Anarchist Weekly @

JUNE 22 1968 Vol 29 No 19

TWO NIGHTS OF **GUERILLA WAR**

An eye-witness account of the fighting which took place in Paris on the nights of June 10 and 11, 1968.

WHAT FOLLOWS is an account of my own personal experience in the 5th, 6th and 14th Arrondissements on the two nights when Paris experienced more bitter fighting in the civil war than she had previously experienced.

What I refuse to attempt to do is to deliberately simplify an extremely com-plex situation, to select certain incidents which illustrate some preconceived notions I may have had about the state of affairs in existence. A knowledge of colloquial French is no help to unravelling the complexities. The Sunday Times of 16.6.68 proudly claims to have been the first to report the alarming rumours? so leaving aside the wild guesses at foresight, the gutter journalism which reduces the revolutionaries into terms of drug-addicts and VD cases we move into Boulevard St. Michel at 11.30 on Monday

At the junction with St. Germain Boulevard the students are directing traffic as the massive demonstration approaches from the north.

At the head of the procession are a group of anarchists flying the black flag. The marchers are chanting De Gaulle, L'assassin, and singing the Internationale. The mood is electric. The crowd swirls around, the banners iog up and down. around, the banners jog up and down. A student, Gilles Tautin, has died from drowning at Flins. He either was thrown into the river by police swooping down on a group of students or jumped in to avoid a beating-up with truncheons. This

avoid a beating-up with fruncheons. This march is to avenge his death.

Every hundred yards or so the march halts, and L'Internationale is sung. Now we move past the Sorbonne, and on, down to Rue Soufflot where the march is left-wheeled. The girl carrying the anarchist banner still heads the processing with two other side carrying red sion, with two other girls carrying red flags, and one girl with a flag that is red on one side, black on the other. The flags jog through the darkness. Ahead of us looms the massive dome of

Ancad of us fooms the massive dome of the Pantheon.

Now, suddenly the atmosphere becomes charged with fervour. The crowd cry hup hup hup, and then they are running, running, hundred after hundred, sprint-ing forward towards the Pantheon. Immediately there comes two sharp ex-plosions—the first riot-gas grenades are fired into the crowd. I jump up on a car and see the black shapes of police buses on the Pantheon forecourt, and

But the object of the march is not to reach the Pantheon but to reach the large police station situated opposite. More riot-gas grenades are fired, and

ANARCHY 89 THE MAY DAYS **IN FRANCE**

ANARCHY is Published by FREEDOM PRESS at 2s, on first Saturday of every month the night sky. Louder, more menacing, a hollow detonation stills the vast crowd who pause, uncertain as to what it and detonation shivers through the followed by a barrage of explosions from gas guns.

A few minutes later, the word passes brough the crowd. The first Molotov through the crowd. The first Molotov cocktails have set two police vehicles ablaze. The battle begins in earnest. There is none of the polite acceptance of totalitarian authority such as we see in this country. The people have got their backs to the wall, and they are fighting with everything they've got."

The crowd enter street-fighting with bravery and intelligence. All of them do not flee before the grenades. Two thin lines of determined people stream past the sides of the Pantheon, opening up two more fronts of confrontation, to split the parties of the parti

two more fronts of confrontation, to split up the police forces. Two more fronts open up in Rue St. Jacques, on either side of the Rue Sufflot. The CRS are now occupied on five fronts at once.

Passers-by in cars drive at high speed to get away from the fighting, driving through red lights, hands on car-horns and knocking pedestrians to one side in their desperation to get away fast. The news of the petrol bombs has got around.

The night is punctured with many explosions of petrol bombs being thrown in quick succession. Riot-gas is fired almost monotonously, with seemingly aimost monotonously, with seemingly little effect on the determination of the

My eyes are streaming, the effect of the gas is rather like sea-sickness, passes, and I have no respect for the gas from that moment on.

The 5th and 6th Arrondissements are

The 5th and 6th Arrondissements are a battlefield, Barricades are quickly set up, but tonight the CRS are no longer the unstoppable forces of a totalitarian state. The new weapon has terrified them. They do not charge, but huddle together in hundreds for safety, firing gas grenades into crowds that sometimes surge forward to attack them.

It is a miracle no one is killed. This is civil war.

is civil war.

is civil war.

Convoys of CRS reserves roll up the boulevards, cutting off the retreat of demonstrators, and I decide that it is time to move, or be taken. I run down streets I do not even know the names of and miraculously do not find a cul-de-sac. I run out into the Boulevard St. Michel again, at its southernmost end to face a further convoy of CRS reserves—twelve vehicles in all, standing by to go into action. I walk past studying a map of Paris, and am not challenged.

The fighting goes on through the night, the CRS cannot dislodge the students from their barricades. The new weapon has evened somewhat the relative armed strength of both sides.

strength of both sides

It is not until 7 to 8 in the morning that the last barricades are cleared—by bulldozers backed up by CRS, which charge and break down the barriers, and charge the students.

Continued on page 4

Organised by London ILP and the Defense d'Interdire Group

Control-Not Participation!

the moti-

IF THERE IS one theme that seems to be common to all the student protesters found the it is 'workers' control'. Applied to their own place of work—the university—this is translated into 'student power'

But fundamentally this means no more than that the workers in an enterprise, be it a university or a steel works, shall be in control of policy-making and day-to-day deci-sion-making as well as doing the

For anarchists this is a basic tenet. The rejection of the domination of man by man; the rejection of exploitation, means precisely that no-body shall be forced to work, and thus to live, on someone else's terms. The idea of freedom for all, the true concept of the dignity of labour, mean nothing less than that the worker at the point of produc-tion, or the student at the desk, shall have responsibility for what he does.

To any extent that this responsibility is whittled down, to that extent is freedom and dignity reduced; to that extent is the worker, or the student, simply a means to someone else's ends

GENOCIDE IN NIGERIA?

IN THE LIGHT of the forthcoming demonstrations concerning the Biafran situation, some facts about the war and British involvement in it may be relevant. (See also FREEDOM, 12.8.67.)

British involvement in it may be relevant.
(See also Freedom, 12.8.67.)
Biafra, as is well known, is the richest region in Nigeria, and the federal government says that it cannot afford to lose such wealth. Subsequent to the Biafran breakaway, this is the federal government's justification for creating two million Ibo refugees and imposing a total naval and economic blockade of Biafra, naval and economic blockade of Biafra, aided by British naval personnel, with the intention of starving the Biafrans into submission. Partly because of this, three thousand Biafrans are dying every day from malnutrition.

Nigeria is also obtaining a seemingly endless supply of arms from Britain in order to hold this crumbling federation together. The war is not entirely eco-nomic however, as it is also the result of a long-standing tribal conflict between the Ibos and the Hausa tribe. The latter dominating as they do the federal govern-ment seem intent upon finally wiping out the Ibos altogether, involving the systematic starvation or slaughter of some twelve million civilians.

we must surely act now to stop the supply of arms to Nigeria by both Britain and Russia, this will almost certainly render the prosecution of the war so difficult as to make it impossible.

In order to try and create a greater awareness in this country of the position of Biafra, the 'Save Biafra Committee' is organising two demonstrations.

JUNE 23, MARCH TO DOWNING STREET. (Why. I capnot imagine.)

