

# Freedom

## Anarchist Weekly 6d

JUNE 8 1968 Vol 29 No 17

FOR DAYS FRANCE teetered on the edge of revolution. May we be forgiven for saying that it was the absence of a substantial anarchist movement there which enabled the bourgeoisie to pull it back?

Revolutions are like lettuces—for best results they must be kept growing quickly without check. In France the incipient revolution had the greatest pest of all to check its growth—the big fat rats of the Communist CGT who ate away at the roots.

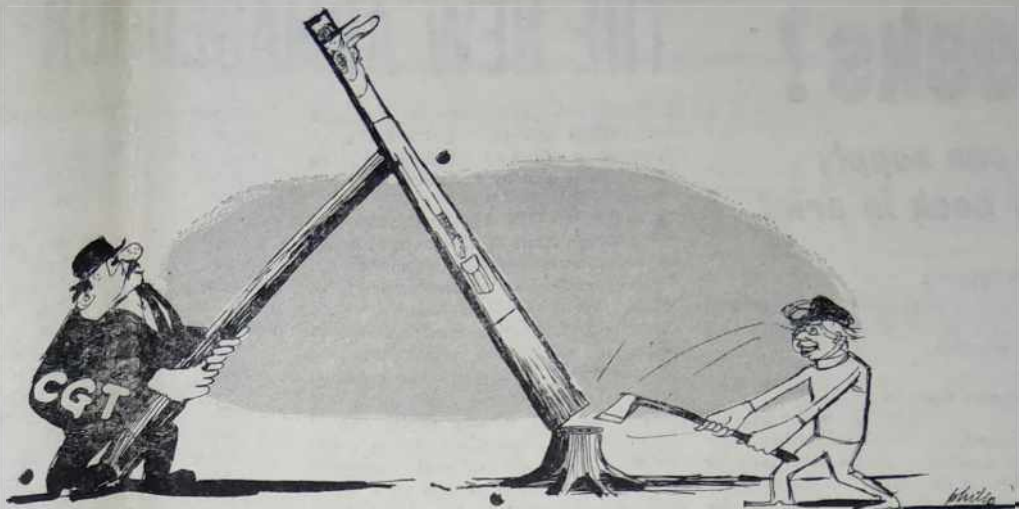
For all the ingredients were there the moment the industrial workers joined the students in mass protest, strike and occupation of the factories. It would not have taken much to have turned the general strike into a social general strike and to have turned that into a social revolution—had that in fact been what any sizeable section of the anti-Gaullist forces wanted.

But was it? It was certainly among the students that the most revolutionary ideas were to be found. Correspondents tell us of the high level of heated discussion which went on day and night in the Sorbonne and the entire Latin Quarter — discussion interspersed with action in the bitter nightly battles with the hated CRS.

It may be said that when you are actually on the barricades it is a bit late to be trying to clarify your ideas—but no doubt the students en masse were just as surprised at what they were doing as anybody else. This is how it is with your actual spontaneous revolution. We may be quite sure that Daniel Cohn-Bendit and his 40 comrades in Nanterre whose action first sparked the whole thing off could have had no idea that they would end up with eight million workers on strike, the economy at a standstill and de Gaulle, if not on his knees, at least toppled from his pedestal and made to face the seething unrest beneath the surface of his State.

For this has been the great sur-

# Revolution Adjourned



prise for the world and perhaps even for the French people themselves: the extent of discontent, even of hatred for the regime, that exists under the surface of an apparently stable and orderly society. And the great achievement of the French students has been to bring this out into the open, to carry their own struggle into the factories and workshops, to offer a great gulp of fresh air to the French workers and deliver a great kick to the fat backside of French bourgeois society. The regime, even if it survives the general election, can never be the same again. Some degree of student control must be allowed in the universities, some degree of hope, if nothing else, must persist for the French workers.

For it is the workers who are in the sorriest plight. Contrary to Marxist mythology, the industrial workers in modern industrial countries are not—and never have been—the spearhead of social revolution. They should be, perhaps. They could be, certainly. But having been sold on reformist trade unionism, they are given no encouragement by their own organisations to think in terms of responsibility, of workers' control.

In France their condition is even worse than in this country. Here, for political reasons, the Communists will agitate as an opposition to the reformist unions; there the Communists are the reformist unions. The counter-revolutionary role the Communists have played in many revolutions has never been more perfectly exemplified than in the events in France these last three weeks, and the only comforting thought that can emerge from this is that surely they

must now be completely discredited among all those French workers who were prepared to occupy their factories and shops—for what?

### IF THEY HAD TAKEN OVER!

It was at the point of the occupation of the factories that the revolution was almost on. When the Bourse was fired; when the students began to change their tactics from mass confrontation to smaller, guerilla-type sorties to wear down the police and as a result the police began to show signs of disaffection and the civil service began to crack up, and de Gaulle apparently just sat and sat—then, if the occupation of the factories by the workers; if they had demonstrated their ability to organise their work without their bosses, if revolutionary co-ordinating councils had emerged to run the economy, distribute goods, maintain services—then the social revolution would have been on! H! H!

But no. Just as the petrified leaders of the TUC in the British General Strike of 1926 went to talk to King George V, so the slimy Communist leaders of the CGT went to talk with Pompidou — and came back triumphant with ten per cent!

Surely no one imagined the workers would accept this? But it was not primarily intended for acceptance. It was no more than a

talking point — a means towards taking the strikes off the boil, to give the politicians time to put their clammy hands over the hot aspirations of the people.

And so it worked. Everything went off the boil. The students took a hell of a beating and calmed down, the workers sat and sat and the politicians waited. Having been served by the unions perfectly, de Gaulle chose just the right moment and jumped. With a show of force, and just the right bait—a general election! — to cool all but the 'extremists', like the cunning old cat he is, he jumped. And that was it.

But we are sure the lessons of 1968 will not be lost. The sincere revolutionaries among the students will have learnt valuable lessons of tactics and theory; the workers will have seen where their real friends lie; the divisions between intellectuals and workers must have closed, between them and the politician/trade union bureaucrat widened.

What of the anarchist movement? Well, isn't it the same old story? Not enough anarchists among the workers! In all the student unrest around the world now anarchists are setting the pace—or at least anarchistic methods of direct action are having effect. The French event is the only instance we have so far of workers joining in a struggle with the students, and events

show that there was not a sufficient leavening of anarchist workers to get the message of workers' control across in the way that student power has been put across.

### THE TASK BEFORE US

It is of course a different set of problems. The bourgeoisie may moan about having to pay taxes to keep hooligan students in grants, but radical tampering with the economy at factory floor level is a really serious matter. Furthermore the workers themselves are not interested in ideas as the students are, and they are much more bogged down with the 'responsibilities' of domesticity, with noses to the grindstone and only superficial leisure activities as relief.

Nevertheless the task is before us as it has always been: the creation of a widespread anarchist movement in all levels of society; the creation of an anarcho-sindicalist movement in industry to educate workers in revolutionary aims and tactics so that the maximum advantage can be taken of any situation whenever the opportunity presents itself; the creation of an anarchist international for mutual aid across the frontiers.

