# anarchist weekly

# We've Got a Problem Here'

Act of Man, hundreds of bodies, many of them with their hands tied behind their backs, floated down the Mekong River. The next day, by an Act of God, 72 people, including 46 children under 14 years old, and suffering from tuberculosis, died when an avalanche destroyed their sanatorium in the French A Elsewhere the usual number Alps Elsewhere children died from starvation and the effects of long-term poverty, hundreds of parents committed suicide, thousands coughed their last with lung cancer or were massacred on the roads, rebels around the world were being tortured in jails, bombed, burned or shot in jungle or street, tenants were being evicted. simple people were being swindled at their work and in their homes and all in all for the poor and ordinary folk it was very much business as usual.

Of all the millions in trouble, however, the world was looking at only three. Three fit, well-fed and wealthy men, backed up by thousands more of the world's most advanced technicians, with billions of pounds' worth of the most sophisticated equipment at their disposal ticated equipment at their disposal. faced an uncomfortable death—and the world goggled at them, torn be-tween its rival titillations; hope for their safety and aquiver for disaster.

The world, according to the Evening Standard, was 'holding its which seemed to be obeying the command of its stablemate, the Daily Express, which had told the world to 'Pray'. But what actually brought the three astronauts splashing safely down in the Pacific was not prayer, it was the technical resources of their friends

These technical resources have progressed-if that is the right word —at such a fantastic rate that success is the accepted norm for space travel. Apollo 13's flight was expected to be just another TV bore, with those metallic voices chattering away their weird perversion of English across the skies. sion of English across the skies. Because something went wrong, what was just another trip to the moon became an Odyssey, a Saga, a dangerous voyage of discovery a dangerous voyage of discovery with three hero-victims trapped in a circumstance of their own choosing which could lead them to a unique death, sordid on the inside, spectacular on the outside—the first Earthmen lost in space.

But what bloody cheek it is that we are supposed to be so concerned we are supposed to be so concerned for these particular darlings of the Warfare State! So they are engaged, and are voluntarily risking their lives, in pioneering flights to outer space, demonstrating the ingenuity of Man—so what? Man-so what?

We know Man is ingenious. Too damn clever for his own good, in fact. There can be no doubt that Man will go on solving problems and producing more and more teches for controlling his environ-t. The recent development of the computer, still obviously only in its infancy, has put power in the hands of 'Man' that he has never had before.

But when we talk of 'Man' who do we mean? Do we mean the Viet-namese floating down the Mekong River—murdered by Cambodians on suspicion of being Vietcong sympathisers? Or do we mean the Cambodians shot up by the actual Vietcong inside Cambodia? Do we

buried in the Alpine landslide? mean any of the world's of ordinary people who we mean millions provide the wealth for the moonmen's missions?

The world is plundered by the military/industrial complexes of the military/industrial complexes of the rich nations, who exploit men and materials for their own power or profit. In the nineteenth century, Britain waxed rich while India, Africa, the West Indies and East Indies appropriate the raw materials. Indies provided the raw materials and the cheap labour—and today are still the 'undeveloped' countries. are still the 'undeveloped' countries. In the twentieth century it is America's turn to play the Imperialist, with Russia running a good second and Britain pushed well down into third place. The industrial revolution that Britain led a hundred years are is now seen as hundred years ago is now seen as no more than a curtain raiser for the technological explosion of today.

#### INCIDENTAL ADVANTAGES

The techniques have improved— but the profit and power motives are the same. Social progress has not kept pace with the speed-up in production and communications, and what is really happening now is that more and more power is being put into the hands of the controllers of

the building of the computers and the making of the bombs. Communist Russia is a vastly more effi-cient dictatorship than the Tsar ever dreamt of, thanks to technocracy— and in America, the enormous re-sources for population control (and I don't mean birth control!) are only now being called upon because of the mounting revolutionary acti-

vity among the young people.

Part of every technological advancement may end up with some advantage or improvement for the 'man in the street'. But this is purely incidental. For some it is enough for them to go along with 'progress'. The late Bernard Levin, who died some years ago whilst working for the Daily Express and now works for the Daily Mail, and sounds like it, said on the radio last week that the fact that his coffee pot was made from some new metal that was developed as part of space research meant that 'we had to go along with

progress'.
On such a superficial level, alas, do so many 'go along with progress'. And 'progress' is simply and superficially equated with technology when in fact the more techniques that are developed under the present social, political or military systems, the more reactionary can they be, since they can be more efficiently and ruthlessly counter-revolutionary. Can anyone doubt that the computer's most important function is to give the State immediate information on each and every one of us?

