

MEN AGAINST THE STATE: THE EXPOSITORS OF INDIVIDUAL ANARCHISM IN AMERICA 1827-1908, by James J. Martin. Ralph Myles Publisher Inc., P.O. Box 1533, Colorado Springs, Colorado 80901, 1970, 315 pp., \$2.50—21/- from Freedom Bookshop.

JUST AS NO two blades of grass are exactly alike; just as no grain of sand is identical with another; so are human beings diverse. And their diversity is much more profound and complex than that of blades of grass or grains of sand. They differ in their physique, physiognomy, reactions, abilities and aspirations. It is for this reason that government is the enemy of the individual, for all governments try to force the individual into pre-established patterns of behaviour and to combine his interests with the interests of others, thus robbing him of his individuality and freedom. For life to be worth living the sovereignty of the individual must take the place of the sovereignty of government:

'Everyone must feel that he is the supreme arbiter of his own, that no power on earth shall rise over him, that he is and always shall be sovereign of himself and all relating to his individuality. Then only shall all men realise security of person and property.'

It was in this way that Josiah Warren, 'the first American anarchist', set the theme for a talented, articulate, sometimes brilliant, group of libertarian writers and publicists who flourished in the USA between 1827 and 1908. It is to these that Dr. Martin devotes his *Men against the State*.

When I reviewed the first edition of this work in 1953, I wrote that it was 'one of the most objective books on anarchism ever written'. Seventeen years later I still think the same. Dr. Martin's book remains an outstanding model for the historical treatment of men and their ideas. Other recent writings on anarchism (Woodcock, Joll, Jacker, et al.) compare badly with it, and it is much superior to Rudolph Rocker's *Pioneers of American Freedom* which covers almost the same ground. So definitive was the first edition that Dr. Martin has only had to make slight revisions (mainly additional biographical data concerning Warren and Tucker) for the second.

Dr. Martin begins his book with Josiah Warren, the first of the group in point of time. Warren was pre-eminently an inventor and experimenter who found

writing difficult. Nonetheless, he managed to expound his ideas in a straightforward and often eloquent manner. Taking his stand on 'the sovereignty of the individual' and the labour-note principle he called 'cost the limit of price', he experimented with 'time stores' to prove the practicability of his economic ideas, and founded three 'equity villages' as examples of living in freedom.

For a time Warren had a valuable ally in the person of the erudite philosopher and polymath, Stephen Pearl Andrews, who wrote *The Science of Society*, in which Warren's ideas received their most polished expression. Despite his later partial defection from Warrenite individualism, Andrews still continued to contribute to the contemporary anarchist press.

Independently of Warren and Andrews, the lawyer and legal theorist, Lysander Spooner, developed his fiery attacks on the banking monopoly and his mercilessly logical critiques of the American Constitution. The latter, he held, had no authority whatsoever over anyone who had not given his formal and open consent to its provisions. (*No Treason*, his main work on this subject, was reprinted as late as 1966, thanks to the efforts of Dr. Martin, and received an unexpected accolade from *Playboy* magazine!) In defiance of conventional theories of maturation, Spooner became more radical as he grew older and eventually became a contributor to Benjamin Tucker's *Liberty* after following a lone path for many years.

As well as the work of Warren, Andrews and Spooner, Dr. Martin details that of J. K. Ingalls, whose main concern was the elimination of land monopolies; W. B. Greene, whose theories of mutual banking had a great influence on Tucker; and Ezra Heywood, the most militant pamphleteer and flamboyant character of them all, who was the only one of the group to suffer serious persecution for his activities, being imprisoned for several years for his outspoken advocacy of sexual freedom.

The last and best known of this group was Benjamin Tucker. Dr. Martin corrects the impression fostered by Eltzbacher that Tucker was an original thinker. Tucker's thinking was, in fact, a synthesis of the ideas of Warren, Greene, Proudhon and (later) Stirner, together with material taken from such writers as Spooner and Ingalls. An accomplished translator, he was also a skilled journalist, a cultural catalyst, and a stimulating commentator on current

events. A logical and lucid polemicist, he delighted in debate. When his *Instead of a Book* was published in 1893, he included his opponents' criticisms in full—a rare, if not unique, thing for an author to do.

