Freedom

Anarchist Weekly 6d

DECEMBER 2 1967 Vol 28 No 37

EIGHT PAGES THIS WEEK!

The Wage Freeze Cometh

ALTHOUGH GUY FAWKES' day is November 5, fireworks are still being exploded. Speculators have made a comfortable profit and if the American dollar is devalued they will make a fortune. The national press have not had so much 'copy' for years, and after ploughing through a fair percentage of them, the conclusion one comes to is that they are all agreed on two points—to gain full advantage from devaluation there must be a wage freeze and at least 2 per cent unemployment.

The economic experts are busily informing the Government that it must get tough on the wages front and at least implement the part of the Incomes Bill which delays wage increases for seven months. They also recognise the fact that the cost of living must rise. To be fair, the present situation creates an ideal climate for 'climbing on the bandwagon'. Such actions are in line with Government policy—they want to restrict spending.

Sorting through all the economic jargon of the economists, the City Editors and the Financial Editors, one comes to another conclusion: Joe Soap is going to get his usual 'end of the stick'. Did he expect anything else? If he did, he was a fool. The battle on the industrial front is going to be twice as tough, to hold even what we have, let alone make any advances. The TUC, when it met Peter Shore, Secretary for Economic Affairs, must have had its fingers crossed when it agreed to support the Government. Shore also meets the Confederation of British Industry who will tell him in no uncertain terms to legislate to prevent wage increases. Wage drift will be halted by consolidating a pool of unemployment. Wilson can scream all he likes about unemployment not being Labour's policy, but along the path he has chosen to tread it is not only inevitable but essential.

The Tories smell blood, preferably Wilson's, but he has forgotten more about political infighting than they will ever remember. They pontificate about honesty to our foreign friends—what a lot of boloney: since when has party politics been honest, be it foreign or British. The headline of Ronald Butts, *Sunday Times* (26.11.67), summed up the situation correctly: 'Parliament Devalued'. It does have a value, it generates enough hot air which could be used for industrial purposes.

The shadow boxing will continue in both Houses of Parliament. The Tories shout at Labour, the Liberals shout at both (saucy bastards), but all in all they are all good friends. They 'pair', they drink together, it's all good clean fun. The Communist Party is mad keen to join them but only with the left Labour MPs because they are different — they scream their protests a bit louder before dashing into the voting lobby to support the Government.

This last week has shown what the politicians, the bankers and the speculators can do for us and they can do it very effectively—'cut our throats'. As they become more powerful and richer, Joe Soaps all over the world drop deeper into the mud. Whilst we are not starving, somebody else is, we drift from one financial crisis to another, war or hunger all stem basically from the same root; the capitalist system of society, with state capitalism using similar tactics 'to keep up with the Jones's'.

We know what we have to do, destroy the system; but having said that, we still have to live tomorrow and the next day, and to do that we will have to fight but certainly harder than we have in the past. All this 'don't rock the boat' business, and 'give them a chance' jazz is played out. Whilst we are struggling in industry for our demands do not let us forget the people who cannot struggle or who find it difficult, the OAPs and nurses. Industrial action goes wider than a halfpenny an hour extra, it can be effective enough to dump the whole rotten system. BILL CHRISTOPHER

MANIFESTO TO INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARIES

WE RECEIVED a manifesto from the First of May Group (extracts appear in this issue). We do not know the authors of the manifesto. The letter came by post, and without signature.

At the time of the machine gunning of the US Embassy, the police raided many organisations including Black Power groups and pacifist or non-violent groups like the Committee of 100.

The machine gunners sent letters to the press 'claiming the action'. The police put out a statement doubting the validity of the First of May Group's claim. The general impression was that the machine gunners were Latin American (Castroite) Communists.

The manifesto now acknowledges a debt to the 'strategic policy traced by the FJL'. This is an open anarchist revolutionary group, well known to us. We have recently printed an appeal for a FJL member living in France (harassed by the French police) which contained a denial of such a connection.

Nevertheless, there are some libertarian phrases in the manifesto. It will probably come as a shock to many to whom anarchism and pacifism is practically synonymous that many libertarians still advocate the Armed Struggle.

Now we read in the *Daily Telegraph* (13.11.67):

'Two bombs exploded early today at the Greek and Bolivian Embassies in Bonn, smashing windows but injuring nobody. Police said both attacks were believed to be the work of pro-Communist foreigners.

'After the explosion at the Greek Embassy, a note was found signed by an unknown "Revolutionary Solidarity Movement—May 1 Group". It demanded that West Germany end support of Fascist dictators in Greece, Spain and Portugal and of the Vietnam war.

'The Bolivian Embassy asked for police protection. An Embassy spokesman said the attack appeared to be connected with the death of Ernesto "Che" Guevara, who was killed leading Bolivian guerrillas last month.'

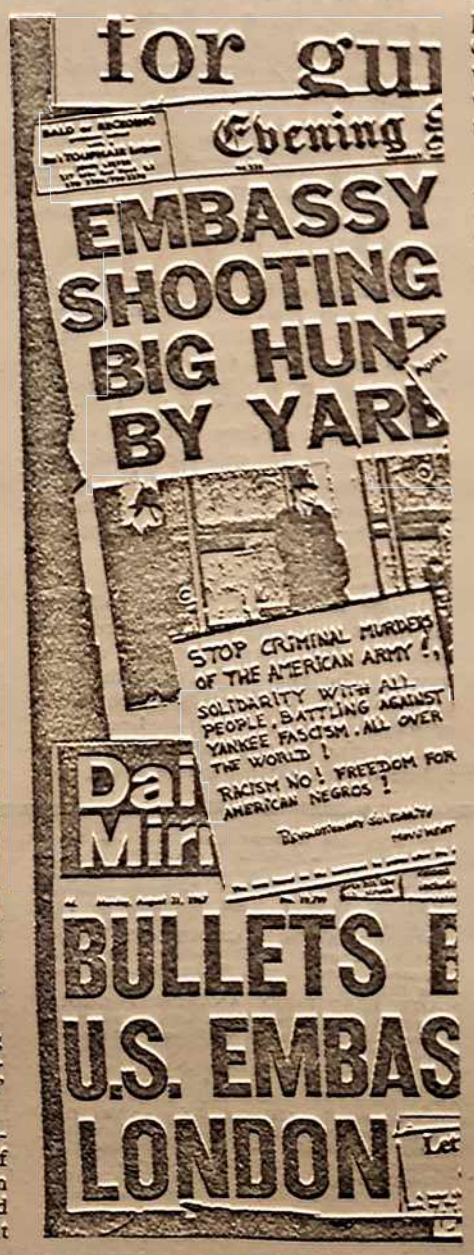
Once more the authorities are trying to create the impression that the 'unknown' people are 'pro-Communist' foreigners.

Secret groups cannot fail to sow confusion. We are printing a summary of their document so that the large open anarchist movement should be informed of the activities of their more militant comrades.

Whilst the Editors agree to print the summary of the manifesto we wish to make two points very clear.

1. We believe the issue of violence or non-violence is up to the individual.
2. The proposal of the 'Common Front' to us is fraught with danger therefore we could not support such a proposal.

EDITORS.



SUMMARY OF THE MANIFESTO

THE CONTROVERSIAL 'First of May Group', in its new 'Manifesto to International Revolutionaries', makes a plea for 'an approach to the struggle against dictatorship by means of revolutionary violence'.

Pointing out the failure of both private and state capitalism to provide genuine freedom, the manifesto denounces attempts to fight 'oppression and Imperialist aggression' by 'legal and pacific means'. The experience of Third World guerilla forces and US negroes shows that armed struggle is the surest way to the Social Revolution. Sectarianism among the revolutionary movement is blamed for the present apathy of the masses, by presenting them with contradictory dogmas.

The manifesto maintains that the 'Revolution is not the heritage of any [illegible] Party', but of all oppressed people who fight against, and refuse to compromise with, Imperialism. It therefore calls for a common front of revolutionaries against 'Imperialist aggression and capitalist exploitation in all its classic and modern forms'.

Finally, the manifesto calls for an international campaign to boycott US goods; propaganda and aid for oppressed people everywhere; and acts of sabotage against diplomatic and military installations as effective reprisals against the crimes and abuses of 'Imperialist aggressors and dictatorships'.

R.B.

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

On the Road in Italy

THE GREAT MAFIA TRIAL at Catanzaro, which began a fortnight ago, is going to last most of the winter and has at any rate begun as a real drag. All the crimes were committed in the winter and spring of 1962-63 and the more spectacular ones are described in Norman Lewis's book *The Honoured Society*. The old history is being raked over again, and the defendants (their immaculate dress and elegant manners described in detail by the newspapers) are defending in classic Mafia style by saying that they know nothing. The reason the State is staging this mammoth trial (being held in a school gymnasium because there is no court-room of sufficient size) is not to stamp out oppression of the poor; of the murders (over 100) committed by these people, most were of members of rival Mafia families or of Mafiosi who failed to obey orders, a few were of passers-by, but several were of policemen.

Recently two 'Mafiosi' monks lost their appeal for a reduction of their sentence (a third, aged over 80, had died in prison). Their activities are described in Lewis's book.

At the end of October six members of the Palermo cemetery Mafia were arrested. These individuals had in effect been levying an 8% 'tax' on plots of earth bought in the Cimitero di Sant' Orsola in Palermo. (In Italy, you have to pay for a 'permanent' plot in a cemetery—in Milan, 500,000 lire (£290) per square metre; maybe a little less in Palermo—otherwise you have someone else buried on top of you after 10 years.)

EDITOR SENT TO PRISON

On October 28 the editor of a Communist weekly magazine was condemned to 5 months and 10 days in prison for having published a letter from a priest which defended the principle of conscientious objection. (The priest died in June, before he could be sentenced.) The accusation was of 'having condoned a crime'. Conscientious objection here is a criminal offence.

VIETNAM MARCH

Last Saturday, November 4, I took part in the first stage of a march for peace in Vietnam, which is due to reach Rome, where it will meet up with a simultaneous march from Southern Italy, on November 29. The first stage in the north was from Milan to Pavia (35 km.). About 2,000 people perhaps—not bad for a Saturday when most people have to work—and more than that both at the start and for the last few kilometres in the rain into Pavia. Most people were Communists (only *l'Unita*, the PCI daily, had publicised the march, and there hadn't been many posters in Milan), either party faithfuls or pro-Mao.

No beatniks although there are plenty in Milan; earnest people with short hair, workers and students; a lot of girls. Many red Che Guevara scarves. Favourite slogans: 'Che, Che, Guevara!', 'Ho-o-o-o-Chi-Minh!', 'Johnson Boia!' (Boia = Hangman). These shouts reached a peak soon after the start, dropped off as people's feet began to get sore, and then were used to interrupt boring speeches at the meeting in the civic theatre in Pavia in the evening. Songs: partisan songs from the war, such as 'Bella Ciao', and occasionally 'We Shall Overcome' and 'Yellow Submarine'. No official Communist banners. Most placards were exclusively anti-American (except those which said 'We are with the other America'); e.g. 'From the Same Country—Coca-Cola and Napalm'. These are approved by practically everybody—even the Demo-Christian *Corriere della Sera* has anti-USA articles about Vietnam—since all classes in Italy (and France and Spain) hate, fear or envy the US quite apart from the Vietnam war.

The best part of the march was the welcome we had in the small towns on the road, whose Communist mayors welcomed us a little pompously and the town co-operatives distributed free soup, sandwiches and wine to everyone. When we reached Pavia, where the city council is run by a coalition of Christian-Democrats and Socialists, we filled the splendid baroque theatre and either interrupted or applauded speeches from (among others) the mayor, a professor, Danilo Dolci (who is marching all the way), a Vietnamese woman, and a girl representing a Catholic youth movement who spoke of the Peoples' Democracies and had the raving Che Guevara scarf-wearers shouting with delight.

This is the first march of this type in Italy so let's hope it gets some good support along the road. TIM OXTON.

YCND Conference '67

AFTER LAST YEAR'S YCND Conference, I wrote an obituary of that particular movement. This year, the spirits arose to haunt us with what turned out to be a transition into the realms of pure fantasy.

YCND is now committed to a campaign of non-violent sabotage, disaffecting US Servicemen, providing shelter for deserters, 'facilitating their escape to a safer country', and putting 'moral law before state law'.

These notions will, of course, be ignored by the new General Council and by the mass of campaigners who, by their absence from the conference (turnout was the smallest for many years), put on record their apathy and their total lack of ability to direct the council, who thus cannot really be blamed for going their own sweet way.

Other perennial favourites, on peace action projects and work camps, were also passed again, and will be duly ignored once more as they have been in the past, by both General Council and campaigners alike.

YCND is also to co-operate with the Young Liberals, a dynamic advance in policy which is bound to have world-shattering implications for the future of peace-making.

The Easter nose bounce (the annual four-day exercise in masacho-exhibitionism) was again supported by conference.

Amidst all this, useful motions passed against the 'workers' bomb', against all weapons of mass destruction, and for non-alignment on Vietnam, seemed only to emphasise the whole ludicrous farce. Perhaps congratulations are in order to Nigel Wilson on his election to NYCND General Council.

Annual conferences in the peace movement are now a totally irrelevant, nostalgic piece of verbal masturbation, straight from the realms of fantasy. This was the over-riding impression of the NYCND Conference 1967.

PADDY FIELDS.

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We can supply these books (and others) for Xmas gifts. Thus you can benefit your friends and our funds—two for the price of one!

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Vol 6 1956: Oil and Troubled Waters
Vol 7 1957: Year One—Sputnik Era
Vol 8 1958: Socialism in a Wheelchair
Vol 9 1959: Print, Press & Public
Vol 10 1960: The Tragedy of Africa
Vol 11 1961: The People in the Street
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This week you are being asked to vote for a Union Council. Why should you? What is the real purpose of this bureaucracy you are asked to maintain?

THE PURPOSE OF LSE

MODERN SOCIETY allots everyone a specific role in a general passivity. Each has his function in the maintenance of neo-capitalism—a system wholly alien and repulsive to human nature. The student too has his part to play, a rehearsal for his first role as an element in a market society.

The function of LSE is the production, year after year, of liberal economists to maintain the crumbling system of production and liberal sociologists to manipulate the victims of that system. There must be a change from the set-up which demands homelessness, unemployment, neo-colonial exploitation, and the banality of everyday existence—but LSE exists to resist that change. **LSE is an integral and essential part of the system of human alienation.** The fact that its governors are capitalists themselves is indicative of, but not essential to the real purpose of our 'education'.

REAL STRUGGLE

LSE students have taken part in protests against the US Government over Vietnam, against the British Government over the Wage Freeze, and Rhodesia and many other issues not directly affecting them. It is of supreme importance that students appreciate the essential broad base of any realistic struggle, and do involve themselves in other people's demands for freedom. But can we really affect the British Government, let alone that of the US, by such action? Clearly we cannot. Yet here we are at LSE, a major cog in the machine of human repression. Should we just spend a few comfortable years here, easing our consciences by joining the occasional ineffectual demonstration, merely to pass on to the conveyor belt of the spectacular commodity economy? Or are we going to attempt to resist the system where it affects and manipulates us, i.e. at LSE?