#### REVOLUTION MORE URGENT

Science can serve man only within the framework of man's social structure. If man's social structure is repressive—science will help the oppressors. If we have a free society, science can extend our control of our environment—but freedom is a matter of human relation-

În a world where human relationships are low down on the social scale, science is perverted to serve inhuman forces and institutions and to maintain them. At the very best, it can only offer the physical possibility of abundance given a social structure that will use it for that

purpose.
At the moment technology is in the hands of power maniacs and greedy money-grubbers. Inasmuch as it gives them more power with every development, it makes revolution even more urgent!

### PISTOL TO HEAD TACTICS

SINCE THE GOVERNMENT'S incomes policy collapsed last autumn, workers have seized the opportunity to lodge pay claims to try to catch up with increased prices. They realised that this was their chance to have a go and that, with the General Election coming along, the Wilson Co. with the General Election coming along, the Wilson Government was no longer able to keep such increases tied to productivity. It obviously does not like the situation that has arisen, but this is a 'democracy' and although people have short memories, it could not expect to gain working class support if wage increases were being restricted.

Employers, for all their traditional opposition to State intervention, have complained that their employees are

opposition to State intervention, have complained that their employees are using 'pistol to head' tactics in order to gain increases. These same employers, the Engineering Employers' Federation, recently called for legislation to combat unofficial strikes since the Government has 'chosen to bury its head in the sand'. The Federation is now saying that wor-kers in the industry are deliberately

violating the three-year wage agreement made in October of last year. This ex-cluded plant level wage increases for three million engineering workers unless they were tied to increased productivity. Now claims are being demanded 'with-out strings' and strikes threatened if they

#### YORK AGREEMENT

These complaints from the employers were put forward at a meeting with the unions for the industry who are trying to negotiate a new disputes procedure. The present fifty-year-old York Agreement is a long-drawn-out affair, which most trade unionists hold in contempt. The employers are after speedier band. The employers are after speedier handling, but still want negotiations to pass through all the channels until they reach national level. The disagreement between the unions and the employers concerns the number of stages or the amount of the delay.

The difference between the two parties

The difference between the two parties concerns the amount of procedure and the length of time it takes a grievance to

be passed through the various channels. There is also the question of 'status quo' provisions in agreements. Unions are demanding that any disputed changes should not be effected during procedure. These include wages, working conditions, practices, manning, dismissals, while so-called industrial misconduct and redundancies are not affected.

Before any chickens are counted, it is worth remembering that the darling of the left, Hugh Scanlon, who is involved in these present negotiations with the engineering employers, was a signatory

engineering employers, was a signatory to a 1967 agreement with Fords which allowed the management to arbitrarily introduce new machinery and transfer men. Scanlon's union was similarly a partner to another agreement of nature at Vauxhalls. CONDITIONS UP FOR SALE

While both these companies are outside the employers' federation, these types of agreement hardly inspire confidence in the leadership of the trade unions, who think of trade unionism as a question of bargaining. To them, hard fought for conditions are just items for sale which are tucked away as part of an agreement

## THE BANDIT

ONCE UPON A TIME there was a bandit who preyed on a whole village. He made a regular appointment to exact tribute. Every penny that the villagers earned had a sum automatically deducted on pay day which found its way to him without them seeing it. He also insisted from time to time that they should tell him how much money they earned, or indeed had in the house so that he could decide how much they should give him. Of course they cheated but he knew that they cheated, it was only to be expected under the circumstances. Some would sulk and wouldn't answer his letters asking how much money they ONCE UPON A TIME there was a letters asking how much money they had. So he would send them a letter giving an exaggerated guess, of course they would deny it and give him the proper figures which was all he wanted

Once a year he would make a great haul by taking their cigarettes, their wine, and say that they had to pay him money every time they went to the cinema, or gambled or went to the lavatory. He would take money off them for employing servants, for employing workmen, for using coffins, for having windows in their houses (some cheated by bricking up the windows), for sending goods out of the country, for bringing them in. He said this was only once a year but every now and again he came up with some excuse for taking more. He had friends too who performed some small services for the village, of which they made sure they had a monopoly, and every now and again they would put up their charges. Once a year he would make a great

The bandit too had control of the scrip which circulated round the village in exchange for various goods and services; quite capriciously from time to time he would decide how much the scrip ras worth and of course, it was worth ess and less each time. He would orbid them to take the scrip out of the village or he would say how much they could take. He said he robbed the rich to feed

He said he robbed the rich to feed the poor but the poor were not fed much and the rich were the only people left to rob. It was said the rich kept him supplied with weapons because he would keep the poor in order.