Tucker's main achievement, however, was the publishing and editing of the journal *Liberty* from 1881 to 1908. In the first issue he declared:

'It may be well to state at the outset that this journal will be edited to suit its editor, not its readers. He hopes that what suits him will suit them; but if not, it will make no difference. No subscriber, or body of subscribers, will be allowed to govern his course, dictate his policy, or prescribe his methods. *Liberty* is published for the very definite purpose of spreading certain ideas, and no claim will be admitted on any pretext of freedom of speech, to waste its limited space in hindering the attainment of that object.'

The result of this admirably selfish declaration was a publication of a polish and competence unusual among radical journals. Tucker and his collaborators ranged over economics, politics, history, philosophy, ethics and the arts, and one notable issue was written by George Bernard Shaw as a reply to Max Nordau's *Degeneration*—a lengthy and vitriolic attack on the *avant-garde* of the period.

It was in the columns of *Liberty* that the shift began amongst individualists from the 'natural rights' doctrines of Warren and the earlier writers to the conscious egoism of Max Stirner. Led by James L. Walker, who had reached similar conclusions independently of Stirner, the egoists split the Tucker associates in two and carried Tucker with them. Walker, whose posthumous *Philosophy of Egoism* deserves reprinting, later contributed the introduction to the English translation of Stirner's *The Ego and His Own* published by Tucker in 1907.

In 1908 Tucker went to live in France after his uninsured bookshop and publishing business were destroyed by fire. There he lived in retirement until his death in 1939, becoming increasingly pessimistic about the social realization of his ideas. Writing to Clarence Lee Swartz in 1930 he commented:

... the insurmountable obstacle to the realization of Anarchy is no longer the power of the trusts, but the indisputable fact that our civilization is in its death throes. We may last a couple of decades yet; on the other hand, a decade may precipitate our finish. ... The dark ages sure enough. The Monster, Mechanism, is devouring Mankind.'

He was still unrelenting in his opposition to communism: 'The term Communist Anarchist has no sense', he wrote to Eugene Baskette in 1933, echoing his debates of over forty years before with Kropotkin and Johann Most.

To those whose perspectives are shaped by the hope that anarchism can

be universalized, the story told by Dr. Martin may well prove depressing. Here was a movement, born at a time of social ferment and optimism, in a country where the State apparatus was comparatively weak and land plentiful. It was supported not only by capable theoreticians and publicists, but also by practical exponents of 'community living' whose work, with varying degrees of success, extended over thirty years. Yet after eighty years of vigorous activity it petered out—despite the efforts of the few and scattered survivors of Tucker's departure.

As I see it, one of the reasons for this was the attempt to reconcile anarchist individualism with 'social engineering'.

Because of their desire to establish a future society on the basis of their ideas, Warren and Tucker were forced to squeeze their anarchism into a societal context. Their championship of the individual was thereby deformed. Dr. Martin rightly questions whether anarchism is translatable into a social reality. That it is capable of being made an individual reality, and even partially viable as a small *milieu*, Warren's experiments showed. But between the conscious choice of a few, select individuals and universal application to a mass there is a wide and apparently unbridgeable gulf. Neither Warren nor Tucker seemed to have had any awareness of that fundamental aspect of the organizational problem that Robert Michels called 'the iron law of oligarchy'; the invariable development of oligarchy in all organizations of any scale or permanence. Nor were they aware that any extended, organised social application of anarchism might at most lead to an 'anarchism of groups'—to use Estey's terminology—but would necessarily deny the 'anarchism of individuals'.

For these reasons the later anarchist individualist perspective of continual conflict between the individual and the collective makes far more sense. Warren's 'equity villages' functioned as they did not because of the essence of the societal principle, but because of one of its accidents: the conjunction of pioneering conditions in the USA with an unusually wide plurality of differing and conflicting interests among reformers and rebels. The threatening future blend of 1984 with *Brave New World*, or the equally ominous alternative of rule by the acephalous mob, makes the possibility of even the small scale and limited efflorescence of individual autonomy possible in Warren's experiments an increasingly remote prospect.

However, Warren's concept of the individualization of interests, instead of their combination, was one of the most fruitful approaches to anarchism ever made. Its eclipse by the attempt to link anarchism with collectivism led to disastrous consequences. Now that there is a revival of interest in Warrenite anarchism in the USA—which even shows signs of spreading to Britain—perhaps its value will be recognised once more and, shorn of social utopianism, it can be developed into an effective weapon in the unending struggle for the individual. The sovereignty of the individual may never replace the sovereignty of government, but it certainly can be opposed to it.