Ought we really to be concerned with the 'democratic' union negotiating with the powers that be for more lessant existence? Should we demand anything less than the total control of our own environment? An abolition of the present functions of British 'education'?

The effect of the Union is, of course, at best marginal. In any real struggle it becomes irrelevant, or even restrictive, the spontaneity of the rank and file being the only important factor—as shown by last term's sit-in. A pre-existing bureaucracy, dedicated to compromise with the authorities is incapable of bringing about fundamental changes —the only changes we accept. 'To accept a fragmentary realisation of a new social order is to accept merely a new division of society.'

A SHADOW

It is not enough for us to be able to run our own affairs within the present structure, we have no interest in directing our own alienation. But of course even the privilege of running relatively small matters affecting us is denied. We cannot vote for the posts which really carry power. We are not offered a real choice. **We are voting for irrelevant posts, a shadow.** These posts are, essentially unnecessary to the functioning of the system. But they divert our attention from the real issues and hence have a vital function in the continued maintenance of that exploitative system.

REACTIONARY

By voting we accept and help to perpetuate the democratic myth—the myth that one individual can represent countless other individuals and can so do for their benefit. We are given unions and union elections by the authorities so that we believe we have complete control of our own environment. When we leave LSE we are supposed to continue believing in the essences of the 'representative' lie and thereby continue to maintain our own repression and alienation. Until we appreciate the true nature of universal suffrage, we will remain completely submerged in the competing diversions of the travesty that is called democracy.

WELFARE?

But what of union benefits? Well, some do exist of course, although they are liable to fluctuate according to whether a pro- or anti-NUS faction is 'leading' us. But such benefits as we do get from the Union establishments are merely a sop to disguise the harshness of the reality—that LSE's function is the maintenance of repression.

How dare they offer us 'bread and circuses' instead of freedom! By electing 'better' representatives (although you know virtually nothing about the egocentred candidates anyway), we may get a few more marginal benefits. But the essentials remain unchanged and that is unacceptable.

REVOLUTION!

We are not the only group at LSE who are talking about revolution, **but we say that the time for revolution made by politicians is over;** we are advocating anarchist revolution, the revolution for total freedom. Remember there is no freedom until you are in control of your own environment. You —not your 'representative'.

Don't exchange your fundamental human right to the control of your own life for free teeth from the state and cheap travel from the Union. And remember—**it doesn't matter who you vote for—a Council always gets in.** Don't be misled.

—Leaflet published by LSE Anarchist Group

VICTORY AT LSE

THE MOST CRUSHING defeat for authoritarians this century occurred at LSE last week. Following the publication of a leaflet by the Anarchist Group, over 90% of the students refused to turn up to vote in the Union Council Elections. Out of the less than 400 who defied the anarchist instruction to abstain, 12 spoiled their papers, one of them taking the unprecedented revolutionary step of writing, 'Long Live Anarchist Democracy!' on his.

Realising the threat posed by the anti-vote campaign, the Union posters changed their headings from 'Council Elections' to a desperate 'Use Your Vote!' The Union's paper, *Beaver*, carried an editorial decrying the apathy of the students, and said that the School authorities were not reactionary, as we had all naively supposed, in refusing to let students run their own lives, as they clearly lacked even the elementary feelings of responsibility towards their own bureaucracy!

But the anarchist campaign to free LSE has hardly begun—we cannot rest until students are allowed to run their own lives, free from the twin bureaucracies of State and Students' Union. It is widely reported in the City that Walter Adams ('some of my best friends are niggers') is to be replaced as Director of LSE by the youngest son of Durutti, believed to live in Eltham.

SYD KAINE.

LETTER

Somebody Noticed

Dear Editors,

Over the last year or so many illustrations have improved the appearance of FREEDOM and I would like to pay tribute to the anonymous artist (or artists) whose work they are.

Yours,

London, E.3 IVAN VEREZINSKY.

Subscribe for a Friend

Through the Anarchist Press

CUBA

F. Castro, 23.4.59

'Fascism, Peronism and communism are only three different kinds of totalitarianism.'

F. Castro, 21.5.59

'Communism is a system which resolves economic problems while suppressing those freedoms so dear to mankind and to the Cuban people in particular.'

F. Castro, 16.12.60

'Yes, we feel that to be anti-communist is to be counter-revolutionary. . . .'

SPAIN-ITALY

In June of this year Spain handed over to Italy 14,760,000 pesetas, this being the last in a series of payments to cover the cost of Italian aid to Franco's forces during the Spanish civil war. It seems that Italy's 'democratic' government has few scruples about accepting money earned for it by Mussolini.

USA

Escalation of the war in Vietnam has created more than a million new jobs in the USA in the last two years, reveals a US Department of Labour report. This represents almost a quarter of the entire job-increase for 1965-1967. A further report, almost sublime in its callousness, warns that further escalation could have serious results: namely, a shortage of skilled workers in peace industries caused by the increased demands of military production.

FRANCE

At the age of 19 'X' was called up for the three days' testing all conscripts undergo prior to beginning their military service. The idea of being in the army didn't appeal to him very much, so he presented a number of medical documents stating his physical incapacity. The failure of this gambit left only one way out. He appeared before a military tribunal and declared that, in all sincerity, he could not see himself donating sixteen months of his life to Mongéneral's army; that he suffered from claustrophobia; that he could not possibly live with a group of boys who, individually, might be intelligent but who, collectively, would be forced to behave like morons; that he wanted no part, active or passive, of 'barracks tomfoolery'; that he had no intention of marching in step or obeying without question; that he refused to let a badly cut uniform detract from his good looks; that the barracks were dirty and smelly; that the idea of killing was just as repugnant to him as that of being killed; and finally that he would certainly go insane if forced to join up.

The tribunal spokesman commented that the possessor of such views was doubtless insane already; 'X' was granted a complete discharge on the grounds of his unsuitability for the communal life.

* * *

It's worth noting a new presence, that of *Documents anarchistes*, edited by 19 year-old Michel Chomarat. The magazine's function is that of unearthing and republishing anarchist literature of all kinds emanating from the Rhône-Alpes region where the editor lives. Material reproduced in the first two issues includes, among other things, photographs, posters, bibliographies, anarchist songs, details of court proceedings, letters from anarchist prisoners and information on Bonnot, Bakunin and Ravachol.

Excerpts will appear in FREEDOM when the translator can summon the energy.

JOHN THURSTON.

(Sources: *Le Combat syndicaliste, L'Espoir, Le Monde libertaire, Documents anarchistes.*)

Anarchist Federation of Britain

General enquiries should be sent to the London Federation.

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. c/o Libra House, 256 Pentonville Road, London, N.1.
DEC. 11: Anarchist Black Cross Social at the ARTS LAB, 182 Drury Lane, W.C.1.
Sunday evening meetings 8 p.m. Lamb & Flag, Rose Street, off Garrick Street, London, W.C.2
Readers, writers and sellers meeting
DEC. 3 Courtney Tulloch
Black Power
LEWISHAM. Contact Mike Malet, 61 Granville Park, Lewisham, London, S.E.13
EALING ANARCHIST GROUP. Get into touch with Ken King, 54 Norwood Road, Southall.
KING'S CROSS GROUP, c/o Libra House, 256 Pentonville Road, London, N.1.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m.
3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald and Irene Rooum's, now at 13 Savernake Road, London, N.W.3.
2nd and 4th Friday of each month, 8 p.m., at Brenda Mercer's and dj Austin's, 80 Crouch Hill, N.8 (Finsbury Park Underground, 212 bus to door).

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

ABERDEEN ANARCHISTS meet 1st and 3rd Wednesdays of month at M. Dey's, 142 Walker Road, 2nd and 4th Wednesdays at Liz Smith's, 3 Sinclair Road. Correspondence to either address.
ALTRINCHAM ANARCHIST YOUTH GROUP. Get in touch with Stephen Richards, 25 North Vale Road, Timperley, Cheshire.
BEXLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence to Paul Wildish, 2 Cumbrian Avenue, Barnehurst, Kent.
BELFAST: Contact Tony Adams, 11 Winetavern Street, Smithfield Square, Belfast.
BIRMINGHAM LIBERTARIAN GROUP. All anarchists, syndicalists, individualists, etc., please contact Geoff and Caroline Charlton, top flat, 8 Lightwoods Hill, Smethwick, Warley, Worcs. 25 mins. from Birmingham City centre. No. 9 bus.
RESISTANCE GROUP. C/o Birmingham Peace Action Centre (formerly CND office), Factory Road, Birmingham, 19.
BOLTON. Get in touch with Les Smith, 22 Grosvenor Street, Bolton, Lancs.
BOURNEMOUTH AND EAST DORSET ANARCHISTS. Please contact John McCair, 14 Milton Road, Bournemouth (B'm'th 22279) or Tim Deane, Juliet, West Moors, Wimborne, Dorset (Ferndown 3588).
BRIGHTON. Get in touch with 79 Coleman Street, Brighton, 7. Poetry readings every Tuesday in Archway 187 on the Seafront. Admission is free and all poets welcome. 8.30 p.m. onwards.
BRISTOL. Contact: Dave and Pat Thorne, 22 Hampton Road, Redland, Bristol, 6.
FIFE LIBERTARIANS. Contact Bob and Una Turnbull, 39 Stratheden Park, Stratheden Hospital, by Cupar, Fife.
EXETER ANARCHIST GROUP. Get in touch with Anthony Webb, 39 Cowick Lane, St. Thomas, Exeter, Devon.
GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP ONE. Correspondence to Robert Lynn, 2b Saracen Head Lane, Glasgow, C.1.
HERTS. Contact either Stuart Mitchell at South View, Potters Heath Lane, Potters Heath, Welwyn, Herts OR Jeff Cloves, 46 Hughendon Road Marshalswick, St. Albans, Herts.
HULL ANARCHIST GROUP, c/o J. Tempest, 89 Fountain Road, Beverley Road, Hull.
IPSWICH ANARCHISTS. Contact Neil Dean, 74 Cemetery Road, Ipswich, Suffolk.
KILBURN, LONDON. Contact Andrew Dewar, 16 Kilburn House, Malvern Place, London, N.W.6. Meetings 8 p.m. every Tuesday.
LEICESTER PROJECT. Peace/Libertarian action and debate. Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. at 1 The Crescent, King Street, Leicester.
LSE ANARCHIST GROUP, c/o Student Union, London School of Economics, Houghton Street, W.C.2.
NORTH EAST ESSEX. Group meets the first Monday in each month 7.15 p.m. at 91 Brook Street, Tolleshurst Knights, Tiptree, Essex. For further information write P. Newell, 'Maybush', Maypole Road, Tiptree, Essex
NORTH SOMERSET ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Roy Emery, 3 Abbey Street, Bath, or Geoffrey Barfoot, 71 St. Thomas Street, Wells.
NOTTING HILL. Please get in touch with John Bennett and Marilyn Paddy, Flat 4, 88 Clarendon Road, London, W.11. Tel.: 727 9745. Meetings every Monday at 7 p.m.
ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.
OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Simon Martin, Oriel College, Oxford.
PLYMOUTH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Contact J. Hill, 79 Underlane, Plymstock, Plymouth, Devon.
READING ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Alan Ross, 116 Belmont Road, Reading, Berks.
SHEFFIELD RADICAL GROUP. Contact Robin Lovell c/o Students' Union, Sheffield
SHEFFIELD UNIVERSITY GROUP. Contact S.R.G., 31 Harcourt Road, Sheffield, 10. University.
SLOUGH ANARCHIST GROUP AND 'HIPPY' GROUP. Contact B. P. Norcott, 116 Lower Cippenham Lane, Slough, Bucks. Meetings every other Friday.
SOUTH EAST ESSEX ANARCHIST GROUP. We would love to hear from fellow-sympathisers in area. All enquiries to M. Powell, 7 Lingcroft, Basildon, Essex.
S.W. LONDON LIBERTARIANS. Meet every Thursday, 7.30 p.m. at 14 Clapham Court, King's Avenue (Acre Lane end), S.W.4.
SOUTH WEST MIDDLESEX ANARCHIST Group meets alternate Thursdays and Saturdays, on Eel Pie Island. Contact P. J. Goody, 36 Norman Avenue, Hanworth, Middlesex.
TROWBRIDGE PEACE ACTION GROUP. Contact P. Weston, Chivele, Butts Lane, Keevil, Trowbridge, Wiltshire. Meetings every Tuesday 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House (opp. Bus Station).
WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Contact Stephen Higgs, Westbury Road, Forest Gate, E.7.

WEST ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION

To be serviced by a newsletter and three-monthly meetings. Groups and individuals are invited to associate: c/o Keith Nathan, 138 Pennymead, Harlow.
Epping: contact John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue.
Harlow: contact John Deards, 184 Carter's Mead and/or Geoff Hardy, 6 Redrick's Lane.
Loughton: c/o Students' Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Loughton, Essex.

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

Regional Secretary: Alistair Rattray, 35a Devonshire Road, Chorley.
NORTH WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION.
BUXTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: F. A. Gresty, Punchbowl, Manchester Road, Buxton.
CHORLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Alistair T. Rattray, 35a Devonshire Road, Chorley.
LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST PROPAGANDA GROUP AND 'HIPPY' MOVEMENT. Gerry Bree, 16 Faulkner Square, Liverpool, 8. Meetings weekly. 'Freedom' Sales—Pier Head, Saturdays, Sundays, Evenings.
MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Dave Poulson, 9 Boland Street, Fallowfield, Manchester, 14.

SOUTH WALES ANARCHIST FEDERATION

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP, SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP. All correspondence to:— Julian Ross, 111 King Edwards Road, Brynmill, Swansea.

ASSOCIATION LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS'

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

PROPOSED GROUPS

MUCH HADHAM, HERTS. Get in touch with Leslie Riordan, High Street, Much Hadham, Herts.
TORONTO, CANADA. Any Torontonians interested in Anarchism please contact Leonard Tarka, 108 Silverhill Drive, Islington, Ontario, Canada.
CORNWALL ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact A. C. Jacob, 76 East Hill, St. Austell, Cornwall.
WOLVERHAMPTON. Contact Martin Bashforth at 11 Lyndhurst Road, Wolverhampton.
FULHAM & CHELSEA ANARCHIST GROUP. Get in touch with Mary Canipa, 21 Rumbold Road, Fulham, S.W.6 and/or Richard Bolton, 48 Yeomans Row, Chelsea, S.W.3. Phone: KNI 2288.
CRAWLEY. Get in touch with Ian Pett, 63 Winchester Road, Tilgate, Sussex. Viva Anarchista!