In his yearly raids he would now and again decide that he was really going to take less from everybody, or from some people. Every time he decided to take less from some people, these people were very happy; sometimes it was the rich who were left alone, occasionally the poor; sometimes meateaters, sometimes vegetarians, it all

occasionally the poor; sometimes meateaters, sometimes vegetarians, it all
seemed rather arbitrary.

Every five years the village was given
a chance to choose a new bandit. Just
before this happened the old bandit
tried to curry favour by not taking quite
so much. This made everybody happy
for a while so they forgot what he
was and spoke of him 'giving' them
money and described him as 'generous'
and a 'benefactor'. This didn't do him
much good for the candidate-bandits
usually promised to take even less than
he did. They usually chose a different
bandit every time but it didn't make
much difference. bandit every tir much difference.

much difference.

One day somebody in the village got the idea of getting rid of the bandit and keeping the products of their labour for themselves. They then chased the bandit out of the village and he was

JACK SPRATT.

THE ELECTION of Paisley Beattle has shaken the Union y to the core. Chichester-Clark Party to the core. Chichester-Unix is quaking in his shoes and already they're trying to pick his successor. The Unionists have got what they deserve. They created a mouster and put words in its mouth. Now it's begun to talk back to them and threatens to devour them. There is no doubt it is good to see the chickens coming home to roost—to hear Clark asked why he doesn't resign now the B-men are being disbanded. But delight at the trouncing of the official Unionists shouldn't disguise the real significance of the by-elections. Paisley is no longer a joke or a useful embarrassment to the Unionist Party. 15,000 people voted for Paisley and his mouthpiece in S. Antrim and put them both in Stormont. Even more significant than the Bannside result was the election of the nonentity Beattie on Paisley's coat-tails in South Antrim. Paisleyism quaking in his shoes and already they're

now a serious political force in N

#### THUGGERY

The alarming thing is that Paisley is a Fascist. Hitler and Mussolini were not just maniacs who hated Jews, loved flagwaving and ceremony, and specialised in political thuggery—nor is Paisley. Mussolini and Hitler used Jew-baiting and extreme nationalism to divide the working class, they smashed the trade unions and workers' organisations, and forced down wages. Paisley has divided the working class with great success, and ha ing class, they smashed the trade unions and workers' organisations, and forced down wages. Paisley has divided the working class with great success, and he has several times attacked trade unions and strikes. He is against unemployment benefit, family allowances and almost every other benefit won by the long struggles of the working class over the last 70 years.

Paisley should be recognised for what he is—an enemy of the working class and small farmers, Protestant as well as Catholic, and upholder of a system

which will perpetuate the slums, misery and unemployment in the North. It is nonsense, and dangerous nonsense too, for people like Gerry Fitt to claim that Paisley belongs on the left because he has talked about bad housing conditions. Paisley used the Unionists' neglect of Bannside to win votes just as Hitler used the terrible poverty and unemployment in Germany in the 1930's to win the support of confused and frightened workers for his reign of terror.

Paisley and his storm-troopers are not in power yet and may never be, but it is important to realise the threat they pose. Already the Unionist Party are falling over themselves to outbid the Paisleyies in bigotry. Nat Minford, a member of the Cabinet, has been talking about 'a Protestant Parliament for a Protestant people' and the decrepit arch-bigot himself, Brookeborough, was resurrected in a last minute bid to stave off defeat. So much for the new reforming administration. The danger is that fear of Paisleymuch for the new reforming administra-tion. The danger is that fear of Paisley-ites will drive the spineless jellyfish of the Unionist government to adopt more and more of their policies.

Abridged from Free Cirizen.

# The Sickness of the Heart

an artist and respect for a gallery one is that feeling of embarrassment that has to wait until an exhibition has is shared by the spectator. These finished before praising it. The work young children gaze back at us, from of Graham Ovenden at the Piccadilly Gallery, 16a Cork Street, W.1, was of a major importance for Ovenden is As Melville points out the lack of a brilliant draftsman whose oil paintings pubic hairs in these paintings gives enhance his reputation.