S. E. PARKER.

Contact

Contact Column is for making contact! Use is free, but donations towards typesetting costs are welcome

Poetry from Prison. A reading of Poems by Tim Daly, Pat Arrowsmith, Dennis Brutus, Wole Soyinka, at 8 p.m., Thursday, October 15, Regents Park Library, Robert Street, N.W.1 (near Warren Street Underground Station).

The Chairman of a North Country firm demanded from all his executives a copy in their own handwriting of his memo about how writing things down helps commit them to memory. Most of the poor sods complied. From 'Real Time' 1/- from Freedom Press.

Demonstrations and the Left—Effective Protests? Speaker: Pat Jordan. Followed by discussion. Date: Thursday, October 22. Time: 7.30 p.m. Place: Friends Meeting House, Euston Road (opposite Euston tube).

Libertarian Analysis. First quarterly issue out at end of September. Box 210, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014, USA. Prices \$5.00 a year or \$6.00 a year overseas, and \$1.25 an issue or \$1.50 an issue overseas.

October 5. A Liverpool Non-Violent Action Group Action Against OTC at Freshers' Conference, Liverpool University. Picket, Street Theatre, Peace Recruiting, etc. For details phone Peter 051-733 2111.

Germ's Eye View (London). Rank and file paper from the Royal Free Hospital for all hospital workers. Current issue includes articles on the NUPE pay claim, domestic labour in hospital, private medicine, and the doctors' pay settlement. Available from 50 Colebrooke Row, London, N.1, at 3d, a copy plus 4d. postage, or on sale or return.

Comrades in Plymouth wishing to form group or just meet other anarchists. Contact: John Northey, 16 Adelaide Street, Stonehouse, Plymouth.

Non-Straight Psychiatrist. Urgently sought by misfit who doesn't want 'curing' of Libertarianism but who has real but unrecognised hang-up. If you know of one please write, P.B., 60 Catherine Street, Reading, RG3 1DG.

Wanted.—Copy of Voline's 'Unknown Revolution'. Box 03, Freedom Press.

Dublin Libertarian Library requires back issues of 'Freedom', 'Anarchy' and any other anarchist or allied publications, any language. Books also welcome but no payment possible. Send to Freedom Press.

Elephant and Castle Project Junior Club. Saturday morning play project for boys and girls, urgently needs reliable helpers. New ideas and cast-off toys, etc., welcome. Contact: Club Leader, Valerie E. Bickers, 26 Bromyard Avenue, London, W.3.

Very urgent. There are several families at Burrell House who need an electric cooker, especially since the gas was cut off last week. Anyone able to help meet our urgent cooker crisis please notify us via Freedom Press, phone 247 9249—The Tenants of Burrell House, The Highway, Stepney, E.1.

Wednesday discussion meetings at Freedom Meeting Hall from 8 p.m.

Urgent. Help fold and dispatch FREEDOM every Thursday from 4 p.m. onwards. Tea served.

Wanted.
Biographies of Italian Anarchists. Documents on the following: Italian anarchists in the Resistance 1939-45; Biographic and bibliographic material on the following—E. Malatesta, P. Gori, L. Galleani, C. Berneri, L. Pertoni, A. Borghi, G. Damiani, L. Meschi, U. Fedeli. All material returned, postage refunded. Send to: Rene Bianco, B.P. 40 Marseille, St. Just 13, France.

Please help. Union of American Exiles in Britain: c/o WRI, 3 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

Anarchists
Jack Robinson addressed a packed meeting on 'Anarchism in the East End of London' for the first of a series of Wednesday night (8 p.m.) meetings starting September 30. By the time you read this we will have had the first of our social evenings. More to come and we meet every Wednesday in Freedom Press. You are welcome!
Bill Dwyer.

THIS WORLD

Crime with Brazil

WITH GOVERNMENT APPROVAL Vosper Thornycroft will supply the Brazilian Navy with frigates costing £100 million. Financing the deal is a consortium of banks including Lloyds, the Midland, National Westminster, Barclays and four others. Brazil has no defence needs but like other South American tyrannies maintains expensive establishments for prestige and the suppression of its people. With the possible exception of the Stroessner regime in Paraguay the Brazilian government leads those of this continent in gross oppression where not only thousands of revolutionaries but even progressive priests are tortured in its prisons. The government here rigorously prosecutes Irish (and others) who endeavour to obtain arms for rebel movements in their home country. Crime on the grand scale—such as supplying these armaments to Brazil obviously is—aided and abetted, and richly rewarded.