ABROAD

AUSTRALIA. Federation of Australian Anarchists, P.O. Box A 389, Sydney South. Public meetings every Sunday in the Domain, 2 p.m. and Mondays, 72 Oxford Street, Paddington, Sydney, 8 p.m.
DANISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Gothersgade, 27, Viborg, Denmark.
VANCOUVER, B.C., CANADA. Anyone interested in forming anarchist and/or direct action peace group contact Derek A. James, 1844 Grand Boulevard, North Vancouver, B.C., Canada. Tel.: 987-2693.
USA: VERMONT. New Hampshire Anarchist Group. Meets weekly — discussion, individual action. Contact Ed. Strauss at RPD 2, Woodstock, Vermont 05091, USA.
SWEDEN. Stockholm Anarchist Federation Contact Nadir, Box 19104, Stockholm 19, Sweden.
CANADA: Winnipeg. Anybody interested in Direct action/anarchy contact G. J. Nasir, 606 Matheson Avenue, Winnipeg, 17, Manitoba.
BELGIUM: LIEGE. Provos, c/o Jacques Charlier, 11 Avenue de la Laiterie, Sclessin-Liege, Belgium
EAST AFRICA. George Matthews would like to make contact. Secondary school teacher from UK. PO Box 90, Kakamega, Kenya.
USA. James W. Cain, secretary, Insurgency Anarchist Association, 323 Fourth Street, Cloquet, Minnesota 55720, USA.
GROUP-(T)REASON. Australian Anarchist c/o Melbourne University Union or A.R. Giles Peters, c/o same.

WASHINGTON WARMAKERS CONFRONTED

Outside the Pentagon—October 21-22

(from a tape-recording)

SCENE: Washington Union Station, demonstrators arriving by train.

Frank (to Elderly Demonstrator): Hi! What's your feelings about this scene?

E.D.: Well, as far as I'm concerned, it's a good scene now, but it may not be so good after a while. But I have my crash helmet here, and . . .

F.: You expect warfare, huh?

E.D.: I expect warfare.

*

Frank (to a bystander in uniform): Excuse me, but I notice that you're in the military, and you know that there's going to be a demonstration. How do you feel about this?

Soldier: Let 'em drive home,* do what they wanna do . . . they let everybody else parade up here, let them do what they wanna do.

*(*translate*: 'go ahead')*

F.: Do you think that would be a popular opinion in your company?

Soldier: No.

F.: Is this the Marines?

Soldier: No. Special Forces.

F.: That's mostly guerrilla warfare, isn't it?

Soldier: Yes, guerrilla warfare.

F.: How do you feel about the prospect of going to, let's say, South America?

Soldier: South America?

F.: Yes, we are involved in South America; we have Special Forces down there now. How do you feel about it?

Soldier: I don't know anything about it. We're just told where we're going and that's it. . . .

*

Elderly Demonstrator (to Frank): I always do this kind of thing. I was in a strike out in Jersey, quite a while ago now. I was arrested nine times in one strike. I broke the record. The president of the union, he was giving me competition, but he only got arrested eight times. *(indicating his wooden-handled poster.)* I'm gonna have trouble with this thing here, they're going to say, 'You can't take that'.

Jane: It's an offensive weapon.

E.D.: I'm gonna try and tear it off of the stick here, because they really won't let me carry this thing, it's too good a weapon. I don't blame them; in their position I would make the same rule.

*

Frank (to Demonstrating Scientist): Hullo! Hullo! How do you feel about what's going on?

D.S.: I'm all for it!

F.: What is your expectations here?

D.S.: Nil.

Frank: Nil?

D.S.: As Jean-Paul Sartre said, France demonstrated on the Left Bank to try and stop the Algerian war, they demonstrated and demonstrated and didn't accomplish anything, and finally De Gaulle came to power and he ended the Algerian war. Nevertheless, it was the only moral and ethical thing to do. . . . But I think it's also training future cadres. . . .

*

SCENE: Outside the station, as demonstrators file onto buses taking them to the rallying point.

Frank (to a photographer in plain clothes): Say, excuse me, I noticed that you were taking pictures of the passengers that were going into the bus there, and that you have a transmitter in the glove compartment of your car here—do you want to say anything?

Photographer (no answer).

Frank: . . . and now he's smiling with the two policemen who are standing there. . . .

*

SCENE: Rally at the Lincoln Memorial, Washington.

Frank (to WOMEN STRIKE FOR PEACE member): What do you think will be the effect of this?

WSFP member: Well, I think the effect will be very good . . . the Administration is so worried about all of us coming to Washington, having all the soldiers and the sailors and the police out here, they're mighty worried, and I think this is going to make them worry some more.

*

Girl Demonstrator: Don't ask me any questions.

Frank (undaunted): What do you see as the expectations of this thing?

Girl: The expectations? Oh, mass orgy.

*

A Voice: Posters of Che Guevara, 25 cents!

*

Dr. Spock: We do not consider the Vietnamese people, North or South, the enemy. . . . The enemy, we believe in all sincerity, is Lyndon Johnson.

(Loud applause.)

*

Frank (to an Odd Man Out): I'm interested in your sign: 'NAPALM HANOI'.

Odd Man Out: Yes, it isn't quite in tone with the majority of the gathering here.

Jane: Why do you say napalm particularly?

O.M.O.: This is a symbolical statement for using our full technological and military science . . . we should of course try humanely first by using the psychogases and things like that but . . .

*

SCENE: On the march to the Pentagon.

Frank (to onlooking Park Fuzz): What do you think of this demonstration?

P.F.: I think everybody in there is offen their heads. If something like this would do any good, it would be fine, but it don't do no good. Waste of the taxpayers' money. This demonstration's cost way over a million dollars; right out of the taxpayers' pocket. This is doing no good.

Frank: What do you think would be a good . . . ?

Park Fuzz: I think if every boy out there would go join the army and go over and help out it would end quicker.

*

SCENE: The Pentagon grounds. A group carrying NLF flags (as well as sticks and axe-handles) breaks away from the main body of demonstrators and makes towards the Pentagon at a run.

Chorus: NLF! We'll win! NLF! We'll win!

Frank (to an NLF guy): You actually expect a battle with the police?

NLF Guy: You're damn right!

*

The NLF sally is brought to a halt by a line of Military Police and US Marshals with helmets and truncheons.

Demonstration Marshal: It's been non-violent so far, we should keep it that way.

Demonstrator: WHAT? What did you say?

Marshal: It's been non-violent so far, we should keep it that way.

D.: In other words, keep it any way they want it. Right?

M.: No, the way *we* want it. If you want violence, go to Vietnam.

Chorus: We want in! We want in!

*

Marshal: Move back. Move back. Move back.

Demonstrator: Shut up.

*

Frank (to a muscular, short-haired college kid who has come to see the fun): This is a representative minority of people who have not swallowed the line that you get in all the public media. But you have, apparently . . .

Muscular Kid: I haven't swallowed anything . . . I don't think we're in there to help the Vietnamese, I think we're in there to help the United States; and I think that's very nice. I think if we can stop communism . . .

Jane: What's communism?

M.K.: Its, a revolutionarymaterialistic ideology usedbyitsadherents tojustifytheir effortstoseizepower byanyandallmeans for theestablishmentofaworldwide totalitarian socialorder.

Jane: What's your ideology then?

M.K.: Democracy.

J.: What does that mean exactly?

M.K.: That means I'm for freedom. I'm for the United States.

*

Enter soldiers with rifles, to reinforce the line of MPs and US Marshals.

Jane (to a Marine in civvies, who like two-three hundred others, just happens to be around): What do you reckon they've got those guns for?

Marine: They're airborne troops.

J.: Yes, what've they brought the guns for, though? In what circumstances would they shoot us?

M.: They wouldn't.

J.: Why the guns then?

M.: Well, an M 14 weighs about 11 pounds, and you get an 11-pound butt on your head, it's gonna hurt.

J.: Oh, I see.

M.: They don't have to use shells or anything like that. Simple — er — manoeuvres with a rifle will put out a person quicker than a bullet will.

J.: What kind of an effect will a rifle butt on the head have? Smash your skull? It might kill, mightn't it?

M.: It could, yes.

*

Chorus: Hell no! We won't go! Hell no! We won't go!

*

SCENE: On an access road beside the Pentagon. Later.

Jane: They're clubbing them! They're clubbing them! They're using their fucking sticks. . . . Oh, there's a guy on the ground there and the policeman—what's he doing, what's he doing? . . . They're pulling—he's got blood on his head, his head's all bloody. I think he's been . . . he's been bashed on the head pretty brutally. He's got bruises on his face. Wow, that guy has blood all over the back of his head, he's been really smashed! . . . Oh, wow! . . .

Frank: Oh, somebody's really hurt!

Jane: Oh, wow; there's somebody lying on the ground—

A Voice: Murderers!

Jane: What are they doing?—um—OK, this guy's being loaded on a stretcher. I can't see where he's hurt. The police are carrying him off, on the stretcher. . . . There's a guy here with gas cylinders on his back . . . oh, gee, I've seen nothing like this before. They're getting angry and we're getting angry. . . . What are they doing now, what are they . . . ? LEAVE HIM ALONE! YOU BRUTES—STOP! There's blood all over the back of his head, his hair's all bloody and they're pulling him around. . . . Someone just got a policeman's helmet off and chucked it on the ground. This guy's still struggling, he's still fighting and they're pulling him by his bloody hair. They've got their truncheons up again. Wow, don't you dare hit that . . . OH, LEAVE HIM! LEAVE HIM ALONE!

A US Marshal: Back it up. Back it up.

Jane: They're getting really brutal now,oh, they're bashing away with their sticks.

A PS Marshal (having blood on his knuckles): Back it up. Back it up.

Voices: Blood on your hands! . . . Blood on your hands . . . Bastards! . . . He has no feelings, no emotions, why bother? . . . brainwashed. . . .

Jane: Oh, I saw that. They're wielding their sticks with a vengeance now, just going club club.

(Suddenly, POP!)

Jane: A tear-gas bomb's exploded now. The cops haven't got their masks on yet, so it may have been accidental. The cops are getting a bit nettled now, a bit rattled. The cops themselves are coughing, running away from the smoke-bomb. One's lost his hat! They're putting their gas masks on now.

A Demonstrator: The gas spreads very quickly.

Frank: They've got gassed!

Jane: They've got gas masks, they're all right. . . . Wow, here it comes. The gas is spreading very fast.

A Demonstrator: Don't run. Don't run.

Another Demonstrator: Tear gas gets you high!

Jane: This stuff is really stinging my chest and my lungs, making my eyes water and my nose run. It stings inside the lungs, this stuff . . . nasty painful stuff. . . . Well, I'm learning things, I'm certainly learning things about gas warfare and police violence and what the establishment's really made of . . . *(cough, cough)* . . . this is nasty stuff.

*

Dusk falls. At the far end of the road we are standing on, a troop of soldiers appear, bayonets showing against the skyline. They lower their bayonets and advance towards us, clump, clump, uttering strange cries. As they get closer, we notice that the bayonets are sheathed. They come right up to us and stop in a ragged line, bayonets pointing outwards. We gather in a line facing them, a yard or two away. One or two seem to be grimly enjoying themselves, most look sick and scared, and at least one is blinking very hard. . . .

A girl starts to go along the line of soldiers, offering a flower to each one in turn, and looking sadly into his face. The soldiers try to stare stoney-faced in front of them, while officers run up and down behind them, patting them on the back, trying to calm them. The girl stops in front of one soldier, and just stands there proffering the flower, tears on her face. Two officers stand behind the man, each with a hand on one of his shoulders; they seem worried about something. The arm holding the bayonet stiffens, relaxes, stiffens again, as the soldier tries desperately to look unconcerned. Suddenly he is grabbed by the scruff of his neck and hauled back out of the line, and another man shoved in his place—a little squat guy who looks real tough. After a few seconds, the girl lays the flower at his feet and runs away, crying.

* * * *

POSTSCRIPT

Radio Newscaster: 'The Pentagon has denied categorically that tear gas was used.'

FRANK & JANE CORRIGAN.

The Martinets

POWER TENDS TO CORRUPT, but blue armbands corrupt absolutely. There's an obvious paradox implicit in any protest against militarism which requires being regimented into marching ranks by self-designated peace marshals, and being ordered to close up the gaps, link arms, straighten the lines out, etc., etc. At one point during the October 21 protest in Washington, I heard some megalomaniac on the mike at the Lincoln Memorial actually commanding people to double time. Later, in the parking lot at the Pentagon, there was an absolute psychopath shrieking—ostensibly at the panic of the crowd immediately in front of him. Yet the only thing coming over the speaker system was his own arrogant frenzy.

These Jekylls and Hydes, however sincere, aren't doing any good whatsoever except for their own egos. Somehow concomitant with donning their sacred blue armbands comes the contemptuous conviction that none of their fellow demonstrators could possibly negotiate their way across the bridge to the Pentagon unless herded, harassed, hounded, and hollered at. Their own dedication is what makes it worse. When Marx dreamed up his inane notion of the withering away of the state, Malatesta pointed out that evil men will never give up power and privilege for obvious reasons, but good men are even worse: they'll insist on staying in office for the benefit of the people.

One time years ago at a demonstration at the Atomic Energy Commission some crazy lady was insisting in all seriousness that we should line up in height formation. And on the opening day of the World's Fair a CORE picket captain pulled me physically out of the path of a police wagon on its way to make arrests. Conversely a relatively perceptive police sergeant once finished instructing a group of us how we should line up to picket and then sort of apologized with, 'I know that's what you're against.' However, I didn't see him in Washington.

Admittedly the marshals there were only following their instructions—the old Eichmann cop-out—but these instructions should never have been given originally, and if given should have been refused. Furthermore marshals end up with a terrible ego hang-up so that smartly dressed up ranks become the most important thing in the world to them, and anything to the contrary is taken as a personal affront. Yet in the final analysis it doesn't matter how closely we resemble a drill team. *Time Magazine* will still describe us as an unruly mob.

I entered into a goodly number of dialogues with individual marshals about what they were doing, and more important, what they were becoming. Some of them seemed to see the point and tamed down as a result, whereas others gave me quite a bit of static. One fellow seemed to think I was merely having him on, but had inadvertently stumbled on a profound truth. He proceeded to explain it back to me very solemnly.

My foursome joined the main body of walkers at several different points, though naturally we refused to goose-step for peace. Whenever a marshal opened his mouth one of my companions would yell, 'De-escalate the marshals,' at the top of his lungs, or else start shouting out in exaggerated military cadence, 'Hep, two, three, four. . . .' He invariably received reactions of approval from all those around us, so obviously our resentments were shared.

In effect marshals are only scabbing on the cops, and about the only thing lower than a cop is a scab. Certainly the lowliest of scabs is a cop-scab. Tragically the organizers of demonstrations can't face the fact that all this regimentation is not only superfluous, but also downright harmful and ineffective: harmful because it turns people into leaders and led; ineffective in that arm-linked sheep aren't the ones who make it into Pentagons, but rather individuals acting on their own, with imagination and verve. Were the organizers to concede this, their own egos would be pulverized, but if they can't exhibit more confidence in their fellow-man than they do, they should quit calling themselves radicals.

