

Freedom

Anarchist Weekly

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Lest We Forget

PORTUGAL IS always described as Britain's oldest ally, of this fact we are very proud. Due to Salazar's critical illness there has been much speculation as to his successor, therefore over these last few weeks many newspaper articles have been written about Portugal in general, and Salazar in particular. The majority of articles are mild to say the least in their criticism of the Salazar regime and reflect no embarrassment in adopting this position.

Portugal, along with Spain, is one of the last pre-war style fascist states, despite the Second World War which was fought under the banner of anti-fascism. Portugal was allied to the western democracies during the war, and the defeat of Germany and Italy put Salazar in a difficult position. How was fascism to continue to operate in Portugal? A facade had to be perfected, a deal with the western democracies had to be made to enable them to turn a 'blind eye'. Bases in the Azores and other concessions did the trick. The sacrifice of the Portuguese people and the Portuguese who fought with the Allies meant nothing to Salazar.

Post-war conditions played into Salazar's hands, the West were pre-occupied arguing with Russia, and his violent anti-communist policy fitted into the scheme of things. Salazar dictatorship in the name of freedom. The powers of the political police (PIDE) were strengthened, as was censorship. All anti-Salazar elements were labelled 'communist' and were either eliminated permanently, imprisoned or persuaded. Salazar was a useful ally to the West, so useful in fact that Portugal was admitted to NATO.

Portuguese fascism was becoming respectable. In 1951 elections were held, but with the whole of the electoral machine under the control of Salazar he could not lose. The Salazar regime was opposed during the election and the opposers paid for their courageous action—life imprisonment, economic sanctions, and loss of status. Such means was less liable to attract international attention. In 1958 the presidential elections were held. Delgado, in opposition to Salazar, won, therefore the votes had to be fiddled. By decree there were to be no more elections by direct vote of the people.

For the last thirty years the Portuguese have been starved both mentally and physically. As was the case in Nazi Germany, people are set to spy on each other, to obtain privileges and positions. Even the sick are afraid they will not be admitted to hospital if they oppose the Salazar regime.

The administration is corrupt out of all recognition, anything or anyone can be bought. The Army is completely in Salazar's pocket, so that a military coup is out of the question.

Portugal must be classified as one of the most economically underdeveloped and backward countries in the world. Tuberculosis has risen to such an extent that it has established a European record. Admittance to hospital is on the basis of influence, politics and cash.

Political crimes in Portugal cover strikes or any action smelling of anti-Salazar. Such crimes are punishable by life imprisonment which is contrary to what laughingly is called the Constitution.

What of the people in the Por-

tuguese colonies? To conform to the obligations as a member of UN the colonies are classified as autonomous regions, exactly the same in character and spirit as the metropolitan provinces, which does not make the standards too high to obtain.

Racial discrimination? According to Salazar this is not practised. At grass roots level this is in fact true, but the State imposes forced labour on the natives without food or pay. The majority of the native population, along with the poor whites, has no medical care. Both in Angola and in Mozambique the Government recruits and distributes labour in the same manner as it sells merchandise. The system is in fact worse than slavery because whereas it was in the slave owners own interest to keep his slaves fed and healthy, the Portuguese Govern-

ment are not bothered, some 30 per cent of 'Contract' workers to São Tomé die.

Above is a very brief picture of Britain's oldest ally. After Salazar what then? The situation could ease, but vested interests are so firmly entrenched, they are not going to let go. The salvation of the Portuguese people could lay in the colonies where the rebels are organized and this means a long hard battle. Thirty years of fascism is a long time.

One fact is certain. The British State will continue to support the Portuguese State whatever its political complexion, provided there is something to gain from the association. As P.S. pointed out in last week's FREEDOM, 'The State is the State is the State'.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

Incident in Stockholm—Czech Diary

Black and White Panther Show—Coventry Cross

Putting the Boot to the Bosses

AFB Conference Report

A FULL REPORT of last weekend's Anarchist Federation of Britain Conference in Liverpool (attended by about seventy delegates) will appear in the next issue of 'FREEDOM'.

Meanwhile an unbalanced, selective and, in two respects, completely lying report appeared in the London 'Times' (September 23) which we ask comrades to ignore.

A letter, complaining of the misrepresentation has been sent to 'The Times' on behalf of Freedom Press Group, The London Federation of Anarchists and the Black Flag Group. Let's see if they print it!

CORPORATION STRIKE

On Monday, August 5, 3,000 Dublin Corporation unskilled and semi-skilled workers struck for £2 10s. pay increase recently granted to their counterparts in the Electricity Supply Board and for £1 15s. as the 11th Round Wage increase (a cost of living increase). Simultaneously, 330 firemen in Dublin and Dun Laoghaire struck for pay parity with the police in support of their claim for £1,228 per annum after six years service, the present maximum for Local Government clerical officers.

Both of these disputes which lasted until Friday, August 23, were marked by a strong display of organization and militancy. In the case of the Corporation unskilled and semi-skilled workers their position was diabolical. Their pay was £12 6s. rising to £13 6s. after 20 years service, which speaks for itself! This in a city where the cost of living is virtually as high as in London, excluding travel fares.

The army was called in immediately to operate six Sewage Pumping Stations. A majority of the workers are members of the Irish Municipal Employees Union, the leadership of which was virtually frog-marched by the membership into strike action and once out held on strike action by a 'Nelson's hold'. This is quite understandable; it has since come to light that the finances of this small Union are in a very unhealthy state. For the first two weeks of strike the members were paid £5 per week; however on the third and final week they were only paid £3 and the members were told that, for the future, subs were doubled.

SETTLEMENT

Nevertheless this did not deter the Strike Committee from some very impressive organisation during the dispute. The iron arm of the State was immobilised and consoled its image to the middle-class sectors of Irish society with resounding threats duly published in an irate press. It was in the second week of strike action that the heat rose.

On Monday, August 12, 1,000 workers marched across Dublin displaying banners among which one read '£90 per week for the City Manager, £75 per week for the Assistant City Manager;

Continued on page 2

MARCH WITH US ON OCTOBER 27!

An explanatory leaflet, published by the United Libertarian Groups, c/o 84a Whitechapel High Street, E.1, is now available at 25/- a 1,000.

Postage 4 6 extra

Ireland Faces Crisis

RACE RIOTS in the United States, priests occupying a cathedral in Peru, the heave-ups outside and inside the barbed wire cage that was the Democratic Party Convention, the war in Vietnam, the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, and the Pope and the Pill. Each of these headings underline the crisis in Imperialism, the neo-Stalinist bureaucracy, and the Roman Catholic Church.

That these convulsions are causing a stir in Ireland was confirmed for me during a recent visit. Previously I had thought that the Pope's encyclical would cause scarcely a ripple in Ireland. I was wrong for immediately the papers burst with rebellious letters.

Dr. Good, a Professor of Theology in Cork, had the faculties of hearing confessions and making sermons withdrawn because he had dared to air his dissenting views while his superior, the Bishop, was away. A group of left wing Catholics gathered around a new journal *Grille* held a pray-in in a Dublin church. This broke up in fisticuffs inside the church organised by an ignorant mob—the clergy did not intervene. Indeed, a recent television programme on BBC will have acquainted British viewers with the reaction of Irish working class mothers.

The Irish Workers' Party which, in common with the world Communist Parties, had supported the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956, now joined the majority of West European Communist Parties in condemning the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia as a disaster. A leading spokesman, Sam Nolan, appeared on television and made a call for a multi-socialist party system in Eastern Europe, each party advocating its own road to socialism. This criticism of the Soviet Union, while it followed the line of West European Communist Parties, also shows a break in the isolation of the Irish Workers' Party. These events from quite different sources are indicative of the changing mood.

ON THE CLASS FRONT

On the class front these changes have

been reflected in a more militant class conscious stand by leading officials of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions at its recent Conference. The IRA has declared its stand in the class struggle clearly on the side of the workers. During a strike for Union recognition in the Shannon factory of E.I. Electronics, an American subsidiary of General Motors, the IRA burnt down five buses used for taking scabs into the factory.

More recently a trawler belonging to an Irish-American company, who had moved into sea-fields being used by a co-operative in Co. Galway, was blown up. The paper of Sinn Fein *The United Irishman* is taking a class slant on the national struggle against Imperialism. The Labour Party continues to expand although it has all the familiar signs of being an abortion. In November 1963, Dr. Noel Browne and Jack McQuillan joined the Labour Party. Today they are both outside of the Dail and the latter has been railroaded out of the Party for his activities as Organising Secretary for a breakaway Post Office Officials Union.

POTEZ FARCE

Meanwhile against the background of these developments the Fianna Fail Government continues its policy of pouring money into foreign firms, encouraging them to establish Irish subsidiaries.

Frequently these factories are an utter farce as was the recent fiasco of the Potez factory. Potez, the French aircraft firm, opened up a new factory outside Dublin, subsidised by the Irish Government to the tune of over £2,000,000. Potez failed to get the orders he had fooled the Government (?) into believing were on their way, so two months ago he closed the factory by a long distance telephone call. Many of the workers laid off were highly skilled technicians brought to Ireland after having sold up in England.

Coinciding with this policy is one of pressure on workers to keep down wages. Here is the story of how two groups of workers reacted last month.

French Protest Continues

THE UNITED FRONT against repression organised a meeting on Tuesday, September 3, in the Politeama Cinema in Nice. The room was full, holding about 500-600 people. The vast majority of the public were young Lycee pupils and students. Several speakers held the platform in succession to denounce the acts of repression exercised against militants of revolutionary organisations but also against workers who took an active part in the strikes and demonstrations in the months of May and June. For certain people, as if by chance, there was no more work after the holidays.

Jacques Sauvageot spoke against the duplicity of Edgar Faure, Minister of National Education, who pretends to be seeking the renewal of dialogue while Marcellin, Minister of the Interior, continues his harsh methods.

Then a representative of the PSU (United Socialist Party) came to indicate the aims of the United Front against repression.

The Gaullist government and the bosses intend to take their revenge against the May actions. They have started repression, and must be counter-attacked. They have not dared to condemn the arrested militants because they are afraid that a trial would rebound against them. So, the 'United Front' takes them on, four trials to unmask the government.

It will place on trial the dismissals in the ORTF (French Broadcasting Service, from which opponents of the government have been excluded).

On trial, the government's attitude towards foreigners.

On trial, the Committees for the Defence of the Republic, which have used fascist methods.

A trial at Citroën for its particularly repressive attitude.

In the discussions, a 'pro-Chinese' remarked that the best way of confronting repression was to continue the struggle and not to orient resistance round the single objective of the fight against repression.

Brief and uninspired polemics were engaged in with some members of the PCF (French CP) present.

The young people in the hall did not look very satisfied with the speakers' discussions.

Nevertheless, it is reassuring to see that in a town like Nice, still full of the holiday atmosphere, more than 500 young people went out of their way to go to a protest meeting against repression and especially to hear Sauvageot who represents the May movement and the will to 'continue the fight'.

—From *Lutte Ouvrière*, 11.9.68, tr. E.A.S.

BOOKS ON ANARCHISM

and kindred subjects

We can get books to order (school and technical books included). Please supply name of publishers.

- Anarchy and Order Herbert Read 21/-
- Pioneers of Modern Design Nikolaus Pevsner (Penguin) 7/6
- The Anarchists James Joll 35/-
- Caleb Williams William Godwin (Remainder paperback) 3/6
- The Hawkspur Experiment W. David Wills 24/-
- Garden Cities of Tomorrow Ebenezer Howard (paperback) 7/6
- Patterns of Anarchy (ed.) Leonard I. Krimmerman and Lewis Perry (paperback) 16/-
- The Case of Joe Hill Philip S. Foner (paperback) 12/-
- Rural Rides William Cobbett (Penguin) 7/6
- Political Justice: A Reprint of the Essay on Property William Godwin 9/6
- The Political Philosophy of Bakunin (ed.) G. P. Maximoff (paperback) 28/-
- Escape from the Classroom R. F. Mackenzie 18/-
- The Romantic Exiles E. H. Carr (Peregrine) 12/6
- A Hundred Years of Revolution (ed.) George Woodcock (Remainder) 5/-
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Freedom Bookshop

We're Here!

Editorial office open Friday, October 4, 6-8 p.m. and Monday, October 7, 2-8 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
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Temporary opening times:
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PUBLICATIONS include

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- and Annual Volumes of Selections from FREEDOM 1952-1964 each year's volume 7/6 (+1/-)
- Full list on application.

IRELAND FACES CRISIS

Continued from page 1

£11 15s. for Corporation workers'. As they approached Trinity College a truck load of rubbish was spied being loaded by other trade unionists working for a large firm. The workers were lectured on the basic principles of solidarity and the contents of the truck were emptied across one of Dublin's main thoroughfares and a picket promptly posted on the rubbish where both remained until the strike ended.

Following this incident 'Vigilant Patrols' were organised by the Strike Committee numbering 50 men by day and 30 men by night in order to ensure that hotels and other firms did not organise disposal of their rubbish by night.

At this successful action the middle-class bubbled with rage. They suddenly became incensed at the thought of disease in the slums. The social irresponsibility of the workers became a regular theme in all the newspapers. To counter this propaganda the Strike Committee met the City Medical Officer who assured them that there was no serious health hazard. The TV then dug up a doctor who did not share the City Medical Officer's point of view.

Towards the end of the third week the strike began to have its effect and amongst the firemen organisation was equally as impressive but space does not permit me to describe their actions. Their Shop Steward, Tom Geraghty, is an experienced man and the strike organisation bore witness to this fact. At the end of the week, the firemen were granted their claim for parity with the police—their maximum went up from £18 5s. to £20 5s. 9d. and they are to share any increase the police get in their claim for parity with the Local Government Clerical Officers.

The Corporation workers received 35s. of which 25s. is retrospective to June 1; in addition they will receive 10s. to 15s. from January 1, 1969. A suspicious clause in the agreement states that discussions on productivity are to take place in October, this could turn out to be their 'One Man Bus'. The increase gives the labourers £15 11s. after 14 years service which still leaves room for improvement.