One thing the French students and workers have done. They have put revolution back on the agenda in Western Europe. It is not over yet—it has simply been adjourned.

P.S.

## THE LAND OF MAKE-BELIEVE

SATURDAY, MAY 25, saw a Vietnam Solidarity Campaign demonstration in Liverpool. According to the BBC 400 people turned up. They consisted of Trotskyists and Maoists, and a small number of Anarchists from the north-west. At the pre-march gathering Anarchist propaganda was very much in evidence with FREEDOM on sale and the following Anarchist leaflet being distributed. (The only other propaganda leaflet I saw was a Christian-Marxist Group manifesto.)

**'OUR SUPPORT FOR THE VIETNAMESE IS ABSOLUTE!** This isn't a war but naked aggression by a world power against a small country for purely economic and political reasons.

Negotiations will achieve nothing of any value for the Vietnamese revolution: on two other occasions the "leadership" have lost at the negotiating table. Our job is not to call for negotiations but to destroy the root cause of this brutal oppression — WORLD CAPITALISM AND IMPERIALISM!

To deplace capitalism we quite frankly advocate as an alternative, not "National Liberation"—whatever that may mean—but REVOLUTION! It's ironic that war-torn Vietnam should be closer in many ways to what we desire for this country. To elaborate...

The North, under pressure of continuous bombing has been forced to decentralise, leaving production free from all but the minimum of interference from Hanoi; while in the South, those areas not occupied by the Americans or their allies, have passed into the direct control of their inhabitants, with no official bureaucracy.

But this situation only exists because war demands it. As soon as the fighting stops the natural tendency of the state to suppress and control the people will

clearly assert itself again. *It must not be allowed to succeed!* The peasants must struggle to keep the land, and the workers the means of production, out of the hands of the Ho Chi Minh state, so that the immense task of rebuilding can be carried out without the hindrance of governmental inefficiency and cor-

ruption, but sustained by the free initiative which is only a product of a Libertarian society.

**NATIONAL LIBERATION IS NOT ENOUGH!** To free Vietnam from foreign domination—although of primary importance at the moment—is not enough. The economy must be protected from an insidious take-over by managers and state bureaucrats—the Revolution does not need them.

Continued on page 2

## Student Control of College

STUDENTS OF Hornsey College of Art took control of the main college building on Crouch End Hill on Tuesday, May 28. At the moment of writing they are still in full control. Their action is fully supported by the main body of students and many members of the teaching staff, who have taken part in round the clock discussions and seminars. In the few days of the strike the level of consciousness of the students has risen considerably.

On Tuesday afternoon the students seized control and declared that they would occupy the building indefinitely. A banner outside the main door says: 'Student Control of College'. The ori-

ginal list of grievances drawn up by the Students' Action Committee included the following:

Lack of control of students' union funds.

No proper influence on college affairs, and ineffective staff-student council.

Lack of welfare, union and sports facilities; cramped working quarters; inadequate canteen; toilets already condemned.

Threats of victimisation and attitude of the college principal (Mr. Shelton).

On Thursday, after Mr. Shelton's secretary had put out misleading press statements, the students marched into his office and asked him to leave. He did.

This weekend the students have started to redecorate the school, have cleaned up a formerly stagnant fish-pond in the grounds and scrubbed the walls of the canteen and some corridors before repainting them. They have also removed partitions and are trying to make many other improvements.

Many student unions have sent letters and telegrams of support and over the weekend there were a constant stream of well-wishers.

The students' action is a challenge to the whole educational system. They have not yet decided however whether to make the present system workable or to press for its complete abolition.

Whatever the outcome of the present struggle the students and sympathetic staff have already proved that they are more than equal to running the school themselves.

JOHN RETY.

## OPEN UP THE SQUARES!

TEN PEOPLE were arrested last Saturday in Notting Hill when there was an attempt to open up Powis Square for the children. The children of the neighbourhood have nowhere to play except on the streets and every week there are fatal casualties to the motor car.

The struggle to open up the Squares to the children have been going on for some time. Group after group has tried without success. Yet these Squares, locked up by private landlords, are the logical playgrounds for children of the neighbourhood.

Yet here the landlords have the full support of the police and the authorities to keep these places locked up. It is no less than a scandal.

Last Saturday a jolly demonstration was organised by of all people the VSC local group (not a sectarian body by any means). There was a man in a gorilla suit, a pantomime horse, and people with masks. The march went down the busy Portobello Market and when it was understood what the purpose was, the pubs emptied, onlookers cheered and applauded, children joined in with glee. By the time the procession reached Powis Square there were several hundreds with them. At Powis Square, the defenders of low property owners,

the police, were there in a large contingent.

A man was picked out of the crowd and arrested—for stealing a glass of beer. Another was arrested for using a megaphone protesting the arrest. Then when the gorilla and the pantomime horse tried to go across the road, they were also arrested and later charged with assault. All in all ten people were arrested.

When George Clarke of the local People's Association arrived, he marshalled the children round the Square and shouted off his mouth to the Press about 'mindless militancy'.

This line was unfortunately also taken up by Peace News, who should not believe everything the press and the police say on this issue. Although George Clarke and his Association has done much valuable work in the neighbourhood, their petty jealousy that other people are also doing something is deplorable.

There was no mindless militancy there at Powis Square—except committed by the Notting Hill police. To accuse comrades who have not been tried by the courts is mindless folly of the greatest magnitude.

J.R.

# ANARCHY 88

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# THE NEW ARMAGEDDON

**UNLESS PEACE COMES: A SCIENTIFIC FORECAST OF NEW WEAPONS.** Symposium edited by Nigel Calder/Allen Lane. Published by Penguin. 35s.

AS RECENTLY as thirty years ago people's views of 'the shape of things to come' were moulded largely by the writings and ideas of one man, H. G. Wells. Wells, a clever scientist in his own right, frequently used his literary talent to assure the public that the onward march of scientific and technical progress would shortly usher in a new utopia and that coming generations of scientists and technicians would benevolently apply the rational techniques of the laboratory to society as a whole and would speedily put an end to nationalism, war and old-fashioned nonsense of that sort. Today, several increasingly destructive wars later, it has become obvious that the majority of scientists and technicians have prostituted themselves and their knowledge in the service of manufacturers, advertisers, administrators and the military. Some technically feasible outcomes of military applications of science are the subject of *Unless Peace Comes*.

Due to the activities of nuclear disarmers the general public regards the H-bomb as the ultimate horror weapon. But an attack with these would bring down a devastating retaliation on the aggressor. But how about this way round the problem? (I am quoting Professor Heden of Sweden, himself quoting Dr. Brock Chisholm.)

'He has speculated about a hypothetical nation making an attack on the US by one hundred vaccinated agents using botulinus toxin as the weapon. Each would import a few pounds in a body belt and proceed to one of the major cities, power sites or military centres. At a prearranged time each would take a small private plane from a local airport and then dust his target from the windward side using a small, easily made apparatus. Fatalities after such an attack might range from 40% to nearly 100%, and the attack might well be blamed on the USSR. Nuclear weapons would then be fired and retaliation from the USSR would be automatic and immediate.' (Chairman Mao please note.)