At a time when the Scotland Yard Kulture Squad is gaily working itself into almost every other headline in its new productivity drive, Ovenden's last exhibition of paintings and drawings manage to start and finish without having the police breathing on the gallery windows.

Graham Ovenden has used his four young daughters as his models and these children, whose ages range from six to eleven years, appear naked or near naked in every canvas. The work goes beyond erotic painting and one wonders why Ovenden should have repeated the

our time that out of concern for for with these painted children there their canvases, with an air of hurt understanding like chastened animals. greater emphasis to these young children's pudendas and Ovenden has painted these parts in clinical detail. It is no idle coincidence that Ovenden has been chosen to illustrate a limited edition of Alice and four of the illustrations appeared in his exhibition. Lewis Carroll's reputation suffered much from the publication of the many photographs of small girls in various states of nudity that he took and because of that he earned the most tragic fate of any creative artist, understanding pity from liberal - minded philistines. Ovenden's paintings are the work of a masterly hand and their very brilliance gives us

IT IS INDEED the sad measure of subject matter in almost every canvas that sense of unease for we, the spectator, and the children within the canvases are conscious of the major focal point of every painting.

Peter Blake has been chosen to provide the illustrations for the companion volume of Alice, Through the Looking Glass, yet whatever Peter Blake produces can only be an anti-climax in relation to the works of Ovenden for, just as the Alice books have been taken from the nursery shelves and added to the libraries of the clinics, so these paintings of Ovenden's children will never find a place on a children's wall.

It is the work of Lewin Bassingthwaighte, currently showing at the same gallery, that makes us realize the importance of Ovenden's work as a painter for, while Ovenden by his masterly technique makes us examine our own attitudes in relation to the use of these children as subject matter in this particular manner, Bassingthwaighte gives us paintings of young girls as decorative dolls.

One admires the patterns he creates but without any emotional involvement.

For those who wish to play the amateur psychologist there is the exhibition of Anthony Rossiter's paintings at the Whibley Gallery at 22 Cork Street, W.1. Landscapes and figures have all the two-dimensional anger of Soutine and Van Gogh canvases. Within Rossiter's canvases he has churned and churned his paint until he produces a frieze when he sought to produce a painting. When he fails they are as bad as the garishly painted chalk plaques that they sell at fairgrounds but when he succeeds. as with his Winter Post and Earth, he produces a work of muted beauty wherein the thick scars of paint merge into the thinly painted wintery background. His cornfields have the violence of Van Gogh's paintings yet they can come to rest in the blotchy world of Samuel Palmer but Rossiter finds his peace in his paintings of the hospital nurses who nursed and helped him. One could dismiss them as painting journalism were it not that Rossiter feels a deep sense of gratitude to these women.

In his book, The Golden Chain (Hutchinson, 35/-), Rossiter writes of his experience as a painter and as a patient. I am leery of the visual artist who writes of his work for I feel that they seek to bend their prose to fit the accidents of creation, but Rossiter writes of his time in a mental hospital and one feels that though he uses that experience to strike a public attitude as a mad but gentle genius, his book does much to explain his approach to

his painting. If I wrong him in thinking he loves to strike a public pose then I can but apologize but in my defence I can but quote these lines on page 69 from his book The Golden Chain, 'The nurse did not seem to understand. She was thinking, "You're a queer onean artist of course. . . ." But she said: "You drink up your tea while it's warm".' Pure Walter Mitty but it does no harm. Taken in conjunction with his paintings we can have an understanding and a sympathy for Anthony Rossiter for the excellence of his paintings can excuse his prose.

Meanwhile the David Hockney bandwagon rolls merrily on towards the Bank of England with every committed and uncommitted critic frantically trying to climb aboard. The large scale exhibition of Hockney's minor work at the Whitechapel Gallery, next door to Freedom Press, has closed too many minds and opened too many mouths. Hockney is a figure of that world of pop personalities and his minor and likeable talent has been skilfully blown up into an instant major reputation for his bright flat colours, his infantile comic strip figures and his gay subject matter were pretty trivia for the amusement of the Town's cognoscente when they decorated the walls of the Bond Street Kasmin Gallery as expensive wallpaper and the sweaty proletarian air of the Whitechapel High Street does not enhance their or Hockney's reputation. I wonder whatever happened to Colin Wilson?

ARTHUR MOYSE.