Even if it took twice as long to walk to the Pentagon in self-organized spontaneity as it does under the aegis of these pseudo drill sergeants, it would still be better because freer. However I would be willing to bet that all of us could have arrived there without mishap, sans marshals, with no appreciable difference in time, and if anything in less time. Rather than provide marshals to perpetuate all this authoritarianism, the radical peace movement is under both an ethical and a practical obligation to provide anti-marshals to stand beside the official ones and shout offsetting suggestions and stimulating questions. Until the peace movement stops acting exactly like what it's supposed to be against it will get nowhere. Worse yet, if it does achieve any short-run successes, it in turn will have to be overthrown.

R.S.C.

MAN & HIS LIBERTY

THE RUSSIAN ANARCHISTS by Paul Avrich (Princeton). 303 pages, 16 plates, bibliography, 60/-.

OF ALL THE SPATE of works on anarchism, anarchist movements and personalities to have appeared over the past 10 years, Avrich's must have few rivals as the best and most important. Its publication, 50 years after the Revolution, testifies to the growing awareness among historians that the Bolsheviks were not the only revolutionary movement in Russia before 1917, and that also, in Avrich's own words: 'If one is to appreciate the true range and complexity of the Revolution of 1917 and the events that followed in its wake, the role played by the anarchists must be taken into account.' The author is obviously sympathetic to the Russian anarchists and has used, as sources for his book, reminiscences, pamphlets and articles written by actual members of the movement, painstakingly gleaned from private collections or library archives. Indeed he finishes his introduction with a quotation from Berkman's Russian diary, 'Bolshevism is of the past. The future belongs to man and his liberty.'

Avrich begins his narrative with an account of the background of unrest which prevailed in Russia around the turn of the century; the early struggles of the oppressed, growing proletariat (which numbered over three millions by 1905), the fitful but volcanic uprisings of the land-hungry peasantry, and the alienation of the students, which found outlet in agitation and terrorism. It was in this stormy period that the Russian anarchist movement was born, in the borderlands of the west and south-west; for although there had been attempts by emigres—e.g., the Bakuninist Russian Brotherhood in the 1870s and groups of Kropotkinists in the 1890s to spread propaganda and form federations inside the country they had come to nothing. Only in 1903 did certain individuals, disillusioned with the moderation of the Socialist Revolutionaries and with the Social Democrats (at this time splitting into Mensheviks and Bolsheviks), break away and begin to seek their ideology in the native anarchist teachings of Bakunin and Kropotkin.

The author then digresses to give an adequate and sympathetic account of the theories of both these men, who properly belong not to Russian but to European history. Bakunin left Russia in 1840, aged 26, only returning when handed over to the Tzarist authorities and spending six years in prison, after which he escaped and left for good. Kropotkin also escaped from a Tzarist prison in 1876, and was an emigre until 1917, when he returned, to have little direct influence upon the native movement.

THE 1905 REVOLUTION

Swept forward on the rising revolutionary tide, the first anarchist groups began disseminating propaganda smuggled in from the west. The most important of the early groups was in the city of Bialystok, where ample printing and bomb-making facilities existed. When the Revolution finally erupted, this federation had 200 adherents and others existed in such provincial centres as Odessa and Ekaterinburg. The Revolution gave a great impetus to the movement and, according to one member of the Bialystok group, federations 'sprang up like mushrooms after a rain'. In most Russian towns the same pattern was repeated: ex SRs and SDs would form a group, smuggle in propaganda and embark upon agitation, assassination and the fomenting of strikes. The peak strength of the movement, in the years 1905-7, Avrich estimates at 5,000 activists and a larger body of sympathisers who would read anarchist literature and participate in demonstrations. However, the full potential of these numbers could not be brought to bear since they were concentrated on the peripheries of the Empire, and almost non-existent in Moscow and Petersburg.

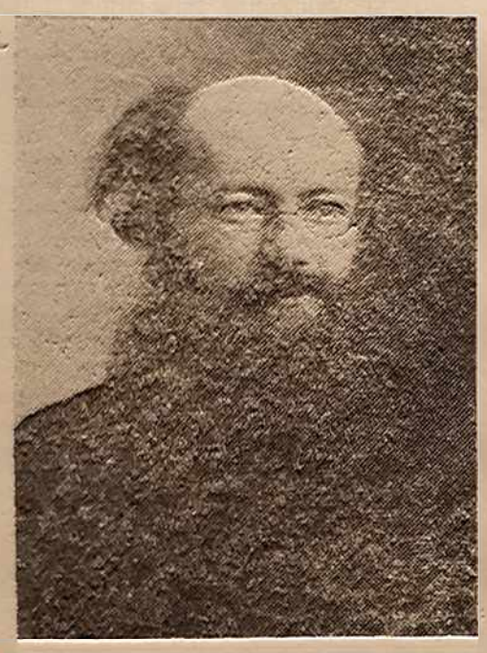
CONCEPTIONS OF THE STRUGGLE

Influence was also limited due to the tactics employed by the movement's adherents. Terror is a very touchy subject in anarchist circles, and Avrich is to be complimented on not dismissing the Russian terrorists as deranged lunatics. Mostly these early anarchists concentrated on 'propaganda by deed' and neglected the work of organizing the masses in the actual struggles which they were waging, and failed to penetrate the expanding labour movement to any degree. Groups such as the 'Black Banner' began to make it very difficult for capitalists, landlords and officials to stay alive, or at least avoid contributing generously to the revolutionary cause. But these deeds, born of anger at injustice, were largely self-defeating: for, if many a member of the ruling-class met death when his office was dynamited or his cafe bombed, an equal number of terrorists met theirs by rope, firing-squad or by their own hands when cornered. Perhaps each side lost 4,000 dead in the years 1905-7.

However, at the same time, a smaller, but rapidly growing group, the Anarcho-Syndicalists, were meeting with marked success among the working-class. The South Russian group of Anarcho-Syndicalists soon claimed a membership of 5,000 (undoubtedly exaggerated) in the Ukraine, and others gained a foothold in the Moscow workers' movement. The victory of reaction was not a total defeat for the anarchists since, out of all their struggles, they now had a coherent strategy. Avrich comments: 'The aftermath of the revolution saw a rapid shift from the romanticism of terroristic deeds to a pragmatic strategy of mass action.'

REACTION

The fortunes of anarchism varied with those of the Russian revolutionary movement as a whole, and was at a very low ebb from 1907-17, when the country was held in the grip of reaction. Hundreds were imprisoned, hundreds more executed, while the rest fled into exile. The emigres kept the movement alive by publishing papers, organizing relief for those in prison, and exposing the crimes of Tzarism to the West. Kropotkin published an indictment of the reaction, *The Terror in Russia* (1909), and sometimes visited the large colony of emigres in Paris, who issued various publications during these difficult years.



Peter Kropotkin

The first glimmerings of revival were felt in Moscow around 1911, where students began distributing propaganda in factories in and around the city; forming tiny cells in the major works and keeping in contact with the emigres. On the outbreak of war, Kropotkin caused a crisis in the international anarchist movement by coming out in support of the Allied cause. Unlike the majority of anarchists in Western Europe who opposed his position, the Moscow group remained loyal to him, whereupon a minority broke away and distributed leaflets, calling for the imperialist war to be turned into a social revolution. Both groups seem to have been effectively silenced by the authorities.

ANARCHISTS IN THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Between the overthrow of the Tzar and the final consolidation of the Bolshevik state by the slaughter of 10,000 Kronstadters—a period of four years—the strength of the Russian anarchists was at its height. Large groups began to appear, not only in the provinces, as in 1905, but in Petersburg and Moscow, the very centres of the revolutionary storm, as well as in Kiev, Odessa and the Donetz basin. At first the anarchists hailed the February Revolution—a spontaneous rising of all sections of the oppressed—as the social revolution, but soon became disenchanted with the Provisional Government and began calling for its overthrow; urging that the Revolution be carried forward and the state and capitalism totally destroyed. Strangely enough, of all the other socialists, only Lenin held a position somewhat similar to this, which he expounded in his *April Theses*. Once he had won the rest of the Bolsheviks over to his view, Avrich sees the anarchists working almost hand-in-hand with them until October—'Their slogans were often identical (due to Bolshevik expropriation —*i.r.m.*) and there developed a certain camaraderie between life-long antagonists. . . .' However far this co-operation for the overthrow of the Provisional Government extended, it would be wrong to believe that the anarchists had lost the deep distrust of the Bolsheviks which had animated them since 1903 and that was to prove so well-founded.

The author gives comprehensive accounts of various pre-October events, including the Dornovo villa affair and anarchist influence and participation in the 'July Days', an abortive attempt to overthrow Kerensky and his government.

During the summer of 1917, the exiles were flocking back to Russia, their demands adding even further to the impatience and ardour of the Russian people for more drastic action. Kropotkin was given a tumultuous welcome at the Finland station, but because of his war attitude found himself, according to Avrich 'virtually isolated from the renascent anarchist movement inside Russia'. As the year passed the country's economic life was everywhere passing into the control of the factory committees and soviets, and it was apparent that Russia stood poised on the brink of a new and further-reaching revolution, unprecedented in the history of mankind. Both the Bolsheviks and anarchists supported the movement for workers' control and both grew in strength as a consequence. However it was the Bolsheviks, with their better organization and will to control the labour movement, who profited most. But the anarchist movement had gained a significant national following—estimated at 10,000—in federations as far apart as Vladivostok and Kiev. A much greater number of workers and intellectuals were sympathetic to the anarchists, and the daily paper of the Petersburg federation alone sold 25,000 copies.

In the downfall of the Provisional Government anarchists actively worked with the Bolsheviks and left SRs to bring about the most momentous event in the history of man—the seizure of power by the working-class. But dissensions were not long in appearing. The anarchist papers were soon criticising attempts by the new rulers to subordinate the soviets and factory committees to the control of the Bolshevik Party and the peace of Brest-Litovsk. With only a weak grasp on power, the Bolsheviks were worried by the insistence of anarchist writers that 'a third and final stage' of the Revolution was approaching. Sporadic arrests by Cheka agents, and closure of papers, gave a foretaste of what was to come. With the emergence of the threat from the Whites, peace was made, and many anarchists gave their lives in the Red Army (or, as in the Ukraine, formed their own and worked with that of the Bolsheviks) until the defeat of the White counter-revolution, which was achieved by 1920.

The story of what happened afterwards has been well-documented elsewhere. The anarchists, or most of them (a minority supported the Bolsheviks, claiming that they were a necessary 'lesser evil'—most of these 'Anarcho-Bolsheviks' were killed or imprisoned by their Bolshevik friends after 1922 or so), began agitating for a 'Third Revolution', insisting that what had been installed was state capitalism—a new and worse form of tyranny. The Bolsheviks answered them just as Tzarism had—with arrests, executions and ruthless repression, for, as an anarchist tried in 1922 said, they were tyrants, and 'like all tyrants, dread criticism'. Many who had been freed from prison in 1917—e.g., Olga Taratutta—found themselves once more deprived of liberty.

In spite of these things, the 'Third Revolution' (which it is not necessary to outline here*) *did* occur—in the Ukraine, in Tambov, in Petersburg and Kronstadt; but was bloodily defeated. The movement was utterly annihilated, leaving the exiles and prisoners to finish their lives in the despair of defeat and, often, bitter loneliness. I can think of no better way to end this review than by quoting the final remarks on the Russian anarchists which Avrich makes in his book, a book destined to find its place among the major works on anarchism:

'The success of the Bolshevik revolution deprived the anarchists of much of their support, both within the rank-and-file of the labour movement and among the intellectuals, many of whom accepted the jobs held out to them and thus became "Soviet anarchists". The majority, however, remained true to their faith . . . showering abuse upon the premises and consequences of "scientific socialism". Again and again they warned that political power is evil, that it corrupts those who wield it, that government of any kind stifles the revolutionary spirit of the people and robs them of their freedom. At the same time they clung to their hope that ultimately their ideals would triumph for humanity as a whole. "All Russia is dark in the long Arctic night", wrote Grigorii Maximoff in 1940, "but the morning is inevitable. And Russia's dawn will be a dawn of the toiling people of the whole world. We joyously greet its approach".'

*See *Anarchy* 72. I. R. MITCHELL.

Filling the Vacuum

THE DIRECT ACTION pamphlet 'Syndicalists in the Russian Revolution', by G. P. Maximoff, is not a detailed chronicle of the events of the period, but it does give an account of the anarcho-syndicalist movement and the influence it had on the Russian people.

The February revolution arose spontaneously and from it were organised the Factory Committees, which carried out the programme of 'workers' control' advocated for so long by the anarcho-syndicalists. Although their influence on the Russian people had been very small before the revolution, the ideas of decentralisation and workers' control filled a need of the time. They were readily taken up, spontaneously, one could say, because they fitted the logic of the situation that the workers faced.

Anarcho-syndicalist propaganda was shown, very clearly, to be successful by the 'wave of seizures of enterprises and the organisation of **Workers' Management**'. 'The most talked-of event of the kind at that period was the expropriation, under the direct influence of Anarchist Zhuk, of the Shlisselburg gunpowder mills and agricultural estates, both of which were then organised on anarchist principles. Such events recurred even more frequently, and on the eve of the October Revolution they came to be regarded as a matter of course.'

Anarcho-syndicalists played an active part both in the Factory Committees and in the trade unions. However it was mainly in the former that they concentrated their energies. This direct and indirect influence was so extensive that a number of bourgeois and socialist papers attacked the anarcho-syndicalists in their publications. The Social Democrats even published a special pamphlet to counter this ever-growing influence.

With the October Bolshevik takeover, they and the Left Social Revolutionists made up the majority at the First Trade Union Convention. Maximoff says, 'It signified the final victory of the trade unions over the Factory Committees. The Bolsheviks subordinated the Factory Committees, which were federalist and anarchistic by nature, to the centralised trade unions.' An anarcho-syndicalist movement developed in a number of trade unions, such as the bakers' union of Moscow, Kharkov and Kiev, and the Postal and Telegraph Workers' union, but these and other unions which had adopted this stand were destroyed by the Bolsheviks.

Maximoff's pamphlet shows that despite a wide following and acceptance of the ideas of anarcho-syndicalism, the attempts to carry out a thorough-going social revolution were smashed by the Bolsheviks. There were not enough anarchists to achieve the goal and until there are, we will never be able to fill the vacuum that occurs when people overthrow the governments that oppress them.

I recommend this pamphlet, which can be obtained from SWF, 34 Cumberland Road, London, E.17, price 6d plus postage.

P.T.

Cavalier Treatment of Banford and Lovett

SAMUEL BAMFORD, passages in the Life of a Radical, with a Preface by Tim Hilton. The Fitzroy Edition: MacGibbon and Kee, 1967. 45s.

MACGIBBON AND KEE are reprinting a somewhat strange assortment of populist and semi- or quasi-populist literature in a general series called The Fitzroy Edition. Most of the reprints are of working class autobiographies; but one of the first three volumes to appear was George Dangerfield's brilliantly apocalyptical evocation of *The Strange Death of Liberal England*; and among those promised is the picture drawn of the First World War by one of the doyens of early twentieth century *Manchester Guardian* liberalism, C. E. Montague's *Disenchantment*—which, indeed, when I read it at the age of seventeen, made an important contribution to my education in the absurd inhumanity of war.