JUNE 23. MARCH TO DOWNING STREET. (Why, I cannot imagine.) ASSEMBLE AT RUSSIAN EMBASSY—VICTORIA GATE, KENSINGTON PALACE GARDENS, W.8, at 2.30 p.m. JULY 7. RALLY IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE at 3.00 p.m. We hope that as many people as possible will be able to give their support to show their solidarity with the Biafrans. PADDY FIELDS.

industry, vation of authority—whether the private capitalist or the nationalised Board—is to work the workers for profit and/or the needs of the State. In the university this motivation is somewhat obscured, but is in fact exactly the same.

be a prime necessity in any exploita-

Academics may decrive thereselves with the illusion that they are serving objective truth, that their allegiance is to abstract truth and learning, but while there is an authority which decides what they teach and why they teach it, and certainly while the expansion of further education has as its prime interest the production of technocrats for the advancement of the modern State—then all the functions of the university are geared to the needs of the State.

THREE LEVELS

The education system of Britain has for many years been channelled into three levels: elementary for the workers, secondary for the managers, public school and university for the The more recent demands of technology however, and the needs of the competitive industrial society, have created the necessity for more technicians, and the upper did not have the talent in sufficient quantities. So the cream of the working class has been skimmed off into 'grammar schools' and thence groomed for university when their

But this was not for their benefit; it was for the sake of Britain's competitive position in the world rat-race. And it has all back-fired, as the perversion of science, the misuse of knowledge, has become sicken-

Hence the increasing demands of the students that they do not be regarded simply as manpower for the State's economic or military struggles. Hence the rejection of 'sausage-machine' education. Hence

the demand for more responsibility in deciding what they learn and why.

The force with which these demands have been put forward have frightened authority. Instead of gratitude from students the State is

getting a kick in the teeth. Even De Gaulle's first reaction to the Paris rising was to concede that reforms would be granted—because every Government faced with a revolutionary situation will hurriedly offer reform, for reforms can be handled without fundamental loss of author-

ity—and can always be whittled down once the leat is off anyway. The same is applying here. The relatively peaceful sit-ins and occupations and demonstrations have sounded a clear enough warning to the Government, and they are smart enough to try to act quickly and head off a real confrontation.

THE OK WORD

So now the code word is 'participation'.
Even the older universities where no
great trouble has yet emerged have come
out with plans for 'participation', while
in the real action-centres like Essex and Sussex, the authorities are trying to get out of it by granting as little 'participa-tion' as will satisfy the 'moderate' majority—but participation nevertheless.

These concessions will lead to student representation on councils dominated by university authorities, in exactly the same way as worker participation on Joint Industrial Councils have meant workers co-operating with the bosses in their own exploitation. This is all 'participation' will mean, and no wonder it is now an OK word with politicos like the Liberals (who threw out 'Anarcho-Syndicalism' as an aim) because such reform can be assimilated by a developing capitalism without affecting its real nature one bit.

Now it is true that in the university it is not only the students who are workers. Lecturers and professors also work there, and in accessing whose views should be taken into account the criterion should are concerned in an organic way with the productive work of the collective enterprise should co-operate in the run-ning of it. But those who are concerned with the power or profit structure should be expropriated! (Here, Hornsey School of Art have set the right example. Stu-dents and (some) staff have taken over the College, they are running it them-selves—and they have declared the Board of Governors redundant!)

This then is the issue. Workers' con-trol means responsible freedom, partici-pation means no more than a modification Workers' conof subjection.

The line is clear. Reject participation
—take control!

PS

LETTER FROM URUGUAY

REVOLT IS FOR US!

Dear Comrades,

Some minutes ago I had a meeting ith all the Anarchists at the University and the Communidad del Sur boys, and the subject was: The European students' movement and our immediate and the subject was:

For the first time in many years we were all agreed on immediate direct

We think that this is the occasion to blow up the structures of our proper students' union and also the rest of Latin American unions.

Latin American unions.

We think that the European antiauthoritarian students' revolt is for us,
and that our next revolt is for them.

We think the French comrades are
alone and the German comrades are
alone and the Scandinavians are alone,
and so on. We are also alone. Alone,
all of us, without the Right and without
the Left.

But all of us are together in the
strongest sense, and we must fight as

strongest sense, and we must fight as never before, to break down stupid structures and build up a libertarian

will act now. We are not afraid

We will act how we are an of consequences.

In this moment we have proofs of the treason of the Communist Party to the struggle of European students, in all South America. There is a great silence from Cuba to Argentina in all Communist-oriented organisations. But tomorrow we will break that quietness, in our own FEUU and we are sure of our success. Yesterday we sent a

cable to UNEF, Nanterre, signed by the Belles Artes Students Association, not only expressing solidarity but trying to create a clear way of exchanging to create a clear way of exchanging information. Now we know that the two official world students' organisations are against these last European movements. So, as always before, they will lie, they will be tray us.

Also we are collecting all information and documents. We need URGENTLY manifestos of the Polish, Belgian, French, German, English, Scandinavian, Italian, Spanish, and Japanese students.

We need URGENTLY addresses of students' organisations around Europe.

We need URGENILY addresses of students' organisations around Europe. Three of us are now translating documents from Freedom, Anarchy, Noir et Rouge and Le Monde Libertaire. But it is not sufficient: we need German SDS manfestos, English LSE, French. Nanterre programmes, and so on. Of course we will send you all about the Latin American struggle in the same direction.

rection.

The difference is that there, in Europe, ie struggle is on its way, and here is going to begin.

But we will begin with your back-

ground this time.

Yours in Anarchy.

CARLOS RODRIGUEZ. Montevideo, Uruguay

(If anybody is able and willing to collate this information, for FREEDOM as well, we would be glad to receive it.—EDITORS.)

Demonstration against the ban on the five revolutionary student and worker organisations by the Gaullists EMBASSY

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... AND THE ONE THAT DIDN'T GET AWAY

ON THE EVENING of Tuesday, June

ON THE EVENING of Tuesday, June 11, there was a demonstration planned by the UNEF (the National Union of French Students) at the Gare de l'Est at 7 o'clock. This was publicised. I had gone up there with a French friend, a girl student at the Institute of English. We had intended taking part in the demonstration and got there at about a quarter to seven, but when we saw the CRS (riot police) come charging up the street waving their batons—they are just legalized thugs—we chickened out because I did not want to be involved in a violent demonstration; I was non-violent violent demonstration; I was non-violent before and still am. (Though these events have made me question the validity of my principles.)

We decided not to take part in the

We decided not to take part in the demonstration and went back to have supper at the home of my brother who lives in Paris. After supper, about 10.30. I was taking my friend home. First of all she wanted to call at the British Institute, which is near the Sorbonne, to meet a girl there who had the key to their flat.

their flat.

As we were coming out of Odéon Metro we could smell tear-gas. We were stopped by a row of CRS officers who asked us for our papers. Under the pretext of my not having my passport or any papers they took us to a bus. (They offered to let the girl, who had papers, go but she said she would rather stay with me.)