Inoculation of the population (or those sections of it the state wishes to see survive) can provide no sure defence against bacteriological attack for the scientific buffoons around the world are busy dreaming up and breeding completely new disease agents against which defence preparations are practically impossible. One form of attack that allows no defence short of the population living permanently underground is the chemical. According to Marcel Fetizon and Michel Magrat of France:—

'A kilogram or so of LSD is, in principle, sufficient to render tem-

porarily schizophrenic the whole population of London.'

They go on to ask the leading question: 'Is all science damned? We must either eliminate science or war. We cannot have both.'

Professor Thring, another contributor, assumes that we will have both, and envisages a whole host of ways in which robots can be used in war. Ideal for jungle warfare would be the

'compact armoured robot with sophisticated walking mechanism. It can be equipped with light and infra-red vision, radar and sonar; it can carry a built-in weapon such as gun or rocket-launcher, directed by computer to an exact range and aim on an enemy; and the same computer can steer the robot to the desired point.

Continued from page 1

Instead we hope to see the healthy growth and development of truly libertarian institutions such as . . . *Councils, co-operatives and communes of peasants and workers.*

Not just national liberation but **WORLD REVOLUTION.**

The march set off with the Trotskyists (who say they are opponents of Stalinism and are supporters of internationalism) lauding arch-Stalinist Ho Chi Minh and the National Liberation Front. And so to the large building that housed the US consulate. There hardly seemed to be a copper in sight. Up the steps to the door, locked as usual. So a couple of panels were broken. Someone shouted out the news as though a great blow had been struck against US imperialism. After a while round the other side of the building where one or two people mumbled a few words to an unresponsive audience. The frustration began to show itself in suggestions as to where we should march to next. They included (a) some French building, (b) the offices of the *Northern Echo*, (c) the BBC offices and (d) round and round in ever decreasing circles.

Then someone threw a brick through a ground floor window (the US consulate, I was told, was on the first floor), to be followed by a second. Plain clothes police pounced, fighting broke out, and, according to the BBC, nine people were arrested.

After the first brick was thrown a police officer moved among the crowd shouting 'Look, be reasonable, be reasonable.' We might consider this. Why not use reason as a basis for our actions rather than emotion or fantasy? We should act according to the conditions; there is no point in copying what happens on the continent if conditions here are different. Linking arms and jogging down the road as though

With a Jaser or plasma-torch light spot it can blind all human eyes looking at it.'

Other cheering prophecies in this excellent symposium concern military bases and warfare on the ocean floor (the sea-bed itself becoming a reason for hostilities) and 'environment wrecking'—meddling with the weather, the earthquake belt or the ionosphere.

Is science damned? Or, to be more precise, will a large number of scientists continue to use their knowledge and skill on projects of mass-destruction of the sort envisaged in this book, while large numbers of other scientists further the aims of the controllers of all the modern means of mass-deception and mass-manipulation?

I think the answer is 'yes', because science, with its mastery over nature and over men, produces a feeling of power, a heady wine which we as anarchists know that almost all rulers and would-be rulers find irresistible—why should

scientists react any differently?

Of course, there are exceptions, an outstanding one being Wells himself and it is a tragedy that he was so short-sighted that he imagined that all other scientists could, and one day would, share his own humane and compassionate attitude to the world. Wells's stupid ego-projections lulled two whole generations into a false sense of optimism and security regarding science.

And, quite apart from the malevolent applications of science and technology that Wells failed to foresee, do we want the benevolent applications—a reign of well-meaning sociologists, psychologists, mass-communication experts, planners, etc., that Wells regarded as the panacea for human and social ills? Has not science, in practically all its aspects, become just another establishment that oppresses individuals and which must be resisted?

JEFF ROBINSON.

## The Land of Make-Believe

we are about to be attacked by a mob of CRS, when there are only a dozen or so coppers present is ridiculous. Going to the *Northern Echo* offices because the Germans go to the Springer building is pointless, unless there has been a preparatory campaign beforehand. Breaking windows in unselected buildings and buses (as happened in London) alienates potential allies. Using tactics suitable for thousands with a few hundreds is suicide if the police decide to strike with all their strength. Was the breaking of a door, two windows and a news item worthy of the arrest of nine comrades?

We have a lot to learn from the continental comrades. The first and most important point is that we need bases from which we can build up a revolutionary movement. These bases should be social, geographical and occupational.

The social base should be fraternity and mutual aid. The British anarchist movement is extremely weak as far as this is concerned. There are differences of opinion, but we should be concerned with discussion, and not with attacks on personalities, which sometimes appear in the columns of **FREEDOM**. We have to practise more mutual aid in our contact with other comrades. If we can make the anarchist movement a fraternal grouping we will be 'creating the new society within the shell of the old'. By our actions we will show our ideas to be finer than those of the 'scientific socialists'.

The geographical bases would be communities of people living within the same locality. Here urban and rural libertarian communities can play an important part, as long as they are outward-looking. It might be an idea for isolated comrades to live as close as possible to other comrades. (Anar-

chists who do not want to join the usual types of libertarian communities can do this.) Comrades can then more easily put over our points of view and take a more effective part in the community life of the locality, in struggles over rent rises, etc.

The occupational base brings us to anarcho-syndicalism. It might be an idea for comrades to try to work in the same factory, school, office, etc., which will make our propaganda more efficient in this sphere.

But for the moment we have to admit that most anarchists have come into the movement from other left groups. We should continue to propagandise among these groups, joining their activities, to be present when revolutionary play-acting of the kind experienced last weekend in Liverpool takes place, show our opposition to it, and, if we are in sufficient numbers, turn the demonstration to sensible activities, to accept limitations on revolutionary activity when necessary.

Of course we should hold our own demonstrations when possible, but as these will be small in number it should be decided beforehand whether there will be direct action against a selected target, or whether the purpose of the demonstration will be the spreading of propaganda by word. B.B.

## July 'Anarchy'

A friend, Roy Prior, has just returned from France and has written a vivid 7,000 words account of the recent events. It is a brilliant eye-witness account which will be printed in the July *Anarchy*, which is devoted entirely to the May Revolution.

## Anarchist Federation of Britain

General enquiries should be sent to the London Federation.

**LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS.** c/o 7 Coptic Street, W.C.1. Business meetings first Sunday of the month. For details apply to LFA.

**EAST LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP.** At Ron Bailey's, 128 Hainault Road, Leytonstone, London, E.11. LEY 8059.

**LEWISHAM.** Contact Mike Malet, 61B Granville Park, Lewisham, London, S.E.13. Phone: 01-852 8879.

**EALING ANARCHIST GROUP.** Get into touch with Ken King, 54 Norwood Road, Southall.

**FINCH'S (PORTOBELLO ROAD) ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact: Pamela Pearce, 385 Latimer Road, W.10. Meetings every Wednesday evening at Finch's.