But what do these and similar works, however important, have in common with the autobiographies of Samuel Bamford, William Lovett, Thomas Cooper, Joseph Arch, Tom Mann and the rest? A further mystification of the publishers' purpose is achieved by the strange practice of abridgement which at its worst—in the edition of Joseph Arch's autobiography—results in the wholesale and unspecified omission of speeches and extracts from contemporary newspapers; but also in the editions of Lovett's and Bamford's autobiographies—I have not examined all the other volumes carefully—concluding chapters are omitted for no very obvious reason. This cavalier treatment of authors whom the publishers and the editor have thought worthy of being reprinted is more likely—so it seems to me—to alienate those who are already interested in these works than to gain the attention of those who are not.

But perhaps these are the objections of the pedant. But then again perhaps some sort of pedantry is necessary if we are to attain that serious understanding of our English heritage which these reprints seem to invite: surely scholarship at least may be useful. My own desire for scholarship, at any rate, is disconcerted by the various nature of the introductions to The Fitzroy Edition. Research into the Chartist period has made a lot of progress since Tawney wrote the essay (in the 1920s) which is reprinted in the edition of Lovett's autobiography; the preface to Bamford's *Passages* is interesting and knowledgeable—and, if I may be excused some name-dropping, Edward Thompson thinks that it is a better introduction than the pedantic essay with complete bibliographic apparatus which W. O. Henderson has written for the more expensive facsimile reprint which Frank Cass have also recently done, of two volumes, of Bamford's *Early Days* and *Narrative of The Trial and Imprisonment* as well as of the *Passages*. But all the same I wish that Tim had added to the charm of his appositely anecdotical introduction some more solid encouragement and guide to the awakened interest of his prospective reader; endeavouring to discount as far as possible my own passion for bibliographical reference, I think that a short bibliography would have given strength to his impressionistic sketch without in any way detracting from its sweetness. If not he, then his editor or his publishers are to blame for not having the courage to believe that there is a general public who have an interest in the past and that their deepest desire is that this interest be informed even while they so often acquiesce in the titillation which irritates and finally destroys.

One thing we can learn from the popular success of the famous Liverpool sound is that the underground longing of all men for the appearance of the real and complete man is for a man who will be of a particular culture to the extent of being parochial: this is the hidden meaning of the Beatles' *Penny Lane/Strawberry Fields*. The Fitzroy Edition, for all the complaints that I have made of it, is useful in helping to give a local habitation and a name to our desire to know ourselves through sympathy with other men at other times and in other places; one wishes merely, that the project had been carried out more self-consciously and more boldly.

MARTIN SMALL.

'Give Flowers to the Rebels Failed'

IN HISTORICAL RETROSPECT, the classical syndicalist movement of the early decades of this century must be judged the great heroic movement of the proletariat. It was in and through this movement that proletarian socialism reached its apogee. Using and developing the organizations that the workers had built up to defend themselves against capitalist exploitation, the syndicalists sought the final emancipation of labour and the complete reconstruction of society in the proletarian image. Of all socialist movements, it was the only one that took seriously the injunction of the First International: *'the emancipation of the working classes must be won by the working classes themselves'*. In their strategy and tactics and, above all, in their vision of the future society, the syndicalists owed nothing to bourgeois theorists: the new world was to be made by proletarians for proletarians and using proletarian means. The defeat of classical syndicalism provides the essential clue to the understanding of subsequent developments: whatever else it may be and by whatever name it may be called, post-syndicalist socialism is *not* proletarian socialism. The eclipse of syndicalism represents the shattering of the proletarian dream.

The story of the Wobblies is, of course, the story of syndicalism in the USA. In the book under review* the story is retold by an independent observer who combines scholarship with readability and academic detachment with sympathy and insight. Here, for the general reader and a new generation of socialists, are the essential facts for an understanding and appreciation of the most crucial phase in the history of the American labour and socialist movement.

The 'founding fathers' of the Industrial Workers of the World—Big Bill Haywood, Vincent St. John, Daniel DeLeon, Father Hagerty and others—who launched the new organization in Chicago in June 1905 were a diverse group of dissident socialists and militant unionists. Inspired by the French syndicalists, they believed that working class power would be won by direct action culminating in a general strike, when the workers would seize their industries, lock out the employers, and establish the industrial republic. Their strategy of revolution, however, differed from that of the French syndicalists in two important respects: they insisted that the unions should be organized on an industrial and not on a craft basis; and they favoured the policy of dual unionism, i.e. the building of a militant union organization outside the existing union structure—in the USA, the American Federation of Labor.

These differences reflected the different situation in the USA compared with France. The decades immediately before 1905 had witnessed a spectacular development of American industrial capitalism. This was the classic era of the 'Great Robber Barons' and of the creation of enormously powerful capitalist trusts. Only if the workers organized themselves in One Big Union, subdivided on industrial lines, could they hope to match, argued the Wobblies, the new power of the bosses. The other idea, that of dual unionism, was a response to the realities of the situation in the American labour movement. The AF of L, dominated by Samuel Gompers with his policy of 'business unionism', offered no prospect of success for militants attempting 'to bore from within' on the lines pursued by Pelloutier and others in the French trade union movement.

In any case—or so it must have seemed in 1905—the future lay with an organization open to all workers and not with one confined, as the AF of L then was, to a mere 5% of the working class—a labour aristocracy of skilled craftsmen who could afford its high dues. The IWW consequently directed its appeal to, and achieved its greatest response from, the semi-skilled and unskilled workers—the Western miners, the Eastern textile workers, lumberjacks, construction workers, and migratory agricultural labourers. Many of these, as Renshaw points out, were first generation Americans—men and women carried to America on the second great wave of emigration from Europe and consisting for the greater part of workers from South and East Europe. They occupied a position in the American social structure below that of the earlier, largely Anglo-Saxon and Irish migrants. Negroes apart, they constituted the weakest, the poorest and the most oppressed sections of labour. In the IWW they found their first and most effective champion.

'The Wobblies'

The characteristics of its membership go a long way to explain both the strength and weakness of the IWW in its heyday. The Wobblies were mainly those who had not yet been 'integrated' in American society. Their origins, their modes of life, and the kinds of employment open to them made them peculiarly responsive to the Wobbly vision. The toughness and violence of their lives, together with the strong sense of mutual aid, camaraderie, and good humour characteristic of groups on the frontiers of society, are all reflected in the organization's early years. The resulting amalgam was distinctive; and the Wobbly ethos, captured in its many songs, retains its strong appeal down to this day. At the same time, such a 'clientele' proved extremely difficult to organize on any long-term basis. Perhaps as many as one million workers held IWW cards at some time in their lives; but the turnover of membership was high and only on rare occasions did the actual membership exceed 100,000. The experience at Lawrence illustrates this particular difficulty. In 1912, at

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn: IWW 'Rebel Girl' author of 'Sabotage'

the height of its influence, the IWW organized a strike of the textile workers in this Massachusetts town. Workers of 25 different nationalities—symbolic of America's 'melting pot'—were led to a brilliant victory in a nine-week strike which seemed to be the model of the social revolution in miniature. Threatened wage cuts were turned into wage increases for 30,000 workers. From a total of 200 in 1911, membership of the local IWW rocketed to 14,000 in 1912. But two years later the ranks of the revolutionaries had dwindled to a mere 400.

Given all the circumstances the surprising thing is not that the IWW failed but that it achieved so much in so short a time. High on the list of its successes must be placed its free speech fights of 1909-12. The Wobbly organizers found one of their best sources of recruitment in the 'slave market' sections of the Western big cities where the migratory workers gathered between jobs and were fleeced by employment offices and various labour sharks. The organizers' success soon frightened the businessmen into persuading the city authorities to pass ordinances banning IWW speakers from the streets. 'In answer to this challenge,' writes Renshaw, 'IWW organizers summoned footloose Wobblies from all over the country. Jumping rides on freight trains, riding the rails in boxcars, they would throng to the chosen town, asserting their right to freedom of speech, and assemble on improvised soapbox platforms at street corners everywhere. They would be quickly arrested. Before long the jails would be dangerously full of high-spirited men and women. Crowded prisons, congested legal timetables, and the high cost of paying extra police and feeding extra prisoners often drove desperate officials to scrap the anti-IWW ordinances. Then the whole process would start all over again.'

The technique of the free speech fights represented a significant contribution to the syndicalist armoury and showed the power that could be wielded by demonstrations and passive resistance—a power that has been shown again in our own day in the 'freedom rides' and 'sit-ins'. But the successes were bought at a price. The important long-term work of building up strong local unions was neglected. The Wobblies became identified in the public mind as a band of professional agitators, little more than a rabble, rather than what the vast majority of them were, 'decent working men, more perceptive and spirited than most, who revolted against intolerable working and living conditions; migrants unable to find permanent jobs using the only weapons they had at hand to assert the dignity of their labour'.

Savage Reprisals

The false public image of the Wobblies was sedulously fostered by the ruling class and laid the organization open to savage and bloody reprisals. The IWW did contain a few criminal members who joined the union, as Renshaw puts it, 'because it was the best way to separate the bindle-stiff from his bank roll'; and on occasions violence was used against scabs and blacklegs. But the IWW was in no sense committed to violence as a philosophy of life and none of its members was ever found guilty of planting dynamite or endangering life or property by acts of sabotage. The violence that was inseparably linked with the history of the early IWW was above all the violence of the ruling class in deadly fear of losing its power and privileges. The sorry story of the lynchings, the beatings-up, and the calculated frame-up trials of the Wobblies provides a clear vindication of the class theory of the state. When institutionalized violence would not suffice to scotch the revolutionaries, the authorities connived at the mob violence of bands of super-patriotic vigilantes. The spirit that animated most of the ruling class was well expressed by that 'robber baron', Cornelius Vanderbilt: 'Law! What do I care about law? H'aint I got the power?'

The wave of chauvinism that swept across the United States after she entered the war in 1917 provided the ruling class with an opportunity to deal its most savage blow at the Wobblies. In place of the earlier derisory tag that IWW stood for 'I Won't Work', the Wobblies were hailed as 'Imperial Wilhelm's Warriors'. The IWW had *not* in fact taken a clear stand against the war but this did not suffice to save it. In September 1917 the organization was raided by federal agents and 165 of its leaders indicted on charges of conspiracy against the state. The subsequent trial proved to be a monumental disaster for the organization which at one fell swoop found itself with most of its prominent leaders either in jail or—like Haywood—fled to the Soviet Union.

Direct or Political Action

Judicial persecution, however, was not the only cause of the IWW's decline. Factional struggles within the organization also played their part and became increasingly important. The first of such struggles centred round the question of political action and the personality of DeLeon. While by 1905 DeLeon had become converted to the strategy of direct action, he and his followers were not prepared to abandon political action altogether. DeLeon, it soon became clear, had accepted the compromise formula of the first convention—that the IWW should agitate on the political as well as the industrial field but should not affiliate with any political party—only because of the waning influence of his own Socialist Labor Party compared with the growing influence of the Socialist Party of America. The issue was resolved at the 1908 convention when the anarchist and syndicalist view emerged victorious. The original compromise formula was expunged; the IWW henceforth became a basically anti-political organization; and 'the Pope'—as DeLeon was called—went off to form his own (largely ineffective) IWW at Detroit.

If the political issue may be seen as a division between anarchists and syndicalists, on the one hand, and left-wing Marxists, on the other, the second issue, which was not so easily resolved, found the anarchists ranged against the syndicalists. Here the question was one of centralization and the nature of the organization's leadership. Broadly, the anarchists favoured decentralization, the maximum of local autonomy, and what was called 'collective leadership'. Their attitude was well expressed by a group of Western Wobblies when asked, 'Who is your leader?' The response was immediate and unmistakable, 'We are all leaders.' The syndicalists, in contrast, favoured centralization, emphasized working class solidarity rather than local autonomy, and wanted greater control by the union's General Executive Board. The syndicalists feared that the union was dissipating its energies in free speech fights and propaganda battles when what was needed was the building of a strong industrial union capable of grappling with the complex problems of organizing the unorganized, the foreign-born, the unskilled and the semi-skilled. To a large extent, Renshaw suggests, the two factions represented two different sets of interests within the Wobbly fold: the footloose, migratory workers of the lumber camps, mines and wheatfields of the South and West; and the immigrant workers in the great East Coast industries. Anarchistic principles of spontaneous organization worked well among the migratory workers but seemed ill-fitted for industrial towns like Lawrence and Paterson where the mass of partly assimilated immigrant workers needed firm direction to unite for industrial action on a permanent basis.

Joe Hill's Funeral Procession

Centralizers Win

By 1914 the centralizers had gained the preponderant influence and attempts were made to consolidate the organization. In the next few years the fundamental dilemma of syndicalism began to manifest itself. As the organization became more secure, it became more like an ordinary union, accepting all the responsibilities and compromises that a permanent mass membership imposes. It began to enter into the kinds of bargain and agreement with employers that it had scorned at the outset when its object had been, not to bargain with the bosses but to *impose* union law on them. (How the latter procedure operated in the early days among the miners of Goldfield, Nevada, was described by Vincent St. John: 'The minimum wage for all kinds of labour was $4.50 a day and the eight hour day was universal. . . . No committee was ever sent to any employers. The unions adopted the wage scales and regulated hours. The secretary posted the same on a bulletin board outside the union hall, and it was the LAW. The employers were forced to come and see the union committees.')

Had the war not intervened, it seems probable that the IWW would have carved out a place for itself in the industries ignored by the AF of L and which remained unorganized until the CIO was formed in the 1930s. If this had happened, it would have made itself the permanent spokesman of the semi-skilled and unskilled workers—but at the price of diluting its revolutionary objectives.

In the event, as we have noted, the war provided the ruling class with the opportunity to hound and persecute the organization. The Great Trial of 1918 had the effect of removing the most prominent centralizers from office and the imprisoned leaders tended to be replaced by decentralizing anarcho-syndicalists. But by this time a new factional issue had arisen: the question of the IWW's attitude to the Bolshevik Revolution and relations with the Communists. The GEB, after initially expressing sympathy for the Third International, rejected the idea of affiliating with the Red Trade Union International. Nevertheless, in the period 1920-24, Communist influence increased among the membership and eventually led to a split, with many of the best organizers quitting to join the Communist Party. The decentralizers remained firmly in control but of an organization which had become a mere shadow of its former self. By 1928 membership had dropped below the 10,000 mark and when a new general secretary took over at headquarters in 1932 he found that the union had exactly $29 in the kitty. The IWW, of course, still survives but as no more than one of 'the socialist sects'.

