

'O slaughterers, gaolers and imbeciles of all regimes and governments, when will you come to prefer the science of understanding man to that of imprisoning and killing him?'

MARQUIS DE SADE.

## Save Christie & Carballo!

**PUBLIC MEETING  
CONWAY HALL  
FRIDAY AUG 28-7.30 p.m.**

Meeting followed by a March.  
Marble Arch, Speakers' Corner,  
Sunday, August 30th 3.30 p.m.

### CHRISTIE: EVERYTHING POINTS TO A FRAME-UP

# 'Please believe in my Innocence'

STUART CHRISTIE the young Scots anarchist arrested by Franco's police in Madrid has now been charged with plotting acts of terrorism in Spain. In his rucksack he is alleged to have been carrying detonators, plastic explosives and potassium chlorate. According to the Scottish *Daily Express* report from its correspondent in Madrid "Christie was interrogated by secret police for seven days before his alleged confession". On the other hand the message to his mother sent through the British Vice-Consul reads "I know I am in a terrible mess, but please believe in my innocence".

The Glasgow *Daily Record* quotes the claim made by Franco's directorate of security—Spain's secret service—to the effect that Stuart Christie was "arrested in Madrid after a tip-off from Spanish Secret agents operating in Britain." The same authority is quoted as saying that:

for some time we have been observing the activities of Spanish terrorist elements in foreign countries. We discovered that they were planning a campaign of violence in Madrid and other Spanish cities. Following these investigations it was found that a highly suspicious foreigner (Christie) had entered the national territory and hitch-hiked to Madrid. He was watched constantly and was arrested by police in Madrid.

Everything points to the Christie case being either a "frame-up" or a "plant". On the one hand we are told that the Spanish secret police were tipped off from Britain about young Christie and yet on the other they declare that after investigations of a wider kind "it was found that a highly suspicious foreigner had entered the national territory and hitch-hiked to Madrid" where he was constantly watched. If they knew all about him before his arrival surely they would have been looking out for him at the frontier and joined him in his hitch-hike to Madrid or deported him on the spot. Are we to believe that knowing that his rucksack was stuffed with explosives the police would leave him free to roam across Spain? And does a would-be terrorist with a load of explosives make himself conspicuous by travelling on his own on the road involving passing dozens of police control posts at any one of which

he can be stopped and searched? Surely one travels to one's "assignment" by the least conspicuous route, which is probably by train.

### Franco's Agents Everywhere

WE have no doubt that Franco has his political agents in most countries where there are concentrations of Spanish refugees, or where there is a large Spanish emigration or where the Left movements are strongly anti-Franco, and that some kind of dossier has been compiled of the anti-elements. In the case of Stuart Christie, the fact that he was, according to Press reports, one of a number of youths who handed petitions to the Vice-Consul in Glasgow, makes it almost certain that his name would be known to the Spanish authorities. It is this fact which makes it improbable that any genuine terrorist organisation would entrust explosives to someone whose name is on the Spanish police records. But on the other hand such a person could be more convincingly "framed" than one who had no political connections or ideas. To charge a youngster who had never heard of Franco would be ridiculous. But to charge

one who had had a hand in demonstrations and had actually handed in a petition, and who could be shown to be an ANARCHIST... that's different. The fact that the experts in plastic bombs, the French OAS, are fascists and friends of Franco will easily be forgotten when one is determined to "prove" that anarchists are specially predisposed to bomb outrages!

It is our view that if the Spanish authorities were tipped off from Britain about Stuart Christie, then they would be looking out for him at the frontier and would make a point of searching him. (And in the process they could "plant" anything in his bag. In this case we do not think this happened because at some time or other before reaching Madrid our young comrade would have needed to open his bag and the incriminating "evidence" would have been found by him). The fact therefore that he proceeded to Madrid unmolested, and apparently was free to move in Madrid for a day or more, would indicate that up to then there were no explosives in his bag. And no-one is surely going to suggest that he picked up the explosives in Madrid?

Supposing there was no tip-off from Britain. What "investigations" had led the authorities to discover

that "a highly suspicious foreigner had entered the national territory and hitch-hiked to Madrid"? And if Christie had been carrying explosives for "Spanish terrorist elements" outside Spain surely on arrival in Madrid he would have immediately delivered the goods. Yet we are expected to believe that he carried them around in his rucksack possibly for days, while he went sight-seeing and buying picture postcards to send to his friends! For the fact is that he was arrested when he had already spent some days in Madrid.

Is it not more likely that our young comrade became involved in some explosive discussions in a café, possibly with other English people within earshot of an informer—who abound in all large Spanish

cities—and that he was arrested, and in the course of interrogation he declared that he was an anarchist and hated Franco's guts—the kind of thing we are all likely to do when we are 18 and fearless—and that as a matter of routine the police checked up to see whether his name was on their files, and lo and behold there it was! So higher authorities were consulted, and the six days' interrogation begun to find out what was going on in anti-Franco circles in Britain. Did he know so-and-so or so-and-so. Was he in contact with elements in France... and so on. After six days of this kind of third degree anything can emerge, even that one was carrying explosives and that one knew certain elements in Madrid who were sus-

### Ensure an Adequate Defence!

AS we have tried to make clear, it is our view that Stuart Christie is the victim of a plant or a frame-up. *that the Spanish authorities would make an example of him in order to deter anti-Franco groups outside Spain.* And for this reason they will seek to impose a stiff sentence.

The first thing we must ensure is that he is adequately defended. Whether he is guilty or not guilty is

beside the point. He has the right to defend himself before his accusers, and to be advised by people he trusts. In our view funds must quickly be put together to engage a sympathetic and able lawyer who is willing to go to Spain and handle Stuart Christie's case. If this is already being done, then FREEDOM will do its bit by appealing here and now for readers to send their contributions NOW without a further day's delay.