FIANNA FAIL COUNTER-ATTACK

In an attempt to counter this industrial unrest, housing demonstrations, farmers' marches and strikes, struggles over buying up of rural beauty spots by foreign financial 'dukes' and the campaign against ground rents. In short in order to stifle the sharpening class struggle in Ireland at a time when Ireland's capitalist class seeks to present an image of stability to the countries of the EEC so that they can be granted club membership, Fianna Fail, their best organised political party, aims at strengthening their political authority; briefly their plan has three stages.

First, Fianna Fail proposes to alter the electoral system to the first past the post method as operated in Great Britain and Northern Ireland from proportional representation at present operated in the Republic. This would increase their representation from the present thin majority to an estimated overwhelming majority of 50 deputies in a Dail of 142, whereas, if the present trend continues, Fianna Fail stand to lose under proportional representation. A referendum will be held on October 16 to decide the future electoral method—proportional representation or first past the post. This is the second referendum held by Fianna Fail on the same issue in less than ten years. In 1959 the people voted against the proposal to abolish proportional representation.

The second step is to passage the Criminal Justice Bill through the Dail. One of the clauses in this Bill will make it illegal to hold a demonstration without the authority of the Police Superintendent. In other words if Fianna Fail does not approve of the demonstration, it will not be held. This will prevent many demonstrations—on housing, jailed strikers, farmers, or the Vietnam War, etc.

The third projected step will be to re-

vive the Minister for Labour's anti-trade union legislation which has remained pigeonholed following its announcement in May 1966 and subsequent unpopular reception from the trade union movement. The Criminal Justice Bill which, by that time, will be law, will ensure that organised opposition will be minimal. A senior official of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union has warned that Fianna Fail plans to give the Americans concessions on the west coast of Ireland to build missile sites, as a sop to American capitalism to build factories.

ANARCHIST VIEW

That is a brief review of the present layout in Ireland. There are some who will argue what the hell does it matter which way to vote—first past the post or proportional representation, that it is immaterial what method is used to elect the executive arm of capitalism. There are some Anarchists in this company.

This argument would be valid if we were dealing with the electoral method in isolation to surrounding events. In the scheme of things as I have outlined above, this is precisely what Fianna Fail want. Step aside and let Fianna Fail wrap Ireland up in a mesh of neo-fascist legislation and hand it over to the EEC/American Imperialist alliance. These Anarchists—puritans and/or bohemians (I do not use the terms derogatively) will never pose an organised opposition to

fascism. You may well want to 'go slumming' but the vast majority of people are not interested for the very good reason that they already live in slums and they have bloody well had enough of it.

Those who slam Anarcho-Syndicalists as being dogmatic, as Marxist, as living in the 1800's, etc., should come into the open. Syndicalists do not slam you, you are not serious enough to be slammed. If you wish to remain in your paranoid cloisters, do so; but if you want to play a role in the Anarchist movement come into the open, put your opposition to Syndicalism in writing so that we can answer your points.

I say all this because the situation in Ireland is crucial in the forthcoming months and by sitting in a corner of a public-house behind a pint denouncing people who are resisting Fianna Fail's scheme, you are helping the fascists.

As for the future in Ireland, if proportional representation is retained, it could be followed by the utter rout of the fascist TACA people in Fianna Fail and their scheme as outlined above. October 16 is the cornerstone for the future in Ireland. For this struggle, let all anti-fascist forces come together. Disagreement in Mountjoy Prison will be worthless to all concerned, none more so than Anarchists.

DAVID PICKETT.

THE COVENTRY CROSS CONTINUING STORY

THERE HAVE BEEN more amazing developments in the Coventry Cross struggle. I wrote in FREEDOM two weeks ago that there were a number of issues on which the tenants still wish to fight, and I ended by saying that there might well be some very radical action 'not witnessed in Britain for many years'.

Well, I was wrong about these things! There will be no radical action and probably no further struggles. The reason, however, is not a climb-down, or lack of interest on the tenants part, but a complete capitulation by the GLC. The points on which a future struggle would have been based were:

- (1) the position of lodgers: these had been told that they would have to go into reception centres as they would not be offered accommodation;
- (2) the slow start to the rehousing of all tenants;
- (3) the rents.

Myself and two tenants, Mrs. Mole and Mrs. Farnsworth, saw District Housing Officer, Mr. George Vale, and one of his lackeys about these points. It was an astonishing meeting. They were literally falling over themselves to meet our demands. We were given answers that lodgers would not have to go to reception centres (this was later put in writing and carried out in practice—lodgers are now getting rehoused), and the rehousing programme was speeded

up. For instance, certain tenants had seen houses they wanted. We put in demands for them and ON THE SPOT they were offered them. As regards the rents—this matter was left in abeyance.

The radical action I spoke of would have been some tenants and lodgers squatting in empty Council houses on the Dagenham estates. There is obviously no need for this now. As regards the rent—we wrote to GLC Director of Housing, Mr. J. P. Macey, about this. Next day a chauffeur-driven car arrived at the Cross and took Mrs. Mole and Mrs. Farnsworth to County Hall. There they saw Mr. Macey and Mr. Cutler (Housing Committee Chairman). The women told me that these two were also falling over themselves to be nice: various vague promises were made—of which we still require written confirmation. However, this looks like being purely of academic interest as, at the rate the rehousing has been taking place, there will be hardly anyone left in the Cross in a few weeks! It's amazing how this whole affair has shaken up the GLC.

Resulting from this meeting yet another militant demonstration was called off—this time a sleep-in on Mr. Macey's front lawn in Guildford, Surrey. However, Cutler and Macey were really worried about one thing. A pamphlet we had produced two days earlier entitled 'How to Beat the GLC' had reached them. They even had photostat copies of it. There

are some extremely nasty suggestions as to how tenants might avoid eviction in the coming rent strike in the conclusion to this. Cutler and Macey dropped words like 'conspiracy' and 'incitement' when referring to this pamphlet. To some extent they frightened the tenants—but not for long. Two days ago Mrs. Mole phoned County Hall and told them that their attempts to split the tenants and the East London Libertarian Group with their threats had failed. And they have—despite the *People*, *Daily Mirror* and local press. Certainly there were rows over some points in the pamphlet—but the fact that we, a bunch of revolutionaries can have a stand-up row with the tenants and still remain friends and work together is an indication of the trust existing between us and the advance in consciousness of the tenants. Some tenants are even starting to stir things up on the estates they are moving to.

No peace for the wicked, Cutler, Macey & Co!

RON BAILEY.

'How to beat the GLC—the Coventry Cross Victory'

6d. plus postage from
128 Hainault Road, E.11.
Take bulk orders on sale or return
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Anarchist Federation of Britain

General enquiries should be sent to the London Federation, c/o Freedom Press, 84a Whitechapel High Street, London, E.1.

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

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. GRA 9848. Regular activities. Meetings every Wednesday, 7.30 p.m., at Tony Gay's, 109 East Road, Plaistow, London, E.13 (2 mins. Plaistow Station).

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.
3rd Friday of each month at Dennis Fen's, 314 St. Paul's Road, Highbury Corner, N.1 (above Roundabout Self-Service).
3rd Friday of each month at Donald and Irene Room at 13 Savernake Road, N.W.3, at 8 p.m.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

- BEXLEY PEACE ACTION GROUP.** Enquiries to 150 Rydal Drive, Bexleyheath, Kent.
- BIRMINGHAM LIBERTARIAN AND ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Geoff and Caroline Charlton at Flat One, 69 Sandon Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham 17. (Entrance side of house). Regular discussions being held on Tuesdays, 7.30 p.m., Crown, Corporation Street (upper room).
- BOLTON.** Get in touch with John Hayes, 51 Rydal Road, Bolton.
- BOURNEMOUTH AND EAST DORSET ANARCHISTS.** Please contact John McCain, 65 Norton Road, Winton, Bournemouth (B'm'th 59509) or Tim Deane, Juliet, West Moors, Wimborne, Dorset (Ferndown 3588).
- CORNWALL ANARCHISTS.** Contact Arthur Jacobs, 76 East Hill, St. Austell. Discussion meetings on the second Friday of each month at Brian and Hazel McGee's, 42 Pendarves Street, Beacon, Camborne, 7.30 p.m. Visiting comrades very welcome.
- CROYDON LIBERTARIANS.** Meetings every 2nd Friday of each month. Laurens and Celia Otter, 35 Natal Road, Thornton Heath (LIV 7546).
- 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

Manchester, 14.
Every Saturday: 'Freedom' and 'DA' selling outside Central Library, 2.30-4.30 p.m.
MERSEYSIDE ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence to Jack Bennett, c/o 16 Devonshire Road, Liverpool, 8. Meetings 1st and 3rd Thursdays of month at Pete Dukes, 70 Huskisson Street, Liverpool, 8 (3 rings), at 8 p.m.

SUSSEX FEDERATION

Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o Eddie Poole, 5 Tisbury, 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.

WELSH ANARCHIST FEDERATION

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. All correspondence to: Pete Raymond, 18 Marion Street, Splott, Cardiff.
MERTHYR TYDFIL ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence to Huw Rowlands, 16 Cromwell Street, Methyr 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.

EAST LONDON LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION

Support wanted for numerous activities in area. Secretary: Anthony Matthews, 35 Mayville Road, London, E.11. Meetings fortnightly on Sundays at Ron Bailey's, 128 Hainault Road, E.11 (LEY 8059). Ten minutes from Leytonstone Underground.
LEYTONSTONE GROUP. Get in touch with Anthony Matthews or Ron Bailey (address as above).
STEPNEY. Trevor Jackales, 10 St. Vincent de Paul House, Dempsey Street, Clichy Estate, E.1.
NEWHAM. F. Rowe, 100 Henderson Road, E.7.
ILFORD. Del Leverton, 12 Hamilton Avenue, Ilford.
DAGENHAM. Alan Elliot, 98 Hatfield Road, Dagenham.
WOODFORD. Douglas Hawkes, 123 Hermon Hill, E.18.
LIMEHOUSE. M. Solof, 202 East Ferry Road, E.14.

STUDENT GROUPS

There are groups at East Anglia University, Liverpool University, LSE, Oxford University, Sheffield University, Southwark College, Sussex University and College of St. Mark & St. John, Chelsea. For reasons of space we have left these out

during the vacation. Can we have correct addresses as soon as possible.
LIBERTARIAN STUDENTS FEDERATION. Contact address: Keith Nathan, 138 Pennymead, Harlow.

SCOTTISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION

Secretary: Dave Coull (see Montrose).
Groups and Proposed Groups:—
ABERDEEN ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Contact Bob Conrrie, 288 Hardgate or Liz Smith, 3 Sinclair Road.
FIFE. Contact Bob and Una Turnbull, 39 Stratheden Park, Stratheden Hospital, by Cupar.
GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Robert Lynn, 16 Ross Street, C.I.
HAMILTON DISTRICT FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. Contact Robert Linton, 7a Station Road, New Stevenston, Motherwell.
MONTROSE. Contact Dave Coull, 3 Eskview Terrace, Ferryden.

LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

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

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.
- USA.** James W. Cain, secretary, the Anarchist Committee of Correspondence, 323 Fourth Street, Cloquet, Minnesota, 55720, USA.
- GROUP-TORONTO.** Australian Anarchist, c/o Melbourne University Union or Paddy Evans, c/o the same.
- MELBOURNE.** Get in touch with Bob Hopkins and Margie Rojo, P.O. Box 192, Carlton South 3053. Public meetings at Yarra Bank, Melbourne.
- DANISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION.** Gøthersgade, 27, Viborg, Denmark.
- VANCOUVER, B.C., CANADA.** Anyone interested in forming anarchist and/or direct action peace group contact Derek A. James, 184 Grand Boulevard, North Vancouver, B.C., Canada. Tel.: 987-2693.
- USA: VERMONT.** New Hampshire Anarchist Group. Discussion meetings. Actions. Contact Ed. Strauss, 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 Torsyork Drive, Weston, Ontario, Canada. Weekly meetings.

PROPOSED GROUPS

MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY. Contact Mike Don or Bill Jamieson, 14 Victoria Road, Manchester 14.

Incident in Stockholm

THIS IS THE STATEMENT made by a Spanish witness to an incident which took place in Stockholm on July 31 at 11 p.m., which was the cause of Antony Engurube, a Nigerian citizen, being thrown into a Swedish prison where he is still awaiting his 'trial'. He will be prosecuted for using violence against the police for which deportation is likely to be asked. There were seven or eight witnesses to the incident and their statements are much the same.

Witness—Isaac Alvarez :

Antony Engurube and I stood in the Stockholm speakers' corner and discussed the US war in Vietnam with an American citizen. Someone in the crowd insulted A.E. by calling him a 'negro devil' and continued 'Go back to Africa', the same person began to push A.E., and another man (Danish) was even more aggressive and said, 'We will keep Sweden clean'. When A.E. protested and asked both of them to stop insulting him and pushing him, the Dane said 'you devil, I shall hit you' and began to roll up his shirt sleeves. A few policemen who were watching the whole affair asked A.E. to leave speakers' corner. A.E. tried to explain but the police grabbed him in a very violent way.

When I tried to translate what A.E. said, I was taken and put into a police bus and A.E. was put into the bus in a very violent way. Two policemen sat facing A.E. and myself and were pressing down A.E. with their feet onto the floor of the bus. One policeman was pressing down very hard on A.E.'s testicles with his foot. A.E. asked the policeman to stop. A.E. said to me, 'You see how they are treating me' and I said yes. I then received a very violent hit against my leg by one of the policemen. A.E. begged the policemen to stop pressing him down with their feet as he wasn't resisting them. The police answered 'Shut up', and when A.E. didn't stop protesting against the treatment the police hit him with a truncheon against the upper part of his body. A.E. forced himself loose whilst both policemen were hitting him with their truncheons. A.E. tried to defend himself against the blows and they were now hitting him with their fists. I tried to hold myself passive and tried to prevent the affair getting more violent. One policeman asked the driver to stop the bus but the bus didn't stop until it got to the police station.