### Pistol to Head

Continued from page 1

The engineering employers are really seeking some form of defence against the militancy of the post incomes policy period. They are unlikely to agree to a full 'status quo' demand. The union leaders are equally unlikely to withdraw from the national disputes machinery and be described as 'wreckers' so near to a General Election. The real gains are made at the place of work by the direct challenge of action. What is increasingly at stake is the question of manning, transfer speed of the belt and the general discipline within factories. It is these conditions which workers should directly control.

However, all agreements with employers are made between unequals. They are made between those who own and control and those who sell their labour. Such agreements are not binding, because no employer would employ labour if it was not profitable. When that happens, men and women are sacked and there is no agreement to prevent this. Certainly employers and governments would like to see a binding clause written into agreements, but such clauses are a further measure of discipline aimed at strike-free production.

Disputes over the control of manning speeds and the transfer of labour are important encroachments into the prerogatives of management. But all the schemes of workers' participation, directors, etc., will not change the basic economic relationship. Managements will do anything rather than give up their economic power, for that has to be taken,

### SUPPORT FROM ITALIAN WORKERS

EVENTS IN THE STRUGGLE to keep open the Toronto branch of Dunlop Rubber Company have taken a sharp turn during last weekend. Already a great clamour has been raised throughout Ontario by the New Democratic Party, and Mr. Stan Newens, MP, has put down questions in the British Parliament. On Saturday the IWC was informed by telephone that Mr. Charles Levinson of the International Chemical Workers' Federation had cabled Reay Geddes, Head of the Dunlop Company, asking him to keep the Canadian factory open. In the event of an unsatisfactory reply Levinson threatened action by workers at the Pirelli plants in Italy.

Last year there was a merger between Pirelli and Dunlop.

INSTITUTE FOR WORKERS' CONTROL.

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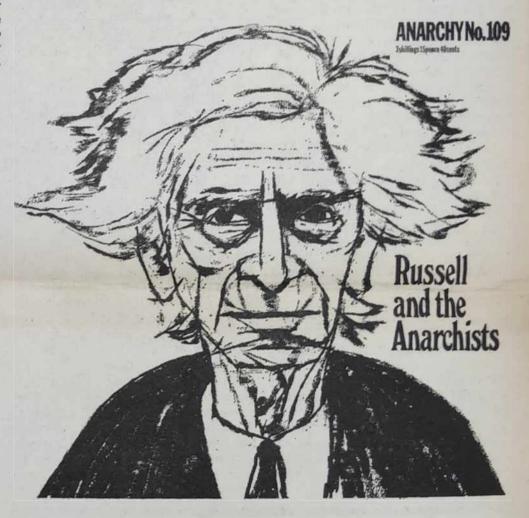
LETTER

### 'Anti-Election' Campaign

Now that the next general election looms ahead, it is worth noting that ALL the political groups on the 'left' have agreed to give 'critical' support to the Labour Party, and are in fact calling on workers to elect a Labour Government. This includes various Maoist and Trotskyist sects, including the Healyite 'Socialist' Labour League, the International 'Socialists' and, of course, the Comic Cuts (CP) Party.

This means that, despite their talk of 'revolution', ALL these groups are in favour of capitalism and capitalist government-subject to minor reforms, such as more nationalisation (state-capitalism), with or without compensation.

During our 'anti-election' campaign, these groups should be continually reminded of their reformism, and support of wage-slavery and war (sometimes of the so-called National Liberation variety!). Colchester, Essex PETE NEWELL



All correspondence to Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannafore Road, Rotton Park, Birmingham 16

ANARCHIST **FEDERATION** of BRITAIN

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS.
All correspondence to LFA, c/o Freedom Press.
BLACK KNIGHT GROUP, 5 Nelson Road, N.8.
Meeting Wednesdays.
LAVENDER HILL, Contact C. Broad, 116 Tyneham Road, S.W.11 (228 4086).
LEWISHAM. Jon Raimes, 12 Oakcroft Road, S.E.13 (852 0951).
PORTOBELLO ROAD ANARCHIST GROUP, Contact Andrew Dewar, 16 Kilburn House, Malvern Place, N.W.6. Meetings 8 p.m. every Tuesday.

Tuesday.

FINCH'S ANARCHISTS. Regular meetings. Contact P.P., 271 Portobello Road, W.11.

BEXLEY ANARCHIST MOVEMENT. Steve Leman, 28 New Road, Abbey Wood, S.E.2. Tel.: ET 35377. Meetings every Friday, 8 p.m., Lord Bexley, Bexleyheath Broadway.

S.W. LONDON ANARCHISTS, Meeting alternate Wednesdays. Correspondence c/o Freedom Press.