From New Orleans

A reader there writes:
'Things here in New Orleans are getting hot indeed. Today some 200 heavily armed police attacked the headquarters of the New Orleans Black Panthers; the battle lasted two hours, with a lot of heavy firing. Amazingly, no one was killed, though 7 were wounded. Fourteen Panthers were captured; since the pigs had an armoured truck and three helicopters, the outcome was never in any doubt. So, that's the scene in New Orleans. Everybody in the left, from student radicals to Black militants to the New Orleans Libertarian Alliance, is up-tight.'

LABOUR AGAIN

At least since the days of Ramsay MacDonald nobody really thinks the Labour Party has any principles. They themselves constantly remind us of their

ruthless abandonment of decency. The recent jamboree which passes as their annual conference expressed abhorrence at the Tory proposal to supply South Africa with arms. But, while in office, Saracen vehicles and machine guns were shipped 'directly and indirectly' there from this country. Source of information: The South African Liberal Party, who state that the government had full knowledge of it.

Church and Property

When I was in Sydney one of the more enquiring of the television directors—Allan Ashbolt, at that time head of the news section of the Australian Broadcasting Commission—did a documentary on the slums of that fair city. Many righteous citizens were shocked to be informed that the largest owners were the leading churches—Anglican, R.C., Presbyterian and Methodist. The position in London may not have been documented but is notorious notwithstanding. Now the Rev. Kenneth Greet, secretary-designate of the Methodist Conference, puts on record what we have known for a long time. 'The attachment of Christians to bricks and mortar is often very great,' he tells us, pointing out that 95 per cent of the time actual church buildings are 'wasteful plant', standing idle and of use to neither God nor man. Here in London many of us live in utterly squalid and cramped dwellings while all around us are masses of huge churches (not to speak of palatial office blocks) constituting an indictment of not just the superstitious and affluent religious establishment but, even more so, of our docility and stupidity in accepting such a situation. And then some of us have the audacity to accuse our Spanish brothers for their slaughter of religious buildings in the 1930s.

A Politician is an Arse ...

'I will say then I am not, nor ever have been in favour of bringing about in

any way, the social and political equality of the white and black races ... nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this, that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which will ever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality.'

—Abraham Lincoln.

War and the USA

While most people may have been horrified by the spectacle of the Jordanian army hurling shells into refugee camps and slum areas of Amman to secure Hussein's throne the Nixon administration hastened to assure the King that they regarded him as one of its 'friends and allies'. Mr. David Packard, the Deputy Defence Secretary, asserts that the US will immediately replace all armaments lost by the King and consider further supplies thereafter. Touring American diplomats and dignitaries are often stunned by the 'mob violence' which often envelops them in the underprivileged nations. The bereaved in Jordan have already a fearful store of vengeance stored up. Occasionally, the US will express disapproval of a right wing coup d'etat—they even cut the Greek colonels off from their arms supplies. As long as such usurpers create 'stability' and do not abandon their right wing stance they are infallibly assured of the US support—after a suitable time lapse. The Pentagon, of course, is the perpetual champion of colonels in revolt and has now scored yet another victory for war and suppression—Greece is to have \$56m. worth of US arms immediately with further supplies assured.

POLICE

In Hyde Park, to the amusement of some, the disgust of others and the intense annoyance of the constabulary, I have often maintained that the police are recruited from the more ignorant and brutal elements of the population to serve the cynical dictates of the elite in power—not merely here but everywhere. The US Department of Justice provides some support for this proposition. Recently it reported that the IQ of recruits 'has fallen from the 1962 figure of 107.7, or just above the population average of 100, to 93.19'.

Freedom—a bad week

In South Africa Mrs. Winnie Mandela, who had just been acquitted of terrorist charges, has been placed under house arrest—for five years she will be unable to attend any social or political meeting and will be confined to her home every evening except for weekends when she will be forbidden to leave even in the afternoon. Benjamin Sello Ramotse, kidnapped from Botswana, was gaoled for 15 years although the judge conceded that the defendant was inspired by a desire to help his people. 'Law and order must be upheld at all costs,' concluded His Honour. Meanwhile, in the 'socialist' world the same cause was being vigorously defended. Under Article 106 of the East German criminal code Marc Huessey, aged 21, was given seven years for criticising the government. Over in Belgrade, centre of the 'socialists' most liberal state, Vlado Mijanovic, a student leader, seems destined to follow the road, now well worn by Milovan Djilas and a host of others, to prison for the same heinous crime.