In the police station they placed us on seats just inside the door whilst two policemen were holding me. Four policemen placed A.E. in a chair and a fifth hit A.E. again and again in the stomach and chest with their fists. I said 'This is madness to do this', then one of the policemen said 'Take this bloody Spaniard into cell No. 3, we don't want any witnesses here'. He didn't know that I understood Swedish. From the cell I heard how they were beating A.E. A.E. called 'Can you hear what they are doing to me?' Later they put A.E. in a cell. He complained about pain in his testicles and asked the police to get him a doctor. During the night we were both insulted by the police. I heard the police both in English and Swedish say to A.E. 'devil negro' and then they said 'We will not have you in Sweden; negroes are not welcome in Sweden; you stinking ape, go home to the jungle'.

Then two policemen said in Swedish, 'You devil, you understand Swedish. We will take you out in the forest, torture you slowly, we

will teach you to come to Sweden and hit Swedish policemen. We will shoot you in the head.' To me they said, 'You devil Spaniard, damn communist, you have negro blood in your veins.'

Later, during the night, I asked to go to the WC and drink some water. These requests were not granted and when I repeated the same requests they answered 'shut up'. I answered them, 'It's not you can judge me, because if I am found guilty it is a judge who will decide my punishment.' They answered, 'Shut up, we know who you are', and I answered, 'Is this democratic?' 'Yes,' they replied, at the same time spitting in my face. I turned to a policeman who seemed to have a higher rank who witnessed what happened and I said, 'This isn't justice.' 'Yes, it is,' he replied and spat in my face. The Chief Constable at the station said to me, 'We will send you back to Spain and hope Franco tortures you slowly.'

The Swedish capitalist press up to the time of writing hasn't really discussed this case except for a

small report that a 'desperado' was arrested in the Stockholm speakers' corner. Another full report of the affair was published in a Swedish weekly called *Tidsignal*. One gets the impression that there is a gentleman's agreement not to take the question up in the popular daily newspapers. This, on the other hand, may have something to do with the Swedish elections which start in September. Whether the incident can be used by party politicians when the trial comes up is a debatable point.

During the preliminary hearing of the arrest concerning the case the prosecutor remarked that A.E. considers himself as a representative for the African freedom movement in Sweden. The court's order of arrest and prosecution is on the grounds of 'a risk of continued criminal activity', and I stand to be corrected in the translation of this passage. SCAN-SNCC movement in Sweden, an organ affiliated to the Black Power group are working very hard with the Engurube case as he happens to be one of their members.

Letter from ENGURUBE

Dear Sven,

When I saw you and the other friends and comrades I became more optimistic that the course of history could be changed by a well-determined new generation. I am afraid to say that the responsibility to re-orientate the social mentality and attitude of the old generation with their frosty tempers and frustrated vanity, and the new generation (or our generation), shall we say with their (or our) egocentric individualistic knowledge, will cause and compel us to do some unnecessary sacrifice like this, for me as an African and a black man in Europe. I became more aware and conscious of the bigotry and racial prejudice that is the plague and social illness of Europe, particularly of the people of Western Europe. Unfortunately Sweden is not immune from this psychopathic white supremacy, superiority complex. This is the mental illness of Europe of which I must say, I am just one of the many victims as a black in Europe, which for the past one year and

ten months of my stay in Sweden I have experienced. Sven, I don't want to bore you with my frustrated ideal humanity.

Allegiance to the world and humanity is greater than one's allegiance to the little things that are part of it. I mean one's country, chauvinist nationalism. Let us look forwards to the future and beyond our national frontier and carry on the struggle for justice, equality and human dignity. Sven, we are not allowed to see our visitors as they are afraid that we might attempt to pervert justice. I shall be very glad to see you before August 20th if it is possible but I doubt it. Because it takes six days before I got your letter¹ as it must be censored before I receive any letter and censored before I send any, I don't know how long it will take before you get this one. Sven, I thank you and all other friends and comrades. I will never forget the incredible spirit of solidarity. It brought tears to my eyes when I heard your voices that Saturday evening.²

Sven, I know I am violent but my violence is not of that low type of which I am accused. I am violent for social justice, equality and human dignity. Our fight against Western European monopoly is not here or against the police in this country or any Western European country—for you know that just as much as I do. I cannot blame the police for what they are or what they do. I feel sorry for them also because they are the victims of a system that is responsible for their mentality and social attitude towards black people in Western Europe.

Yours sincerely,

A. F. ENGURUBE.

I hope that Sweden does not become a little USA or Deep South Texas.

¹The preliminary hearing on August 6.
²Latest date for stating the case for prosecution after which trial is expected almost immediately.

³Posted in Stockholm.

⁴When a demonstration demanding A.E.'s release passed outside the police station in Kungsholmsgatan.



Decentralisation of Power

THE WHOLE CONCEPT of Gramdan in India is difficult to envisage in western society, but hard facts cannot be argued with and it is certainly true that in India there exists a network of 60,000 Gramdan 'village republics', each having had its own internal revolution and each becoming an essential part of the total revolution; social revolution as Gandhi envisaged it.

Setting up one community does not mean revolution. Ideal perhaps for those living within it; this is not Gramdan but an Ashram; a coming together of like-minded people to live and share their lives because they want to. Gramdan is revolution within an existing unit; an established village taking the pledge to renounce private ownership and form a village commune.

The first step after signing the pledge is to set up a village assembly with one representative from each family. A village council of five people is then elected, but this is only an administrative body—it has no power to take decisions or implement laws.

Working on a community basis, the village will go on to form a co-operative store where barter is the main currency. All the surplus produce of the village will go to the co-operative which must keep stocks to last two years. Anything over may be sent away from the village to be sold, but the needs of the village come first. Any profits made in this way are kept in the village bank (Gramkosh).

Barter is used between villages possessing different small industries. There is a co-ordinating body for each district;

again, like the village council, totally without power. Delegates from each village council within the district form the co-ordinating body and will meet regularly to discuss the work and problems of each community and arrange inter-village exchanging. All the delegates can do is to take back to their village the proposals and suggestions they have discussed; it is then for the village to decide what they will do. Literally, the co-ordinating body exists only to provide an information link between communities and to promote inter-village co-operation. The power lies entirely with the people.

The well-established Gramdan villages have reached the state where money is almost unnecessary within the community. For anybody needing to travel outside the community or if the community wishes to purchase something not available by barter, money is quite free. Money has value only outside the community network. Even barter will finally be abolished as a means of currency. Everything will be totally free. Free food, free clothes, free housing and free money; the system is completely self-sufficient.

At the moment 10% of the villages in India are Gramdan villages. When this figure rises to 80% centralised government will simply wither away; it will have become completely redundant.

The question of law was brought up; do the people have their own courts and do they punish their own offenders? This is a very important point. Each village has its own village court (Pun-

chayat). These courts are not recognised by the government. There is a legal court in each district to which the people should take all civil and criminal cases; but the people will not use them. They take their own cases to their own courts. These are usually civil cases, but criminal cases, including murder, have been tried in these courts. There is no punishment, no imprisonment; the reason for the crime will be sought out and corrected. Anybody committing a particularly antisocial crime would be sent to live for a time in an ashram with aesthetes, philosophers, holy men and intellectuals; responsible people capable of giving 'corrective training' within the atmosphere of the community. There is no question of curtailing freedom; there are no prisons belonging to the village courts. Antisocial behaviour would, of course, decline in the free community.

Another important point raised was how to deal with a lazy person who does not want to work or a greedy person who would be inclined to take more than his share. The answer is, of course, that anyone not wishing to work would not be forced to do so. The important thing is not to make him feel guilty. If he wishes not to work he can stay at home, but he would soon tire of having nothing to do and would eventually be glad to work. In a society where everything is free, the question of greed could not arise. Every person may take as much as he needs and there would be no point in accumulating 'wealth'. Therefore the way of life in the free commune not only could change human nature for the

better, but in the living example which is Indian Gramdan, it is already changing.

The Gramdan Movement is an experiment, and a very successful one. Centralised government in India is already 10% redundant and every day a fraction more of its power is undermined. There is no protest, but just a steady chipping at the foundations of the power structure.

Here in the west the limit of our 'revolution' seems to be protest marches and endless talk about 'the perfect society'. We shout Wilson out! Johnson out! but what have we created to take their place? In India the only people who protest are those whose power has been undermined. The lawyers and barristers of the district courts hold protest meetings because nobody will use their courts!

People who have misunderstood the Gramdan Movement accuse them of regressing into the Middle Ages, but where else is there a revolutionary movement which will think of using such advancements as nuclear power plants run with virtually no manpower and yet still maintain a really basic, rural, shared existence for the people? Cities could become just huge monoliths of machinery with the people living in the country and man will have at last mastered the machine. In fact Gramdan is so revolutionary, it seems wrong to use such an outmoded word as revolution; it is living in the 21st century; total ultra-revolution, and it can happen here. Already the foundations are being laid for us, for as Gramdan spreads centralist economy collapses like a card house with the bottom

layer removed. We, the people, can remove ourselves from their game and watch their power structure tumble about their ears. The collapsing economies of each undermined power structure will each help the next to fall, until only people remain, and if the foundations are sufficiently sound, nobody will even notice the collapse of the penthouse.

BARBARA HIGGINS.

A TALE OF TWO SCHOOLS

Risinghill & Kilquhanity

in

ANARCHY 92

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Black & White Panther Show

THE OTHER THURSDAY, after rain, Powis Square was opened once again, this time for purposes other than that of children's play. The militants re-entered the area to establish there an open forum for the voicing of opinion, protest and dissent. They brought with them a newly made platform for speakers to work from, and naturally they did this with the complete approval and interest of the children who use the Square all the time and could be called its owners, who know well enough who got the place for them (even if there are some about re-writing local history), and who welcome enormously the presence of those who act, do and perform, and then talk and talk.

It was a black-white coalition that did the job. For quite a while discussion has been going on among activists, political and others, as to the proper future function of the beautiful Square, now that it is open. There are those who would prefer it that the revolutionary act of tearing down the fences, the ecstatic first day of occupation by and in the name of the people, be now forgotten, or at least assimilated into the processes of reform, so that the despicable Local Authority might move in, erecting new fences and those hideously traditional instruments of 'play' that they so love to impose upon the activities of the child, whom they would at once sanctify and ruin given half a chance.

But there are those as well who fought for the Square and took it, knowing that what they did was something larger; that grown ups, as children, need to play in spaces free from opening and closing times and uniformed officials and fences of any kind at all, and for good. This Square belongs to the People of Notting Hill, of all the generations. This was the victory of the June Demonstration and from it there can be no turning back.

On that Thursday evening the group intent upon their meeting stood for a while sheltering at the edge of the Square beneath a tree, waiting for the rain to stop, arguing the line on black-white association. Courtney of the *Hustler* was there, but rather nebulous in attitude. Brothers Ghosh and Andre Chevington however stood out firmly against the attitudes of separatism that might develop as a flaw in social action. These indeed were the comrades who led that night and showed the way toward the future

of the district. Andre propounded that the conditions of the late fifties in which white racism became momentarily a relevant factor in Notting Hill, allowing the fuzz to emerge as the 'true' defenders of apparent righteousness, were no longer alive. This argument engrossed the gathering that was not yet a meeting. It was loud, vociferous and comical.

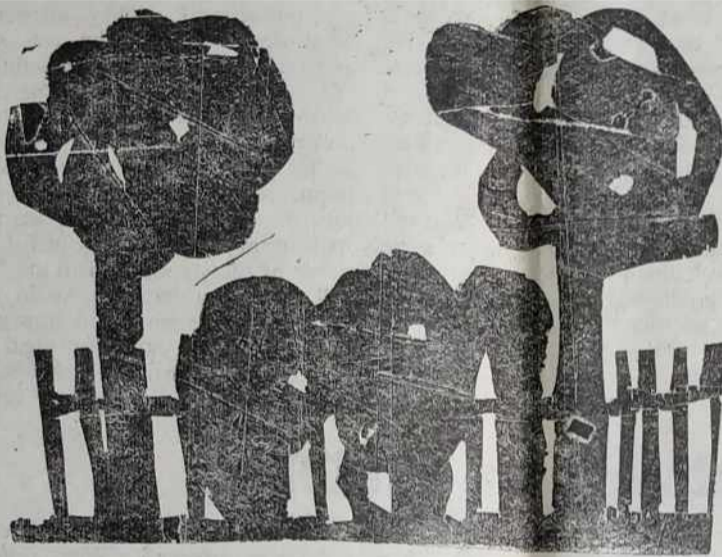
And meanwhile, as the weather cleared and the children gathered and the people around the Square started throwing up their windows to hear better the raised voices, two foot-fuzz pounded slowly by in measured tread and assumed indiffer-

indignation. 'This Square,' she shouted, 'this Square is for the kiddies, not for the likes of you. I live in this Square. You mustn't talk to kiddies about politics. You mustn't encourage them to do these things.'

So the grins on the faces of the young grew broader, for the scene was taking on the qualities of street theatres and the drama of human confrontation.

'But madam,' said Ghosh... 'would you let me finish what I am destined to say...'

'No, I won't.'



ence. Then one, then another, then another squad car began to cruise the adjacent streets.

Then Ghosh mounted the rostrum and started to address the people. He reminded the children of how they and the militants had opened the Square and he audience was rapt and delighted; for the story was already their own and known by heart; and also Ghosh is a very good speaker.

And immediately among the small crowd there was made available a most perfectly angry heckler, a nice middle-aged Irish woman, clothed in the respectability that so befits her kind of hollow told them that they must be prepared to defend their land for the future. This

'Oh, please, madam...'

And so it was that general argument spread among the people, till suddenly an officer of some rank above sergeant was intervening, all smiles, to point out to all, the hallowed rights of this lady as heckler, now as ever... the right he assured us of all people at all meetings.