NOTTING HILL S.P.S.H., 18 Powis Square, NEWHAM. Pat Keen, 26 Farringford Road, LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION, Peter Ford, 36 Devonshire Road, Mill Hill, N.W.7.

EAST LONDON UNDERGROUND Secretary: Anthony Matthews, 35 Mayville Road, London, E.11.

#### REGULAR WEEKLY MEETINGS

Mondays, 7.30 p.m., at Flat 10, Chessington Lodge, Regents Park Road, N.3.
Tuesdays, 8 p.m., at Freedom Hall, 84B White-chapel High Street, E.1 (Aldgate East Station).

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary, Poter Le Mare, 5 Hannafore Road, Rotton Park, Birmingham, 16. Meetings every Sunday, 8 p.m., in the smoke room of St. Martin pub, corner of

St. Martin's Lane and Jamaica Row.
BOURNEMOUTH AREA. Bob Fry, 30 Douglas Close, Upton, Poole, Dorset.
CORNWALL ANARCHISTS. Contact Arthur Jacobs, 13 Ledrah Road, St. Austell, Cornwall.
Meetings on the second Friday of each month at 42 Pendarves Street, Beacon, Camborne. 7.30 p.m.
Visiting comrades very welcome.
PEACE ACTION, Rory Weightman, P.C.T. Peaco Action Group, St. Pauls Road, Portsmouth, Hants.

Hants.
CROYDON LIBERTARIANS. Laurens and Celia
Otter, 35 Natal Road, Thornton Heath, CR4 8QH
(653 7546) or contact Keith McCain, I Langmend
Street, West Norwood, S.E.27. Phone 670 7297.
EDGWARE PEACE ACTION GROUP. Contact
Melvyn Estrin, 84 Edgwarebury Lane, Edgware,
Middx.

Middx.
FARNBOROUGH. 81 Mytchett Road, Mytchett, Camberley, Surrey. Tel.: Farnborough 43811.
HERTS. Contact Val and John Funnell, 10 Fry Road, Chells, Stevenage.
LANCASTER. John King, 4 The Grove, Lan-

LEICESTER. Contact Di and A. Humphrey, 74 High Street, Leicester (Leicester 22046). MUTUAL AID GROUP. c/o Borrowdale, Carriage Drive, Frodsham, Cheshire.
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE. Terry Phillips, 40 Grosvenor Way, Kettering, Northants.
NORTH EAST ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact M. Renick, 122 Mowbray Street, Heaton, Newcastle on Tyne 6.
NORTH SOMERSET ANARCHIST GROUP.
Contact Roy Emery, 3 Abbey Street, Bath, or Geoffrey Barfoot, 71 St. Thomas Street, Wells.
ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockhoit, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockhoit. Phone: Knockhoit 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.

PORTSMOUTH. Ken Bowbrick. 26 Hambledon House, Landport, Portsmouth, Hants. READING. 26 Bulmershe Road. Tel.: Reading 65645. Meetings every Thursday. SOUTHALL. Dave Smith, 102 Abbots Road, Southall. TAUNTON. c/o Dave Poulson, 473 Bramley Road, Taunton, Somerset.

WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Regular meetings and activities contact Mr. T. Plant, 1 Road, East Ham, E.6. Tel.: 552 4162.

#### **ESSEX & EAST HERTS** FEDERATION

NORTH ESSEX. Write: Peter Newell, 'Aegean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester. BASILDON & WICKFORD. Mick Powell, 24 Cameron Close, Brentwood, Essex. BISHOPS STORTFORD. Vic Mount, 'Eastview', Castle Street, Bishops Stortford, Herts. CHELMSFORD. (Mrs.) Eva Archer, Mill House, Purleigh, Chelmsford, Essex. EPPING. John Barriek, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping, Essex.
HARLOW. Annette Gunning, 37 Longbanks, Harlow.

LOUGHTON. Group clo Students' Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Borders Lane, Loughton, Essex.

### NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

N.W. Fed. Sec.: Tom Howard, 163 Ryelands Road, Lancaster. Secretary: Phil, 7 Trinity Square, Preston. BLACKPOOL. Contact Christine and Graham. 2 Fenper Avenue, Southshore, Blackpool. BOLTON. Contact John Hayes, 51 Rydal Road, Rotton. dolton. CHORLEY. Contact Kevin Lynch, 6 Carfield CHORLEY. Contact Kevin Lynch, 6 Garfield Terrace, Chorley.