We were kept in a bus for an hour or so, then taken to the Ile de la Cité, where we were transferred to another bus with we were transferred to another bus with other people who had been arrested. We were taken to Vincennes, to a former Nazi detention centre. When we arrived there the girls were separated from the boys and gradually they took us through a corridor where we were interrogated. We gave simple details of our identity and the place and time of corridors.

and the place and time of our arrest. Immediately after this interrogation they separated foreigners from Frenchmen; there were about 50 of us foreigners kept in a small room immediately next to the corridor. After they had segregated the French people they called back the foreigners one by one, asking for similar details to those already given, and we were allowed to make a statement if we wanted to.

After a few hours there were about 15 of us still there in this room, who had not been called back, and we could see

not been called back, and we could see the bureaucrats sitting around a table, talking together, eating, drinking, and it did not seem as if they were concerned with us at all. Occasionally we would ask why we were not being dealt with, and they said they didn't know. Finally, it turned out they had lost the original forms for the 15 of us. When we suggested they fill in others, they said that was out of the question. They spent some time saying they were looking for them but eventually they called us back. We gave the particulars again, and all

The following is from a correspondent whom we know personally and who wishes to remain anonymous for obvious

but three of us were sent on to another part of the building.

The three of us were left in this room, with no idea why we had been kept: myself, a Turk and a Greek. There was no common element between us; the other two had been living in France for some time, one had been arrested with his papers on him, the other did not have his papers. One was a post-graduate student, the other way not a student but was in a full time job.

I was visiting Paris for the funeral of a close relative; for me the fact that the

a close relative; for me the fact that the demonstrations were taking place was coincidental. As I was interested and sympathetic I had gone to discussion meetings but had not taken part in demonstrations.

coincidental. As I was interested and sympathetic I had gone to discussion meetings but had not taken part in demonstrations.

During the day they brought in three Frenchmen becaute they said these had been causing trouble. They were in a very excited state—well, all of us were. All this time we had a feeling of impotence. We had not been allowed to contact relatives, embassies, or anybody at all. Officially we were there to have our identities checked but no attempt was made to verify them; we were given no opportunity to verify our identity if we did not have any papers.

We had our first water at 2.15 in the afternoon of Wednesday, about fifteen hours after I had been arrested; some had been in there longer. Meanwhile, we knew nothing of what had happened to the other prisoners and we did not know whether any had been released, or if anybody outside knew about us at all.

By this time the guards, who were not CRS but I think ordinary gendarmes—there were five or six of them all the time, all of them armed with rifles or mitraillettes—were changed every hour or so. Most of them just grinned at us, ostentatiously eating and drinking in front of us. There were one or two who seemed more sympathetic, but in every case it was always 'I'm only doing my job—I'm not paid to think'.

At about 7.40 in the evening of Wednesday we were given our first food—one ham sandwhb—and were moved out to join the rist of the foreigners whose numbers had now doubled. We were then taken into a large cage measuring about 20 yards by five. There were 42 metal frames which we could sleep on, and we managed to squeeze two each on these, and there were still some left standing. Up to that time we had had nothine to sit or lie on but dirty concrete

on, and we managed to squeeze two each on these, and there were still some left standing. Up to that time we had had nothing to sit or lie on but dirty concrete floors, and the newspapers we had brought with us. We had been sharing our cigarettes and these had run out at about 7 o'clock on Wednesday morning.

Very few of the people arrested had

been actually involved in demonstrations. Most had been picked up, like we were, just on the street; most had a perfectly valid reason for being there. For example, one man who worked in Paris and lived in the suburbs had been going to the Gare de l'Est as he did every evening to catch his train home and had been nowhers near the demonstrations, another. where near the demonstrations; another had driven home from work, parked his car and was arrested between the car and his flat; a third was driving in the street, was stopped, told to get out of his car, and arrested. The papers of all of these were in order. these were in order.

Most of us managed to sleep for a few hours in this cage, and in the morning our hopes revived a bit; we thought we might be released that morning. At midday they first called out all the Algerians, whom we did not see again. They then led the rest of us back to the entrance hall, gave us a piece of bread and a slice of processed cheese, and took us back to the cage.

All the time they used this psychological torture, as if they were playing with us. There was very little physical brutality at all, but this was as bad, if not worse. A couple of hours later they called worse. A couple of hours later they called out about two dozen of us by name, led us part-way back to the entrance hall, and took the rest out. We were then taken back to the cage and at 4.15 on Thursday those of us remaining were taken out to a bus.

We were driven into Paris, taken to the Prefecture on the Ile de la Cité, and twelve of us sitting nearest to the door were taken up to an office where the man in charge said something to the effect that he was not ready for us. We were

that he was not ready for us. We were then driven round to the Commissariat in the Palais de Justice and subjected to a very degrading search, all the time be-ing insulted and mocked by the men

a very degrading search, all the time being insulted and mocked by the men searching us.

We then had our fingerprints, description and photographs taken, had to give our parents' names. We were then taken to a cell which in other circumstances might be quite attractive; there were benches on the side, there was a toilet which did not flush but had a continual trickle of water which did not, however, help to wash it down, and there was a drinking fountain. This was the first time we had free access to water. Then we were given mattresses, also for the first time. We stept much better that argnt. At about 10 a.m. we were given some bread and vegetable soup, and it was while we were eating this that I was called out, and I was taken back to the Prefecture where I was met by my brother and given an extradition order. I was allowed the great concession of being allowed to go back to my family, have a shower and pack my bags myself.

As a further concession, my relations in Paris were given the responsibility of seeing that I left the country. At first I was to be given twelve hours, but later

an official in the Pretecture changed it to 24 hours. He was the first of the lot who had been prepared to take the responsibility of making a decision.

I have the impression that these concessions and the 'speed' of my release were only due to interventions an influential friend was able to make in the right quarters. In the earlier hours of my arrest my brother thought I'd simply stayed overnight with friends. Late on Wednesday morning, on not hearing from me, he had 'phoned hospitals and police stations; the best the hospitals could say was that they had no one of my name, unless I was in no condition to give my name.

He then called the British Embassy,

He then called the British Embassy, who also had no information and later knew only that four Britons had been arrested. On Thursday morning my brother learned where I was from my companion, who had been released on Wednesday night after public transport had stopped. He had in fact 'phoned the press agent at this Prefecture in the Ile de la Cité on Wednesday afternoon, but they either refused or were unable to give any information, but he was given the name of an official in the Prefecture who might be able to help. He saw this official, I believe on Thursday, and when he learned we had been brought back to the Commissariat he tried to visit me on Thursday evening but was not allowed to, he left some cigarettes which I was not given until my release. He then called the British Embassy,

given until my release.

There are a number of serious points which should be raised:

which should be raised:

(1) No charge was made against us.

(2) We were given no opportunity to contact our embassies, or relations if we had any. (During the Nazi occupation of Paris one of my relations was picked up by the Germans and detained. One of the first questions he was asked was: Would you like to contact anyone? His wife was able to collect him and he was released within a few hours.)

(3) We were given no water for 15 hours,

We were given no water for 15 hours,

and in some cases longer.

I have the impression that because the demonstrators had built the barricades so successfully the CRS were unable to arrest many demonstrators and were picking people up indiscriminately, simply so that they could say they had arrested so many

criminately, simply so that they could say they had arrested so many demonstrators.