She moved off happy, and everyone else relaxed in the knowledge that police opposition was down to a minimum. Ghosh got down from his perch. The rostrum was moved to the centre of the Square. And the children took turns in speaking from it. Reality and play became intermingled. About twenty people were under the trees around the rostrum in the Square, talking of the future.

The end of the summer was now coming on. But Powis Square must be kept alive. It must be held, as at the start, against private ownership and against the council, the meetings are established and must be continued; for there is so much to speak about in the politics of Notting Hill. The rent struggles are growing, imminent evictions loom, two members of Black Eagle patrols have just been arrested, beaten up and falsely charged. The stop and search procedures and the raids on homes are getting more extravagant and numerous.

The people are going to need to meet and find expression to their thoughts and hopes. With the winter perhaps, with the dark and cold, there can be braziers in the evenings and chestnuts and potatoes roasted, to help the meetings on.

But now, meanwhile, two, three, four police cars drew up around the Square. An ominous special metropolitan police control van drew in, and the cops started to have their own public meeting in Powis Square. They talked among themselves, apparently without a main speaker, until Superintendent Patterson, short, plump, presentable, and as always, a mild man in public places, approached the civil gathering where the children were still holding forth three at a time on the creaking rostrum. He asked to speak to 'Mr. Ghosh'. They spoke together.

'Ghosh can look after it,' said Andre.

Afterwards Ghosh passed it on that there can be at present no police objections to meetings being held there, for Powis Square, since its seizure, remains without legal definition as to its nature or function. It is not yet a park, thank Christ, only an open space, a land in the hands of the people.

Meetings can be held say the police who, however, insist they can 'Give no assurance as to the safety of the person' whatever they might mean by that.

So the militants had their way once more, aided again by the children, and observed as usual by thirty cops or more. It was in this way that the Provos of Amsterdam established a place for meeting, planning and discussion. And apparently, some years back, this is how politics was first brought into vital life in Guyana.

So the life of People's Square continues now as a playground for children of all ages and folk parliament as well. Every locality should go all out to establish and hold on to places such as this. Notting Hill is the worst and best of all urban communities, not a twilight but a battle zone in the war of revolution. If the coming revolution is not one of localities it is nothing at all. Anarchists were there that quiet evening, as perforce they had to be.

FREEDOM CORRESPONDENT.

LITTLE MAGS

'MONEY IS THE ROOT of all evil' is an old saying often true in this express-train world. But money itself is not the only evil. The little mags by definition cannot make money, they may in a few cases just about break even, but in general they go their endless ways in a state of permanent debt. There is no 'racket' in small press publishing, nobody goes home with a fat purse. In theory the system should be pure, but as in most things invented by man it isn't. The glory machine steps in. Some editors cunningly use their magazines as vehicles of self-gratification, bestowing fame and glory upon themselves instead of letting the poems exist for their own sake. It's so easy to do, a few letters to well known poets, a small duplicator, a few hours' work and there you are—a new little mag claiming to be better than all its contemporaries just because of the names inside it and regardless of the actual standard of poems (well-known poets often turn out bad poems). So beware the Frank Harrises of the poetry world, it's the poems that are important and not the names of the editors.

A new little that's in it just for the poetry is Terry Kingham's *Tamarisk*, issue No. 2 at 2/6d. from 80 North Way, North Heath, Erith, Kent. Published in a neat offset format and containing poems by little-known poets, it makes a good buy, profits (if any) being ploughed back into the mag in the form of a money prize to the best poet in each issue.

Gandalf's Garden No. 1 at 3/- from Muz Murray, 10a Airlie Gardens, London, W.8, attempts to take the underground overground so to speak. Printed clearly and colourfully, it avoids the mind blowing trappings of *Oz* and other contemporaries and does at least get its message home in one piece. Containing some very nice articles on modern philosophy, mystic pop music and a few good poems, *Gandalf's Garden* is worth giving up the *International Times* for.

Jim Burns is a simple and honest writer who has the knack of making his short stories read like poems and his poems appear to be stories. His *Three Jim Burns Stories* is no exception, available at 1/6d. from 7 Ryelands Crescent, Larches Estate, Preston. These short stories (and by short I mean short, they are hardly a page in length) are very enjoyable and yet one wonders if three pages of literature are quite worth the asking price.

Dustbooks UK (the British distributor for American Dustbooks) has a rapidly expanding catalogue, the latest additions being *Dust* No. 2 and *The Source*. *Dust* is a really good magazine of stories and poetry edited by the US poet, Andrew Curry. This issue, at 5/6d. a copy plus postage, shows that there is some really good stuff coming out of the States these days. *The Source* is a book of genius poems by William Wantling, at 7/6d. plus postage. Wantling is a poet who has one god—life, and his poems

are prayers to that god. They rush up from the gutters, from the depths to flower in golden images upon the page. Wantling's source is twofold, his love for his wife and his hatred of his own failures. A book worth getting. Both from Valerie Burgess, 24 Foreland Road, Whichurch, Cardiff.

Loudspeaker No. 1 is a new duplicated mag from Robert Lowe, 27 Wilberforce Road, London, N.4, at 3/6d. a copy, which is a rather high price. Yet the contents are good; poems by Geraint Jarman, Brian Wake, Stephen Morris and others, and the layout is the best I've seen in a mimeo mag for a long time.

From Germany comes *Phoenix* No. 2 (2/- from Leopold Reif, Berlin 46, Strasse 71 nr 3), a poetry and prose mag that is in half English and half German. I can't say too much about the German side of things but the English poems are of a pretty high standard, and the format and printing can put a lot of our home-grown efforts to shame. Well recommended.

The last issue of a magazine under the joint editorship of both Brian Wake and Tony Dash, *Asylum* 5, is now out. Brian Wake is starting out on his own with a new thing to be called *Driftwood Qly*. It remains to be seen if by going it alone these two people can produce mags as good as this current issue. *Asylum* 5 is a great mixture of poems, drawings, photos and plays, the British poetry scene would lose a lot if it lost *Asylum*. 2/6d. from 478 Stanley Road, Bootle 20, Lanes.

Anybody attempting their own hand at the art of writing poetry is recommended to read George Dowden's *Letters To English Poets* at 5/- from Rain Press, 3 Suddley Terrace, Brighton. A wonderful book that asks poets to think before they write and to try to stop being an intellectual's version of Steptoe and Son. A poetic revolution preached in the form of letters to such people as Edward Lucie-Smith, Dave Cunliffe, Brian Patten, etc.

For a long time Western writers have been confused over 'zen telegrams', the dribbles of prose that go under the name of Haiku. The real beauty of this Japanese form of poetry is explained and illustrated in the latest issue of *Haiku* at 50c. from Eric Ammann, Box 866, Station F, Toronto 5, Ontario, Canada. The simple surface of these poems hides a far deeper mass of meaning, they are in fact rather like icebergs, most of the poem comes after you have first read and thought about it. A very good magazine explaining the connections of the Haiku with Japanese art, religion and its ramifications in the Western World.

And to end on a sad note, Jim Burns' excellent magazine *Move* has reached its eighth and final issue. Although duplicated, this magazine is really good. Jim's experience as a poet shows through in his editing, not a bad poem in sight, and free too—anyone who sends return postage will get a copy.

PETER FINCH.

An Offensive Against the Great Unwashed

IN DENSELY POPULATED industrial societies the traditional enemy of individual liberty has been the paid lackey who mainly repressed that manual labouring class from which he often sprang. The policeman, soldier, jailer, bureaucrat, politician, councillor, social-worker, magistrate and schoolteacher are customary component parts of what is generally regarded as the most active functioning complex of violent restraint in such societies. Capitalism, mass-media conditioning, educational indoctrination, authoritarian priesthood, instinctive selfishness, deliberately induced acquisitiveness, engendered competitiveness, environmentally produced stupidity, ignorance and deprivation are but a few causality factors which have helped shape the classic working class as generally prejudiced, conformist and extremely conservative in a regressive fashion.

These groupings are unquestionably still the most obviously identifiable mercenaries of exploitive establishments and consequently and rightly bear much of that anger directed against all the wickedness they symbolise and represent. Yet today, upon the obscene surface of a globe made mad and monstrous, it is perhaps time to disrupt and dismay those others who suggest tacit acceptance and agreement by their very silence. Those who seemingly prefer the slaughter and carnage to continue if it also ensures an uninterrupted extension of their own comparative prosperity; albeit manifestly at the immediate or eventual expense of others. Idealism which is seldom activated, wisdom which is not effected, insights which are never actualised are dead and useless things and occasionally destructive. Yet worse still are those people who are so motivated by self-

interest and personal gratification that they willingly and gladly give their public consent, or private silence, to the worst imaginable atrocities if they be garbed in a blatant veneer of public-relations hypocrisy.

Behind the neat lawns and tidy gardens, beneath the safe and cosy respectability, within the polite houses of a smug and self-satisfied semi-detached uniformity; the Great Washed cower in fear. For the sleek, well-groomed, over-scrubbed, pink, paunchy suburbanite knows that there is a great dissatisfaction at the centre of things. An unrest that threatens both his orderly routine and his comfortable mental ossification. An accumulation of material status symbols and a morality based upon prestige, wealth, greed and social acceptance engenders a psychosis which transforms seemingly harmless vegetables into heartless monsters. Heartless because a new car, caravan or yacht assume far more importance than the unspeakable sufferings of underprivileged humanity. To countless crimes of government they silently acquiesce and thus further the continuation of a corrupt society. A society of which they are an integral and privileged part.

A sporadic but sustained confusion of conformist middle-class society might conceivably generate a psychological shift away from comfortable stupefaction. Not so much a transformation but rather a change of emphasis. This change would not necessarily be of immediate benefit; instinctive reaction being suppressive and repressive. Nonetheless stimulation of the thinking process and disruption of hardened habits and static patterns of behaviour are essential prerequisites for future progress and liberation. That is, the Great Washed must

be forcibly freed from stale concepts, decayed social arrangements and mindless rigidity. To produce this necessitates the interpenetration of protective barriers and complex defences erected by closed minds; making unworkable many automatic responses.

Whilst the poor are herded into towering slabs of concrete and the State's defensive whine of excuse is lack of space, vast acres of land are reserved to help fill the leisured hours of those few fortunate and rich enough to be admitted to those so exclusive and expensive golf clubs. Be you White, wealthy and respectable, without Jewish or Negro taint, then you can freely amble around these vast areas of wasted soil to amuse away your daylight hours. Alternatively you may gulp cocktails in the cause of securing business contacts for mutual profiteering and exploitation of those human ants barred from enjoying any massive chair within the spacious lounge reserved for members.

How do we, then, assume the offensive against those nauseating legions when each manicured hand is but a stretch away from a telephone which commands support from the organised violence of the State? Golf clubs have as yet no nightly guard-dog patrols. The flashy, if discreetly intended, symbols of ostentation are vulnerable without their protective roofs and walls; garages far larger and warmer than the rooms which defend many a family from the cold and bitter night. Must those 'Trespassers will be prosecuted' notices forever stand or the continuing struggle be confined to the filthy, slum-infested streets.

DAVE CUNLIFFE.

CZECH DIARY

August 25, Katowice (Poland)

Polish newspapers still have not published details of the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Picture of Svoboda in Moscow with arm raised to salute crowd but unsmiling (I was later told that the raised hand was a piece of montage). Tank on corner of Prague street but no crowds offering flowers. My Polish friends draw their own conclusions, well-practised in reading between the lines. Listen at night to Radio Tirana as Radio Free Europe using all medium wave bands for broadcasts to Czechoslovakia. Tirana condemns Russian revisionists for invading and Johnson for conniving at the attack. I suppose the principle is 'my enemy's enemy is my friend'. Tirana says Czechs are tying messages to balloons and flying them over the frontier. Some Hungarian tourists told they cannot go home through Czechoslovakia but must go via Soviet Union and Rumania. Their tickets will be valid and no visas needed. I wonder what the Rumanian railway ticket-collectors will say.

August 26, Auschwitz

Visit museum before setting off to the border. Jewish pavilion locked and Czech one closed 'for repairs'. Ask a policeman the road to the frontier. After showing him passport and convincing him we are all Western Europeans he tells us, but says we may not get through.

Cross frontier with no delay. Passport and visa inspected in turn by Polish, Russian and Czech officials.

August 27, Prague

On the way we have noticed large pictures of Dubcek and slogans with Russian soldiers standing by apparently unmoved. There are tanks on every corner in the centre of the city, and a ring of them round the damaged radio-station and a newspaper office. In the main street at a stand a few yards away from a Russian tank students are painting on cardboard the latest slogans. Large notices say 'Russians Go Home', 'This is our business', 'USA commits aggression in Vietnam, USSR in Czechoslovakia'. Chalked scrawls abound.

'Russian soldiers steal transistors and watches.'
'UNO-SOS.'

Some slogans which were too provocative have been painted over or modified, 'Asiatics Go Home', 'Now we know the truth about Vietnam', '1938—Hitler, 1968—Breznev'.

There is no fraternization. By the station Czechs sit on one end of the bench and Russian soldiers at the other.

We try to find a friend's house. I ask the way in broken Czech and the person turns away silently (thinking we are Russians I suppose). I try the next passer-by in German, and after producing my passport and a letter from the friend we are told where the street is. As we drive off the man checks the number of our car against one of the many lists chalked up on houses of cars used by the secret police. All street signs and house numbers have been painted over and the nameplates have gone from the doors. No one knows which number is which. Finally two youths ask us to write a note to our friend and while one of them stays with us, the other disappears round the corner. He comes back, asks me what my first name is and some other personal details. I am a little angry, it seems rather like a game taken too far, but co-operate. We are taken to the house we want.

August 29

We try to establish what happened on the first day. A few vain attempts were made to stop the tanks. There is still a gutted line of cars and buses across the road near the radio-station. The Russians in fact seem to have shown a lot of restraint. On the second day as tanks patrolled the streets the soldiers did not shoot into the crowds even when people were thrusting lighted rags into their

petrol tanks. There was a little looting especially in smaller shops off the main roads. Many of the invaders were shocked to find no American or West German soldiers. 'Where are the counter-revolutionaries?' they had asked. Three Russian soldiers had deserted and the military-run radio demanded that the Czechs should give them up. At least one young officer committed suicide. However two days of arguing did not convince the majority of soldiers and the Czechs changed to a policy of ignoring the troops. It was said that Russian newspapers had used pictures of Czechs discussing with the soldiers captioned 'Czechs express their gratitude to their liberators'. The first batch of troops were replaced after 2-3 days (but this could be normal military practice).