'Give flowers to the rebels failed.' This first line of an Italian anarchist poem translated by Vanzetti before he was judicially murdered in 1927 seems a fitting epitaph for the Wobblies. In its effective life of less than 20 years the IWW had made a notable contribution to labour history quite out of proportion to the size of its membership. It sowed the first seeds of industrial unionism in the USA and the crop was harvested later by the CIO. It fought a valiant battle for civil liberties, setting an example for radicals today. In Frank Little, Wesley Everest and Joe Hill it provided three of history's most famous martyrs in the cause of labour emancipation. It demonstrated in its own day the appalling viciousness of the capitalist ruling class. And in its songs, particularly those of Joe Hill and Ralph Chaplin, it gave poetic voice to Labour's yearning for final emancipation.

Rebels failed? Yes, indeed; and we still need to ponder and reflect on that failure. Now that the working classes of the advanced industrial countries have been almost completely integrated in the developing system of corporate capitalism, both private and public, the prospects of reviving the myth of the proletariat as the vehicle of the liberating revolution are dim. New instruments and new myths, perhaps even a completely new strategy of revolution, must be found. The ultimate vision, however, remains as unsullied as ever. This vision the Wobblies possessed with a blinding clarity rarely surpassed. In the last analysis, it is their firm grasp of this vision which has made the Wobblies immortal. It is the vision expressed in the verse of one of Ralph Chaplin's sweet and simple songs:

> For we have a glowing dream
> Of how fair the world will seem
> When each man can live life
> Secure and free.

G.N.O.

**The Wobblies* by Patrick Renshaw. (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1967, 45s.)

Black Power and Michael Black

I FIRST HEARD Michael Abdul Malik when he spoke to a cold fascist-packed audience at 'The Process'. He talked quietly in a relaxed and anecdotal man-to-man way, quite belying the demagogic patriarch the press has striven to fabricate (leader of Britain's Black Muslims). His concern to communicate was positively disarming.

Referring to Notting Hill Gate in 1958, he described being jumped in the street by a gang of whites and seeing nothing but white: 'When you cannot see a man's face this is important.' And of the early days of RAAS (Racial Adjustment Action Society) he wisecracked: 'I got me an organiser to organise and he had me 65,000 names and addresses and I never know any of them cats.'

OUT OF CONTEXT

The first thing to get straight about the trial of Michael Abdul Malik is that the prosecution lifted Michael's words out of context. In bits and pieces (and no whole copy of the speech exists) they sound uglier than Wilson on the Pound. Out of their spoken context, i.e. at the Rainbow Hall, Reading, last June, at a time when the Home Office had just expelled Stokeley Carmichael and negroes were firing and looting American cities. Out of their social context, i.e. a society where even politicians cannot deny the fact of discrimination.

Is the judiciary another race of beings? In all seriousness why did this trial take place? Because in this home of free speech the white majority, often unknowingly, are denying the whole truth and validity of the black man's experience, *a different experience to the white man's*. The 1965 Race Relations Act is a typically English attempt to sweep the dirt under a legal carpet. Roy Sawh, of UCPA, arrested at Speakers' Corner of all places, and four others are currently awaiting trial on the same charge as Michael.

SPEAKING FOR THEMSELVES

The number of coloured peoples' associations should remind whites that the days of people coming to the immigrant communities (or ghettoes) and telling them what to do are running out. For they have their own language and their own spokesmen and quite rightly they don't trust whites to speak for them. Hence also the tentative links between Black Power and 'the Underground'; hippies half-share their language and as an abused minority intuitively respect the black man's position.

The violent rhetoric is part of the black man's emotion and his whole frame of reference. To try to suppress it is to invite a more violent rage in time to come. 'Whitey' (an American term but for which there is a parallel character beneath English gentility/hypocrisy) is whoever denies the truth of these black emotions—and that includes most white men and even some black men—to wit, one Richard Cutting, a prosecution witness at the Reading trial; 10 years out of Barbados into Reading he took offence at Michael's speech. 'I didn't want you or no one to come and stir up trouble for us. We were quite happy and all right.'

INTEGRATION OUT

Black Power militancy rejects integration in favour of wait for it—not apartheid but revolution. 'There is no compromise position that I can ever come to with the existing system. I could not use their structure'—Michael in OZ interview. The fact that we live in a fragmented hierarchical society is crucial in maintaining prejudice; in such a society people are forever being told their places and divided against each other by the managers.

Immigrant workers have fewer illusions (not having been part of the blood and sweat that went into building the labour movement) about what Trade Unions will do for them than the white working class. At Southall, the white TU bureaucracy confirmed as official the strike of Indian and Pakistani workers but refused strike pay. At the Barbican I noticed white and black scabs, white and black pickets. In Islington black and white have combined against landlords and police brutality. In the Detroit riots white looters and snipers, though few, were fighting beside the black vanguard.

NOT MERELY RACE

Black Power will be misunderstood by all who try to isolate a 'race problem' ('the white problem'—*Anarchy* 59—and Michael has called it just that). Nor can the white man wriggle off the hook by pleading all minorities experience difficulties. Black Power is, among other things, a slogan which should rally those whose backs are being broken by Welfare Capitalism, the overworked and underpaid, the chronically unemployed and all minority groups after self-determination, economic and cultural.

Historically it has happened that the black man now has the spirit to find his oppression particularly intolerable. In England Black Power will increasingly draw its strength from the second generation, the sons of immigrants thrown out onto a discriminatory and competitive labour market, with no illusions to lose that the mother country is flowing with kindness, milk and honey.

I offer the above as a background to the trial of Michael Abdul Malik, a spokesman for RAAS.

'I think black people and white people should always rebel against oppression no matter what their colour'

RETRIAL

The Retrial of Michael* began with the Recorder declaring he would not stop the trial whether the jury were prejudiced or not. The Prosecutor, Mr. Jones, then lectured the jury on the purpose of the Race Relations Act, telling them what they must decide; what **did** the accused say; was it threatening, abusive or insulting; were the words likely to stir up hatred; and if they were, was that his intention. The prosecutor opined that Michael's speech was an attack on white people generally, not **some** but all, **because they were white.**

Eight witnesses were called, three from the press, three from the police, and two from the public. This time Michael let them all go without questioning. He recognised that the court was not interested in its true business, the credibility of the witnesses; and so he suggested that reading out five pages of contradictions and discrepancies in the transcript of evidence would only bore the court and went on to stake his defence on his address to the jury. In view of his quiet speaking voice he asked to be closer to the jury than the witness box allowed. The Recorder had to grant him a seat six feet from the jury, sharing the Recorder's bench. There was now no one between defendant and jury.

ABSOLUTION

First a little ritual that symbolically excluded that alien culture whose poker-faced representatives were about to judge him within their frame of reference, 'Do you wish to take the oath?' 'I speak nothing but the truth,' Michael replied. The Recorder passed him the Koran.

'Please sir, you are not supposed to touch that book so long as you are in a state of uncleanliness. It is Islamic Law. I will now have to go into a state of absolution. I will have to wash up to my elbows and from my knees downwards.'

The Recorder had no choice but to adjourn the court. When the court reassembled a policeman brought in a bowl of water and a robed black brother rose from the pit of the court and washed the Koran clean, exchanging Muslim words with Michael.

MICHAEL'S SPEECH

In the course of Michael's 90-minute speech of defence, the atmosphere perceptibly changed from that of a courthouse to the absolute quiet in which people can listen to a voice of prophecy. Michael began by explaining that there must be a reason why he was angry: he was reacting to the oppression of his people. 'I have no doubt that it was offensive to a lot of people what I'm saying. . . . They never think that there may be several shades of white. . . . I know this man has been trained to deal justice but I don't know if he understands. I am absolutely afraid because how can he sit down here and start judging me if he doesn't know me. He knows nothing about me. . . . When you say white man and I say white does it mean the same thing? . . . He in his experience is white and free, in my experience I am black and unfree. You may not see it this way but that's how I see it. You don't know what your wife feels inside of her when she is pregnant. . . . Please understand what I am trying to say, I know my words are not your words. You just **have** to understand. If you don't understand the future is frightening for your children and mine. . . . I am not interested in whether you tell me I am guilty or not. We are in prison all the time.'

Michael related how, during this trial, he had spent a night in Oxford goal. 'I walk into prison and I hear the prison officer talking on the landing: "There's 260 of you white monkeys on this landing and there's one of him." I know what that prison officer meant.

'If we allow ourselves to be led into a confrontation where the identification depends on the colour of skin then we are heading for a state of insanity.'

Here Michael recalled applying in Cardiff for a job as a deckhand. He was told, 'I'm sorry we don't mix our crews on deck'. 'This is still the practice. Those criminals should be right here answering for having given me my experience.'

As for the Race Relations Act: 'It is insane to think this will stop people talking about it and understanding each other. . . . We were robbed of our names, we had a religion that was taken from us. We had a heritage of culture and that was taken from us. That's why the West Indian is a facsimile of the Englishman. He is created in the image of the Englishman. What other aspirations can he have? . . . If I could get twelve of you to get thinking about the problems that exist in this country', and much more.

THE PROSECUTOR FAILS

Michael had made it impossible for anyone to speak after him **and** command attention.

The Prosecutor, bewigged, pompous and apoplectic, rose to his feet and went through his ugly motions. The court atmosphere returned, the air was again heavy with impatient shufflings.

'Mr. Malik, do you always mean the same things by the words you use? When you used the word killing, what did you mean by it?'

Michael replied: 'Your problem is that you keep trying to translate the American situation to this country.' The Prosecutor tried to interrupt him. 'You're going to let me finish talking, you understand I'm not playing any kind of game with you. Those days are over.' Michael declined to give the simple 'yes' and 'no' type answers the Prosecutor so desired in order to establish guilt. 'I'm not a robot, Mr. Jones. That just ain't happening, so forget it.'

'Mr. Malik,' said the Prosecutor, 'was your speech a sincere speech?'

'Look me in the eyes, Mr. Jones, raise your head, look at me. You get what I really feel.'

The Prosecutor would neither answer that one nor look him in the face.

'The question is terribly important. Please ask sensible questions,' Michael continued. Humiliated, utterly outgamed, the Prosecutor soon gave up his cross-examination. The court belonged to Michael had not the Recorder played the judiciary's trump card. He adjourned the court an hour early, trusting that the impression Michael had made would fade somewhat overnight.

THE RECORDER PROSECUTES

Not surprisingly next day the Recorder (Lincoln's Inn) shouldered the Prosecutor's mantle, the Prosecutor (Gray's Inn) having failed the establishment. Watched by his wife, who now sat on the bench where Michael had been the day before, the Recorder used his right to the summing-up to restate the case for the prosecution. The jury was fed a verdict. The Recorder resumed the Prosecutor's case in its entirety, understating where Mr. Jones had overstated. He could not afford to leave Michael's speech as it stood; so, in resuming it, he used the prosecution's trick of leaving out the most vital objections and definitions.

Finally one might note the tone of the Recorder's speech; the bogus veneer of unpartiality, cracking under the strain of his cynicism and hypocrisy, a drooping regretted tone broken by loaded asides. . . . 'A town where the coloured people are getting on well or fairly well . . . almost certainly what we call a chip on his shoulder . . . and of course you may think . . . if you believe that . . .' etc. The system is so arranged that, tell the truth as a man with courage may, the controllers, when challenged, never lack a means of misrepresentation to fall back on.

WARNING

Michael's last words to the Recorder between hearing the jury's verdict of guilty and being sentenced to 12 months prison, were a warning. 'You represent white justice and you have shown how you work it. My people now know how to deal with that from now on.' Many revolutionaries have done their best work from prison. 'It is a coloured man's job to go to prison. You get to know a lot in prison. A lot that will terrify the white man.'

Add to that an earlier answer he gave the Prosecutor, 'I think black people and white people should always rebel against oppression no matter what their colour'.

FROST SHOW

A revealing aftermath to the trial was the appearance the same night on the Frost Show of two of Michael's co-workers in RAAS. The establishment's licensed jester had rigged the play-space well: a vociferous Uncle Tom on the front seat and a telephone link-up between himself and the newly-elected negro Mayor of Cleveland, Ohio, Carl Stokes (Stokes is the liberals' delight, speaks whiter than Persil, witness his 'God bless America'). As for his two guests, Frost avoided any response that might commit him personally and was more mindful of his mass audience and 'the issue' than the two human beings sitting beside him. All of which went to show that TV is as much a white man's medium as the English courtroom and that revolutionaries can do without this kind of publicity. Continued misrepresentation should drive genuine revolt underground. Anarchists may recognise an **existential** kinship with today's protagonists of Black Power: human relationships are only human so long as they remain personal.

QUESTIONS

It is too soon to say how power will corrupt Black Power. Will the militants over-reach themselves? And the main danger here, as I've tried to show, is that the mass media will misrepresent them. Michael's trial being a case in point. Talking big can attract the wrong kind of attention. Most important, when will the mass, black and white, be sufficiently alienated and exploited to follow the militants? And would a mass following act by the letter (towards vengeance) or in the spirit (towards consciousness)? These are questions revolutionary anarchists will consider.

GUY GLADSTONE

*See FREEDOM (11.11.67) for report of original trial.

LEFT—RIGHT ! LEFT—RIGHT !

THE LEFT, edited by Gerald Kaufman (Anthony Blond).

ANTHONY BLOND are publishing a new series of books on various aspects of contemporary society with the general title 'The Great Society'. This phrase has been used by President Johnson as his contribution to the New Deal-Fair Deal-Square Deal-New Frontier tradition of Democratic Party elections slogans, but contemporary America *is* great, at least in size, wealth, power, and problems. Wilson's Britain is not, and I don't know what the title is meant to mean. (I prefer the original use of the phrase, as the name of semi-secret mass movement which culminated in the Peasants' Revolt of 1381.)

What about the books themselves? They deal with such things as the use of computers, the civil service, class, modern Judaism, fringe religions, and unit trusts. One of the early ones which might be expected to be more interesting to readers of FREEDOM is a collection of essays called *The Left*, which is edited by that star of television screen, political journalism, and abuse in *Private Eye*, Gerald Kaufman.

The Left isn't really about left as we might think of it. The publisher, the editor, and five of the eight contributors are or have been or have stood for election as Labour MPs or councillors, and the editor's preface explains that 'the essays in this book between them help to explain how Labour arrived at its present position, and look forward to where the Party may—or should—go next', and that 'all the authors have written with the fact of Labour in power as their starting point'. The left is defined in terms of the Labour Government, the Labour Party, and the official Labour Movement.

The essays themselves aren't bad, as far as they go, though they really belong to newspapers or magazines rather than a book. Ian Aitken, a political journalist and former Labour candidate, describes the structure of the Labour Party in suitably ironical terms; everyone who has belonged to the Party will endorse most of his factual statements (though they may be puzzled to hear that Wilson has 'abandoned Mr. Gaitskell's aim of personal domination over party policy') though not so many of his comments (for example, he regrets that there was no 'willingness to compromise' in the struggle over nuclear disarmament, without explaining just how one compromises over having the Bomb or not having it), and it is significant that his detailed discussion of Party affairs omits the crucial point that Party membership is at its lowest since 1962 and is still falling.