Secondly we must publicize this case intelligently and serenely. The fact that we have no proof either of the innocence or guilt of our comrade does not affect the issue. Franco's regime has remained in power these 25 years through terror, through exile for more than 500,000 Spaniards, not only anarchists but of all political shades, or of none, who detest the regime and would be its victims but of all political shades, or of none, who detest the regime and would be its victims were they to set foot in their country. Franco's boasted "25 years of Peace" has been paid for by 25 years of Press censorship, of 25 years without free speech or free association for workers, intellectuals and political parties.

That some courageous individuals during these 25 years have risked or lost their lives in desperate acts; that throughout the world millions of men and women hate the Franco regime even after 25 years; that young people, who were not born when the struggle in Spain was gripping world attention as no other event since, should feel strongly the cause of a free Spain—these are the facts that matter and the justification for every action against the regime.

If Stuart Christie is, as we suggest, innocent of the charges made against him there is no question but that a campaign on as wide a scale as possible on his behalf must be organised. But if he is guilty? Then, in our opinion, the efforts of all men of goodwill must be redoubled, irrespective of whether they approve or disapprove of his methods. For what will count, what will remain in peoples minds is the noble intention.

## The Facts as we know them . . .

STUART CHRISTIE, a member of the Glasgow Federation of Anarchists and the Scottish Committee of 100, was arrested in Madrid on Tuesday the 11th August. This information was not released to the British consulate by the Spanish authorities until the following Saturday. Stuart's mother, in Scotland, was informed and she has now been to Madrid to see her son, the first of the two visits being for thirty minutes.

When he was arrested, the Spanish authorities claim he was carrying five packets of plastic explosives, five pressure detonators, two electrical detonators and chemicals for making explosives. It is alleged that under close interrogation he confessed to carrying these and that they were to be used for anti-Franco activities.

It was some time before the Spanish authorities allowed the British Vice-Consul to see Stuart, who maintained his innocence. Of course we do not know what form the interrogation took, but the mere fact of being locked away without, at the time, knowing if anyone outside knows your plight, is a terrible and fearful experience especially for one so young. Statements issued by such a regime as Franco's, with its record of forcible suppression of any form of opposition, are immediately suspect.

The whole thing smells of a frame-up, possibly in order to arrest a Spaniard, Fernando Carballo Blanco. The Spanish government has its agents where any active anti-Franco groups in exile exist. Before Stuart crossed to the continent, he stayed for some time in London. He has also taken part in anti-Franco demonstrations in Glasgow. At one of these, a petition protesting against the treatment of the Asturias miners which was handed into the Spanish Consulate, carried his signature. It is known that this petition, together with others, were passed on to the Spanish Embassy in London.

It is also well known that Stuart spoke of going to the Anarchist Summer Camp in the South of France, but in fact he never got there. He wrote from Paris to a comrade in Glasgow saying that he was going to the camp, but later on, he wrote from Perpignan, which is well past the site of the camp. He wrote again from Madrid and this means that soon after writing from Paris something made him change his mind. It is possible that a Franco agent made contact with Stuart, most likely speaking quite good English, as Stuart knows no Spanish. Then after crossing over the frontier at La Janquera, according to a Spanish police statement, he made his

way to Madrid, wearing a kilt.

The comrades in Glasgow got the news of Stuart's arrest from the early editions of the Sunday papers, which come out on Saturday evening. They immediately got together, made placards and protested outside the Spanish Consulate in Buchanan Street.

On Tuesday, 18th August, in Glasgow, with the support of the Young Socialists, Y.C.N.D. and Committee of 100, a Defence and Aid Fund was set up.

In London, an *ad hoc* Defence and Aid Committee was formed for propaganda and legal assistance. A solicitor in this country, Mr. Benedict Birnberg, has been approached for help and contact is being made with a French barrister who knows the Spanish penal code.

Two demonstrations have been held in London and two in Glasgow (outside the Spanish consulate where last Saturday a Spanish flag was burnt in protest).

We know of Stuart Christie's opposition to the Franco regime and we feel that if he had carried this to the extent of 'terrorist activities' he would not feel the need to say that he was innocent.

Whilst facts in this matter are difficult to ascertain we feel that agitation and assistance should be continued towards obtaining as fair a trial as possible in Franco's barbaric regime. P.T.

## SEND MONEY, OFFER HELP NOW TO:

CHRISTIE DEFENCE AND AID FUND

c/o Zoe Boyd, 214 Hamilton Crescent, Cambuslang, Glasgow

or CHRISTIE-CARBALLO DEFENCE COMMITTEE, 34 Cumberland Road, London, E.17

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## ANARCHY 42

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DISCUSSES

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# Why you should not vote Fascist

IN June of 1964 the official paper of the British National Party headed one of their news stories "Barrister states that 'Fascist' smear on BNP member is slander", and in one minor headline the most militant of the right-wing political papers attempted to wipe out a movement that won the allegiance of millions of Europeans and by its own reckoning was responsible for the death of harmless millions. In the editorial of that paper two paragraphs (taken out of context) must explain this change of direction if not of heart for they state that "almost without exception each new movement of the Right has resorted to playing the same old hackneyed tunes on the same 1933 fiddle. They became obsessed with Jewish plots . . ." "and if we take the courage to face the facts that Jews were put to death in 1939-45—even though the figure of 6 million is an exaggeration".

But it would be idle to assume that there is a desire to make amends by the militant right-wing groupings for they have for reasons of *realpolitik* decided to abandon the persecution of the Jewish minority for the exploitation of the active dislike that exists between white and coloured groups herded together within overcrowded living areas and subjected together to precarious working conditions.