August 30

There is not much conversation. The radio is on all day. Radio shops broadcast the underground programmes (which proclaim incessantly that they are the 'legal' service) to a knot of people. A Russian patrol passes by indifferently. Every nine minutes a different transmitter takes over to avoid detection by the helicopters buzzing overhead. A tape recording is played of Svoboda's speech on his return from Moscow. He is hesi-

tant and the women are crying visibly while the men look despondent. Husak (the Slovak leader) speaks. He says that in these last months the Slovaks have still not been given parity with the Czechs. Nobody weeps as they listen. A man with a satchel comes by and offers a copy of the underground *Rude Pravo*. People hasten up to him, take one or two copies and walk quickly on. Within a minute the satchel is empty.

I do not take many photographs. As I point the camera at some slogans a



man shouts 'the tanks are coming' and I hide the camera. On the other hand, I am hesitant to photograph the people sitting on the statue in the main street in case they think I am a secret agent.

Near the Parliament there is a symbolic pile of hundreds of copies of *Pravda* around a wire rubbish-basket. The slogans read 'No provocation', 'Not a drop of water or a piece of bread for the occupiers'. A leaflet for children told them not to accept sweets from soldiers, nor invitations to film-shows and not to show them the way.

Reports come of a secret press conference. Dubcek has explained how he was arrested while telephoning and taken

off to a secret prison. He expected to be killed and was quite surprised when he was later taken to Moscow. Svoboda threatened to commit suicide on the spot if the Russians did not modify their demands. They must accept the inevitability of the Russian occupation and try to keep as much as possible of the gains of the last few months.

About three-quarters of the population is wearing the Czech flag, many with a black band across. How fortunate to have a President whose name means Freedom. A pretty girl-student is handing out badges. 'Za Svobodu' (For Svoboda, for Freedom). Many shops are still shut and most of the displays are hidden by slogans. I notice that although there are queues outside the fruit and vegetable shops no one is buying tins, so there is no hoarding.

Russian tanks move in columns through

'The Russian Circus is performing in Prague this week.'

'Russian aggression is a blow to World Communism.'

The Polish radio says the counter-revolution is being organized by Zionists and their West German accomplices. An Austrian tourist asks me if I knew that Svoboda and Dubcek are Jewish.

At the station an extra coach has been added to the train to Vienna. A history lecturer explains to his friends that he has been able to read and write freely these last six months and cannot go back to what it was like before. As he boards the train a middle-aged office worker says he is not going to stay in Austria as he expects the Russians to invade that country too. He says Russians and Americans should unite against the peril of the expanding Chinese population.

Later in the day we cross the border to East Germany. No one inspects our luggage. In the border area of Germany all tourists have been told to leave, German and foreign.

We stay in Eastern Germany. Even those people who have listened to the West German radio don't quite seem to realize what is going on. The press points out the comparison between 1938 and 1968, just as did the slogans in Prague but point a different moral. 'In 1938 Hitler could invade Czechoslovakia with the connivance of the Western Imperialists because Benes would not accept the help of the Soviet Union.' 'Why is it that the Springer press which opposes freedom in Germany supports it in Czechoslovakia?' We even begin to wonder ourselves and then we remember the 99% unity of the Czechoslovaks in opposing the Russians.

September 1, East Berlin

The Day of the Victims of Fascism. Thousands of workers march down the streets in fairly orderly columns. There is none of the undisciplined enthusiasm of the anti-Vietnam demonstrations in Western Europe. A banner reads:

'Stop the Fascist Revanchists in Czechoslovakia.'

We read 'an Appeal to progressive and peace-loving people in Czechoslovakia. Remember the 30,000 Czech patriots carried off to the Nazi death-camps. . . . The murderers of yesterday and their imperialist aides are the instigators of the dangerous contra-revolution in our Czechoslovak brotherland, the enemies of peace, the betrayers of humanity.'

We remember the Czech pavilion at Auschwitz 'closed for repairs'. We remember our friends in Prague hiding in a cupboard the last issues of *Literarny Listy*, and with heavy hearts cross Check Point Charlie into West Berlin.

K.D.

James Connolly

THE NEW EVANGEL by James Connolly, reprinted by the Irish Communist Organization, 2/-.

'One of the most significant signs of our times is the readiness with which our struggling middle class turns to schemes of state or municipal ownership and control. . . .

'State ownership and control is not necessarily socialism—if it were then the army, the navy, the police, the judges, the gaolers, the informers, and the hangmen would all be socialist functionaries. . . .

'Schemes of state and municipal ownership, if unaccompanied by this co-operative principle, are but schemes for the perfecting of capitalist government; schemes to make the capitalist regime respectable and efficient for the purpose of the capitalist. . . .

'The development of acute economic problems side by side with the franchise—economic problems are in fact more acute in the politically freest countries—has borne in upon the minds of the working class voters the conviction that—except as a means to an end—political freedom is valueless.'

THESE QUOTES FROM *The New Evangel* illustrate both the strength and the weakness of Connolly, writing in his early and most revolutionary period. He had, despite his IWW connections, a considerable faith in the possibility of socialist nationalization, and with this went his desire to build a socialist party as well as an industrial unionist movement.

But they show clearly as is shown throughout this pamphlet that Connolly believed that the first battle the revolutionary left has to fight is against social reformers. He describes how in every country where a socialist party had then grown the Liberal Party had declined in commensurate measure—this

was before the emergence of the British Labour Party as a mass force—let alone before it had had time to show its colours in office or loyal opposition.

The publishers suggest that Irish workers may enquire why it has not been republished since 1917. Coming from a party which admires Stalin and considers the Soviet Union only started to betray socialism after the dictator's death, and which therefore presumably must believe that in the days when CPs throughout the world made total volte faces to suit Stalin's lightest word, this is a very good question; why did neither the Irish Workers League or the earlier Communist Party of Ireland ever reproduce this pamphlet, before the days of 'Kruschevite Revisionism'?

The pamphlet is useful though expensive. Connolly lived in the days before the word 'Socialism' came to be used by the Stalins, the Hitlers or the Wilsons of this world, and so his faults, his failure to see the full Revolutionary Industrial Unionist case (whether in its De Leonist or Wobbly form) against the state, despite his association with De Leon as also with Wobblies, can be seen not as the blindness of contemporary Leninists, but as merely a failure to see into the future.

Given this, it provides some useful ammunition for anarchist argument today but anarchists will need to supplement it with more up to date arguments. Being written in the context of a country then struggling for its independence, at a time when Connolly was giving very cogent reasons why socialists should not involve themselves in the Home Rule and similar Bourgeois Nationalist or Republican movements, it has a relevance (that I suspect its present publishers haven't considered) to 'liberation movements' in the Third World (and particularly Vietnam).

There is an introduction—printed far more clearly than the main body of the work and taking up as much space—in which the publishing group is able

to air some of its own views and also to argue a most unconvincing apologia for Connolly's subsequent accommodation to the Bourgeois Nationalist Sinn Fein. The reason we are told was that in Connolly's early days the Home Rule movement was weak and had no working class support, that by the time Connolly took his Citizens' Army to be swamped into the IRA it was a class-conscious body unlikely to be fooled, but that as the Nationalist movement had captured most of the workers he could not stand aside. History has shown the validity of the claim that the Citizens' Army had learnt their socialism so well as to be able to resist being corrupted by their association—there is now very little evidence of any residue of Connolly's movement. While if it were true that there is such a distinction between a large and a small bourgeois reformist party, Connolly would still stand condemned as one of the essays of *The New Evangel* pamphlet reads the Nationalist politicians a lesson in economic determinism and tells them that they cannot possibly hope to build a mass nationalist party as there were no objective economic causes to give rise to such a distinct party on anything but a socialist basis. Whereas in fact, as history also shows, it was the Bourgeois Nationalist movement that grew so that either Connolly's judgement of the economic determinants was at fault or his Marxian analysis was at fault in laying down that 'the stomach not the brain' determines the emergence of parties. (Perhaps he underrated the extent to which the Capitalists have indoctrinated those they exploit, and the extent to which therefore the stomach's messages are consequently misinterpreted when received via the nervous system by the brain.)

2/- is too much for this pamphlet but any anarchist who has some spare time for browsing in Collett's would be well advised to read it while sheltering from the rain there one day.

L.O.

Romeo and Juliet under the Plaza

WHAT WE WANT is verisimilitude. A real Italian town! Juliet really 14 years old! Real fighting with swords in real crowd scenes, with fruit spilling off genuine medieval market stalls. That'll make *Romeo and Juliet* LIVE! Bammm! Zapp!

Of course, them speaking poetry all the time gets in the way of this, but people'll never notice the verse if we keep zooming the camera past the characters, have them speak at the same time as running up and down the street and twisting one another's arms—fill the screen with Colour and Movement, ha-ha!

Now, who shall we have for Romeo? Somebody who's never acted before; to go with Juliet, looking her 13½. The two of them'll be two children, you see, real children. The audience'll love it. That good-looking boy'll do, that one there, with the 3-cornered face and those lovely eyes. The long love scenes and speeches? Love poetry? Oh, they'll get through those—they not being very good at it, is a sort of innocence, you see. We'll keep the camera on their faces all the time. Lovely faces, they've got.

Of course, it's got to be commercial. I'm not in this to lose money. But those ballet tights these medievalls wore—

they're a gift: we'll have ground level shots: give young York those striped ones. Oh yes, and make sure he tears his shirt in the duel. And tell him to grimace! You know, snarl. If he does that and then smiles, he doesn't need to worry about much else.

And watch that nurse. A bit of vulgarity's all right, but it's got to get past the Vatican.

Right? The ending? In a tomb? Well, naturally not, I wouldn't dream of converting it into a crowd scene! I don't want to desecrate the play, do I? There isn't much action about then it's true, but we'll get someone on background music. What about Maurice Jarre? Is he busy? Who? Nino Rota? *The Glass Mountain*. Yes, but can he give us something tragic; suitable for two kids committing suicide? You know—something half way between Tchaikovsky's 6th and a Puccini opera; but popular with it. Nothing too highbrow. Right—I'm relying on him, tell him, 'cause apart from him we'll have nothing else to get the atmosphere but those two talking this verse.

And was it a success, daddy? Well . . . it was different, son. The

Continued on page 6

Anarchism and Class

A MAN WHO DECLARES that he 'belongs' to the working class—or any other class for that matter—has not progressed very far along the road to becoming an anarchist. Anarchists have managed, to a great extent, to emancipate themselves from the prejudices of the social classes of their origins, if they have been so unfortunate as to have been born into families with class bias. Accent of speech which recalls Bermondsey or Mayfair, the Gorbals or Morningside, may linger on, but a person in so far as he becomes an anarchist, ditches the class prejudices that are commonly associated with these ways of speaking. Besides accent, numerous trivial mannerisms of dress and behaviour may indicate a person's class origins, but these are utterly unimportant; what is important is emancipation from the attitudes of mind which render social class such a devious and limiting factor in people's lives. Anarchism implies doing away with class, not in the sweet by and by 'after the revolution', but here and now in our own lives. To wear a class label like a ticket, justifying personal opinions, outlook and action, is the mark of a person so unsure of himself that he needs the shield of being 'working class', 'upper class', 'middle class', etc.

MYTH BUILDING

What is generally considered as the political left has been responsible for a vast amount of myth building about social class, and it is against these myths that anarchism as a coherent social movement has had to struggle. At the heart of the mythology is the idea that the working class are egalitarian, libertarian and progressive in their outlook and aspirations. In fact, the working class ethos is rather more conservative than that of the landed gentry. The latter have, in fact, shown themselves to be capable of great flexibility and open to innovation to maintain their power in a changing society. The essential acceptance of hierarchy by the working class is reflected in the structure of the trades union movement, and as to libertarianism and progressiveness, the active demonstrations by dockers and porters in support of the policies of Enoch Powell show us just what is the solid, non-nonsense, working class view.

POLITICAL SPECULATION

Appropos of the Enoch Powell demonstrations, Barbara Higgins, writing in *Peace News*, puts forward an interesting

political speculation. She writes:

'Nothing will ever convince me that Enoch Powell's infamous speech on immigrants was not a put up job by the Tories to win over the working class for the GLC elections. And how successful they were! Race prejudice runs high among the working class. . . . They see immigrants not only as "inferior" but also as a threat to their job, their ability to find a home and a "good" husband for their daughter. In fact the immigrant is the only thing that enables the British working class to feel not quite at the bottom of the ladder. Small wonder that the working people came out in support of Enoch Powell.'

Barbara Higgins is herself thoroughly working class in origins, and knows what she is talking about. Those who talk and write nonsense about the working class are generally of middle class origins, and do not know what they are talking about; nor do they greatly care. There are two main reasons for idealizing the working class—personal inadequacy, and the pursuit of political power.

LOWER MIDDLE CLASS ORIGINS

The first of these, personal inadequacy, is often displayed by people of lower middle class origins. People seldom boast of being lower middle class; this section of society (which is no worse or better than any other) tends to have a rather mean image in political mythology. Instead, your lower middle class misfit may seek to boost his inadequate ego by declaring that he is a 'worker' and furthering the messianic myth of the proletariat that is assiduously plugged by such bodies as the communist party—a body which has been traditionally dominated by middle class leaders. To such phonies, with their veneer of inverted snobbishness and working class affectations of speech and manner, anarchism can offer the assurance that class origins do not matter. No class is better than another as a class. Personal emancipation comes through learning indifference to class snobberies, and learning to distinguish between reality and myth.