No official state of emergency had been declared, but all those foreigners arrested have been expelled or are under threat of expulsion, with no means of appeal. These include several who have lived and worked in France for many years, have families, consider France their home, and came to France in the first place and came to France in the first place as political refugees and have no-

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

Anarchist Federation of Britain

General enquiries should be sent to the London F of o Freedom Press, 84a Whitechapei High Street, London, E.1

LEWISHAM. Contact Mike Malet, 61B Gran-ville Park, Lewisham, London, S.E.13. Phone:

ville 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, 271 Portobello
Road, W.11 Meetings every Wednesday evening at Finch's.

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

W4.
W5. HAM ANARCHISTS. Contact Stephen
diags, 8 Westbury Road, Forest Gate, London,
7 Regular meetings and activities. Wednes-

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. at Donald and Irene Roours's, now at 13 Savernake Road, London, N.W.3. at 14 Donald and Irene Roours's, now at 13 Savernake Road, London, N.W.3. at 15 Firday of each month at Dennis Fen's, 314 St. Paul's Road, Highbury Corner, N.I (above Roundsbout Self-Service).

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

SCOTTISH ANARCHIST CONFERENCE is to be held in Glasgow in late June, at the Trades tact Aberdeen SWF. Accommodation inquiries to Bobby I,ym, 16 Ross Street, Glasgow. C.I. ABERDEEN ANARCHISTS meet 1st and 3rd Wednesdays of month at M. Dey's, 142 Walker Road, 2nd and 4th Wednesdays at Lie Smith's, 3 Sinclast Road. Correspondence to either address. ABERDEEN ANARCHIST FEDERATION (SWF local group, Folk Song Workshop and Committee of 100, Collater Climbing Club). Contine Jan-MacDonald, 15 Cotton Street, Aberdeen BEXLEY PEACE ACTION GROUP. Enquiries to 150 Rydai Drive, Bexleyheath, Kent. BIRMINGHAM LIBERTARIAN AND ANAR-CHIST GROUP. All anarchists, syndicalists, individualists, etc., please contact Geoff and Caroline Charlton, 32 Swindon Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham 17 (near Portland Road). Note new address.

address
BOLTON, Get in touch with Les Smith, 108
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or Tim Deane, Juliet, West Moors, Wimborne,

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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 EDGWARE PEACE ACTION GROUP. Contact: Melvyn Estrin, 84 Edgwarebury Lane, Edgware. RIGHWARE PEACE ACTION GROUP. Contact: Melvyn Estrin, 84 Edgwarebury Lane, Edgware. Middx. HERTS. Contact either Stuart Mitchell at South View, Poiters Heath Lane, Potters Heath View, Poiters Heath Lane, Potters Heath View, Poiters Heath Carbon Road Marshalswick, St. Albans, Herts. PSWICH ANARCHISTS. Contact Neil Dean, 74 Cemetery Road, Ipswich, Suffolk. KILBURN, LONDON. Contact Andrew Dewar, 16 Kilburn House, Malvern Place, London, Nw.6. Meetings 8 pan, 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 Ceoffrey Barfoot, 71 St. Thomas Street, Wells. ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Pflyone: 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: q₀ Keith Nathan, 138 Pennymead, Harlow, Essex, Group Addresses:—
Group Addresses:—
ASHLOON, M. Powell, 7 Lingcroft, Basildon,

BASILDON, M. Powell, 7 Lingcroft, Basildon, Passex.
BISHOPS STORTFORD, Vic Mount, 'Eastview', Castle Street, Bishops Stortford, Herts
CHELMSFORD, (Mr.) Eva Archer, Mill House, Purleigh, Chelmsford, Fasex.
EPPING, John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping, Essex
HARLOW, John Deards, 184 Carter's Mead, Harlow, and/or Geoff Hardy, 6 Redricks Lane, Harlow, and/or Geoff Harlow Fasex.
Kipper', The Stow, Harlow
LOUGHTON, Group c/o Students' Union, Loughton College of Purther Education, Borders Lane, Loughton, Essex
MUCH HADHAM, Leslie Riodan, High Street, Much Hadham, Herts
NORTH EAST ESSEX, Peter Newell, 'Maybush', Maypole Road, Tipitre, Essex Group meets first Monday in each mogath, 7.15 p.m. at 91 Brook Road, Tolleshunt Knights, Tiptree, Essex

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION
CHORLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary:
Kevyn Lynch, 6 Garfield Terrace, Chorley,
Lancs,
LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST PROPAGANDA

GROUF AND 'HIPPY' MOVEMENT. Gerry Bree. 16 Faulkner Square, Liverpool, 8. Moetings weekly. 'Freedom' Sales—Pier Head, Saturdays, Sundays, Evenings. tary: Sue Warnock, 9 Boland Street, Fallowfield, Manchester,

Manchester, 14.

MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. SecreFeory Saturday: 'Freedom' and 'DA' selling outside Central Library, 2.30-4.30 p.m.

MERSEYSIDE ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact
Alex Howie, 16 Devonshire Road, Liverpool 8.

Meetings 1st and 3rd Thursdays of the month,

SUSSEX FEDERATION

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

BRIGHTÓN & HOVE ANARCHIST GROUP.

Contact Nick Heath, Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road,
Brighton, BNI 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.

ANARCHIST FEDERATION

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. All correspondence to:—Pete Raymond, 90 Albany Road. MERTHYR TYDFIL ANARCHIST GROUP. Swansea Weekly meetings, 'Freedom' sales and action projects.

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

EAST LONDON LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION

anted for numerous activities in area. Anthony Matthews, 35 Mayville Road, ondon, E.11.

LEYTONSTONE GROUP, Meetings fortnightly
on Sundays at Ron Bailey's, 128 Hainault Road,
E.11 (LEY 8059). Ten minutes from Leytonstone
Inderground.

Judgment Leytonstone Inderground.

Underground.
STEPNEY. Trevor Jackales, 10 St. Vincent de Paul House, Dempsey Street, Clichy Estate, E. Paul House, Clichy Estate, Dempsey Street, E. I. NEWHAM. F. Rowe, 100 Henderson Road, E. T. HFORD. Del Leverton, 12 Hamilton Avenue. DAGENHAM. Alan Elliot, 98 Hatfield Road,

Dagenham.
WOODFORD. Douglas Hawkes, 123 Hermon
Hill, E.18.
WALTHAMSTOW. Desmond MacDonald, 80
Martin Road, E.17.
LIMEHOUSE. M. Solof, 202 East Ferry Road, E.14.

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. OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP, Contact Steve

OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP, Contact Steve Watts, Trinty College: SHEFFIELD UNIVERSITY GROUP. Contact Dave Jefferies c/o Students' Union, Sheffield SOUTHWARK COLLEGE (New Libertarian Front). Contact Dave Biggs, Room T/7.
SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHISTS. For details contact Francis Jarman, 16 Charlotte Street, Brighton, BNS 1AG. Bookstall every Monday, 12-2 p.m. Falmer House (outside JCR). Meeting Friday, June 14, 7,30 p.m., at University in Meeting House. Bob Barltrop on 'The Decline of the Socialist Ideal'.

LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS'

ings discussions activities. Contact Peter, 36 Devonshire Road, Mill Hill, London, N.W.7.

VOLUNTARY WORK TEAM. Forwarding address: II BARWAY ROAD. Manchester
(See contact column for present work

ABROAD

AUSTRALIA. Federation of Australian Anarchista, 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, Allmana Vagen 6, Gothen-burg V.