LANCASTER & MORECAMBE. Tom Howard, 163 Ryciands Road, Lancaster, Lancs. Meetings Monday at 8 p.m., Phil Woodhead's, 30 Dunkeld Street, Lancaster. Regular literature sales.

MANCHESTER ANARCHISTS AND SYNDICALISTS. Contact Rachel Golditch, 34 Waterpark Road, Salford, Lancs. (740 2516).

PRESTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Rob Wilkinson, 73 Trafford Street, Preston. Meetings: 'The Weilington Hotel', Glovers Court, Preston. Wednesdays, 8 p.m. nesdaya, 8 p.m. STOCKPORT. Dave Crowther, 1 Castle Street, Edgeley, Stockport.

#### SURREY FEDERATION

MERSEYSIDE. c/o John Cowan, 172a Lodge DORKING. Mungo Park, 16 Overdale Road, Dorking, Surrey.

EPSOM. G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom.
Tel. Epsom 23806.

KINGSTON. Michael Squirrel, 4 Woodgate Ave., Hook, Chessington.
GUILDFORD. Contact Epsom Group.
MERTON. Elliot Burns, 13 Amity Grove, London, S.W. 19. Tel. 01-946 1444.

#### SUSSEX FEDERATION

Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/e Eddie Poole, 5 Tilsbury, Findon Road, White-hawk, Brighton.

BRIGHTON & HOVE ANARCHIST GROUP Ivailable. Letters c/o Freedom Press. TOWN & UNIVERSITY. Contact Nick Heath, Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road, Brighton.
MID-SUSSEX. Contact Adrian Howe, 10 Silverdale, Keyner, Hassocks, Sussex. Tel. Hassocks 3458. CRAWLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Richard Ashwell, 87 Buckswood Drive, Gossops Green, Crawley, Sussex.

### Green, Crawley, Sussex. SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP (see details under Student Groups). YORKSHIRE FEDERATION

Secretary: Contact Leeds Group.
HARROGATE. Contact Roger Willis, 22 Princess Avenue, Knaresborough, Yorks.
HULL: Jim Young, 3 Fredericks Crescent, Hawthorn Avenue, Hull.
KHIGHLEY: Stove Wood, 26B Cavendish Street, Keighley. Keighley.
LEEDS GROUP. Contact Martin Watkins, 3
Mariborough Grove, Leeds 2.
SHEFFIELD: Dave Jeffries. c/o Students Union,
Western Bank, Sheffield, 10. I. C. Wood, 65
Glencoe Road, Sheffield.
YORK. Keith Nathan, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York.

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ABERYSTWYTH ANARCHISTS. J. Smith, Nanteos Mans, Aberystwyth, Cards. Bobus Marsland, c/o Students' Union, Laure Place, Aberystwyth, Cards. CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. All correspondence to:—Pete Raymond, 18 Marion Street, Splott, Cardiff. SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Ian Bone, 18 Windsor Street, Uplands, Swansea. Meetings at the above address every Sunday at 7 p.m. 7 p.m. LLANELLI: Contact Dai Walker, 6 Llwuynnendy Road, Llanelli, Carm. Tel: Llanelli 2548.

#### SCOTTISH FEDERATION

All correspondence to Bobby Lynn, Secretary, 12 Ross Street, Glasgow, S.E. ABERDEEN ANARCHISTS & SYNDICALISTS. Contact Ian & Peggy Sutherland, 8 Esslemont Avenue, Aberdeen. Regular 'Freedom' Sale, leafletting, etc. Visiting comrades welcome. GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Robert Lynn, 12 Ross Street, S.E. GLASGÓW ANARCHIST GROUP. Robert Lynn, 12 Ross Street, S.E.
EDINBURGH. Tony Hughes, Top Flat, 40 Angle Park Terrace, Edinburgh 11.
HAMILTON AND DISTRICT ANARCHIST GROUP. Robert Linton, 7a Station Road, New Stevenston, Motherwell.
FIFE. Bob and Una Turnbull, 39 Stratheden Park, Stratheden Hospital, By Cupar.
MONTROSE. Dave Coull, 3 Eskview Terrace. Ferryden, Montrose, Angus.
ROSS-SHIRE. Contact David Rodgers, Broomfield, Evanton, Ross-shire, Scotland.

NORTHERN IRELAND BELPAST ANARCHIST GROUP. No address

#### SOUTHERN IRELAND

IRISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Permanent centre. Meetings every Sunday 3.30 p.m., Island, Corner Merrion Road and Nutley Lane, Dublin, 4. Visitors accommodated.