PURSUIT OF POLITICAL POWER

The second great reason for idealizing the working class, the pursuit of political power, is rather older than the institution of parliamentary democracy, although historically it has taken various forms. What the mass of manual workers have lacked in terms of property and know-

how, they have made up for in numbers and have been the potential tool of what Orwell called the Middle, in their upsurge against the High. Nowhere has Orwell expressed his ideas more clearly and dramatically than in 1984, where, in the book which purported to have been written by Goldstein, he wrote:

'Throughout recorded time, and probably since the end of the Neolithic Age, there have been three kinds of people in the world, the High, the Middle and the Low. They have been subdivided in many ways, they have borne countless different names, and their relative numbers, as well as their attitude to one another, have varied from age to age; but the essential structure of society has never altered. . . . The aims of these three groups are entirely irreconcilable. The aim of the High is to remain where they are. The aim of the Middle is to change places with the High. The aim of the Low, when they have an aim—for it is an abiding characteristic of the Low that they are too much crushed by drudgery to be more than intermittently conscious of anything outside their daily lives—is to abolish all distinctions and create a society in which all men are equal.'

EGALITARIAN ASPIRATION

Here we see the idealism of Orwell, in that he genuinely felt that there was somewhere a genuine egalitarian aspiration among the Low. Orwell, whom every anarchist must honour as an honest and totally disinterested thinker, could not conceive of the egalitarian aspiration coming from forces outside the class structure. To this extent Orwell was a Marxist, but a pure Marxist utterly opposed to the bastard perversions of Lenin, Trotsky and their followers. With the experience of the twentieth century, Orwell saw (with extreme but understandable pessimism) that society might polarize not as Marx had envisaged between the haves and the have-nots, but on the basis of political control rather than property ownership. Orwell saw the ultimate of totalitarianism, as set forth in 1984 where the Middle had replaced the High by revolution, and consolidated its power permanently in a society of two strata.

The alleged egalitarianism of the Low may perhaps be better understood as a fiction foisted upon it by the Middle in the course of their struggle to become

the High. The working class are, on the whole, far too wedded to their conservative ways for the liking of that section of the middle class which is power-hungry and aspires to replace the present Establishment with their own Establishment (leaving the working class—working). If one says that one doesn't approve of the conservatism, racial intolerance, philistinism, etc., of the working class, that is a perfectly straightforward expression of preference. One may not like the rabid materialism, snobbishness, hypocrisy and pretentiousness of the middle class, for that matter. But to claim that the working class are revolutionary, tolerant, open-minded or in any way morally superior to the middle class is sheer sentimental nonsense, and such crap is generally purveyed by those who wish to lead the working class by the nose for the benefit of their own political advancement.

In the course of a stereotyped attack on 'The Middle Class Pacifists' Peter Neville writes the following:

'To a certain extent now Britain resembles pre-revolutionary Russia, in that the working class intelligentsia are not leaving their class but realizing it is their duty to that class, and humanity as a whole to create a socialist—or anarchist—society through their own class and not from the top down.'

(*Peace News*, 9.8.68.)

Here Neville is turning facts quite upside down. In so far as some of the students taking part in direct action for student control of matters which vitally concern them, have been of working class origins, they have emancipated themselves from their class origins. They, the ex-grammar school boys and girls, have turned their backs on their class origins and become declassé—hence their ability to flout working class mores. There is a wealth of material which reveals just what normal working class boys and girls think of the types who repudiate the ordinary pleasures and obligations of working class family life, to swot, pass exams and move into a new sphere of life. The fact that the rebellious students of middle class origins (the great majority) are also engaging in direct action and jeopardizing their careers, is also a move on their part towards becoming declassé. To compare this situation with pre-revolutionary Russia—considering the betrayal of the mass of the people by the Lenin-inspired intellectuals, is a hideous joke.

Marxist thought on social class owes much to Marx's insistence on the primacy of economic production in the determination of class. He wrote:

'The method of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being determines their consciousness.'

HALF TRUTH

This was largely true for the majority of people in Marx's time, but today it is

Prison I found one man in charge of the exhibition. He was there all day and every day of the week and though I had neither washed nor shaved for four days, wore a grubby mackintosh and had a tired dog running loose at my heels he went out of his way to show me every courtesy and to offer me every assistance when I inquired about the various unnamed artists. Courteously yet unobtrusively he guided me around the small rooms while we talked of the work of the men imprisoned at the Ford Open Prison. The paintings were in the main cheerful and extrovert, relying mainly on remembered scenes beyond the confines of the place and sentence and as such they fulfilled for all of us a necessary outlet of overtaken emotions. To the prisoners within the Ford Open Prison and the unknown man in charge of that small exhibition of their work, 'thank you'. And for the rest?

ARTHUR MOYSE.

Don't forget!

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

only a half-truth. The factor which Marx left out of consideration was the education of children and young adults before they have any part in the process of production. Nowadays a young adult in his early twenties may have been studying and passing the various screening tests for over fifteen years without ever having become a real part of the productive process. His consciousness and social being have been determined by these years of intensive schooling and study, and he may be utterly different in outlook from, say, his working class father who left the board school at thirteen to work in a factory.

Some students of working class origin may protest their working class consciousness a little too vehemently because they suffer from a guilty conscience. They know that in a sense they are 'class traitors', and are regarded as such by their families. No amount of spouting political phrases conceals the fact that they have already taken part in a rat race—and won. They have, in objective terms, set themselves up to be superior to their brothers who left school at fifteen to work with their hands.

One curious feature of the expansion of educational opportunity and selection by intellectual ability will be manifest in a generation or so. As the brightest children in every family are being creamed off by processes of educational selection, and given life chances different from their duller brothers and sisters, so the working class are becoming steadily less intelligent. The children who have gone to the university will tend to marry, not the possible mates from the same environment of origin, but those they meet higher up the educational and social ladder. In a biological sense, therefore, intelligence will be bred out of the working class. Robbed of the brighter individuals who used to be compelled to work at the factory bench by lack of opportunity for advancement, the mass of manual workers may become more apathetic, more easily led, governed and abused than were their forefathers. The myth of the messianic role of the proletariat will become even further removed from reality.

MARXIST HANGOVER

Anarchism has never been based upon class struggle as has Marxism. All social classes are alike to the anarchist, they are divisions to be eschewed rather than backed as in League football. It is inevitable that many people drift into the anarchist movement befuddled by a Marxist hangover and imagining that anarchism is, or could be, some sort of super communism-cum-Trotskyism-cum-Maoism. It is pathetic to hear anarchists address as 'comrade' those who would assuredly exterminate anarchists if their dreams of power were to be fulfilled. It is often the case that an absurd misconception about class struggle is responsible for this fantastic comradeship between potential executioner and potential victim. The communists, etc., are on the side of 'the workers'; we are told.

G.

AROUND THE GALLERIES

OUR LOVE FOR THE Americans is the love of a puritanical son for a drunken father. Even as we throw stones at their Embassy windows in our heart we cry for forgiveness for their guilt is our guilt, their crimes our crimes. Their skull-breaking conventions shape our political future, their mass culture our advertising, their factories our supermarkets and their criminals are our folklore. We share everything with them but their wealth and their international authority for all we can claim is an impotent rage at the smirching of the family name.

Therefore, in all good faith, we can take to the streets in public protest at their public behaviour and our message home can be the well-aimed brick. In art, in politics and in violent death they are the professionals moving with clumsy confidence from success to success while we within these Islands paint and prate and apologetically murder with the pale finesse of the failed amateur. It can be for this reason that the exhibition of *American Naive Painting* at the Royal Academy of Arts at 105 Piccadilly, W.1, wins our approval. For the last twenty-five years Edgar William and Mrs. Garbisch have chosen to collect 2,600 American naive paintings and from this collection Colonel and Mrs. Garbisch have subtracted 111 paintings of the 18th and 19th century for the current exhibition at the Royal Academy. I myself would hold that they use the term 'naive' in the wrong context with regard to these paintings for almost all of the work on display is neither naive nor primitive but the incompetent work of journeymen craftsmen called upon to execute work for which they lacked the professional ability.

It is as if a builder's carpenter was called upon to carve a decorative motif along the plain wooden bench that he has just completed. If he attempted and finished the work it would not be the product of the childlike innocence of the naive painter or the fumbling grandiose of the primitive, but an acceptable but bodged product of a skilled artisan

attempting work beyond his capabilities. It should be a sight common to those who choose to look that many a small trader's van carries a painted visual advertisement that defies all the canons of painting but it must suffice for, when the trader hires a signwriter then, through plain economic necessity, he must use the same man to paint the illustration of his wares and if the wares are recognisable, the colours bright, and the paint glossy, everyone, except the art schools, are happy.

So it was with the itinerant American painters who roamed the agrarian world of 18th and 19th century America earning their living by any means that came their way, be it house or barn painting, sign or coach painting for from these activities there came the simple extension of attempting to paint the portraits of the farmers, their families and their farmhouses. All judgement is relative and the painter and the employer were prepared to accept the finished article as a bargain well made if it bore some resemblance to the subject matter. As with all bad painting there is an over-emphasis on details of dress and an inability to suggest that third dimension yet, for all that, these men were an integral part of that American way of life.

We live in an age when the professional artist is either patronised, held in contempt or just ignored. But to the affluent American peasant of over a hundred years ago the painter craftsman performed a necessary extension of his job of work when he painted a record of the farm buildings, the cattle and the peasant's family. The camera has displaced the artist as a recorder of his age and time leaving only a sad freak screaming for public patronage and the world's applause therefore this exhibition at the Royal Academy offers a salutary lesson to the effect that the artist can only survive with dignity when he is accepted as an equal by his fellow workmen and he can take his place among them at the bench or in the field.

Of the exhibition at the Royal Academy

one can but state that the work on display is painterly incompetent by the standards of our corrupt and sophisticated times, and we are correct in this judgement, but the painter craftsmen of that period served their purpose and served it well. They painted for the hour and left their work unsigned and took their payment by breaking bread at the same table as the man who hired them. Unknown or ill-recorded, they did their job to the best of their abilities and vanished into the stream of time and the Royal Academy are to be thanked for giving us this opportunity to view the work of craftsmen as artists.

One wished that it was possible to say the same of the exhibition in support of the Hornsey students at the Battersea Gallery at 19 York Road, Battersea. To travel across London and to walk along a busy shopping street at 11.30 on a Saturday morning, when the pavements are crowded with people and every shop is open, and then to find that the advertised Battersea Gallery is locked and bolted is to make a joke of appeals for outside sympathy for their cause. Having peered through the windows into the shadows within the shop and vainly tapped on the glass knowing that no one is within presupposes an act of inexcusable laziness on someone's part. I cannot accept that with all those claiming to be involved in the Hornsey student dispute they could not have arranged a rota to allow one person to be on duty in their gallery. I accept this closed gallery as part of the London comedy, but what of those people who could ill-afford the time or the fare for an attendance at that gallery on a Saturday morning yet out of a sense of loyalty to someone else's struggle made the journey? Were they not worthy of some single person's sacrifice or do the students' revolutionary struggle close down at 3.30 every Friday afternoon?

When I paid a visit to a small stone-built museum on the fringe of a quiet seaside town to view the exhibition of paintings by prisoners at the Ford Open

Romeo & Juliet on the Plaza

Continued from page 5

climax of this film is Tybalt fighting Mercutio. And Juliet speaks 'Romeo, wherefore art thou Romeo?' as light comedy. At the Capulets' house party they have a minstrel from Hollywood, who sings two choruses of a pop ballad. But it was cinematic, son. Oh, it was cinematic. We watched a man's face through a flame for all of five minutes. And, to show Romeo's young love, while we tracked him lightly with a camera, he ran amok through a dew-fresh forest—like the advert for menthol cigarettes. And after, Romeo actually naked in bed next to Juliet; and all the sheets ruffled. It's been done before, but it never fails.

But was there this 'verisimilitude', daddy?

Well, the trouble is that when Shakespeare wrote 'Verona', he didn't really mean Verona. It was just somewhere convenient and distant to set the play: most of the local colour was really London.

But he did make Juliet 14, didn't he? Oh certainly; although sometimes the boy who played the role was older. Anyway, you run along and buy the LP of the soundtrack music, and then perhaps Mr. Zeffirelli will have enough money to make *Hamlet* with a hidden choir in the last Act.

*Film by Zeffirelli, in London at the 'Paramount', the cinema-under-a-cinema; in Manchester, 'New Oxford'.

Putting the Boot in the Bosses

The object of this work is to awaken the producers to a consciousness of their industrial power. It is dedicated not to those who advocate but to those who use sabotage.*—W. C. Smith.

'SABOTAGE,' says Walker C. Smith, 'is a mighty force as a revolutionary tactic against the repressive forces of capitalism, whether those repressions are direct or through the State,' and in his small, but well-documented pamphlet on the subject, he argues so convincingly in support of his claim that I propose to examine it in some detail.

First, as every good revolutionary writer should, Smith carefully defines his terms, and after offering three possible explanations of the origin of the word (which I will leave readers to puzzle out for themselves), he decides that whatever the derivation of the word it means 'the destruction of profits to gain a definite revolutionary end'. This is a narrow and very specific meaning of a word which my dictionary also defines as 'an act of malicious damage', and in fact Smith does not keep strictly to this definition, but let us accept from the start that this pamphlet is concerned solely with the pros and cons of industrial sabotage—which is fair enough since it was addressed principally to industrial workers—and has nothing whatever to do with sabotage of the Welsh Nationalist type of fun and games. To emphasize this point Smith adds in bold type, 'Sabotage does not seek nor desire to take human life' but is rather 'a direct application of the idea that property has no rights that its creators are bound to respect'. Nor is it directed at the consumer unless he takes the employer's side in a dispute, for example, by continuing to purchase a product which has been blacked, and which he knows is under ban. In fact, used in the Smith sense, sabotage is just one more weapon the worker can use against the boss, and as the author points out, is not as effective as mass action or class solidarity.