The BNP offer the ghoulish solution of suggesting that "the government should offer an attractive financial grant to all coloured people willing to undertake voluntary sterilisation . . .", that is of course if they still wish to live among the master-race. But it can be argued that no political and social movement can be condemned by a few phrases taken from its extremist fringe yet the tens of millions of unnamed dead will bear witness that they were the forced means to accomplish an evil and a worthless end for the political conquistadores of the Roman streets, the Munich alleys and the Bayswater drawing-rooms decayed within a dead handful of years into the *condottieri* of a German military adventure as drear and as foul as every previous imperialist gang-war.

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In a broken world, the fascists trumpeted the virtues of national regeneration and darkened the sun of reason with the scarlet clouds of their bloodied banners. They demanded sacrifices for the State and deified the self-proclaimed leaders who looted mansion and museum like society's common criminals and when the final battles came to be fought it was these political philosophers who provided the traitors in every country that came under the armed control of the German military command. These were the political philosophers who called upon the children to take up arms and stand and die yet, who themselves slunk into the darkness of prepared hiding or the limbo of the peaceful suicide's grave. These were the political philosophers who took their credo from the left of the political strata yet became the legalised industrial police because they lacked the imagination to put to any purpose the sterile power that they won with boot and bullet for after five years of political

... unless you wish  
to surrender your  
right as a man ...

charade the world had to witness the leaders of the Third Reich standing in the Berlin gutters begging for alms to feed the German poor.

One could accept Mussolini for the clown he was for though he ranted of the direct action of Georges Sorel, of Pareto and the integral nationalism of Maurras his was the intellectual level of d'Annunzio and Corradini and his sole political programme was his 1922 declaration: "Our programme is simple we wish to govern Italy", and this from the man who allowed himself to be sacked like a clerk by his own gutless

cohorts. It was left to the German movement to show world capitalism that here was a self-enslaving way of life for their industrial populace. Financed from the right but careful to seek its mass support by a perversion of the socialist teaching. In 1920 in less than eight months, Hitler the political spy had changed the German Workers' Party into the National Socialist German Workers' Party yet it still accepted points 11 "Abolition of incomes unearned by work", 12 "Nationalization of trusts," 13 "Sharing with the State of profits from large industries", 14 "Abolition of land rent", 18 "Death penalty for profiteers", but on February 20, 1933, Goering and Hitler at the Reichstag President's Palace sold out the German people for 3,000,000 marks to Krupp, I.C. Farben and Voegler of United Steel Works and all the Germans received for their wasted support was the death penalties of clause 18.

Yet if it can be claimed that I foul my case by only quoting from the past

## ELECTION ANTHOLOGY-9

is kings, courts, and cabinets, that must sit for the portrait Man, as he is naturally, with all his faults about him, is not up to the character.

Can we possibly suppose that if government had originated in a right principle, and had not an interest in pursuing a wrong one, that the world could have been in the wretched and quarrelsome conditions we have seen it? What inducement has the farmer, while following the plough, to lay aside his peaceful pursuits and go to war with the farmer of another country? Or what inducement has the manufacturer? What is dominion to them or to any class of men in a nation? Does it add an acre to any man's estate, or raise its value? Are not conquest and defeat each of the same price, and taxes the never-failing consequence? Though this reasoning may be good to a nation, it is no so to a government. Ware is the faro-table of governments, and nations the dupes of the game.

If there is anything to wonder at in this miserable scene of governments, more than might be expected, it is the progress which the peaceful arts of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce have made, beneath such a long accumulating load of discouragement and oppression. It serves to show that instinct in animals does not act with stronger impulse than the principles of society and civilization operate in man. Under all discouragements, he pursues his object, and yields to nothing but impossibilities.

Society in every state is a blessing, but government, even in its best state, is but a necessary evil; in its worst state, an intolerable one.

The trade of governing has always been monopolized by the most ignorant and the most resally individuals of mankind.

THOMAS PAINE.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

# Tom Paine on Government

Reformers, Henessy, is in favour of suppressing everything, but real politicians believes in suppressing nothing but evidence. P. FINLEY DUNNE.

It is impossible that such governments as have hitherto existed in the world, could have commenced by any other means than a total violation of every principle, sacred and moral. The obscurity in which the origin of all the present old governments is buried, implies the iniquity and disgrace with which they began. The origin of the present governments of America and France [1791-2] will ever be remembered, because it is honourable to record it, but with respect to the rest, even flattery has consigned them to the tomb of time, without an inscription.

It could have been no difficult thing in the early and solitary ages of the world, while the chief employment of men was that of attending flocks and herds, for a banditti of ruffians to overrun a country and lay it under contribution. Their power being thus established, the chief of the band contrived to lose the name of robber in that of monarch; and hence the origin of monarchy and kings.

The origin of the government of England, so far as it relates to what is called its line of monarchy, being one of the latest is perhaps the best recorded. The hatred which the Norman invasion and tyranny begat, must have been deeply rooted in the nation, to have outlived the contrivance to obliterate it. Though not a courtier will talk of the curfew-bell, not a village in England has forgotten it.

Those bands of robbers having par-

celled out the world and divided it into domains, began, as is naturally the case, to quarrel with each other. What at first was obtained by violence, was considered by others as lawful to be taken, and a second plunderer succeeded the first. They alternately invaded the dominions which each had assigned to himself, and the brutality with which they treated each other explains the original character of monarchy. It was ruffian torturing ruffian. The conqueror considered the conquered not as his prisoner but his property. He led him in triumph, rattling in chains, and doomed him, at pleasure, to slavery or death. As time obliterated the history of their beginning, their successors assumed new appearances, to cut off the entail of their disgrace, but their principles and objects remained the same. What at first was plunder assumed the softer name of revenue; and the power they originally usurped, they affected to inherit.

From such beginning of governments, what could be expected but a continual system of war and extortion? It has established itself into a trade. The vice is not peculiar to one more than another, but is the common principle of all. There does not exist within such governments a stamina whereon to ingraft reformation; and the shortest and most effectual remedy is to begin anew.