Ian Coulter, an industrial journalist and former Labour candidate, describes the relationship of the trade unions with the Labour Party—or rather the relationship of the union leaders with the Party leaders, since he says nothing about the rank-and-file of either—but he does not describe the relationship of the trade unions with the left. R. L. Leonard, a political journalist and former Labour candidate, describes the relationship of the Co-operative Societies with the Labour Party—or rather, the subordination of the Co-operative Party to the Labour Party—with an account of the capture of the London Co-operative Society by the Communist Party between 1960 and 1963, but he does not describe the relationship of the Co-operative movement with its own members, let alone the left.

Ian Waller, a political journalist, describes the left-wing press, concentrating on the liberal and moderate socialist press, such as the *Observer, Guardian, Daily Mirror, Sun, New Statesman*, and *Tribune;* he gives a quick list of the 'fringe papers' (including FREEDOM and *Direct Action*, but not *Anarchy* or any of the papers of the unilateralist movement), and his only mention of *Peace News* is to make the point that its 'East European advertising' is a 'useful source of revenue'! Francis Hope, a literary journalist, reprints a superficial essay from *Encounter* on the 'intellectual left'. Llew Gardner, a general journalist, describes the 'fringe left', concentrating on the Communist Party and the Socialist Labour League, with brief references to the Independent Labour Party and the Socialist Party of Great Britain; CND is twice called 'a genuine mass movement', but it is mentioned only in the context of the Communist Party's attitude to it, and there is no mention of the radical wing of the unilateralist movement, of the anarchist movement, or of the libertarian left in general.

Roy Hattersley, the right-wing Labour MP, describes the 'new blood' of the Labour Party, bringing the recovery from the election defeat of 1959, the fight of Gaitskell against the majority of the Party, the Campaign for Democratic Socialism, the election of new Labour MPs in 1964 and 1966, and the Wilson Government together in some sort of unity which presumably explains how he was once a Gaitskell disciple and is now a Wilson disciple. Alan Watkins, the political journalist who has just moved from the *Spectator* to the *New Statesman* and is also a former Labour counciller, describes 'Labour in power' in characteristically ironical terms, concentrating on the change in Wilson's position from his old left-wing to his new pragmatic image and the repetition of the pattern of 1924, 1929-31, and 1945-51; he is fun to read, but it would have been better done by, say, Ralph Milliband.

I enjoyed the book, but it is really rather unsatisfactory. It isn't about the left, of course, but it isn't really about the Labour Party either, in any serious sense. It is all too journalistic and superficial to tell any of its readers anything worth knowing about the subject which can explain the present position of the Labour Government or its place in history. It's worth taking out of the library, but not buying for 30s. (hardback) or even 18s. (paperback).

N.W.

CONTROVERSY

THE ANARCHIST SCHOOL OF PREVARICATION

THE INTRODUCTION to the new *Solidarity* pamphlet (Ida Mett's *La Commune de Cronstadt*) seems to have annoyed some anarchists. In it we wrote that it was symptomatic of anarchist muddle-headedness 'that they can both reproach the Bolsheviks with dissolving the Constituent Assembly and the Kronstadt rebels for proclaiming that they stood for Soviet power'.

According to N.W. (FREEDOM, 18.11.67), this is a 'falsification of the anarchist position'. The charge is a serious one and warrants detailed rebuttal. In the course of this rebuttal it should become obvious that N.W.'s 'review' of our pamphlet is a prize example of that very muddle-headedness of which we complain.

N.W. says that 'the *Solidarity* pamphlet refers not to what anarchists in general say, but to what two particular anarchists have said at different times, in different places, and from different points of view'. This is true. It is also inevitable. It is inevitable because there is no such thing as a coherent anarchist system of ideas with which one can get to grips. One is therefore compelled to deal with what well-known self-styled anarchists have said or done at various times. The record speaks for itself. 'Falsification' would be quite superfluous.

When many anarchists were in gaol for their courageous opposition to the First World War, other anarchists were acting as drummer boys for their respective governments.* When most anarchists were already in gaol in Russia (in 1919 and 1920) other anarchists were still defending the Bolshevik regime or discussing joining the Communist International. While some anarchists made open apologies for Mussolini (arguing from anarchist 'principles'), other anarchists were rotting in Mussolini's gaols (rather a sick example of anarchist comrades being 'in different places' . . . at the *same* time). When anarchist workers occupied the streets of Barcelona during the May Days of 1937 to fight against the combined bourgeois-Stalinist counter-revolution, other anarchists (the comrade-ministers, the Casa CNT and the editors of *Solidaridad Obrera*) were doing all they could to get them to disperse (clearly an example of anarchists arguing 'from different points of view'). Today some anarchists will man a picket line while others argue the rights of scabs in terms of abstract freedom.

We are clearly guilty of the charge of not referring to 'anarchists in general'. But we plead mitigating circumstances, namely the impossibility of finding any such animal. We would add that a system of ideas so vague and amorphous that it can lead its adherents to different sides of the barricades every time they have to face the real events of history is not only the embodiment of 'muddle-headedness'. It is also quite useless to serious revolutionaries as a guide to action.

N.W. goes further however. He says that 'neither of the two anarchists (quoted in the *Solidarity* introduction to the Ida Mett pamphlet) actually said what the pamphlet attributes to them'. The 'two anarchists' referred to are N.W. and Voline. Is N.W.'s accusation valid?

(a) N.W. and the Dissolution of the Constituent Assembly

In FREEDOM (28.1.67) N.W. wrote: 'The Constituent Assembly, which was the result of the first (and last) free election in Russian history, was forcibly dispersed by the Communists in January 1918 because they had won only a quarter of the votes and a clear majority had been won by the Social Revolutionaries'. The wording clearly implies that this was something reprehensible. So does the context (the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly is part of a list of charges against the rulers of Russian society, ranging from the treatment of writers to antisemitism, from the Moscow Trials to the suppression of Kronstadt, from the Nazi-Soviet pact to the suppression of the Hungarian Revolution). In FREEDOM (28.11.67) the charges are repeated in almost identical terms. We have read and re-read these words. We are convinced that others will have read them, as we have, as implying criticism of what the Bolsheviks did in January 1918. We don't think there is any 'misunderstanding' on this score. If our inference is wrong—and N.W. really supports the forcible dissolution of the Constituent Assembly—he should say so. We will then alter our charge against him. We will withdraw the charge of muddle-headedness and replace it with that of muddled writing.

But what of the essence of the problem? In January 1918 the *real* alternatives were on the one hand the power of the old ruling classes (their last footholds were the Constituent Assembly, the political parties still represented there, and the ideas of hierarchy, domination and mystification implicit in this form of 'representation') and—on the other hand—the power of the soviets (by no means yet completely controlled by the Bolsheviks). Everything was in a state of fantastic flux.

The real fight for the social revolution was the fight for the autonomy of the soviets and for the extension of workers' power in production. This fight took place *within industry* and *within the soviets*—against all who sought to limit or circumscribe this power, including the Bolsheviks. The motto of *this* struggle was never the defence of the Constituent Assembly. Criticisms of the Bolsheviks for dissolving the Constituent Assembly was (and remains) the rallying cry of the bourgeois parties, of incorrigible liberals and of socialist parliamentary cretins of all kinds. Only those anarchists who refuse to think in class terms can remain befuddled on this issue. Most Russian anarchists at the time were in no doubts on the matter. It was in fact an anarchist (Zhelezniakov) who led the military detachment which dissolved the Assembly. This Kronstadt sailor was commandant of the Tauride Palace Guard. He quite literally unseated Viktor Chernov, President-elect of the Constituent Assembly (and one of those Social Revolutionaries about whom N.W. seems so concerned), with the peremptory command to vacate the chair. 'The Guard is tired,' he said.† We would be on his side. Would N.W.?

†*The Russian Anarchists*, Paul Avrich (Princeton, 1967), p. 156.

(b) Voline and the Concept of 'Soviet Power'

N.W. then accuses *Solidarity* of 'misquoting' Voline when we state he reproached the Kronstadt rebels their advocacy of 'soviet power'. Again, what are the facts?

Voline‡ states, of the Kronstadt rebels,

‡Voline, *the Unknown Revolution* (Freedom Press, 1955), p. 71.

that they 'still spoke of power, the power of the soviets, *instead* (our emphasis) of getting rid of the word and of the idea altogether'. To anyone whose head is not stuffed with mutually incompatible ideas, the word 'instead' clearly implies two alternatives. Unless one is an incorrigible chatterbox one does not mention alternatives unless to stress that one is preferable to the other. No amount of wriggling can get away from this. There is no doubt whatsoever as to which alternative Voline would have preferred the Kronstadt rebels to have adopted. *Instead* of speaking of 'soviet power' they should have 'got rid of the word and the idea altogether'. According to Voline the idea (of soviet power) was 'a last tribute paid to the past'.

Voline may have been right. Or wrong. (We think he was wrong.) But it is dishonest to pretend that he meant something other than what he said.

It is true that when talking of the Kronstadt rebels Voline patronizingly seeks to mitigate what in his eyes was the cardinal error of their ways (namely their advocacy of 'soviet power'). He plays down the seriousness of the offence by pleading mitigating circumstances for the offenders. He precedes his comments with references to the special circumstances in which they (the Kronstadt rebels) found themselves. But this in no way alters his central contention. The meaning of the passage we quoted is clearly the one we attributed to it (this is clear even in N.W.'s fuller quotation). N.W. appears to act on the old adage: 'When in doubt, claim you have been quoted out of context and hope that nobody will actually check what the context was'.

The Kronstadt rebels understood the need for soviets. They saw in them the new form of social organization which would allow the exercise of direct democracy to the proletarian and peasant masses of Russia. Their fight was against the Bolshevik domination of the soviets. It was not against the soviets as such—or against the concept of working class power. In our opinion this attitude—shared at the time by the 'soviet anarchists' and by many other revolutionaries—was a correct one. N.W. may disagree. But this is not, at the moment, the issue under discussion.

What, in summary, do N.W.'s strictures against the '*Solidarity* school of falsification' amount to? To little more than lather to cover up what is basically a liberal critique of the revolution, dressed up in anarchist phrases. The bubbles can easily be pricked. All that is needed is to think of the real problems that confronted real revolutionaries, and to stop dealing with abstractions.

When N.W. concludes that the '*Solidarity* group has an unrivalled record for the documentation as well as the practice of direct action', he should ask himself whether ideological coherence might have something to do with it. We are not anarcho-liberals, anarcho-fascists, anarcho-pacifists, anarcho-catholics, anarcho-Maoists, anarcho-hippies or individualist anarchists. When N.W. says that 'for some reason they feel they must prove they are not anarchists' he should perhaps look at the anarchist record and at the ideological incoherence covered by the word 'anarchist', for an explanation.

For the Editorial Board of *Solidarity*:

A.A., T.H., C.P., J.S. and K.W.

*And we don't only mean comrade Kropotkin! For a detailed study of anarchist support for the First World War, see Charles Fraval's *Histoire de l'Arrière* and Alfred Rosmer's *De l'Union Sacrée à Zimmerwald*.

N.W. REPLIES:

TO BEGIN WITH, I'm hardly a well-known self-styled anarchist, and I wasn't writing a review of the new *Solidarity* pamphlet on the Kronstadt rebellion. I was discussing a single paragraph in the introduction which falsifies the anarchist position in the controversy over the Russian Revolution, as one of the anarchists it refers to.

If it is true and inevitable that the *Solidarity* pamphlet refers to what particular anarchists say rather than to what anarchists in general say, and if there is anyway no such thing as 'anarchists in general', wasn't it misleading to refer without further explanation to 'anarchist muddle-headedness' as illustrated by what 'they' say? Doesn't that give a clear impression of criticising a general anarchist line, rather than contrasting what two particular anarchists are supposed to have said? Isn't the *Solidarity* letter a continuation of an attack on anarchism in general?

The *Solidarity* Group give examples of anarchists taking opposite sides on such issues as the First World War, the Communist régime in Russia, the Fascist régime in Italy, the Republican counter-revolution in Spain, and the Labour movement today. Fair enough—but what about the socialists of all kinds who have taken opposite sides in exactly the same way on exactly the same issues? It is easy for *Solidarity* to be holier than us, because they have only been going a few years and have only got a few members; wait until they have been going for more than a century over half the world. Even so they are not united on every issue—the five who signed their letter are divided on such important questions as membership of the Labour Party, participation in the unilateralist movement, support for the NLF in Vietnam, and no doubt on several others. Does this make *Solidarity* muddle-headed? Surely everyone knows that anarchism—like socialism—is a loose term, and that anarchists—like all socialists—differ widely. Does this justify such bitter attacks on anarchism in general or on particular anarchists? Does it justify false accusations and personal insults?

Of course I criticised the Bolsheviks for dissolving the Constituent Assembly, but it was obvious from the context that I criticised them not for dissolving the Constituent Assembly as such (which is clearly suggested by the reference in the *Solidarity* pamphlet), but for their reason for doing so. I have never defended the Constituent Assembly, but I would not be on the side of Zhelezniakov when he forcibly dispersed the Constituent Assembly on the orders of the Bolshevik Government, any more than I would when he later fought—and died—in the Red Army for the preservation of the Bolshevik régime. I don't think entirely in class terms, and I don't agree that the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly is a simple class issue, or that it had anything to do with 'the fight for the autonomy of the soviets and for the extension of the workers' power in production'; by January 1918, the Bolsheviks had already destroyed the power of the soviets, and had begun to destroy the power of the workers in industry by nationalising the whole economy. I think it was part of the Bolshevik struggle for power; they took part in the elections for the Constituent Assembly, but did not win a majority—if they had done so, would they have dissolved it by force? At least the anarchists had opposed it from the start.

Of course Voline would have preferred the Kronstadt rebels not to speak of the power of the soviets and to get rid of the word and idea of power altogether, but this was not a central contention, and he did not suggest it was a cardinal error or even an offence; he raised the point only to say how little it mattered. He did not criticise them (which is clearly suggested by the reference in the *Solidarity* pamphlet), but actually defended them from such criticism. The *Solidarity* Group say it is dishonest to pretend that he meant something other than what he said—but who is doing so? They say I claim they have quoted out of context in the hope that no one will check the context—but who gave the full context of both their references? Can't they read, or something?

In spite of all their revolutionary bluster, the 'Solidarity' Group can't really deny that they misunderstood what I said and misquoted what Voline said, and that they just didn't bother to make sure what either of meant. This isn't important in itself, and it doesn't detract from the value of their pamphlet, but their reason for such mystifying behaviour is important. It is that a spectre haunts 'Solidarity'—the spectre of Communism. They are so frightened of being labelled an anarcho-syndicalist deviation by their old Stalinist and Trotskyist comrades that they must repeatedly prove that they really aren't anarchists, even if it means repeatedly falsifying what anarchists actually believe—especially when they are publishing an anarchist pamphlet. Never mind—someone will be doing it to them one day, if they last that long.

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FIFTH COLUMN

Claustrophobic

A REITH LECTURE by Dr. Edmund Leach of Cambridge University on the BBC last Sunday, reported in the *Daily Telegraph* the following day, mutilated the most sacred of our cows: the family.