The question then is how and when do we resort to sabotage? And the next two sections of the booklet contain entertaining historical anecdotes about the different ways sabotage has been employed effectually in the past, together with such pithy phrases as the one referring to class traitors trying to speed up production in the steel mills, of whom some sage wisely observed that 'something dropped on their foot often affects their head'. Hard to reconcile this with the view expressed earlier that sabotage is addressed against the product and not the person, but it is a typical Wobbly remark and reminds me of Gary Snyder saying that just because he was a Buddhist and non-violent that didn't stop him from heaving a scab off the end of

a pier. It's possible too to claim that speeding up in the vicinity of large machinery is a more serious threat to the person than a monkey-wrench dropped on the toe, and is, in fact, a kind of sabotage on the employer's part which is probably responsible for a good number of the annual total of industrial accidents.

Capitalist sabotage is then discussed at some length but it hardly fits the definition to which Smith committed himself earlier. However, he is quite accurate when he describes as aggressive acts against the working class such things as the sinking of the Titanic, when hundreds lost their lives because of inadequate life-saving equipment; mine disasters; burst dams; adulteration of foodstuffs; destruction of farm produce, etc. Had Smith been alive today he could have headed this list with the manufacture of motor cars which are, to quote the title of a recent book on the subject, 'unsafe at any speed'. And what else is built-in obsolescence except capitalist sabotage against the consumer? There is even widespread sabotage among the capitalist class itself, as a necessary corollary to fierce competition, and many examples are cited, but Smith is careful to point out that when it comes to class antagonisms personal differences are very soon forgotten and ranks quickly closed to crush any attempted industrial action by organized labour.

Next Smith deals with the accusations

that sabotage is 'immoral, unethical and uncivilized'. He dismisses the first two charges scornfully by saying that all morals are based on private property, while those who oppose sabotage on ethical grounds must, perforce, support capitalist theft. Revolutionaries know better than to take lessons in manners from people like these! As to the charge that sabotage is uncivilized, Smith, after getting very long-winded and rhetorical about what passes for civilization these days, ends up forcibly by saying:

'What is more civilized than for the workers to create powder that refuses to explode?'

What is more civilized than to work slow and thus force employers to give a living to more of the unemployed?'

What is more civilized than to spike the guns when they are trained on our working class brothers in other countries?'

What is more civilized than to waste the adulterations given the workers to place in food, thus making it unprofitable to sell impure products?'

Sabotage will civilize the soldier, the militiaman, the police, the speeder, the slave-driver, the food-poisoner, the shoddy manufacturer, the profit grabber of high and low degree, and even the politician.'

Well, I don't know about that last one, but anyone hostile to sabotage who can refute the rest of Smith's argument ought to be a politician himself!

More practical objections are dealt with next. The employing class naturally misrepresents sabotage and pretend that all it means is such things as putting ground glass in bread and dynamiting buildings, etc. Also, some people are afraid that its continual use will be met by the lock-out. The first of these objections is a powerful one and Smith does not really answer it satisfactorily when he says that revolutionists must emphasize that the target of sabotage is the employer's wallet and not the consumer. This is all right in theory, but when the mass media are controlled by the very class that is spreading the lies, then it is not so easy to ensure that people get to know the truth. As for the second objection, Smith points out that a lock-out would only intensify the workers' hatred of their bosses and they would eventually return to work 'with bitterness in their hearts and emery dust in their pockets'. There would be no mutual incriminations for having gone on strike; neither would they direct their frustration against inefficient strike-leaders. Locked-out workers know only one enemy—the bunch of bastards that is keeping them from their jobs and their livelihood!

A further advantage of sabotage is that action is not halted, as in a strike, by arresting a group of ring-leaders—or, as is more often the case today, buying them off or getting pressure put on them by

Continued on page 8

EYEWITNESS IN CHICAGO

SUNDAY, AUGUST 25, while delegates to the Democratic convention registered at their various hotels, churches, called 'movement centers' in various areas of the city, particularly in Lincoln Park, opened their doors to the visiting demonstrators. They offered sleeping space and kitchen facilities, and were run either by local people or by the visitors themselves. Some had station wagons or cars at their disposal to gather up the exhausted, stunned stragglers at night's end. If you had been gassed and/or clubbed in the park, and in addition were unfamiliar with Chicago streets, these cars were a welcome sight indeed.

Lincoln Park was cleared Sunday night and again on Monday night. Police were determined to enforce an 11 p.m. curfew and the gory story of their actions came to an enraged head when newsmen and cameramen were attacked, just like ordinary people. This brought a storm of protest in the press and it also activated some adult groups.

If you were too old to outrun the cops and somehow failed to take part in the direct action, there was still some way to show solidarity with the demonstrators. A meeting of the Concerned Citizens of Lincoln Park, held early in the evening on Tuesday, August 27, was a bit unreal. Someone suggested that the cops, many of whom were stationed less than a block away, be asked to come out to meet with the group so that they could view enraged taxpayers face to face. Others said no, they would send a delegation to confer with the cops. This was sheer nonsense. On the practical side, the group

agreed to come back at 11 p.m. and sit with the kids who were going to stay. I was in that group, found it composed of 100 or more adults—wives of ministers, workers, ministers themselves, teachers—and the demonstrators. The north-east end of the park was alight with tear gas flares and the police in their blue helmets advanced on the crowd. In typical cop fashion they threw the tear gas, even threw it into the crowd as it was dispersing. But, within a few minutes, the wind off the lake had changed and the gas was blown back on the police and into cars on the Outer Drive, a well-travelled through highway, jamming traffic and stalling motorists. That was the last mass episode in Lincoln Park. After all, the right to sleep in the park and the fact that 'the park belongs to the people' was not the crucial point. That same night there was an all-night vigil in front of the Conrad Hilton Hotel and people stayed there until 6 a.m.

On Wednesday, police and national guard were determined to prevent the scheduled Peace March. People gathered in Grant Park at about 4 p.m.; they were in front of the Conrad Hilton Hotel earlier, at 1 p.m. More than 15,000 were bottled up in Grant Park which fronts on the Lake in downtown Chicago, within walking distance of the Conrad Hilton. During the enforced stay in Grant Park, the American flag was lowered. This infuriated police who charged into the crowd. When the melee was over, a white undershirt, bloodied in the fight, had been hoisted on the flagpole.

The demonstrators who had shifted

over to the Conrad Hilton were herded forcefully off the street, pushed and pushed back on the sidewalk until a large plate glass window was shattered.

And, in spite of the brutality, in spite of the tear gas, people kept coming into the area. Those who were not injured or arrested stayed on. When all the bull horns of the demonstrators had been confiscated and all the parade marshals arrested, one more bull horn was found and other marshals took over. The group maintained its own order. The word was that anyone on the sidewalk, blocking the street, would be arrested and the call was 'sit or split'. Medics were on the street with water and paper towels to be used as a protection against the gas; cookies, pop, cigarettes were thrown into the crowd, and there was a determination to be orderly and stay on and on into the night.

At midnight when the police were relieved by the national guard, there was a round of applause and a round of boos. The national guard was invited to 'join us'. There was rhythmic clapping to the tune of 'hell no, we won't go', and again, the word was that as long as you were in the group you were safe. People were advised to leave in groups because the cops were all over the loop and were still making arrests.

In spite of differences of political opinion (some groups supported McCarthy, others were advocates of Black Power, others were traditional radicals—socialists, trots, maoists; still others were anarchists), all shared the same job. This was to have a massive peace demonstration, to pinpoint the police brutality which is so much a part of city life in America, and to show up the Democratic Party for what it is—the outmoded tool of the city bosses.

LETTERS

however, the discussions and disagreements about what to do with it will earnestly and fiercely commence.

DAVE CUNLIFFE.

Wrong Conclusion

Dear Comrades,

In his article 'Is It All Lost?', N.W. seems to consistently contradict his own correct conclusions—namely that the only way to prevent future Czechoslovakias and Vietnams is by throwing out all the national ruling classes and replacing them with direct popular rule.

He claims the Czech leaders accepted the Moscow agreement 'rather than lead the resistance to the Russian occupation', seeing this as a step backwards from their position a week earlier.

Must we forget Svoboda's appeal to 'his' people right from the beginning NOT to resist or provoke the Russian armour? 'Leave it to us' has been the consistent refrain of Svoboda and Dubcek throughout the crisis. Short of actually throwing garlands over the advancing troops could these men have acted better in the Kremlin's interests?

In fact this appeal, reiterated many times by other prominent Czech leaders, showed clearly the identity of interest between Russian, Czech and all other rulers—to prevent the people everywhere acting for themselves.

Two in One?

ENOCH POWELL CAN usually be relied on to state a position in its most extreme form. So with my recent assertion that capitalism was built by men who went to church on Sunday. In a book by T. E. Utley, *The Man and his Thinking* (Kimber 30s.), Mr. Powell is quoted as saying: 'Often when I am kneeling down in church I think to myself how much we should thank God, the Holy Ghost, for the gift of Capitalism.'

Don't Rock the Boat!

JEREMY THORPE HAD A POINT when he said: 'If politics is reduced to mere protest, I know who the gainers will be. It will not be the New Left. It will be the Old Right. Look at the French elections. Look at the American candidates. Tariq Ali may have his thousands, but Enoch Powell will have his tens of thousands.'

But we are not interested in 'mere protest' to annoy the bourgeoisie. We are interested in encouraging the masses to destroy the existing political system and replace it by a free society.

It is not surprising that in both France and the USA the effect of demonstrations has been to strengthen the forces of reaction inside the existing political system. When demonstrations challenge, threaten but do not defeat the system the Right benefits. It is the Right which is the traditional defender of law and order, which most forcefully claims to defend the system against subversion and rebellion.

But the events of May in France show that student protest can spark off mass action by the working class. If politics ceases to be 'mere protest' and becomes revolutionary class struggle Enoch Powell can keep his tens of thousands: the millions will be against him—and Jeremy Thorpe.

Wot-no Theory?

IT IS OFTEN SAID OF anarchists in general and FREEDOM in particular that we are insufficiently theoretical: we do not state clearly enough in modern terms why we object to the way society is now organised, how we would like to see it run and what we propose to bring about our ideal. We have no contemporary theory of revolution.

There are various reasons why. First there is a tendency for anarchists to rely on the ideas of the past. Secondly anarchists have tended to deviate from from other people's ideas (e.g. Bakunin from Marx) rather than originate their own. Thirdly anarchist movements and organisations have often differed from their Marxist equivalents in being based on natural groups rather than on theoretical principles. Fourthly anarchism has sometimes been an attitude or a method rather than on theory. People with differing political, philosophical and religious views have used it without abandoning their basic convictions.

Fifthly—and perhaps most important—each anarchist can have his own opinions without losing his claim to the title anarchist. While a Marxist, a Catholic or a Freudian can criticise another of the same faith for not interpreting the master's message correctly an anarchist has no ultimate authority to appeal to.

In the next few weeks I would like to answer the criticism referred to above by trying to state my theory of anarchism. It depends on a considerable extent on the ideas of other people—not all of them anarchists. Parts of it will be seen as irrelevant and it will certainly be attacked for deviating from traditional anarchist views.

WYNFORD HICKS.

N.W. continues with the absurd suggestion 'the Czech people lost because their rulers surrendered', thus implying that the people could have won had their rulers not surrendered.

By its very nature a government cannot represent those it rules. The Czech leaders were fighting only for their own preservation, their own interests, their own positions of privilege. This, at no time, had anything in common with the interests of the Czech people, even though the Czech population and N.W. may have mistakenly believed so.

It is this sort of muddled thinking that permeates the left today; in the final analysis justifying revolutionaries entering the authoritarian parties, building 'left-wing' factions to eventually 'capture' the leadership in the erroneous belief that leaderships can act in the popular interest.

There are a million examples of the disastrous consequences of this reasoning wherever it has been 'successfully' applied.

Have, 2

BOB POTTER.

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Let Us Argue Afterwards!

Dear Friends,

Wynford Hicks seemingly misunderstands and thus distorts my essentially fluid philosophical orientation and the ideas and attitudes it shapes and determines. Therefore I will try to simplify and clarify.

Exoteric Christianity helps sustain the Materialistic theory inasmuch as it fashioned the concept of matter as a distinct entity of temporary endurance. Consequently Rome or Canterbury have no valid claims to transcendental knowledge but rather promote animistic superstition. If the biblical angel Gabriel was manufactured in a test-tube it would prove or disprove nothing more than the idea of angels or test-tubes. I fully agree with Wynford that 'there are no such things as genies, ghosts, gods or gremlins' existing independently from our notions of them. The degree of reality separating gods and matter is basically the difference between individual and collective hallucination. There is no cognition outside of Mind and consequently nobody can truly prove anything whatsoever to anybody else. Obviously nothing should be accepted or believed unless one can prove it to oneself but the yogic or psycho-experimental idealist suggests methods of empirical investigation us-

ing the psycho-physical organism as a laboratory.

Capitalism was created by Christian-Materialists and of course Anarchist-Materialists are hardly likely to 'automatically become grasping capitalists'. Nevertheless historical evidence suggests that it will be increasingly difficult for the libertarian-materialist to regain the world, which is rightfully his, and considerably harder to keep it. The central maxim of tantric Buddhist philosophy is doubt, question, investigate, which protects against superstitious dogma and the rigidity of preconceived 'techniques and methods'. It is perhaps a mistake to generalise about what can be regarded globally as traditional anarchism. Lao-Tzu cannot for instance be realistically accepted as the first anarchist theorist for his philosophy grew from much older, orally-transmitted ideas and speculations.

I certainly do not wish or attempt to stand apart and aloof from libertarian-materialists. Rather I feel privileged and encouraged to work with Wynford, and the universal anarchist brotherhood, in the destruction of Capitalism. My lack of faith in gods or matter does not prevent me using both as symbolic or physical weapons in order to overthrow the State. When we do win the world,

Strikers in the Car Industry

THE RECENT STRIKE at the brake factory of Joseph Lucas has once again illustrated how a small number of men can virtually bring about a shut-down of an industry. In this case it was not the action of those in dispute (50 security men claiming overtime rates for weekend work), who caused the near shut-down, but 18 lorry drivers who came out in sympathy with them.