What scenes of horror, what perfection of iniquity, present themselves in contemplating the character, and reviewing the history of such governments? If we would delineate human nature with a baseness of heart, and hypocrisy of countenance, that reflection would shudder at and humanity disown it, it

# THE GOODNESS IN MAN

"THE ANATOMY AND EXCELLENCE OF HUMAN NATURE, by Macpherson Lawrie, C. W. Daniel, 7s. 6d.

SINCE the end of the Second World War it has become increasingly fashionable (or perhaps one should say it was, since the pendulum looks as if it is beginning to swing back) to claim that the holocaust that had just ended proved that man was basically evil after all. The liberal-humanist-rationalist attitude, which either saw man as basically good, or at least perfectible, was denounced, with ill-concealed glee, as out of date. Apparently it was not out of date to go back to the ideas of St Augustine, to medieval theology or to the teachings of John Calvin. Authoritarian people have even quoted to me William Golding's *Lord of the Flies* as if it were a documentary description of an actual event, instead of a novel expressing a man's opinion of what might happen, in certain circumstances, but which has not happened yet.

In fact the events of the Second World War, awe-inspiring though the slaughter was in scale, prove nothing more than

that a certain number of Europeans are still capable of behaving, not like savages, since few savages behave so cruelly, but like their medieval and sixteenth and seventeenth century ancestors. Although it became in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a widespread belief that large-scale killings and torturings would never occur again in Europe, this fallacy has nothing to do with human nature as such. The pressures and frustrations that cause most acts of cruelty were still present in European civilisation. Very little had been done to remove them. Their presence was not even acknowledged. In fact during the nineteenth century sexual repression actually increased. The final explosion should not surprise us. What was surprising was that it took so long in coming.

William Golding's horrid little boys had all come from a conventional authoritarian school, and from conventional authoritarian families. Their descent into cannibalism could quite as easily be the product of the brutality with which they had been educated (unconscious brutality as often as not, no doubt) as of innate wickedness. The

authoritarianism of European civilisation had been modified and softened to some extent during the nineteenth century, but not nearly enough, and to offset this new technical devices had been introduced on a massive scale, which not only set up new stresses in society but also provided easier and more extensive means of killing people (machine-guns, high explosives, nuclear weapons). Asian and African civilisations might be just as tough and hard on people, but they were still more or less in the bow and arrow, or at least muzzle-loader stage, and so the damage done was less.

Dr. Lawrie believes that human nature is basically sound, but is sometimes perverted by various factors. Basically I think he is right. If human beings were born with anti-social tendencies predominant they would be a freak of the cosmos, and would probably have died out long ago. However I am coming to the point of view that there is little to be gained in arguing about what human nature is. What should be studied is human behaviour. If one does so-and-so such-and-such will result. If you beat a boy consistently, but not enough to break his spirit entirely, he will probably make not a bad soldier. Severity, mixed with judicious kindness at times, will produce a trust of and respect for authority. If you spoil a

or from the present jew-bating Jordan Nationalist Socialist Movement or the negro-hating British National Party then let us examine Sir Oswald Mosley the respectable fascist and the present leader of the Union Movement. Here is a man who has passed through the body politic like a dose of salts absorbing nothing but the ability to fill a hall and teaching nothing that was not already second-hand when he first began to hawk it at the polling booths. The man who cried he could conquer the streets for his martial mob yet waited for permission to take power, the man whose solution to the problems of his times was a programme of public work for a nation that lacked immediate food in a world that refused to export it and the rabble cry of national greatness that could only mean the ability to frighten smaller nations.

In an age when empires have dissolved like morning frost, when there is a surfeit of work if not of wealth, industrial peace and stagnation and the middle class are busily polishing their cars while the Americans organise our military adventures there is little call for Sir Oswald's service and his brand of faded and nostalgic romanticism rots away in its small offices in Vauxhall Bridge Road.

He offers low prices and high wages, pensions and education, peace and disarmament, the independence of the black colonies as a useless liability and liberty guaranteed by Law and all by the simple process of joining a European Common Market and the cornucopia to provide this political Cockaigne is to be a divided Africa. And if the Africans refuse to carve up their continent, as they must for no African leader would dare put his name to such a one-sided deal, then one presupposes that once again the youth of Europe will once more trail off to another holy war for *lebensraum*.

The attitude of the Russian and Chinese military powers to this gay little Boy's Own African safari is ignored by Sir Oswald in his simple plans for the simple minded for all his political life he has avoided cold reality for the warm and banal slogan.

This is his policy, no more and no less. In 1959 Union Movement received 8% of the votes cast and were you one of those who performed this act of political masturbation? If you are an industrialist and fear your labour force don't vote fascist but hire the new type security guards, if you are of the middle class and desire to consolidate your class strata don't vote fascist but move to the New Towns, if you belong to the lower middle class and hate the social groups that sandwich you, don't vote fascist but join the Special Police and if you are of the working class and hate your street, your neighbour and your employer, don't vote fascist but go out at night and kick in a few shop windows but if you want the faded romanticism of the penny comic, the ordered and mindless life of those who have surrendered to despair and the legal right to hate a minority because they are a minority then castrate yourself by voting for those who in their turn despise you, vote fascist. In that one act you will surrender your right as a man and as an individual and you will not only betray yourself and your neighbour but a generation waiting to be born.

child you will get a selfish adult. If you pump him full of religion he will probably remain preoccupied with religion all his life, though it may be as a militant atheist! There is also of course the danger of over-doing things and reducing the child to a life-long neurotic. Cause and effect here rules as it does everywhere else.