**S.W. LONDON LIBERTARIANS.** Contact: 14 Clapham Court, King's Avenue (Acre Lane end), S.W.4.

**WEST HAM ANARCHISTS.** Contact Stephen Higgs, 8 Westbury Road, Forest Gate, London, E.7. Regular meetings and activities. Wednesdays, 7.30 p.m.

### OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

Every Wednesday at Jack Robinson's and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m.  
June 12, 7.30 p.m. Driffield on his 'Kill Money' idea.

1st Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald and Irene Rogour's, now at 13 Savernake Road, London, N.W.3

3rd Friday of each month at Dennis Fen's, 314 St. Paul's Road, Highbury Corner, N.1 (above Roundabout Self-Service).

### REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

**SCOTTISH ANARCHIST CONFERENCE** is to be held in Glasgow in late June, at the Trades Council Club. Groups and individuals please contact Aberdeen SWF. Accommodation enquiries to Bobby Lynn, 16 Ross Street, Glasgow, C.1.

**ABERDEEN ANARCHISTS** meet 1st and 3rd Wednesdays of month at M. Dey's, 142 Walker Road, 2nd and 4th Wednesdays at Liz Smith's, 3 Sinclair Road. Correspondence to either address.

**ABERDEEN ANARCHIST FEDERATION (SWF)** local group. Folk Song Workshop and Committee of 100, Collater Climbing Club. Contact Iain MacDonalld, 15 Cotton Street, Aberdeen.

**BOLTON.** Get in touch with Les Smith, 108 Radcliffe Road, Bolton.

**BOURNEMOUTH AND EAST DORSET ANARCHISTS.** Please contact John McCain, 65 Norton Road, Winton, Bournemouth (B'm'th 95909) or Tim Deane, Juliet, West Moors, Wimborne, Dorset (Ferdowen 3588).

**OR T. DEANE, JULIET, WEST MOORS, WIMBORNE, DORSET (Ferdowen 3588).**

**BRISTOL ANARCHISTS.** Contact Susie Fisher and Adam Nicholson at 15 The Paragon, Bristol, 8.

**CROYDON** and area Libertarians alternate Fridays from April 26, 35 Natal Road, Thornton Heath, Croydon.

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

**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.

**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.

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

**ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP.** Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenway, Knockholt, Plunge. Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.

**READING ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Alan Ross, 116 Belmont Road, Reading, Berks.

### ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION

Three-monthly meetings. Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o Keith Nathan, 138 Penny-mead, Harlow, Essex.

**BASILDON.** M. Powell, 7 Lingercroft, Basildon, Essex.  
**BISHOPS STORTFORD.** Vic Mount, 'Eastview', Castle Street, Bishops Stortford, Herts.  
**CHELMSFORD.** (Mrs.) Eva Archer, Mill House, Purleigh, Chelmsford, Essex.  
**EPPING.** John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping, Essex.  
**HARLOW.** John Deards, 184 Carter's Mead, Harlow, and/or Geoff Hardy, 6 Redricks Lane, Harlow, Essex. Monthly meetings in 'The Essex Skipper', The Stow, Harlow.  
**LOUGHTON.** Group c/o Students' Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Borders Lane, Loughton, Essex.  
**MUCH HADHAM.** Leslie Riodan, High Street, Much Hadham, Herts.  
**NORTH EAST ESSEX.** Peter Newell, 'Maybush', Maypole Road, Tiptree, Essex. Group meets first

Monday in each month, 7.15 p.m. at 91 Brook Road, Tolleshunt Knights, Tiptree, Essex.

### NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

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

**LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST PROPAGANDA GROUP AND 'HIPPI' MOVEMENT.** Gerry Bree, 16 Faulkner Square, Liverpool, 8. Meetings weekly. 'Freedom' Sales—Pier Head, Saturdays, Sundays, Evenings.

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

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

### SUSSEX FEDERATION

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

**BRIGHTON & HOVE ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Nick Heath, Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road, Brighton, BN1 3HN. Poetry readings, Fish Market Hard, every Sunday 2 p.m. Meetings every Thursday, Combination, 76 West Street, 8.30 p.m.

**SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP.** (See Student Groups.)

### WELSH ANARCHIST FEDERATION

**CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP.** All correspondence to—Pete Raymond, 90 Albany Road, Roath.

**MERTHYR TYDFIL ANARCHIST GROUP.** Correspondence to Huw Rowlands, 16 Cromwell Street, Methy Tydfil.

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

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

### STUDENT GROUPS

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

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

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

## LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

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

**VOLUNTARY WORK TEAM.** Forwarding address: 11 BARWAY ROAD, Manchester (See contact column for present work project.)

## PROPOSED GROUPS

**TAUNTON LIBERTARIANS.** Contact Jill and John Driver, 59 Beadon Road, Taunton, Somerset. Meetings alternate Friday evenings.

**PORHCURNO.** Will D.R. (Press Fund, April 27) and any other comrades in Cornwall please contact Arthur Jacobs, 76 East Hill, St. Austell.

We already have a nucleus for a group and need more support.

**EXETER UNIVERSITY.** Contact Dick Hardwick, c/o Devonshire House, Stocher Road, Exeter.

**FIFE LIBERTARIANS.** Contact Bob and Una Farnbull, 39 Stratheden Park, Stratheden Hospital, by Cupar, Fife.

## 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 RFD 2, Woodstock, Vermont 05091, USA.

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

**SWEDEN:** Libertad, Allmänna Vägen 6, Gothenburg V.

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

**BELGIUM: LIEGE.** Provos, c/o Jacques Charlier, 11 Avenue de la Laiterie, Sclessin-Liege, Belgium.

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

# THAT WORD 'ANARCHY'

THE ATTEMPTS of what the *Industrial Worker* calls the 'plute press' to interpret the recent examples of student militancy have resulted in a great deal of overwork for and misuse of the small noun 'anarchy' and its adjectival derivatives. So much so, in fact, that it seems worth while to examine precisely what is meant by the word 'anarchy', particularly as used by journalists and politicians, and estimate how apposite this meaning is to the circumstances to which it is commonly applied.

In the purely etymological sense, 'anarchy'—as ought to be well-known by now—simply means the negation of order and/or authority, and is the most frequently used synonym for chaos. As such it would be perfectly applicable to such things as the government's attempts

to stabilize the economy; Bank Holiday traffic; increased centralization; decreased agricultural acreage; the motor car industry, and the like. However when the word is seen splashed over the front of a newspaper, or heard pronounced with venom during a political speech, it is seldom used in this sense, and usually refers to a phenomenon which journalists and politicians hate and fear probably more than anything else.

This phenomenon is difficult to describe in a phrase and I am obliged to suggest its nature by using somewhat vague terms such as spontaneous organization, direct action and solidarity. But however elusive the quality, its visible manifestations are clear enough, and are shown, for instance, by the way in which large numbers of people, often under

emotional stress, often harassed by the police or armed forces, respond to the complexities of a given situation by producing a form of organization—often sudden and makeshift—which copes with that situation with remarkable and, to the authorities, terrifying efficiency.