Employers have been up in arms over this and described it as a 'catastrophic state'. Mr. Batty, the Managing Director of Fords, went so far as to say that because of these unofficial strikes at components firms, 'the motor industry is on the path of suicide' and that £48m. of exports have been lost. However, one should dismiss this outcry by the employers as pure hypocrisy.

At the moment, the order books of the car manufacturers are full. Their export trade is booming and they are taking full advantage of the devaluation of the pound. Two years ago, it was a different story. Then the car firms were sacking

men, or redeploying them as it was termed, and at that time I've no doubt that some managing directors welcomed a strike, for it might at least have avoided the costly business of short-time working.

MATTER OF PRINCIPLE

It is obvious that when the companies are busy is the time to take action for your demands. In the case of the security men, they say they had been arguing their case on and off for five years, but having no power to affect production themselves, the management no doubt thought they could get away with it. When the men came out, they were supported by the 18 lorry drivers who thought that their case for overtime rates at weekends was a matter of principle. The drivers felt that Lucas management resisted the claim because of the security men's lack of industrial strength and that they, as members of the same union, the General and Municipal Workers' Union, should support them.

Lucas have said that the strikers did not go through the disputes machinery of the industry. We know how long this can take, but surely not five years. After all, the management could have paid these overtime rates, which are normal to all workers, and so avoided the laying-off of men, but what really forced them to concede the time-and-a-half payment for weekends was the wrath of the car manufacturers.

Managements are very quick to blame workers for losses in production, but because of the monopolistic nature of the industry, a small number of men making a vital component can mean the laying off of thousands of men. Workers at Fords are now claiming that they should be paid during lay-offs through outside disputes and are banning overtime in an effort to gain this demand.

ARDUOUS WORK

Lucas factories are again being affected by a strike of toolmakers who are claiming a pay increase to bring them in line

with wage rates at another factory. However, no one should be surprised at the number of strikes for the car industry, by its nature, is prone to them. Most of the work is arduous and of a monotonous nature. Managements are continually trying to squeeze out a little more production and so the periods of boom and cut-backs in orders are used by both the employers and workers to gain their ends.

Employers are now trying to turn these recent unofficial strikes to their advantage in that they want labour contracts to be legally enforced and are urging the Government to carry this out. The recent Donovan report opposed legal sanctions as it was thought that industrial relations would worsen with legislation. However, employers, and not only those in the car industry, are realising the advantages of one union for an industry. They see this as a means of bringing their employees under control. They are unable to do this themselves, but feel that union discipline would be stronger than at the moment if all belonged to one union. If a member was disciplined and expelled from the union, he would then be out of the industry as well.

Industrial unions, based on the present set-up in unions, would be of very little advantage to the members and would certainly mean far more discipline for militants. For years some motor companies would not recognise the unions, but now they are turning to them for salvation.

The members' answer to this is that, as workers, their interests are as one and that solidarity in action is the key in all disputes. If men are determined enough to fight for a demand then nothing can force them to go back to work. The workers' will to struggle for demands does not depend on trade unions, but on the understanding that his demands will only be won by the efforts of himself and his fellow workers.

P.T.

Contact Column

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

Young Male Anarchist, Ex-Voluntary Work Team, seeks interesting work. Graham, 62 Loftos Avenue, South Shore, Blackpool.

Interesting worthwhile work wanted by ex-voluntary work team member. Colin, 54 Layfield Road, N.W.4.

Wanted: Girl to look after 2 small children. West Hampstead, Box No. 21.

Will John Poulson or other responsible person from Voluntary Work Team please contact I. S. Sutherland, 8 Eslemont Avenue, Aberdeen, about old man's flat job.

Small room (2 beds) available for short lets. Use of kitchen, bathroom, garden, etc. 5 mins. Mill Hill East station. £3 per week. Ring FIN 6954.

Elliot Automation. Non-violent protest against Vietnam complicity. Information, Wendy Butlin 340 2661.

Turkish Translator urgently wanted. Contact Freedom Press.

Is your group ready for October 27? Flags, banners, etc., made to order. Details from: Hazel McGee, 42 Pendarves Street, Beacon, Camborne, Cornwall.

Male (21) requires accommodation Camden/Islington/Haringey/E. End, up to £4 p.w. K. Borowski, c/o V. Churcher, 314 Alexandra Park Road, N.22.

Liberation News Service—Europe. Issue No. 3 from 30 Holland Park Gardens, W.14. News you cannot find anywhere else.

United Libertarian Groups. Business meeting and working group (posters, placards for October demonstration). Sunday, September 29, 4 p.m., 84a Whitechapel High Street, E.1.

Birmingham Discussion Meetings. Tuesdays at 7.30 p.m. Venue usually at The Crown, Corporation Street. Further information from Peter Neville, c/o Peace Action Centre, Factory Road, Birmingham. 19. (S.A.E.) October 1. Godfrey Webster: 'The Nature of Social Mass Movements'. October 8. Mike Sheridan: 'The October Demonstration'.

The Crypt. 242 Lancaster Road, W.11. September 25, 8 p.m., 2/6d. The People Band, October 2, 8 p.m., 2/6d. 'Hustler' Benefit.

'Alternatives to Punishment.' Day Conference organised by the Libertarian Teachers' Association. From 10.30 a.m. Saturday, October 5, 1968, at 15 Camden Hill Road, Gipsy Hill, London, S.E.19. 5/- P.O. to E. Petrakis.

International Camp '69. We are still looking for a site in England. Will anyone who can help please contact co-ordinator: Ann Lindsay, 39 Upper Tulse Hill, London, S.W.2. 674 7886.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

Chicago Eyewitness

Continued from page 7

careerist union officials. Sabotage is the discreet protest of the quiet man against a productive system based on profit and churning out rubbish—flashy toys to quiet unruly children.

Smith, in his pamphlet, describes many different kinds of sabotage, but concludes with one which nobody surely could object to. This he calls 'Open Mouth' sabotage, and it depends for its effectiveness on the simple fact that 'Commerce today is based on fraud'. All the worker needs to do is to tell the consumer the truth and, particularly in the foodstuffs industry, he screws his boss, commits an act of social merit, and enlists the support of many outsiders all at the same time. Who can possibly blame hotel workers for revealing the unhygienic conditions under which food is prepared and dishes 'washed'? Who can blame building workers for revealing the substitution of inferior materials that the contractor invariably makes? In the same way firemen can tell of boilers in which steam is generated to a dangerous point to save expenses. Factory workers can reveal fire risks, textile workers can reveal the actual content of the stuff sold as 'pure wool'—and so on.

In conclusion, Smith asks: 'Will you keep private property and public poverty, master-class morals and working class misery, capitalism and

Aberdeen Paper Mills

THE FIRST industrial stoppage for over 40 years occurred at Stoneywood Paper Mills on Thursday, September 19, when 46 workers in the despatch department walked out over a bonus dispute. Talks are being held between the management and local SOGAT officials.

Although the numbers involved in the dispute are small—the mill employs 1,800 people—we nevertheless feel that this is a significant breakthrough; readers of FREEDOM will be kept informed of developments.

SOGAT MEMBER.

crime—or will you arise in your outraged manhood and take a stand for sabotage and solidarity and a new social order in which there will be neither master nor slave?

For sabotage or slavery—which?

In summarizing the ideas expressed in this little pamphlet I have not done justice to the way Smith, in characteristic Wobbly manner, enlivens his account with anecdote and humour. For instance, there is the glorious tale of Wobblies getting themselves hired as strike-breakers by an orchard farmer during a dispute in the planting season. The Wobs dutifully planted 1,000 young trees—upside down! This use of incident does much to relieve the rather rhetorical tone which Smith tends to use at times, and ensures that the pamphlet preserves a freshness and life even after 55 years.

As far as the relevance of industrial sabotage to our present situation is concerned, I hope to follow this review with a more detailed analysis some time in the future. However, the tendency to outlaw industrial disputes from the government and employers on the one hand, together with the stupid habit of union officials of giving a couple of months' notice of strike action on the other, means that it is probably time that 'new' forms of workers' militancy were developed and put into practice without further delay. In the meantime, however, let me recommend this very well-produced, attractive little booklet to anyone interested in the subject. Unfortunately there is no price apparent on it, but I think that an International Money Order for 1 dollar sent to the Black Swan Press should be sufficient to bring you both this book and a catalogue of their other publications, which are said to include works by Durruti, Albert Parsons, Fourier, T-Bone Slim, Rosa Luxembourg and others. Good reading.

D.P.

*Sabotage: its history and function, by Walker C. Smith. First appeared as a series of 13 editorials (from Jan.-April, 1913) in the *Industrial Worker*, and later issued the same year as a pamphlet by the IWW Publishing Bureau, Chicago. Reprinted by the Black Swan Press, 1968 (?). Available from 745, Armitage; Chicago, Illinois. 32pp.

Freedom For Workers' Control

SEPTEMBER 28 1968 Vol 29 No 30

State of the Unions

I AM TEMPTED to attack the trade unions this week. Like gluttons for punishment they cling to the party which punishes them and their members. Many of their leaders are uninspiring, if not downright dull. There's more joy to be got out of a jam butty, than there is out of trade unionism today. The branches all too often have less militancy and sense of real purpose, than meetings of a Sunday School's Mothers' Union. Shop stewards are regularly elected more to collect and deliver the union dues, than out of any spirit of militant trades unionism. Members who are largely apathetic, intensely conservative and devoted more to scrounging at work than to any programme of social change, are much more interested in picking winners than Workers' Control of the factories.

Yet it is a giddy-green class of anarchist who suggests we should stay out of the unions and ignore the workers' struggle, if only because anarchists can't hope to significantly change society without having influence in both.

But, though I am disturbed by the trade union failure to rid themselves of their foul habit of backing Labour Party politics, I'm not discouraged. The position of the unions and their policies depends as much on the prevailing conditions in the country, and the state of mind of their members as on their leadership and their internal structure. I do not hold the view of some of my fellow anarchists that the TU leaders are the only thing that holds the 'militant' membership back.

REPEAT PERFORMANCE

To my mind, the TUC conference seemed a sort of repeat performance of the predicament in which the trade union leaders in 1868 were finding themselves. Then, if anything, the state of the trade union movement was worse, viewed from an anarcho-syndicalist position.

After the brief and splendid stand of the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union in 1834, and the crack-up of the Chartist Movement about 1848, the British trade union movement became dominated by the 'craft unionism' of Amalgamated Societies like that of the engineers in the ASE. So it was, that the unions who set up the TUC were basically craft societies bent on restriction

and protection of their particular trade. Strikes and the display of militancy were avoided, in an effort to convince the bosses and the government of their good intentions.

Then, as now, most of the trade union leaders supported a political party; the Liberal Party. Then, as now, they continued backing this party even though the only alternative party, the Tories, when in power, passed acts decidedly less hostile to their movement. In 1874, they saw the light and encouraged their members not to vote for the retiring Liberal Government. The Government of Gladstone fell; the Criminal Law Amendment Act making picketing illegal and strikes near impossible, had been too much for most trade unionists to swallow.

After that, things bucked up no end in the British trade union movement. The successful strike of the 'Match girls' was followed by the equally successful strike of dock workers in 1889. This all led to the growth of unskilled trade unions, with big memberships, devoted to militancy and direct action as means in their struggle with the employers. With the approach of the First World War and the formation of the Triple Alliance among the miners, railwaymen and transport workers, this had developed into militant syndicalism.

TURF OUT PARTY POLITICS

Given the right social conditions and a change of attitude among many of the workers themselves, there is no reason why the trade unions couldn't become militantly syndicalist in this country again and adopt a programme for taking over and administering the factories. The present unions are, I am sure, quite as capable as the old ASE of turfing out the party politicians and politics. But this is entirely dependent on whether the working masses become willing to take up the politics of direct action and drop their conservative doubts about the possibility of change.

The position of the anarchist to the unions is quite clear! We must gain the confidence and respect of working men. We must go into the unions to find people sympathetic to our views. And we must get a reputation as industrial militants, so that when workers make a stand, our arguments are heard. B.B.

The Libertarian Teacher

THE LIBERTARIAN TEACHER, Journal of the Libertarian Teachers' Association, No. 4., 2/-.

THE Libertarian Teachers' Association is an informal non-organisation that has been in existence now for two years. Its organisers do not claim this to be specially laudable, but say simply, 'that's how it is'. Yet it does avoid the development of a bureaucracy, and such structureless movements seem to be becoming more and more common today, possibly as a reaction against the 'bureaucratization of modern society.'

The *LT* is an occasional journal, an information service and a list of contacts. This issue is I believe the largest so far. It is extremely well produced, and full of interest. There are articles on Summerhill, and Rivinghill, and on other free schools, letters on the anti-corporal punishment campaign (extraordinary that such a thing should be necessary in 1968!) and the National Union of Teachers, now in the writer's view no longer capable of defending the interests of teachers (like most other unions).

Helen Garvey writes on The Shire School, an interesting and remarkable nomadic school in San Francisco. It has 75 children, ranging from 4½ to 14, about eight teachers, and no permanent premises. This last thing has led to great

hardship, but the school has survived, and is popular. 'The parents are all the kind of parents who would send kids to a school like the Shire. But it's not clear what that means, aside from reflecting general dislike for the present public school system.' Again, there is almost no formal structure. ('Public school' in America, by the way, means exactly what it says, a school for the public, a 'state school', not a fee-paying boarding school for upper and middle class child-victims).

There is a transcript of a BBC television broadcast, in which Howard Case, headmaster of a school for emotionally disturbed boys and girls, speaks on his work, to be met with the naturally to be expected rejoinder from the interviewer, 'I think that school is a very interesting place... but I feel it represents a very sentimental view of children. Are grown-ups always the villains of the piece?' My answer is 'Yes!'

Ah well, the world moves very slowly, but it does move.

At the back there is a long list of names and addresses of those interested in libertarian education. To join the Association, or to be included in the list, one does not have to be a teacher, or in any way be connected with education. All that is necessary is to be interested. A.W.U.