One could wish that Dr. Lawrie had written in less general terms. The book is quite short, too short really. What is needed is an elaborate and detailed analysis of the various ways in which human impulses, which are either good in themselves or neither good nor bad, are twisted out of shape. Accompanied by numerous concrete examples and case histories. I am glad to notice that the question of diet, so often neglected, is brought in. One can be a good man without eating good food, but it helps to eat good food.

I have little hope that doctrines of guilt and sin will be overthrown by such books as Dr. Lawrie's, or anybody. The belief is too advantageous to those in power for one thing. It is their philosophical justification for ruling. Such beliefs can only be eroded away gradually over the years. Anarchists and humanitarians of all kinds have a duty to participate in this work.

A.W.U.



# FREEDOM

August 29 1964 Vol 25 No 27

## Selections from the writings of MALATESTA ON ATTENTATS

I remember that on the occasion of a much publicised anarchist attentat a socialist of the first rank just back from fighting in the Greco Turkish war, shouted from the house-tops with the approval of his comrades, that human life is always sacred and must not be threatened, not even in the cause of freedom. It appeared that he excepted the lives of Turks and the cause of Greek independence. Illogicality, or hypocrisy?!

★

**McKINLEY**, head of the North American oligarchy, the instrument and defender of the capitalist giants, the betrayer of the Cubans and the Philipinos, the man who authorised the massacre of the strikers of Hazleton, the torture of the workers in the "model republic"; McKinley who incarnated the militaristic, expansionist and imperialist policies on which the fat American bourgeoisie have embarked, has fallen foul of an anarchist's revolver.

If we feel at all distressed it is for the fate in store for the generous hearted man, who opportunely or inopportunely, for good or tactically bad reasons, gave himself in wholesale sacrifice to the cause of equality and liberty . . .

[It might be argued by those who have condemned Czolgosz's act] that the workers' cause and that of the revolution have not been advanced; that McKinley is succeeded by his equal, Roosevelt, and everything remains unchanged except that the situation for anarchists has become a little more difficult than before. And they may be right; indeed, from what I know of the American scene, it is most likely to be the case.

What this means is that [as] in war there are brilliant as well as false moves, there are cautious combatants as well as others who are easily carried away by enthusiasm and allow themselves to be an easy target for the enemy, and may even compromise the position of their comrades. This means that each one must advise, defend and practise the methods which he thinks most suitable to achieve victory in the shortest time and with the least sacrifice possible; but it does not alter the fundamental and obvious fact that he who struggles, well or badly, against the common enemy and towards the same goal as us, is our friend and has a right to expect our warm sympathy even if we cannot accord him our unconditional approval.

Whether the fighting unit is a collectivity or a single individual cannot change the moral aspect of the problem. An armed insurrection carried out inopportunely can produce real or apparent harm to the social war we are fighting, just as an individual attentat which antagonises popular feeling; but if the insurrection was made to conquer freedom, no one will dare deny the socio-political objectives of the defeated insurrectionists. Why should it be any different when the insurrectionist is a single individual? . . .

It is not a question here of discussing tactics. If it were, I would say that in general I prefer collective action to individual action, also because collective action demands qualities which are fairly common and makes the allocation of tasks more or less possible, whereas one cannot count on heroism, which is exceptional and by its nature sporadic, and calls for individual sacrifice. The problem here is of a higher order; it is a question of the revolutionary spirit, of that almost instinctive feeling of hatred of oppression, without which programmes remain dead letters however libertarian are the proposals they embody; it is a question of that combative spirit, without which even anarchists become domesticated and end up, by one road or another, in the slough of legalitarianism . . .?

★

**GAETANO BRESCI**, worker and anarchist, has killed Humbert, king. Two men: one dead prematurely, the other condemned to a life of torment which is a thousand times worse than death! Two families plunged into sadness!

Whose fault is it? . . .

It is true that if one takes into consideration such factors as heredity, education and social background, the personal responsibility of those in power is much reduced and perhaps even non-existent. But then if the king is not responsible for his commissions and omissions, if in spite of the oppression, the dispossession, and the massacre of the people carried out in his name, he should have continued to occupy the highest place in the country, why ever then should Bresci have to pay with a life of indescribable suffering, for an act which, however mistaken some may judge it, no one can deny was inspired by altruistic intentions?

But this business of seeking to place the responsibility where it belongs is only of secondary interest to us.

We do not believe in the right to punish; we reject the idea of revenge as a barbarous sentiment. We have no intention of being either executioners or avengers. It seems to us that the role of liberators and peacemakers is more noble and positive. To kings, oppressors and exploiters we would willingly extend our hand, if only they wished to become men among other men, equals among equals. But so long as they insist on profiting from the situation as it exists and to defend it with force, thus causing the martyrdom, the wretchedness and the death through hardships of millions of human beings, we are obliged, we have a duty to oppose force with force. . . .

We know that these attentats, with the people insufficiently prepared for them, are sterile and often, provoking reactions which one is unable to control, produce much sorrow, and harm the very cause they were intended to serve.

We know that what is essential and undoubtedly useful is not just to kill a king, the man, but to kill all kings—those of the Courts, of parliaments and of the factories—in

"THE MAIL" and the *Sketch* both claimed that they failed to find Charles Wilson, the mail train escapee. The yacht *Wild Venture* had been missing from its moorings and a frigate and a submarine were called in by Scotland Yard. However, after a chase the occupants proved to be two Borstal boys (within which, many claim, lurks a mail-train robber trying to get out). The Home Office claimed that a mail-train prisoner failed to escape from Strangeways Prison, Manchester. "What appears to have been an outside plot to secure the escape of a prisoner at Manchester was discovered by prison staff yesterday and the matter was immediately placed in the hands of the police for investigation." It is said that 'maximum security' conditions for suspected escapers entail solitary confinement, lights burning all night, hands outside bedclothes and fifteen-minute interval peep-hole checks to see that this is observed. Mr. Graham Greene made a comment on the skill and courage of the mail-train robbers and his shock at the thirty-year sentences. The *Express* in a leader calls this viewpoint "bizarre" and concludes: "The long sentences are designed to ensure that innocent people do not suffer similarly in the future." The driver of the mail-train received an anonymous letter asking him to write the Home Secretary appealing for cuts in the sentences. He said, "I got in touch with the police about the letter, and they sent for it straight away. It might be useful to them in their enquiries. I think the robbers deserved all they got". . . .