TORONTO ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact
R. Campbell, 219 Toryork Drive, Weston,
Ontario, Canada, Weekly meetings.
BELGIUM! LIEGE. Provos, (c) Jacques Charlier,
11 Avenue de la Laiterie, Sclessini-Liege, Belgium
EAST AFRICA. George Matthews would like to
make contact. Secondary school teacher from
UK. PO BOX 90. Kakamega. Kerya.
USA. James W. Caio, secretary, Insurgency
Anarchist Association, 323 Fourth Street, Cloquet.
Minnesota 55720, USA.
GEOUP. (TPREASON. Australian Anarchist, c/o
Melbourne University Union or Paddy Evans.
c/o the same.

MELBOURNE. Get in touch with Sebastian John,
34 Dorritt Street, Carlton, Victoria 3053,
Australia. Public meetings at Yarra Bank,
Melbourne.

International Student Power

LAST THURSDAY, British students heard the views of a large number of foreign student activists who were in by courtesy of the BBC, for the television programme 'Students In Revolt'. It was perhaps a symptom of what was to follow that when the foreign student representatives filed into a packed Old Theatre at LSE, they were singing the 'Internationale'. The atmosphere, although electric, was immediately broken and became one of polite, and somewhat embarrassed, amusement. A few stalwart souls attempted to join in but the majority just sat and listened.

It seemed to me the British students did not understand and draw lessons from the experiences and ideas put across to them. In contrast to the sophisticated level of arguments put across by the German SDS, the French 22nd March and Italian student movement groups, the British students' reactions seemed factional and naive. However, this is probably unjust, because people speaking were obviously theoreticians of fairly high standing within their own move-

The foreign students attempted not only to give an account of what has occurred in their own movements, but also to create an idea of the way they thought student movements in particular and revolutionary movements generally should carry out activities.

Perhaps the most explicit of these was Krippendorf of the German SDS who emphasised certain problems existing in all revolutionary organisations which had to a large degree been ignored by the British student movement. The two main dangers, as far as he could see, were the personalisation of conflicts and the bourgeois attempt to fit their ideas of argument on you, i.e. the question of violence blueprints for Utopia, etc.

The first question could only be dealt with by regular rotation of leadership. This served two functions, as well as avoiding the build-up of personality. It avoided the problem created by people being in the midst of activity con-tinuously, having no time to stop and think and analyse the direction which their activity is taking. Secondly, the rotation of leadership destroys the myth that only personalities are involved and demonstrates fundamentally the broad base of the movement.

LINKING HANDS

Lewis Cole, from the Columbia SDS (New York), made some very important points about the nature of activities and the selection of specific points of agitation or direct action which illustrate in microcosm the nature of society in general. He was referring to the recent revolt at Columbia University over the University's attempt to build on parkland in Harlem. This issue, because of the fantastically large-scale nature of

MOVING FUND

Target is £500. Received to Date-£403 16s. 2d.

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Estimated Expenses:

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PRESS FUND

Anon 1/5; London, N.W.10: P.M. 10/-; Anon 1/5; London, N.W.10; P.M. 10/-; Cardiff: An. Gp. 13/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; London, N.10; P.J.B. £2/10/-; Norwich: C.A.L. £1; Coventry: L.E.H. 10/-; London, E.7; P.C. 3/-; Bromley: W.D.W. 8/-; Stranraer: T.H.N. 5/-; Whithy: P.R. 10/-; Aberdeen: YCND £1; London: Anon 1/6; London, YCND £1; Lond. N.W.1: D.C.R. 10/-TOTAL:

Previously Acknowledged: £408 2 1

£416 9 £219 0 1968 Total to Date: Deficit B/F:

SURPLUS: £197 9 0

Columbia University (they own large chunks of property all over New York), was seized upon and aroused the active interest not only of groups such as Black Power, but also the liberal elements in the University, and later the City itself. PARIS PROBLEMS

The problem of violence and having no defined attitude to what happens when a University is occupied, was dealt with by Cohn-Bendit. He pointed out the dangers implicit in continuous street-fighting which sometimes cannot be avoided; the violence became a reason in itself and assumed paramount importance in the struggle. He doubted that given the peculiar conditions of France, and particularly of the Sorbonne, the attitude of the Paris students could have been anything other than it was; but this is not to say that other student movements could not learn from these dangers.

These points were brought out by the Italian comrades as well. One had the uncomfortable impression that the students from Czechoslovakia had either one eye over their shoulder or one eye on the main chance. It was interesting in a way that these students (who had in fact revolted in the most difficult circumstances of all) were the most interested in affecting the attitude of a party. In

HERBERT READ, who died last week

retiring but in informal surroundings

could be a warm and humorous person.

He had fine eyes which reflected his

moods and thoughts as eloquently as his pen expressed his ideas and his

His connections with the anarchist movement and in particular with the

Freedom Press group go back to 1937

when Emma Goldman came to London

as representative of the Spanish CNT-

FAI (the syndicalist and anarchist or-

ganisations respectively). This was the beginning of a valuable collaboration

In the opening paragraph to Poetry and Anarchism (1938) he wrote: 'To

declare for a doctrine so remote as

anarchism at this stage of history will

be regarded by some critics as a sign of intellectual bankruptcy; by others as

a sort of treason, a desertion of the

democratic front at the most acute moment of its crisis; by still others as

creative imagination.

that lasted until 1953.

Anarcho-

Syndicalism

in Czechoslovakia

SOMEWHAT belatedly the Central

slovakia has decided that the country's

Trade Unions must protect the rights

of their members, and that they should

not be dependent on any political party.

In the 1950s, reports Czechoslovak Life (Prague, June), the Unions came to be considered a kind of transmission

belt between the Communist Party and

the Government; an organization to

mobilize the workers to fulfil the eco-

nomic plan. Frequently they backed the management rather than their own

members. Any independent activity which threatened this conception was

The idea that Unions were independent

organisations with their own point of view, based on absolutely voluntary membership in which Communists were

obviously in the minority and therefore

did not automatically have a right to

labelled 'anarcho-syndicalism'

Trade Union Council of Czecho-

at the age of 74, was shy and

that Tito could do no wrong; a disappointing analysis from somebody representing the Yugoslav movement, but then, of course, we cannot determine how these students were picked.

A CASE IN POINT

During the discussion, some of the external students, taking their final sociology examination, came to appeal for support on the issue of the re-sitting of the examinations (University authorities alleged an examination paper leak, and ordered a re-sitting). The foreign students quite rightly did not want to comment on this, as it was an internal British matter; however, Krippendorf was prevailed upon to give an opinion. It was interesting to see reactions to what he said. He thought it highly irresponsible for someone to come into a hall with no planned action and only a vague assessment of the situation, and ask for mass action from a meeting of 800.

The difference in methods between the Continental students and the British was very apparent; although the British students supported in theory Krippendorf's ideas that small planning groups should come out with a concrete plan and present it basically for modification, they simply did not appear to carry it out.

nowever, it did seem in the two days following, that the lesson (although not acted upon) was beginning to be learned, and the methods of discussion, it was realised, would have to be radically changed if the revolutionary student movement was to become a reality and not a paper organisation.

It was a unique occasion and like many anarchists, I was grateful to be there. However, it was not a case of listening to a rally or a political platform, but in a real sense the meeting was a dialogue which the whole libertarian movement must not only listen to but act upon.