This spectacle of a mass of excited people gradually spinning its own web of social cohesion has been seen during the preliminary stages of every revolution that has ever taken place, and has just occurred again in France, where schoolboys and students outmanoeuvred well-equipped, highly-trained riot police and, with increasing signs of support from workers, threatened to bring the government to its knees.

But far from being chaotic, as we are told repeatedly by the mass media, far from being 'anarchy' in the derogatory sense of the word, the actions of the students have been carried out with remarkable co-ordination and discipline, and no one can doubt that their system of defence was both well-organized and spectacular—true anarchy, in fact! And the reason that such activity does bring a government to its knees and causes panic and vituperation to monopolize the front pages, is because at such times it is revealed to the common people that the mighty, all-powerful, all-pervasive state apparatus within which they are constrained to live out their lives, is no more than a giant made of clay! They begin to suspect that what they have always regarded as immutable and indestructible can be toppled and smashed to bits with one concerted effort!

Somehow the people never have the temerity to make that final effort, yet what need they fear from the destruction of the state except a new freedom, an impulsive release of individual initiative, the pride of assuming full responsibility for one's own life, a surge of voluntary association, and a fever of energy and rejuvenation.

M.H.

DAVEY JONES.

## NO LONGER A FANTASY

THE FRENCH REVOLT began with a provocation. The anarchists of Nanterre carried placards, ridiculing the police, into the main hall of the university. The police were called by the university authorities and hundreds of students fought them back.

This pattern—a small group acts; the police move in; a mass of students fight back in solidarity—runs through not only the French Revolt but also other student rebellions.

And the pattern was also evident in the Committee of 100's most successful demonstration at Trafalgar Square in 1961. On that occasion the British Government made the mistake of imprisoning a number of members of the Committee, including several celebrated writers and the old man himself, Bertrand Russell. The government further declared that anybody attending the demonstration or observing it—or going anywhere near it—would be breaking the law.

The result was a turnout of thousands, many of whom were unsympathetic to the Committee of 100—a mass defiance of the state. It was often said by Committee militants that only demonstrations at rocket bases clearly expressed the ideas of direct action. But of all the Committee's actions Trafalgar Square 1961 was the only one successfully to involve thousands of people who were not already supporters.

It happened because the government simply made a mistake—as the French Revolt has been inspired by the errors and brutality of authority. The revolutionary has no means of knowing when the state will miscalculate. His function is to act deliberately to provoke this miscalculation—and to avoid detaching himself too far from the masses.

An example of miscalculation by revolutionaries was the attack on the Paris Bourse. The replacement of the Tricolour by the anarchist flag was not hailed with rapture by the mass of students outside. The Bourse was not burned to the ground, precisely because the overwhelming majority of demonstrators were not prepared to join in.

It must be clearly understood that direct action by small groups of anarchists can only be successful if it is symbolic rather than real. This seems to be a contradiction.

The reason why the London occupations by anarchists of the Cuban and Greek Embassies were successful demonstrations was that the objective of the participants was not to take over the buildings permanently. The objective of the participants was to concentrate attention on the regimes whose property they attacked—and to provoke a violent reaction by the British state.

The action of occupying a foreign embassy to express opposition to its

regime is an excellent example of propaganda by deed. It is not the real direct action that we have seen recently in France. Real direct action can only be carried out by the masses.

The French Revolt has shown what some have doubted—that it is possible in a prosperous, highly centralised, bureaucratic society for the people to act for themselves: for students to seize control of their university; for workers to occupy their factory; for the masses to act collectively not simply to improve their conditions but to challenge the whole apparatus of state power.

The French students and workers have shown the way forward as the Russians did in 1917, as the Spanish did in 1936. The revolutions of the past have been overcome by the power of the state; this happened partly because the state was not clearly identified as the primary target of the revolution.

It is now true for the first time in history that revolts and rebellions in Europe and North America cannot fail to select the state as their main enemy. It is not accidental that the slogans of Berlin, Paris and Brussels are slogans of the libertarian revolution. Anarchism is the only idea left which has not been fouled by politicians: it is the logical answer to authority, bureaucracy and violence.

The red is for revolution, the black is for freedom. Both are for now in a way they have never been before.

We are always being told that *anarchy* will follow the defeat of centralised government. It is an idea which the politicians and their friends have very clearly in their minds. Let them keep it in their minds: let us keep it in ours. It could be we are both right.

But the anarchy we want is not the chaos the politicians are afraid of. Anarchy is brotherhood, community, freedom, peace.

We cannot achieve this by killing the police: we do not have to kill the police to achieve it. The power of the students and workers in France does not lie in their ability to fight back the police by violence. It lies in their ability to defy the state by occupying their places of work, by ignoring its orders, building a new social organisation to replace it.

It is obvious that revolutionary social change will involve some violence by the people. It is equally obvious that if this violence is systematically planned by revolutionaries it will succeed only in leading to a new system of oppression. The red and black revolution, to be successful, needs the idea of non-violence.

This debate about violence is no longer academic. It is now very practical. The revolution has stopped being a fantasy.

WYNFORD HICKS.

## SLL BREAKS UP MARCH

A WEEK LAST SUNDAY several hundred members of Anarchist, IS, and Solidarity groups, as well as the May Day Committee, assembled in Malet Street for a march in solidarity with the French revolutionary movement. On arrival they found a hostile welcome.

Before the march started a group of anarchists, with banners, were ordered off the march by Socialist Labour League stewards. They said it was the SLL's own march, they didn't want anarchists at all and if International Socialists wanted to march then they must obey SLL instructions.

Meanwhile the 'alternative leadership' told us through a megaphone that now was the time to build a new movement of the left and that this march showed that the SLL was the only organization capable of leading it.

The two groups—the SLL and the 'others'—were by this time being kept apart by a burly group of SLL thugs. One of their gestapo leaders came up and told them they wouldn't call in the police, they'd just lay into us. As we tried to move forward to form one united march, the bully boys got nasty, formed lines, and began pushing into us; inevitably, by this time, backed by a line of police.

An IS member, Chris Harman, who appealed for a united march through a megaphone was brutally attacked.

Unable to force our way through, we turned and marched in the other direction, surrounded by the police, eventually forming a distinct march a couple of hundred yards behind the SLL's.

Our march clashed with the police several times en route, and later at the French Embassy. The SLL marched

quietly, in straight lines, according to police requests, and ended the march even more quietly.

An SLL steward who came back to tell 'our' march that 'theirs' was four times as big, remarked that we could never win because we didn't understand that to fight the employers you had to co-operate with the police. To the SLL this makes sense—their future society would include the very same policemen, although armed, so why annoy them now?

## AFB Conference in Liverpool?

Dear Comrades,  
We, on behalf of Merseyside Anarchist Group would like to offer to hold this year's Anarchist Federation of Britain Conference in Liverpool.