A PRISONER was found dead in his cell, stabbed and beaten, presumably by another prisoner in Wakefield 'maximum security' prison. Mrs. Olive Christie visited her son, Stuart in Carabanshel Prison, Madrid. Afterwards she said, "I have no complaints about the treatment he is getting. He told me that he was being treated very well. The prison was spotless and seemed to be very well run." Mark Nkosi, an African prisoner who is paralysed from the chest down after being shot by a white warder, was awarded £13,500 in Johannesburg in settlement of a claim he brought against the South African Minister of Justice. . . .

the hearts and minds of the people; that is, to uproot faith in the principle of authority to which most people owe allegiance.<sup>3</sup>

★

I DO not need to repeat my disapproval and horror for attentats such as that of the *Diana*, which besides being bad in themselves are also stupid, because they inevitably harm the cause they would wish to serve. And I have never failed to strongly protest, whenever similar acts have taken place and especially when it has turned out that they have been committed by authentic anarchists. I have protested when it has been in my favour to protest, just as I have protested when it would have been better for me to remain silent, because my protest was inspired by superior reasons of principle and tactics, and because I had a duty to do so, since there are people gifted with little personal critical sense, who allow themselves to be guided by what I say. But now it is not a case of judging the fact, and discussing whether it was a good or bad thing to have done it, or whether similar actions should or should not be repeated. Now it is a question of judging men threatened with a punishment a thousand times worse than the death penalty; and so one must examine who these men are, what were their intentions and the circumstances in which they acted.<sup>4</sup>

★

. . . I SAID that those assassins are also saints and heroes; and those of my friends who protest against my statement do so in homage to those whom they call the real saints and heroes, who, it would seem, never make mistakes.

I can do no more than confirm what I said. When I think of all I have learned about Mariani and Aguggini; when I think what good sons and brothers they were, and



SOUTH AFRICA'S Prime Minister interviewed by René MacColl in the *Daily Express* said, "South Africans feel justly aggrieved by hypocrisy and double-dealing" . . . It was utter nonsense to say that South Africa is a Police State. Freedom to criticise is often abused almost to the point of sedition—by distortion of facts and even by invitations to other countries to attack or damage South Africa or its economy—without any police action being taken" . . . "Once realism towards Africa becomes the keynote of Western policy, South Africa should become the stabilising force in Africa as the anchor of white civilization, christianity, and industrial prosperity." MacColl writes: "Verwoerd hardly ever stops smiling, whatever subject is under discussion and however grave its nature". . . .

SOUTHERN RHODESIAN authorities refused to extradite a 23-year-old Johannesburg school teacher on suspicion of attempted murder because the South African government had not given details of the alleged offence. . . .

IN THE *Guardian* Judith Cook writes that the recent conviction of a doctor in Penzance for procuring abortions was secured by police interviewing 45 women; one, a Frenchwoman, was questioned four and a half hours, she was told that if it was France she would be made to talk. Of the five women who gave evidence, four were young and ignorant and were not informed of their rights

under the law. One was promised that her name would be kept out of the newspapers if she told. (It was not, and when Judith Cook spoke to her she was talking of suicide). Another was told that a girl had died after an abortion and by giving evidence she would be helping to convict somebody guilty of manslaughter. (No one had died). Another writer comments on the abortion law: "Any law which is totally out of keeping with public opinion, can only be enforced by the use of dubious methods". . . .

THE SUPREME COURT of India held that *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was obscene. The Judge said, "The poetry and music which Lawrence attempted to put into sex apparently cannot sustain it for long, and without them the book is nothing." Nearly 1,000 women started an all-day fast in front of the Indian Premier's house as a protest against rising prices and food shortages. . . .

THE *Daily Worker* either in Puritanism or a misprint reported Joan Littlewood referring to her company as a 'shower of plums' instead of a 'shower of bums'. . . .

THE POPE, praying for the Italian president, slipped in an aside for Signor Togliatti, the Italian Communist Party leader who was seriously ill with a stroke in Russia. "We also know," said the Pope, "that another political figure is suffering from the same serious condition. We pray that the Madonna may also assist him in his distress." Signor Togliatti underwent an operation for exploration in the cranium but the Madonna failed to assist and he died. His coffin was borne to the boat by Mr. Krushchev, among others. He is to be buried in the English Protestant Cemetery in Rome where John Keats and Percy Bysshe Shelley, his fellow revolutionaries lie. . . .

THE ETHIOPIAN Orthodox Church has forbidden breast-beating and face-scratching at Ethiopian funerals. It is pointed out that some of the grief-stricken mourners are in fact professionals hired for the occasion, and severe action will be taken if these customs continue.

JON QUIXOTE.

sciously an assassin.

Torquemada who tortured others as well as himself to serve God and to save souls, was both a saint and an assassin. . . .

It could easily be argued that the saint and the hero are almost always unbalanced individuals. But then everything would be reduced to a question of words, to a question of definition. What is a saint? What is a hero?

Enough of hair-splitting.

What is important is to avoid confusing the act with the intentions, and in condemning the bad actions not to overlook doing justice to the good intentions. And not only on the grounds of respect for the truth, or human pity, but also for reasons of propaganda, for the practical repercussions that our judgement may have.