Our movement is now wielding an influence out of proportion to its size, within the student movement; that is not surprising, as we have a valid contribution to make to it. But I feel that if the libertarian students take the ideas so clearly expressed at this meeting and act upon them, encouraging others to do the same, the result will create a really student movement devoid of factionalism.

NOTE: On the Friday and Saturday following the meeting at LSE, there was a conference to create a revolutionary student federation. The conference set up a provisional co-ordination committee until October. It was very well attended by delegates from all over Great Britain and Ireland, and the whole attitude of students and their organisation was discussed. A more detailed report and will appear next week in FREEDOM.

'A Man Born Free' *

is not only a return to Proudhon, Tolstoy and Kropotkin, who were the predilections of my youth but a mature realization, moreover, of the necessity, or the probity, of an intellectual confining himself to essentials."

He went on to point out that so long as Lenin and Stalin had 'promised definitive "withering away of State" I was prepared to stifle my doubts and prolong my faith'. But when the years went by and the liberty of the individual receded at every stage 'a break became inevitable'. And it was the struggle of 1936-39 that made it possible to transfer our hopes to Spain where anarchism, so long oppressed and obscured, has at last emerged as a predominant force in constructive socialism'

In that beautiful autobiographical volume Annals of Innocence and Experience he makes reference to his Marxist and Anarchist readings in his youth and dates them at not later than the summer of 1914. By 1916, when he was an officer in His Majesty's Army, he read and was influenced by T. E. Hulme's translation of Sorel's Reflections on Violence, and in his autobiography he declares that few books have impressed me so deeply and so permanently'.

After the war of 1914-18 he entered the Civil Service where he remained until 1931. They were years in which he was, he writes, under a much stricter censorship than in the army 'and though I never "dropped" politics, I ceased to write about them. And so when he found himself at liberty to take part in the public discussion of political issues, 'many people assumed that I had "just discovered" Marx, that the turn of political events had forced me from the seclusion of an ivory tower, that I had adopted anarchism as a logical counterpart to my views on art. Actually there was an unfalling continuity in my political interests and political opi-nions. I would not like to claim that they show an unfailing consistency, but the general principles which I found congenial twenty-five years ago are still the basic principles of such political philosophy as I now accept.'

I am not proposing to unravel this personal and intellectual knot here, though I would suggest that no serious appraisal of Herbert Read's political ideas and writings can ignore these significant autobiographical references. think also that one must take into account that a writer is primarily a writer-concerned with the art of writing. just as a painter is concerned with paint, and a politician with power. Where Herbert Read distinguishes himself from so many writers of our time is in remaining to the end shy but secure; aware of his achievements and failures never depending on the arc light of the ignorant mass-communicators.

I am sure that Herbert Read would have been the first to recognise that he had not contributed to the elaboration of anarchist ideas that was in his power as a thinker and writer to do. would suggest that this stems from an inability to translate his thoughts into language and issues that could capture the imagination of politically conscious workers, Alas, not having been in touch with him personally since 1953, I never these questions to him. think the answers, anyway, will be found in his writings because after all he was essentially a communicator by the written word and not by the odd remark he might make at a party.

My recollections of Herbert are that he not only reluctantly agreed to speak at meetings but that having agreed to he wrote out his speech and delivered with all the revolutionary fervour he could summon up for the occasion. Which meant that more often than not some of the public were so disappointed by his delivery that they failed to take into account the important things he had to say!

As well as writing for the anarchist press (his first contribution was in Spain and the World, May, 1938, and Freedom Press published most of his political writings), Herbert took part in many of our activities, and not only name but was also most helpful in the work of organising meetings, of getting other well-known people to sign protests, or appeals, or to raise funds And of course everybody 'got' at him to help either with publishing their masterpieces or to get their paintings accepted and so on. It reached a point, when he was still living in Beaconsfield, that he had a card printed which read

Herbert Read begs to thank you for your letter, but has to inform you that he has retired from all unsolicited correspondence, from lecturing, attending meetings and conferences, joining committees, writing prefaces and introducvisiting studios and opening exhibitions, reading unsolicited manuscripts and books, offering his opinion on drawings and paintings submitted to him through the post, and generally from all those activities which render his present existence fragmentary and

Poor Herbert; the card saved him from not more than a tiny fraction of this unsolicited correspondence. For it was his essential modesty which made him the victim of all kinds of determined phonies but also the sponsor of so many young people who needed just the kind of help that he could and would give. Henry Moore has written of him that he had never met anyone 'more generous with his time, or more self-sacrificing in the way that he would put aside his own concerns to help others'.

Our disappointment when he accepted a knighthood in 1953 was openly expressed in the columns of FREEDOM. and there is no point in reviving the issue, except by way of explaining why some of us were no longer in touch with Herbert during the last fifteen

But the silence of these years never extinguished, at least for me, the friendship and work in common of the preceding fifteen years.

*From Song for the Spanish Anarchist by Herbert Read.

FIFTH COLUMN

Once You Begin . . .

ONE of the objections to streetfighting —as Daniel Cohn-Bendit suggested at the LSE last week—is that if under-taken seriously against determined opposition it may not leave much time for the real work of social revolution.

While the revolutionary students of Paris were having their heads beaten in by the CRS they were not in a position to carry on the university under student control

Another objection to streetfighting is that once you begin you have to continue-until the regime falls or you are crushed. An exhilarating victory must be followed by others: no strategic withdrawal is possible. And if success-fully holding the Quartier Latin is a triumph, losing it to the police is a

The most significant element in the French rebellion was not the raising of the barricades, but the occupation by students and workers of the war-versities and factories. As has been said so often, it is by taking control at work that the exploited classes have the capacity to achieve a revolution.

The physical occupation of places of work demonstrates the power of the masses. How many policemen do you need to expel from their factories all the workers of France? The State has no answer to the determined action of a united working class.

But it has a very simple answer to a minority of revolutionaries fighting in the streets. If the tear gas fails there are always tanks.

If the masses fought in the streets they would win against the tanks. But they do not need to fight: this is the essential point.

To achieve a revolution the workers have to go beyond physical occupation of the factories and begin to run them for themselves. By taking over the functions of the ruling class they make it irrelevant and powerless.

Thus the most radical action open to students is to show the way forward by taking over their university. If a university can be run by its workersstudents and junior teachers-why not factories, offices, transport services?
Unfortunately the takeover of a uni-

versity is more exciting than the running of it. And streetfighting is the most romantic method of confronting authority that can be found in a history book.

Typical State Treatment for Faithful Old Retainers

THOSE who think that police horses deserve a better fate than a policeman's arse will sympathise with Mrs. M. F. Turney of Park Road, New Barnet, Hertfordshire, who wrote recently in a letter to the Daily Express: I read with horror that police horses are destroyed when their valuable services have come to an end. Surely, after so many years of training and devoted service, a place could be found for them in a rest home for horses.

WYNFORD HICKS.