We think that Liverpool would be preferable to London for the reason that Northern and Scottish comrades could make it more easily. We envisage the conference will take the normal pattern of a weekend meeting with a Saturday night social.

We would like to hear from groups as to suggestions for the conference. Sufficient comrades have already offered accommodation as to make this feasible. We think that September/October would be better than the summer because obviously many anarchists would be on holiday at that time.

We have already contacted the London Federation of Anarchists on this matter.

Yours fraternally,  
JACK BENNETT,  
ALEX HOWIE,  
on behalf of the  
Merseyside Anarchist Group.

## MOVING/PREMISES FUND

Target is £500.  
Received to Date—£409 11s. 2d.  
Target is £1,000 per year.  
Pledges received to date—£399 18s. 0d.  
Pledges honoured to date and donations—£390 4s. 4d.

We are soon to move into our permanent home. We hope comrades will help us with the above targets.

## Doing Well!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT	
Estimated Expenses:	
22 weeks at £90:	£1,980
Income: Sales and Subs.:	£1,822
DEFICIT: £158	

## PRESS FUND

Aberdeen: P.G. £1; Melbourne: M.J. and B.H. £2/10/-; Wigan: E.H. 10/-; Leeds: A.C. 5/-; Lyons: P.Z. 10/-; Wainui-O-Mata: G. and C.E. 10/-; Londonderry: I.B. 10/-; Leeds: D.S. 2/-; Waterloo, Ont.: D.R.G. £1; London, S.W.4: A.S. £2/15/-; Wolverhampton: J.L.\* 3/-; J.K.W.\* 2/-; Bletchley: R.S. 10/-; Club Row Sympathiser 2/-; Blackburn: D.C. 6/-; Farnham: D.M.B. 5/-; Bradford: F.R. 5/-; Hartlepool: B.C. 5/-; Hastings: G.W.T. £2/10/-; Berkhamsted: W.G.Q. 10/-; Edmonton, Alberta: £5; Kidderminster: J.W.H. 4/-; Ipswich: W.D. 10/-; London, S.E.5: R.O. £1/10/-; London, S.E.5: J.McE. £1/10/-; Chicago: R.S. 16/6; Toledo: H.S. 4/-; Caterham: F.B. £5; Glasgow: A.J. 1/9; London, S.E.26: D.L.D. 10/-; Toronto: S.B. £1/2/6; Wolverhampton: J.L.\* 3/-; J.K.W.\* 2/-; Hailsham: L.S. 1/3; London, S.W.1: D.R. 10/-; Zambia: J.W.D. £2/1/4; Belfast: W.G. 5/-; London, N.7: A.W. 10/-.

TOTAL: £34 18 10  
Previously Acknowledged: £362 14 3  
1968 Total to Date: £397 13 1  
Deficit B/D: £158 0 0  
TOTAL SURPLUS: £239 13 1

Gift of Books: London, S.W.1: D.R.  
\*Denotes Regular Contributor.

## SUPPORT FUND FOR FRENCH STUDENTS

THIS IS AN APPEAL to all those who are concerned by events in France, to those who wish they were there, to those who want to do more than express their solidarity with the French students, teachers and workers.

In spite of the very fluid situation, there is something positive that we in this country can do now, and that is to send funds which are badly needed to sustain the struggle.

Would you please send your donations/ collection to the fund c/o 21 Rumbold Road, London, S.W.6. Treasurer: Ernest Rodker.

## NOT TAKING ORDERS!

Dear Editors,  
Last night, whilst enjoying a quiet pint with a friend in my local, a young man, no doubt and to his credit, full of revolutionary fervour and idealism, sold us a copy of the latest organ of the 'Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League', the *Newsletter*. This edition contained the Manifesto of the SLL with regard to the revolutionary situation among our comrades in France: in article 7, it had the following to say about Anarchism, which I consider very relevant to all our Anarchist and Libertarian comrades.

I quote:  
'All those who talk about workers' councils and "workers' control", but oppose the building of a disciplined revolutionary party of the working class, are carrying into the workers' movement the deadly political influence of the middle class. Anarchism and syndicalism are the political expressions of this influence.'

'Above all, the working class must carry out a political struggle for state power. The state authority of the working class must be used to smash the class enemy. The political authority of the Marxist party is necessary to weld the leading force of the working class.'

'Anarchists who preach against authority as such, represent the middle class which cannot go beyond protest, which rejects the struggle for power and which leaves the working class open to the betrayals of the Stalinists and the repressions of the bourgeois state. This was the lesson of Spain, just as the opposite lesson was established by the Bolsheviks.'

I do not intend to comment on the 'mud-slinging' middle class assertions of the above quote, there are in existence many fine histories of Anarchism which disprove this theory; but if one is to start name-calling, how much more bourgeois in origin can one become than Marx or Lenin. However, be this as it may, my purpose in writing this letter is to comment on other assertions made by the SLL. I put it to Anarchists that the true purpose of the SLL accusations is that, in all truth, they fear the opposition of the Anarchists to any state that they, the SLL, might try to impose either here or in France, or anywhere, after a successful revolution. All members of that august body whom I have ever spoken to, talk of the establishing of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat', that much overused phrase which has become as empty as most of the people who use it.

We all know what that means. They claim that eventually they want the withering away of the state they have established, whilst we as Anarchists want this to happen immediately, a complete abolishment where there is no need for any withering. How long will this withering away take? Five years, 10 years, 50 years, a century, a millennium? It is my belief, and that of most of us, that any government, once in power, soon forgets its original ideals and is eventually very loath to relinquish voluntarily its hold on power, and that often, such governments soon become much more oppressive than the one they have replaced. What would happen to us Anarchists if the SLL does ever come to power? No doubt at the best, we would find that what little freedom we

enjoy at present would disappear and at worst, like Makhno and other Russian Anarchists found after 1917, extermination would be the order of the day.

The SLL talks about a 'disciplinary revolutionary party'. Discipline is a word full of obnoxious connotations and one which I find anathema. It conjures up images of my days as a National Serviceman, when discipline was supposed to mould my character, make a man of me, etc. Well, it helped mould my character all right, but not in the way the powers that be wished. Personally I would find it as obnoxious taking orders from a Left Wing, Communist, Trotskyite or Marxist organisation as I would from a Fascist, Tory, Nationalist or Wilsonian Labourite organisation; as far as I can make out there would be as little difference between that and once more being a member of Her Majesty's Armed Forces. Discipline, under any pretext, exists only to make an individual conform to an external authority.

## HARLOW TOWN SHOW

Dear Comrades,  
This is both an open invitation and a begging letter.

You have probably heard of our activity at last year's Harlow Town Show which gained us a great deal of good publicity.

This year we have a marquee of our own, around which to build a display to amuse, enlighten, and enervate the tens of thousands who will come to the Show.

The amusement will be provided by music, Morris dancing (yes, that's right!—anarchic Morris dancers!) and free balloons (hand-decorated), flags and lemonade.

The enlightenment and enervation by a special leaflet and a Town Show magazine/newsheet with, what we hope will be, eight colourful and interesting stands inside our marquee.