There are, and so long as present conditions and the environment of violence in which we live last, there will always be generous men, who are rebellious and oversensitive, but who lack sufficient powers of reflection and who in certain situations allow themselves to be carried away by passion and strike out blindly. If we do not openly recognise the goodness of their intentions, if we do not distinguish between error and wickedness, we lose any moral influence over them and abandon them to their blind impulses. If instead, we pay homage to their goodness, their courage and sense of sacrifice, we can reach their minds through their hearts, and ensure that those valuable storehouses of energy which they carry within them shall be used in an intelligent, good as well as useful manner in the interests of the [common] cause.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Pensiero e Volonta*, Sept. 1, 1924.

<sup>2</sup> *L'Agitazione*, Sept. 22, 1901.

<sup>3</sup> *Causa ed Effetti*, Sept. 1900.

<sup>4</sup> *Umanita Nova*, Dec. 18, 1921.

<sup>5</sup> *Umanita Nova*, Dec. 24, 1921.



# Let Muggeridge Speak!

It is the height of modern snobbery not to have television, so it was with some difficulty that one viewed 'Let Me Speak' over BBC TV2. The friend who assisted said it was necessary professionally. What's your excuse?

BBC2 in itself has gone through and is going through, a difficult phase. Before its birth it had ambitions ranging wildly from a local station idea to a TV Third. However, the Government having embarked on a wild series of commercial liquidation of public utility assets (i.e. the Post Office, British Railways) turned their minds to thoughts of another commercial (or 'independent') TV channel. However, they hesitated at this act of brigandage, it being near election year, and BBC2 was born, a poor little bastard of a fret-work network.

The fanfare of strumpets strutting the waves of BBC2 seem to have been soured as public opinion seems to be against it. However, since the majority apparently view ITV it is only to be expected. But still and all it is a *flop d'estime* if we are to believe the critics.

Since the disappearance of bear-baiting from public entertainments the interview has taken its place. The interviewer is a man with no opinions of his own, a cynical evaluation of the world, an ability to be the common man and an ever-present ability to ask silly questions and display the silly answers as stupidity.

Among what the newspapers would call well-known personalities and a household word is Malcolm Muggeridge, well known for the four abilities listed above. Once a man of literature (author of a book on Samuel Butler), he was

once rated as a good debunker but the professional 'personality' has supervened and he has become an entertainer.

The old concept of the matador fighting one bull had its drawbacks. Admiration for the bull came in, and sometimes the bull won. Two matadors were tried, sympathies often went to the bull, and sometimes the toradors fought each other. Now, Let Me Speak features six bulls and one matador and we're on the matador's side every time.

"Let Me Speak" has trundled into the

arena nuclear disarmers, moral rearers, communists, jesuits, humanists, empire loyalists and last Saturday, anarchists. The technique of Mr. Muggeridge seems to be to fasten on one point, or what seems to be one chink in the armour and worry his antagonists so much with this cloak-waving as it were, that they are diverted from the real purpose of their exercise. Not from the real purpose of Mr. Muggeridge's exercise, which is to display himself as a 'personality' with twinkling eyes, interlaced fingers and the grey hair of a poor man's Polonius.

The object at which they charge is quite often a mirage. Last Saturday for example, it was the anarchists in Soviet prisons who watched the funeral of their 'leader' Prince Kropotkin from their cell windows. This provided a good opportunity for Muggeridge cloak-work,

regardless of the much more ironic fact that the anarchists were let out of prison for a day for the funeral—and one poor chap almost failed to get back in!

Muggeridge has no fixed opinions, he is more Christian than the M.R.A., more human than the humanists, more revolutionary than the communists, more pacific than the CND, more concerned with the Commonwealth than the Empire Loyalists, and more libertarian than the anarchists. Withal he believes in nothing and is, in short, the common viewer. The concern of the programme is not with truth but with entertainment.

There is indeed entertainment in this pricking of such ponderous bulls as M.R.A. or the Empire Loyalists but one (deeply anti-bullfighting though one may be), wishes that damn matador would get gored more often!

JACK ROBINSON.

## ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN

Co-ordinating Secretary: Tom Jackson, 10 Gilbert Place, London, W.C.1.

## LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS

Secretary: Arthur Uloth, c/o 17a Maxwell Road, London, S.W.6.

## London Anarchist Group

"Lamb and Flag", Rost Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2. (near Garrick and King Streets: Leicester Square tube), 7.45 p.m.

AUG. 30 Jeremy Westall (our Rhodesian Correspondent) on: Report on Southern Africa

## Notting Hill Anarchist Group

Secretary N.H.A.G., 5 Colville Houses, London, W.11.

## REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

### Birmingham Group

Peter Neville, 12 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham, 23.

### Bristol Federation

Irregular meetings—enquiries to c/o Martin Howells, 7 Richmond Dale, Clifton, Bristol 8. Meets Sundays (weather and circumstances permitting), 3.30 p.m. on the Downs (Blackboy Hill).

### Dundee Group

Contact Rod Cameron, 6 Westfield Place, Dundee.

### Edinburgh Group

Enquiries to: Douglas Trueman, 13 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh 3. Meetings every Monday at Rob Hainsworth, 10 Jacacia Street, Edinburgh.

### Glasgow Federation

Enquiries to Ronnie Alexander, c/o Kennedy, 112 Glenkirk Drive, Glasgow, W.5.

### Manchester Group

Meetings alternate Tuesdays. Details from Graham Leigh, 5, Mere Close, Sale, Cheshire.

### Hayes and District

Contact Mike Wakeman, 12 Hoppner Road, Hayes, Middlesex.

### Tunbridge Wells Group

Meets 1st and 3rd Thursday in month at J. D. Gilbert-Roife, 4 Mount Sion, Tunbridge Wells, Sussex, 8 p.m.

### Plymouth

Fred Spiers, 35 Ridge Park Avenue, Mutley, Plymouth.

### Tyneside Federation

Enquiries: Dave Wallace, 64 Belford Avenue, Horsley Hill, South Shields, Co. Durham.