Chinese Anarchists

In a recent issue, P. Billingsley queries the usage of 'wu jengfu zhe' as 'anarchist' in Bob Blakeman's informative article on Chinese Anarchists. According to the authorities I have consulted, this word means 'anarchism' in exactly the same sense as we use it. It is interesting to note that while the word is used by the Chinese authorities in connection with 'criminality', most of the 'crime' is in regard to taking over factories,

In Pa Chin and His Writings (Harvard UP 1967) this is the word (transliterated as 'wu cheng fu chui') used by Pa Chin lating from Bakunin, Kropotkin, Emma Goldman, Malatesta, etc. It is also used by the Chinese Anarchists invariably. While it may be associated with 'criminality' when used by the Chinese government or State propa-gandists, 'I fear 'tis so with us in

Denmark'.

Incidentally, this subject is treated with great force of language in Lui-Shih's They are not the patriots, we are not the bandits (published in 1928, in translation, by the London Freedom Group). Dealing with Makhno. Zapata and the Chinese movement, he pours scorn on the pretensions of the Kuo Min Tang to be the 'patriots' and on those who, having outlawed moveon those who, having outlawed move-ments demanding social justice, then describe them as criminal.

hold important offices, was lost from

More State Intervention

the Royal Commission on Trade the Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Employers' Associations has been published. From the employers' point of view, it has been very disappointing, while for the trade unionist, it will mean further state intervention.

The Financial Times transaid the Commission 'has taken three years and a huge volume of evidence to

and a huge volume of evidence to produce a report that many people will be inclined to dismiss as a mouse'. The Economist echoes this when it says 'In general, this is a report to forget'. These two publications and employers' associations wanted a much harder line taken They wanted fines on unofficial strikers to be deducted from their rage packets and legal enforcement f collective contracts.

The Commission felt that these legal sanctions would harm industrial relations, although some members disagreed with this recommendation. The report, however, does make concessions to the advocates of legal sanctions, for it proposes that the present legal protection be withdrawn from persons who per-suade workers to strike unconstitutionally. This recommendation was carried by a 7-5 majority and it seems that the Commission was split on this and other matters, this could now mean that employers would be in a position

Contact Column

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

Fringe Festival, Bath. Thursday, June 2 ntact Absalom Gallery. 63761

Work wanted. German student (Eng. and German Lit.), male, 26, wants to escape fascist surroundings and stay in London. To do so he seeks job. Has done driving (including vans) and translating. Peter Muender, 49 Rivington Street, London, E.C.2.

Conference. 'The Free School in the Unfree Society' Day Conference organized by the Libertarian Teachers' Association, Saturday, July 20, from

Association, Saturday, July 20, from 10.30 a.m. at 36 Devonshire Road, Mill Hill, London, N.W.7. Send 5/-P.O. before July 14 to P. Ford at

above address.

nmunal Farm. Am now doing research
into aspects. Any ideas? Write
Dava, 137A Burnt Ash Hill, Lee,

Dava, 137A Burnt Ash Hill, Lee, London, S.E.12.

Work wanted. Woman teacher, refugee from State school rat race seeks work. Near Greenford preferred. Box. 12.

Arthur Moyse. 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.

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

Voluntary Work Team. Present address: Formby Hall, Formby, Lancs.

Manchester Arts Lab, Needs £300 for rent, and cash donations, books, furniture, equipment. Premises provisionally taken for June 22. Details Doug Holton, 54 Egerton Road, Fallowfield, Manchester, 14.

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.

If you wish to make contact let us know,

If you wish to make contact let us know.

militants and sue them for breach of contract, for conspiracy and cause them to be served with injunctions restraining them from continuing their activities.

This legal weapon could be used, but on the whole it does not have much importance, for if employers sue one or two men, this would only cause them more trouble. How ever, it could affect a work place where union organisation is in the early stages. Then the employers might try it on and get away with it. However, individual victimisa-tion of this sort usually gives the employer more trouble than it's

THE TWO-TIER SYSTEM

The main emphasis of the report Ine main emphasis of the report is on changing the pattern of collective bargaining. The report goes over, in some detail, well-known facts about the two systems of industrial bargaining. One they call the formal system 'embodied in the official institutions', while the other is the 'informal system, created by the actual behaviour of trade actual behaviour of unions and employers' associations, of managers, shop stewards and

This is the two-tier system of bargaining which is carried on in most industries, where the national agreements only form a base from which the local and factory agreements arise. It is this informal ments arise. It is this informal system of wage bargaining, called 'wage drift', which has mainly come about since the war. It reflects the changed power relations which have taken place in this period. With post-war full employment, shop floor rganisation has been in a strong bargaining position to push up bonus rates. Bargaining on this shop floor organisation has been in autonomous and has covered aspects of inches control that the manning of of job control like the manning of of machinery.

To most workers, their shop floor organisation is the most im-portant aspect of trade unionism. It is at this level that the wage packet is made up to a reasonable one and where inhuman conditions are made bearable. This shop floor bargaining has, of course, strengthened the shop stewards. Power has filtered back down to the rank and file and through their own efforts they have managed to secure agreements and wage rates that national officials would never have dreamed of demanding. What has happened and is recognised is that militancy pays off.

This, they say, has brought about the tendency of extreme decentrali-sation and self-government to dege-nerate into indecision and anarchy; the propensity to breed inefficiency; and the reluctance to change—all of them characteristics which become more damaging as they develop, as the rate of technical progress in-creases, and as the need for econo-

creases, and as the need for economic growth becomes more urgent'.

They use the word 'anarchy' here as a synonym for chaos, while the tendency they describe as 'decentralisation and self-government' is also one of anarchy. But this tendency is one that is preventing 'technical progress' and 'economic growth' because the workshop organisation realises that these things the workshop organisation realises that these things are against their

unless they secure the benefits from them.
REGISTRATION OF

For Workers' Control

AGREMENTS

This is why the Commission wants to see the formalisation of plant and company bargaining so that the benefits are retained in productivity deals by the employers. These new collective labour factory agreements, made by major companies (those with over 5,000 workers) should be obliged to register their agreements with the Ministry of Employment and Productivity, or if they have none, to explain why. The proposed act would also set up an Industrial Relations Commission which could be instructed by the Ministry to 'investigate and report on cases and problems arising out of registration of agreement'.

registration of agreement.

This proposed IRC would, of course, supplement and assist the work of the present Prices and Incomes Board. It is,

present Prices and Incomes Board. It is, furthermore, if carried out, yet another encroachment of the State in collective bargaining. The proposal represents an attempt to come to terms with the power which the shop floor committee of stewards have built up.

These types of plant productivity agreements have, of course, been going on for a long time now and have Government blessing and encouragement, but the recommendation which formalises these types of agreements will mean an even closer watch and examination of these types of agreements will mean an even closer watch and examination of the agreements, to make certain that workers are really paying for any wage increases they may obtain with productivity deals. The suggestion that large companies register their agreements is only a start and the report recommends that after the scheme has got going, smaller companies will have to register their agreements.

their agreements.
WAGE CONTROL

This is the main recommendation of the Commission (some of the others be-ing one union for an industry, protection

for individual employees), and is an attempt to come to terms with the shift in power in the trade union movement. As such, it gives the State further power in the regulation of wages and conditions to assist the employers to make increased profits. These factory and company agreements would, in the words of the report, 'enable companies to everof the report, 'enable companies to exer-cise effective control over their own wage-salary-bills'.

This type of agreement will strengthen This type of agreement will strengthen the executive of the unions. If present agreements, drawn up in accordance with the Commission's recommendations are anything to go by, then we will get agreements made by union executives and employers, without consultation with the case and file which will tie down union. rank and file, which will tie down union organisations to wage agreements and give no provision for future bargaining by shop stewards.

by shop stewards.