That's part of the invitation—come and join us on Saturday, August 31/ Sunday, September 1.

Here is the begging part—we need gifts of money and energy to fully realise our plans. We need (a) copies of any leaflets/publications comrades have produced, (b) the gift or loan of posters, press-cuttings, pictures, periodicals, for a special stand showing anarchists, their activities, their history (ancient pictures of Kropotkin, Makhno, Durrutti, et al. especially needed), (c) colourful pictures and posters to cover tent walls and stands—stand frontage will be 40 ft.-60 ft. depending on final layout, wall area about 1,000 square feet, so we'd appreciate help from artistic comrades as our few gifted local people are going to be very much overworked.

If you can help in any way, please contact: Geoff Hardy, 6 Redricks Lane, Harlow, Essex.

Down with any form of government.  
Leeds GEORGE T. R. CAIRCROSS.

KEITH NATHAN,  
p.p. HAF

Afterthought: Has any comrade in London or around a lorry suitable for use as a Carnival float?

## LETTERS

# Elections— Treason to the Revolution!

THE PAST WEEKS have seen a modern Western industrialised society rocked to its very foundations. French workers, following the initiative of the students, have occupied their places of work. This action took place spontaneously and soon spread all over France. It quickly followed the one day token strike on Monday, May 13, called by the three trade union organisations, which proved to be a massive show of solidarity with the students.

However, the grievances were not confined to the students. The French working class has for a long time suffered an ever worsening standard of living. Wage increases and better conditions have been effectively resisted by the Gaullist regime and, in order to compete within the Common Market, its efforts to modernise the French capitalist system have caused the conditions and wages of workers to lag far behind what has been necessary to secure a reasonable standard of living. There is also growing unemployment which is not only affecting industrial workers, but also the students who are finding

it increasingly difficult to find employment after leaving university.

However, the occupation of the factories, building sites, the docks, ships, and the bringing of the whole transport system to a standstill was not specifically for economic demands. As in the case of the students, these actions released all the pent up resentment against a bureaucratic and authoritarian regime which, over the years, had been subjecting the people to increasing exploitation.

The students had shown the way. They had forced concessions from the Government and the lessons of this were not lost on workers, especially the young ones. Following the token strike, students had gone to factories to explain their case and so had linked up their struggle with that of workers.

## CAUGHT OFF BALANCE

When the workers took occupation of their places of work, there was no call put out for a general strike. It just happened. The Communist Party and their union, the CGT, were caught completely off balance and, in order to regain its control, it went along with the workers, bringing them out where it knew it was in firm control.

In actual membership, the trade union movement in France is very small. The CGT is the largest, but this numbers just over 1½m. members. The CFDT has under a million and the FO 500,000. So out of the working population, only about 30 per cent are organised. This has meant that trade unions are hardly recognised in many factories. Citroëns have a total ban on union activities and even Renaults, which are supposed to be progressive, deny trade union activities, which are taken for granted in the average factory here.

While only a small number are organised, the strikes that paralysed France embraced 10m. workers and indicates how widespread is the discontent amongst workers. The Communist Party and all the trade unions were caught out by the spontaneous series of strikes. Although originally unofficial, the unions were forced

to support them. By occupying their factories, the workers asserted their claim to the social ownership and control of the means of production. This assertion has revolutionary implications and the trade unions were quick to realise this.

In the circumstances, the occupation was a natural thing to do. Many of the younger workers were well aware of the possibilities of this form of action, but the trade unions and the Communist Party were quick to impose purely economic demands for the workers. These demands cover big increases in wages, a 40-hour week, lower retiring age, recognition of trade union organisation and activities in factories and a return to the previous rates for social security benefit. They are important and justified, but diverted a revolutionary situation to an economic one, which could be handled by the present bourgeois system. Given their continued rule, these economic advances could be lost with probable devaluation of the franc and the consequences of inflation.

The Communist Party, throughout, has done nothing that in any way threatened the institutions on which the bourgeois system rests. It has at all times denounced any body or organisation which is politically to their left. It has outflanked and outmanoeuvred any movement in this direction. It has

# Freedom For Workers' Control

JUNE 8 1968 Vol 29 No 17

prevented, where possible, any contact or link-up between students and workers. It has played down the insurrectionary and revolutionary character of the student demonstration and the occupation of the factories. It has at all times refused to take any action which might provoke the CRS.

## CGT LEADER BOOED

Once the Communist Party had gained control, the Government was able to negotiate with the unions. Agreement was reached on the economic issues, but when these were put to the workers, they were overwhelmingly rejected.

The *Observer* says that the CGT leader, Georges Seguy, was booed by Renault workers. This rejection put the union leaders out on a limb, giving the dispute stronger political overtones. It was going further than mere economic demands.

After the revolutionary tone of Monday's march and meeting of students and workers, at which André Barjonet, the ex-CGT economic adviser, said 'Revolution today is possible', the Communist Party once again reasserted its control by calling out its members and supporters on Wednesday's demonstration.

They demanded the resignation of De Gaulle and a 'government of the people'. Hardly revolutionary, but at least political and a challenge for power which De Gaulle fully understands. Following the rejection of wage increases, etc., a referendum was a non-starter, for who was going to print the ballot papers? Not the French printers and even Belgian workers had refused to do it.

De Gaulle has promised a general election within 40 days and felt strong enough to issue a challenge that if a 'situation of force' continued to prevail (meaning revolutionary activity) 'I will have to adopt other methods than immediate elections. In any case civil action must be organised everywhere to assist the Government. Prefects of departments and regions will resume the role of Commissioners of the Republic to ensure the livelihood of the population and the defence against subversion.' In that short speech he shattered the Left's hopes of immediate power.

De Gaulle is fighting on and has issued a challenge which, if taken, would mean civil war. The Communist Party and the socialist parties in the Parliament did not take up this challenge. Instead, they are using the ballot box. The economic concessions gained through negotiation will be used to win votes at election. The Communist Party wants only to participate in a government of the Left. It realises it can be successful here and so a return to work is in order. Without this a general election would be impossible.

## IN RETREAT

To continue the struggle, the Communist Party would have to move to the left and this could once again create a revolutionary situation which, this time, it would be unable to contain. The Communist Party and the other traditional parties of the Left are now in retreat from a revolutionary situation. By accepting elections and agreeing not to impede them, they turned away from De Gaulle's challenge.

However, in a revolutionary situation, the idea of civil war must be faced. The police and armed forces are there to protect the system and therefore have to be won over. There were signs that if such a confrontation took place, troops were not prepared to break strikes. The struggle is now moving from the street and factories into the harmless constitutional channels of elections. Police have cleared workers from communication centres and already other workers are resuming work.

The Communists throughout have never aimed for or wanted the overthrow of the Gaullist regime, whether by violence or other means. They have been more concerned with the challenge from the extreme left, from 'anarchist and adventurist trends'. Their concern, like all political parties, has been to streng-

then their political base and support in order to gain some power by constitutional means.