'Today, the domestic household is isolated. The family looks inward upon itself. There is an intensification of emotional stress between husband and wife, and parents and children.

'Our present society is emotionally very uncomfortable. The parents and children huddled together in their loneliness take too much out of each other. The parents fight; the children rebel.

'Children need to grow up in larger, more relaxed domestic groups centred on the community rather than on the mother's kitchen.'

When the institution of marriage is attacked, bourgeois point to the needs of children as its justification. If it is accepted that imprisonment in a little box is not in the interests of children, marriage will cease to be thought of as a necessary evil.

* * *

Phlegmatic

I RECOMMEND THE NCCL report *Drugs and Civil Liberties*, 5/-. If you buy a copy you can help to repay the 'enormous debt' anarchists owe the NCCL (see this page last week).

Do not expect a straightforward demand for the legalisation of all drugs—though the report's opening sentence is promising:

'It is a basic civil liberty principle that what people choose to do to themselves in private is their own business, providing that it is not harmful to other individuals or society in general.'

This trumpet blast is muted in the final section of the report which makes proposals:

'LSD—No change in the law is suggested at the present time. Provision should be made to extend control to other drugs similar to LSD.'

A feature of particular interest is the discussion of the 'civil liberty' aspects of drug legislation:

'A late amendment to the 1967 Act now gives the police power to stop and search without warrant any person suspected of being in unlawful possession of drugs. This new threat to civil liberties has received very little attention either in Parliament or the press. The dangers in these new powers are immense in so far as they concern police relations with the public. Young people especially are already being subjected to indiscriminate searches where no grounds for "reasonable suspicion" exist. The fear of planting will increase and it will also be assumed that this wider power for dealing with drugs will in fact be used for other purposes.

'In the same Act the requirement that names of individual police officers be endorsed on search warrants is repealed so far as dangerous drugs are concerned. This measure may provide an incentive to use drugs as the pretext for raids and searches of a quite different character, and may undermine the warrant procedure as such.'

I like that '*may provide an incentive*': calm understatement can go no further.

'Parliament has been led to assume that the purpose of the 1967 Dangerous Drugs Act was to deal with drugs such as heroin. However, Lord Stonham gave the figures of 2,435 convictions in 1966 without mentioning that they related almost entirely to cannabis and amphetamines. Yet these figures are used to justify the new sweeping police powers.'

Lies, statistics and government statistics.

But my favourite passage in the report is the reference to Mick Jagger's brush with the Law:

'A recent case has also shown that a person may be found guilty of a drugs offence for possessing pills bought quite legally in a foreign country.'

Only in a report as diligently serious-minded as this could Mick Jagger be referred to simply as '*a person*'.

* * *

Emetic

Secretly Pig Brother Gunter reads these pages. He knows better now than to describe unofficial strikers as anarchists.

In his latest attack on the right to strike he referred to it as '*not freedom, but unbridled licence*'.

Thank you Napoleon for giving us a new phrase to defend.

WYNFORD HICKS.

Docks Fiasco

THE ROYAL GROUP of dockers finally voted on Monday to end their unofficial strike after eight weeks. Jack Dash said it had been the most bitter and dirty strike since 1945 and every effort had been made to discredit those on strike and personalities had been abused in attempts to break the solidarity of the dockers.

The press and television took a large part in this. The press in a cheap and callous story tried to blame a suicide on the strike. The Frost Programme urged dockers' wives to go to a meeting and shout Mr. Dash down—one (Mrs. Rose Cooper) went and slapped his face and received wide publicity and approval in the press.

But also to blame were the rest of the country's dockers who refused to support them and so made them particularly vulnerable. The philosophy of 'Divide and Rule' worked well for the employers.

The *Sun* commented, on November 16, on the unofficial strike in the Royal Group of Docks. It said: 'The London Dock strike is now in its seventh week. This is the sort of company report—based on hard facts and compiled by *Sun* reporter Michael Rhind—which one of the shipping firms affected by the strike could well prepare for its shareholders.'

The report starts by saying one of its ships is being discharged at Rotterdam because 'she arrived on October 28 at the Albert Dock, Tilbury, where her passengers left her. Because of the strike it was not possible to discharge her cargo of 7,431 tons of frozen meat.' Mr. Rhind's hard facts seem to ignore that the Albert Dock is not at Tilbury and Tilbury was not on strike on October 28.

But the gutter press sank to its lowest ever when it tried to use the suicide of docker Edward Murphy to stir up animosity against the unofficial strikers. They tried to make out he wanted to return to work but was afraid of being branded a blackleg.

In reality Mr. Murphy was a militant himself who spoke to the men at Surrey Docks urging them to join the strike. Also because of a holiday he had only been on strike for nine days when he killed himself in a public lavatory. He owed £40 rent and was threatened with eviction, with his wife and four children.

If anything it is more likely that the landlord and the employers, who refused to even negotiate for what he considered to be a fair agreement, prompted the suicide. But the press twisted everything and used this horrible tragedy for their own dirty little ends.

But perhaps even more tragic is how well this grubby little trick worked. When an unofficial mass meeting was called in Tilbury with the aim of calling a one-day token strike in support of the striking dockers, a London striker—Danny Lyons—was asked to speak.

Several of the Tilbury men said they wanted Tilbury speakers not London ones (as if it mattered where they came from). One shouted, 'You won't find me hanging in a public bog.' This came from a docker who has said in the past that employers prefer men to machines because when a machine breaks down it has to be repaired, but when a man breaks down he can be sacked at no cost at all.

Realising this, why did he not show a little solidarity in an effort to overcome it? The men of Liverpool stuck close together and ignored all threats that nothing would be considered until they returned to work. This way 75 per cent of their claims were eventually met BEFORE they returned to work.

But in London the dockers' famous solidarity is largely a myth—except in the Royal Group. Tilbury dockers are so parochial that they refused to listen to Jack Dash recently just because he is a Londoner. As Terry Barrett said, the employers don't squabble about who comes from where when they meet. Their policy is 'to divide and rule'. Unfortunately they seem to be pretty successful at it.

The Royals could not stay out any longer on their own. They numbered only about four or five thousand out of the country's 65,000 dockers—so ships were easily diverted to docks that were not affected by the strike.

Yet the men proudly stuck to their guns. On November 23 they voted to continue the strike—despite a childish stunt from David Frost on television who urged the men's wives to go and shout Jack Dash down (one slapped his face). That they were still willing to carry on makes nonsense of the popular argument that the dockers either follow like sheep or are intimidated to strike. (Exponents of this theory soon forget it when they vote to return to work.)

On November 19 the Union called a mass meeting at West Ham Stadium to try and persuade the men to return. When they called for a vote a docker broke through the cordon and asked if a vote to stay out would make the strike official as it was an official meeting.

The democratic union officials rejected this and so the men did not bother to vote as it made no difference which way they voted.

Briefly, the men in the Royals were striking over the Continuity Rule which affects them more than other sectors. This ensured a docker stuck to a job to the end—working the good and bad cargoes.

This protected both employers and men. The men because it meant all got at least a small share of the good jobs, and the employers because it meant they could force the men to do the hard messy jobs for little reward. Under the new scheme which started in September it has been changed to protect only the employers—and a man can, under certain conditions, now be moved from a good job to a bad one if he is out of favour.

The employers have refused to negotiate or give the old Continuity Rule a try under the new system for an experimental period. So all editorials condemning stubbornness for 'wrecking the nation's trading life-line' equally apply to the employers.

Objections to the revisions of the Continuity Rule were voiced over a year ago when Jack Dash complained the men would be treated like ping-pong balls being hit backwards and forwards across a table-tennis table' (April 18, 1966, at Tilbury).

On May Day, 1966, 900 dockers marched on Downing Street to complain that agreements were being signed by the Union on their behalf without consulting the men. So Mr. Gunter, the press, the employers or the nation cannot claim they were not warned.

On Monday the men voted to return to work on Tuesday. But unless the Union and employers have negotiated on the Continuity Rule by the end of the year another mass meeting will be held on January 1.

Without the support of their fellow dockers the strike of the Royal dockers was doomed to failure. And now they have returned to work it is not only their position that is undermined—but the position of those who refused to support them as well.

To again quote Jack Dash at Tilbury in April 1966: 'Once they get you in their power they will wring you out like a wet flannel. They're going to give you a bottle of castor oil. Not all in one dose: spoonful by spoonful. But I'll guarantee you'll get the whole bottle in the end.'

The dockers' parochialism and separate agreements, that mean some get £16 and others £40, has already divided them. Now they will be ruled.

M.P.

Contact Column

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

Greek Embassy, Prisoners Picket. Sunday, December 3. Meet Greek Embassy, 49 Upper Brook Street, 12 noon. March to new Home Secretary Picket and Meeting till 2 p.m.

Student Anarchism. New fiery magazine starting beginning of next year. Enquiries from students, as well as articles, welcome. R. Bebb, LSE Anarchist Group, Students Union, Houghton Street, W.C.2.

Prisoners For Peace Day. This year's list of Conscientious Objectors in the world's prisons is available from WRI, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield. A greeting card from you or the group will be appreciated.

STOP IT Committee (The War not the Paper), 8 Rosslyn Hill, London, N.W.3, offers legal aid to draft-age Americans. Send for 'We Won't Go' petitions.

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

Removal Van (or other suitable vehicle) wanted for long haul. Can you hire or lend us one for three days in the middle of January? Phone Brian McGee, ARChway 7200.

Techniques of Peace Action (A Teach-in) on Saturday, December 2, 1967, from 2.30 till 10 p.m., at Dr. Johnson House (Central Friends Meeting House), Bull Street, Birmingham City Centre (next to Lewis's).

Camden Libertarians, anxious to preserve the Camden Campaign for Human Rights Year from bureaucracy, wet liberalism and the other ills such as flesh is heir to, should contact David Rose, Secretary, Camden CHRY, 44 Fitzroy Road, NW1—JUN 0711, Ext. 12 (between 2.30 and 4.30 p.m.).

Part-Time Work Wanted. Anything considered. Write G. Gladstone, c/o Freedom Press.

National Committee of 100. Quarterly Meeting, Saturday and Sunday, December 9 and 10. Birmingham, The Old Crown, High Street (near Bull Ring). Saturday 2.30 p.m. Evening Party. Sunday 10.30 a.m. to 4.30 p.m.

Woman with Four Children needs accommodation in cottage/flat/caravan, ANYWHERE where a little toleration is shown towards children. Box

Anarchist Black Cross. To send money and food to anarchists in prison. Secretary: Stuart Christie (c/o Freedom Press).

International Anarchist Camp 1969. Proposed to hold it in S.E. England—offers of assistance, suggestions for suitable sites to Jim Huggon, 173 Kingshill Avenue, Northolt, Middlesex.

'Save Greece Now' Defence Fund. Donations for Terry, Mike and Del) to Bretta Carthey, 8 Vincent Square Mansions, Walcott Street, London, S.W.1.

Books Hand-bound and Engraved to Order. De-luxe Leather Bindings—Mosaics — Full-leather Parchment — Half-leather Bindings. All books hand-sewn and repaired. Designs for Parchments, Mosaics, are original. For further information contact Mr. J. B. Wagner, c/o American Consulate, Calle Serrano 75, Madrid 6, Spain.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

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For Workers' Control

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TO EARLY FOR TALKING

IN TERMS OF progress in the Roberts-Arundel dispute one is forced to report the now 'unfamiliar' cryptic remark 'No Change'. That is, Pomeranz is still holding out.

Ray Gunter met Martin Dukes (Employers Federation) and Hugh Scanlon (president of the AEU) on November 23, in the hope of making progress. David Bruce, the American Ambassador, has also agreed to examine the dispute. In view of the length of the dispute to date it is obvious that it is **too early for talks,** the Arundel management have shown that they really do want to play it the hard way, and everyone knows that there is only one answer to that game.

On Thursday, November 23, Ray Gunter announced that he was asking Pomeranz, the American chairman of the company, to meet him again to discuss the dispute. September 14 was the last time Pomeranz intervened in person and with the help of the MRA and the Salvation Army it was thought progress had been made, but as usual God was on **their** side. The Lancashire and Cheshire Federation of Trades Councils restrained from an intended December strike call because of that situation.

It is more than interesting to note that the Engineering Employers are really worried about the situation. Roberts-Arundel left the Employers Federation before the dispute started. The Engineering Employers have had no compunction in denouncing the attitude of the Arundel management. I would hazard a guess that, as far as they are concerned, the sooner Pomeranz 'goes to the wall' the better, if the dispute cannot be settled VERY soon. In fact they have offered to employ some of the strikers until Roberts-Arundel will employ them.

Manchester Airport freight agencies have already promised to take any necessary action AGAINST Roberts-Arundel. Their airport director, George Harvey, has advised his employers NOT to handle goods from the American-owned factory. The 270 porters employed by the freight agencies threatened to stop handling all cargo when it was discovered that Roberts-Arundel goods were being brought in under a different name. The airport director is reported to have remarked, 'We have so much other work to do we cannot **afford** to become involved in a dispute elsewhere.'

Pomeranz will have to be kicked into action, therefore before the 18th century employer arrives it will be necessary to spread the dispute. If the Minister of Labour does not intervene to force the Roberts-Arundel management to accept a settlement, the Lancashire and Cheshire Federation of Trades Councils will issue a strike call to all trade unionists in the North-West.

The lads who are out 'on the stones' in Stockport and their supporters on the picket line are having a tough and rough time. The police are carrying out their usual role in protecting the 'scabs'. On November 22, 30 policemen stood shoulder to shoulder to protect the main gates. John Tucker, district AEU secretary, has protested to the Chief Constable of Stockport about alleged police action against the pickets. The police may be very good at helping old ladies and children across the road but they are also good at other things as well.

The Roberts-Arundel dispute has to be won and the Lancashire and Cheshire Federation of Trades Councils have the correct and only policy, therefore it is up to all workers to support the strike call, after which talking **may be** of use.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

TEACHERS SUSPENDED

IN THE Easington and Wingate district of Co. Durham 450 teachers were suspended, last Monday, without pay, and 14,000 schoolchildren sent home, when the teachers refused to undertake supervision of school meals, as part of a campaign to improve the pay, status and conditions of work of the teaching 'profession'.

The National Executive of NUT have promised that this will mean the extension of sanctions on school meals throughout the country next month, and many other LEAs have threatened more suspensions and closing of schools if this occurs.

It is a breach of contract **not** to supervise school meals, although it is **not** in breach of contract to refuse to mark dinner registers, collect money or do anything else in connection with the school meals service. Both kinds of action have been recommended by NUT National Executive and ought to come into force.

Teachers everywhere must refuse to be intimidated; they must resist, with solidarity, the madness of LEAs who are too blinded by their own pettifogging bureaucratic stupidity to see the justice of the teachers' case. Teachers, many of whom, including myself, work a full 40-hour week and more at school AND home for a fully-qualified take-home pay of only £12 10s. a week. What is the Libertarian Teachers' Association going to do about this?

JIM HUGGON.

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