Companies obviously see the advantages of these agreements and are farmore willing to deal with executive members than shop stewards. The Commission probably see this recommendation as a substitute for legal sanctions on unofficial strikes. These recommendations should be resisted by all trade unionists. It might only be the beginning, in that if the economic position of British capitalism does not improve in competitiveness in the next two years, then there could be further State intervention into trade union affairs.

could be further State intervention into trade union affairs.

The trade unions are mostly seen as willing allies to capitalism. They are rather slow in changing to meet present day situations, but they form an essential part of modern western capitalism. But at the shop floor, the conflicts still exist, opposing interests confront one another. Here the class struggle is a fact and it is here that the strength of the working class is based. The Commission's recommendations propose to undermine that strength.

Two Nights of Guerilla Warfare

But the night represents a turning-point in the civil war. For the first time, the CRS have been shown to be vul-nerable, human, capable of being de-feated. The new weapon, and the tech-niques of guerrilla warfare that were dis-played throughout the night mark a new development of the battle, and things will never be the same again.

Afternoon, the second day.

Gutted police vehicles still lie wrecked opposite the Pantheon. Windows of police buildings are gutted, news-kiosks

police buildings are gutted, news-klosks are burned out.

It is 2 p.m., and the air, despite a moderate breeze all morning, is still heavy with riot-gas. In restaurants along the Boulevard St. Michel, the diners eat with tears streaming down their faces.

From the dome of the Sorbonne flies habels flowed for each transfer.

From the dome of the Sorbonne flies the black flag of anarchy. The flag also flies at strategic points on the building, in company with the red. The quadrangle of the Sorbonne is crowded with people looking at the improvised bookstalls. The anarchist stall seems to be doing good business, but the movement is overshadowed by the Communist Party machine, that dominates the stalls, the slogans on the walls, the banners that fly from windows of the building.

The opposition to Gaullist totalitarianism may be united at the moment, but it is hopelessly split into half-a-dozen differing ideologies that cannot surely provide a harmonious alternative.

A demonstration is called at the Gare de l'Est at 7 p.m.

de l'Est at 7 p.m.
I decide to jump in with both feet and travel direct there by Metro. As I walk out of the exit I am pounced on by CRS who are filling the station forecourt in their hundreds.

I have to give them my passport. They scrutinize, hand it back. They want me to go back down the Metro. I refuse. I notice a curious re-

me will look me straight in the eye. Whenever I look at one of them and ask to walk out of the station, he turns away, and will not take the decision as to my destiny upon himself. Faced with an open space, and the turned back of the CRS, I push past, thanking them, and walk out of the station.

The massed forces of the Gaullist regime are here assembled on this warm

regime are here assembled on this warm summer evening. Hundreds of armed police and CRS completely block the Boulevard de Strasbourg, rifles slung over shoulders, bus-loads of reinforcements, also armed, waiting in side streets. There must be nearly a hundred vehicles parked around the station maybe more. It is a shattering sight, But this is what a police state has to do to preserve its power, to continue its exploitation of the many.

Apart from the rifles, boxes of gas-grenades lie handy, steel shields are carried by police (everyone is helmeted naturally) and the wooden truncheons are swinging openly, even though there isn't a single demonstrator in sight, or

sound.

A quarter of a mile away I encounter three more complete lines of armed police blocking the boulevard.

The demonstration, as should have been realised after last night, is at last obsolete. A few skirmishes develop, but the students, workers and others, filter away into the side streets. The police are delayed in their positions for some time, however, fearing a regrouping, and this enables a lot to happen in other parts of town.

of town.

The night of the 11th

At 9.30 the first Molotov cocktails
shatter the stillness of the evening. It is
going to be a long night.

Barricades are being crected in many
parts of the 5th, 6th and 14th Arrondissements. Election boards, erected in
the centre of boulevards for party notices.

are broken down and set alight with the cry of 'Elections are treason'.

So many incidents are taking place that the police, massed though they are, just haven't got the men or vehicles to deal with them. They do a great deal in the way of making arrests but there are way of making arrests, but there are streets into which they never go, throughat the entire night.

Fire engines which arrive to put out

fire are unhampered by demonstrators, who shrug, wait until they are gone, then relight the fires.

Molotov cocktails explode in the dis-

tance. answered by peppering gas-

I walk up Boulevard St. Michel. CRS block the way at Rue Gay Lussac. They want us out of the street. CRS vans come dashing out of side streets, catching the crowds unexpectedly, and firing gasgrenades to drive us back, a hundred yards at a time. A CRS van skids to a stop about twenty yards away and they fire grenades into us. I turn and run with the others. I see on the pavement in front of me three gas-grenades spewing out gas. I take a breath, leap over the grenades and run as far as I can before sucking in more air. Our eyes are walk up Boulevard St. Michel. CRS fore sucking in more air. Our eyes are full of tears now, but the mood is anger,

As we run down the Boulevard St. Michel I see ahead a convoy of CRS vehicles rolling into sight. They block

our escape.

I jump the fence into the Jardin du Luxemborg and flit among the trees. A score of others are with me. We wait until an exit presents itself, then run down it and away into the night.

The night is now a scene of utter violence.

As a convoy of CRS roll towards Montparnasse, the road ahead of them is suddenly lit with half a dozen violent flashes, followed by deafening detonations, followed by flames from fired vehicles leaping into the air.

Restaurants along Boulevard du Montparnasse empty quickly as waiters pre-sent clients with bills and hurry them out

sent clients with bills and hurry them out into the night. Small groups of people listen gravely to the news coming in over transistor radios.

A bulldozer rolls into a square in Montparnasse to clear blazing vehicles on to waste ground. It turns and charges the gathered crowd. Scores of CRS stand around but do not charge. They stick the gathered crowd. Scores of CRS stand around, but do not charge. They stick to the only weapon they can use without murdering their own people—the gasgrenade. I find myself in with a defiant crowd gathered in a side street. The police cannot get into a position whereby they can fire grenades directly into the street, because of its narrowness and height of the buildings.

The marksman fires instead high into the air, hoping to lob the grenades among us. He is a poor shot. All the grenades clatter onto the tiles of rooftops and disappear into some unfortunate residents'

clatter onto the tiles of rooftops and dis-appear into some unfortunate residents' back-gardens. Like comets the grenades and cartridges fly through the air. The bulldozer appears at the end of the street, belching defiance, and charges. But the street is too narrow for the scoop to enter. The driver has to brake rapidly to avoid colliding with the shops on either side.

cither side.

The three surrounding Arrondissements are in civil war. Fires burn in almost every square, petrol bombs puncture the night, gas-grenades plop around us, barricades block streets at strategic points, crowds gather only to melt away into the darkness on the approach of the police, and re-group when the threat is gone. Students on mopeds tear up and down the boulevards keeping track of CRS movements, and giving advance warning of their impending approach to friends along their route.

The fighting and the explosions go on long into the night.

The lighting long into the night.

This is what I saw on the two nights of rioting in Paris which directly led to the repressive measures of de Gaulle on Wednesday, June 12—the only answer he could find to combat the discontent of the French people.

ted by Express Printers, London, E.1. Published by Freedom Pr