De Gaulle knew this, otherwise he would not have issued his challenge. Although there was a clear political challenge when workers rejected the increases, De Gaulle knew the Communists would not carry it through.

Many Communists have been shocked by their Party's actions. The Party faces a considerable crisis here. There is also a new revolutionary movement in which anarchists have played a considerable role. It is not restricted to students, but has strong links with young trade union members. This is what is important, that the French working class responded to and supported the students. They were horrified at the treatment that the students received from the CRS and they showed where their sympathies lay.

The students alone cannot change society. They are fully aware of this. Revolution in our bureaucratic capitalist society depends on the support of the working class. Students and workers should not be divided, but should unite in such situations. It is important that they work together and that the social revolution should be their aim. These contacts have and are being made. Although, at the time of writing, work is resuming, the situation is still in a state of flux and things will never be the same in France again. Many more students and workers realise now that mere reforms are not enough. The direct action in the streets, the fighting on the barricades and the occupations of the factories have changed, educated and made many conscious of the revolutionary potential of their actions.

P.T.

## News from Spain

EUROPA PRESS says that the Civil Guards have detained in Valmaseda (Biscay), the Misses Pilar de Iza Campos and Consuelo Narro Frances, and also the student Jesus Maria de Echevarria Mirones. They are accused of distributing leaflets.

## PARIS

A report published in a daily here says that General Franco is not egoistic, does not like publicity and is silent and reserved.

Well, Franco's portrait is on plenty of coins, 190,000 medals and 27,872 diplomas; he's honorary head of every profession except the dustmen, he's the National Leader, Field Marshal and an Excellency three times over; there's no official centre or even union office which does not have his portrait. As for caricatures, if nobody does these it's not because of Franco's modesty, but through fear of the Tribunal of Public Order.

## MADRID

The Tribunal of Public Order has tried the trade unionists of Sabadell, Juan Gonzalez, Manuel Tanco, Juan Vera, Tomas Chicharro and Angel Rozas. For Chicharro and Rozas, who were Republican during the Civil War, the prosecution demanded six years' imprisonment and for Fernandez five years. For the rest, two years.

The employer of a maidservant, Maria Isabel Arribas, found she had a few clandestine leaflets, and called the police. Now the Tribunal of Public Order has sentenced the servant, Maria, to six months and one day in prison and a fine of 10,000 pesetas. The wretched informant has been recommended for the Cross of the 'Sagrado Envilecimiento'.

The same tribunal has sentenced the Biscayans, Jose I. Egurria, Antonio Perez and Luis I. Birizuela to one year and one day in prison, and a fine of 10,000 pesetas for illegal distribution of leaflets.

From *Le Combat Syndicalist* (Toulouse). trans.: j.w.s.

## Contact Column

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

**Lennie Bruce Records Evening.** Admission free. Coffee Bar, 176 North End Road, W.14. Tuesday, June 18, 8.30 p.m.

**Accommodation wanted,** flat or sharing. Young libertarian male. W. E. Rogers, 4 Sheldon Road, Dagenham, Essex (work phone 01-247 4311).

**Arthur Moyses.** Anarchistic folio of drawings, cartoons and collages. 22 prints (10½ x 8½) and index. 6s. or \$1.50 post paid from BB Books, 11 Clematis Street, Blackburn, Lancs.

**Student anarchist,** going to York University next October, would like to contact comrades in York and around. Please write to: Keith Nathan, 138 Pennymead, Harlow, Essex.

**Planned decentralisation** via the anarchist commune. 6d. stamps to Selene Community (F), Rhydymyerau, Llandeilo, Sir Gaerfyrddin.

**Voluntary Work Team.** Present address: The Day Nursery, Park Lane, Old Knebworth, Herts.

**Lost.** Anarchist banner inscribed 'Liberty'. Please get in touch with Paul Weston, Flat 19, 138 Sussex Gardens, W.2 (PAD 5935). We loved it, we lost it at the French demo in Knightsbridge.

**Interesting and worthwhile work** wanted for young male Anarchist/Pacifist. Anything considered. Barry, c/o Beachlands, Honey Lane, Frodsham, Cheshire.

**Flat wanted** for two girls and two kids. Tired of being discriminated against by rotten landowners because of kids. Prefer Islington/Canonbury/Highbury area. Contact Barbara or Julie at 'Peace News', 5 Caledonian Road, N.1. Phone: 837 4473.

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

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

**Hitch to Turkey,** or thereabouts. July/August. Box No. 10.

**East Anglia.** If you're near Ipswich, call on us. We stock all Freedom Press publications, and have *FREEDOM* and *Anarchy* regularly. Orwell Books, 44 Upper Orwell Street, Ipswich, Suffolk.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

## We've Moved

Editorial office open Friday, June 7, 6-8 p.m. Monday, June 10, 6-8 p.m. Telephone: BISHOPSGATE 3015.

New temporary address:  
84a WHITECHAPEL HIGH STREET,  
c/o Express Printers,  
(entrance Angel Alley),  
WHITECHAPEL, E.1.  
(Underground: Aldgate East. Exit:  
Whitechapel Art Gallery. Turn right  
on emerging from station.)

Temporary opening times:  
Tuesday-Friday, 2-6 p.m.  
Saturday, 10 a.m.-4 p.m.

## ARMANDO BORGHİ

ON SUNDAY, APRIL 21, occurred the death at the age of 86 of one of Italy's greatest anarchists—ARMANDO BORGHİ.

Borghı was born at Castelbolognese in 1882 and became an anarchist at a very early age under the influence of Andrea Costa (who had not then joined the Socialists). Right from the start he became a speaker and agitator in working class struggles and strikes, and it was in the field of anarcho-syndicalism that he expended most of his considerable energy. He became an organiser in and finally secretary of the *Unione Sindacale Italiana*, which had been formed in opposition to the reformist *Confederazione del Lavoro*, and also edited the weekly paper *Guerra di Classe*.

Like Malatesta, Borghı was a strong opponent of the First World War and was interned for his outspoken opposition. After his release he visited Russia in 1920 with a delegation of anarchists and syndicalists, and met Lenin. On his return he was imprisoned at Milan with Malatesta, staged a hunger strike which triggered off many acts

of protest, and was finally acquitted and set free.

The victory of Fascism in Italy forced Borghı to go into exile, first in Germany, then in Paris, and finally in the USA, where he remained until the end of the war, never ceasing to pour out denunciation of the Fascist regime.

He returned to Italy on the death of Gigi Damiani and took over the editorship of *Umanità Nova*, the paper founded by Malatesta, which post he held until the end of 1965, giving up the post finally because of increasing ill-health.

It is impossible to give an adequate account of a man who devoted nearly 70 years of activity and self-sacrifice to the anarchist movement. Perhaps one of his own autobiographical works—*Half a Century of Anarchy and Living like Anarchists*—may be translated into English. It is to be sincerely hoped so, as none of the several books he managed to write, despite his other heavy commitments, has been to my knowledge translated, and his name remains virtually unknown in this country.

D. POULSON.