Last Thursday in month: At George Hayes', 174 McLeod Road, S.E.2.

2nd Friday at Brian Leslie's, 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station). Sundays. No meeting in August.

3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald & Irene Room's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.

Wimbledon S.W.19, Last Saturday of each month. 8 p.m. Phone WIM 2849.

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## INDUSTRIAL NOTES

strike had continued the whole of Vauxhall's output would have been threatened.

It is also thought by the strikers, that British Timken, the U.K. subsidiary of an American firm, has been after orders for ball bearings from Vauxhalls. These factors led to a very quick settlement of the dispute, with the strikers accepting increased bonus rates.

When these men first withdrew their labour, the company quickly called in an official of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers. The strikers had already set up their own committee and made a statement that any decisions about a return to work would be reached by this elected body and the men in dispute.

Usually negotiations start after a return to work, but it seems that Skefco were very anxious to reach a settlement quickly. They offered the union officials a 2-2 1/2% increase on average bonus earnings. This offer was then passed on to the strike committee, put to the men at a meeting and accepted.

Although the strikers accepted less than their original demands, it is the manner in which these decisions were arrived at, with the full participation of the men themselves, which is of interest. Added to this is the fact that Skefco, during its 50 years at Luton, has been without any major disputes.

The strikers were organised so that the dispute was run and controlled by themselves. The Union officials acted only as a go-between and were really superfluous. These lessons can be useful for other workers, but this form of rank and file organisation should be strengthened by linking up with workers at other factories of the firm.

The job liaison, between the different plants which form the complex motor industry, is a difficult one. It is not so much the organisational side, but the need to propagate the ideas of rank and file control. Workers often use these methods for a particular dispute, but do not grasp the full implication of the action taken. It is pressing for the further extension to cover the whole of an industry which is needed so much.

P.T.

# Rank and File Control

The unofficial strike action of 350 storekeepers and internal transport drivers employed at the Skefko Ball Bearing Company at Luton so affected production that the company was forced to send 4,000 workers home. Skefkos are the sole supplier of bearings to the

nearby Vauxhall car plant and, being so near, they do not carry large stocks. As this is the case, these 350 men (like the recent dispute of storekeepers at Lucas), were in a very strong position to win their demands. Not only was Skefko's production stopped, but if the

## LETTER

### Don't we Declare Mutual Aid?

DEAR EDITOR,

English empiricism is such that public actions are readily acknowledged and public statements summarily dismissed. It was therefore gratifying to read your comments on our Third Policy Statement.

But having conceded that the statement is a good one you conclude that the Committee is "doomed to failure", "has exhausted its possibilities" and should wind up! This is the *non-sequitur* to end all *non-sequiturs*! Surely the more logical conclusion of your own argument would have been to wish more strength to the Committee's elbow.

The Aunt Sally-type comment about dogmatic non-violence was particularly out of place since the Statement goes out of its way to reject religiosity.

The debt to Anarchism is very freely admitted in the Committee, but then so is the debt to the experience of the ex-Left Wing and the Quakers. The Committee is that terrible thing—eclectical. Perhaps the biggest debt of all is to the young people who have come into CND and the Committee from scratch.

One of the reasons why the Committee was necessary and will continue to be so lies in the arm-chair limitations of the old Anarchists. I am afraid that the conclusion of your editorial was typical in this respect. The sectarian attitude is always that all other organisations should wind up and join the only people who have the Whole Truth! This is the best way *not* to build the movement. The test of the good revolutionary is the extent to which he will help to build groups that are *not* his own.

It is of course true that the Committee is down to its hard core at the moment.

But this means nothing since it is also true of every other organised group in the movement. (Your readers may be interested to know that the circulation of our journal *Resistance* has more than doubled in the last few months.)

Numbers are only important in the last analysis. Until that moment comes what counts is the quality of ideas and activity. We have got a big-re-think on. The Third Statement was just one result. Together with Anarchists we are going to do something to expose the utter hypocrisy of the General Election. Then the decks will be cleared for the next round of action.

Our enemies, of course, declare us dead and buried every three months. It is a pity that FREEDOM should join them. Can we not have a declaration of mutual aid instead? We already have it in practice.

Cambridge, 23 Aug. PETER CADOGAN.

# SORRY!

We regret that several letters have had to be hold over till next issue owing to lack of space.

## FINGS

"I" Interested in individualism? Read "Minus One"—an individualist anarchist review. Obtainable from Freedom Bookshop or by post 6d. from S. E. Parker, The Stables, 7 Spencer Hill, London, S.W.19.

Children's Playground Help wanted. Adventure playground Chiswick. Council unenthusiastic. Locals suspicious. Contact Colin Johnson, c/o Freedom Bookshop.

"Angles" Issue No. 2 out in September, orders 9 St. Paul's Road, Colchester. Election Anthology; Itinerant Action International. Worth 6d. to read our editorial policy alone.

Public Meeting Friday, September 4th, Caxton Hall, London, S.W.1., 7.30 p.m. Meeting to discuss and defend Dr. Alexander and ten others on trial in South Africa under Sabotage Act.

Anti-Election Anti-election campaign advancing for the last leave. If you find it all sick-making, meet for leafletting 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6, Monday, August 31st, September 7th.

Accommodation—London Young mother or couple who like kids wanted to share five room flat, needs redecorating but has phone, fridge, washing-machine, and two tellies. Share bills and moderate rent. Another flat, downstairs, will be vacant in October, three rooms, kitchen and bathroom, £6 per week, but rent reduced to £4 in return for certain amount of child-minding for working mother. Anyone interested please write to: Ann Butterworth, 39 Upper Tulse Hill, London, S.W.2.

If you think that your 'fings' are worth inclusion in this column let us know. . . .

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# Slipping!

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