#### STUDENT GROUPS

LOUGHTON. c/o Students Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Borders Lane, Loughton, Essex. UNIVERSITY OF ESSEX. Contact Andrew Chalk, UNIVERSITY OF ESSEX, Contact Andrew Chair, William Morris Tower, University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester, Essex.

KEELE UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP.
Contact Pete Hannah, c/o Students Union, University of Keele, Staffs.

OXFORD ANARCHISTS. Contact John Nygate, New College, Oxford; Steve Watts, Trinity College, Oxford. WANSEA. Contact Ian Bone, 18 Windsor Street, Uplands, Swansea.
TAUNTON. Contact Dave Poulson, 47b Bramley Road, Taunton, Somerset.

YORK. Contact R. Atkins, Vanbrugh College,
Heslington, York.

LSE. St. Clements Buildings, Houghton Street,
W.C.2.

W.C.2.
LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY GROUP. At the
Anarchist Bookstall, Union Foyer, every Friday
lunch time or write Anarchist Group, Student
Union, Liverpool University.
SCHOOLS ANARCHIST GROUP. Kate & Joe,
3 Withy Lea, Leonard Stanly, nr. Stonehouse,
GL10 3NS, Gloucestershire.

#### ABROAD

AUSTRALIA. Federation of Australian Anarchists, P.O. Box A 389, Sydney South, NSW 2000.
BELGIUM. Groupe du journal Le Libertaire, 220 rue Vivegnis, Liège.
RADICAL LIBERTARIAN ALLIANCE, Box 2104, Grand Central Station, New York, N.Y. 10017

#### PROPOSED GROUPS

MONTREAL, QUEBEC. Anyone interested in forming a Montreal area Anarchist group please contact Ron Sigler. Tel. 489-6432.

VANCOUVER I.W.W. and Libertarian group. Box 512, Postal St. 'A', Vancouver 1, B.C., Canada. Read 'The Rebel'—please send donation for postage. NOTTINGHAM and area. Contact Dave Smalley, top flat, 43 Burns Street, Nottingham, or through folk club at the Central Tavern, Monday nights. NOVA SCOTIA. P. Ridley, c/o Newport Post Office, Newport, Nova Scotia, Canada.

Please notify us if entries in these columns need amending.

# The Myth of Intelligence

have been supported by myths. Nowadays the myth is that only a minority are suited to doing creative, responsible work, while everyone else is only capable of boring work carried out under someone else's instructions. The system is that of division of labour, and the myth is that of intelligence. While the former was retained, in modified form, from old-style capitalism, the latter resulted from the efforts of bourgeois theorists to discredit capitalism without actually thinking themselves out of a job.

What's depressing is that so many anarchists and other radicals seem to subscribe to this myth the same as other people. I've heard anarchists, who were themselves in very lowly jobs, say that 'on the whole', or some such phrase to indicate that the speaker is a shining exception, middle-class people are more intelligent than working-class people. Or the same belief will be revealed in other statements. The last time I saw our spokesman for the libertarian right, he was toiling his guts out, working as some kind miserable government clerk by day, and as a bartender by night, and he was still going on about intelligence rising to the top, and Ayn Rand.

Too weak in the ego to be able to bear identifying with their fellow victims in the factory or office, these anarchists prefer to regard the class struggle as an out-of-date idea, and themselves as individualists and classless people who are leading their own lives-which suits the boss just fine! All his employees should be such good anarchists.

Sometimes they'll say they don't think intelligence runs along class lines, but that it's still distributed unequally-which only argues for a rearrangement of the unequal society, not its abolition. Often they'll come up with glowing descriptions of their particular Utopia, but nowhere will the abolition of division of labour be mentioned, unless they're the sort who expect to do away with work altogether and live on manna from Heaven, or to return to some never-never-land of primitive culture. At best there will be vague proposals for the sort of workers' control which changes the administration and conditions of work but not its nature, or for the humanization of work-if you can make the whole pair of shoes yourself, it's all right. But most work is more complex than that, and requires, not division, but co-operation of labour.

#### TWO CLASSES

Politicians of every shade will say, 'You can't get away from differences in ability, but at least our party

such as feudalism and capitalism, greater prosperity,' etc. It's their acceptance of that first clause that defeats even the most militant industrial rebels before they begin. As long as they believe it, they'll never have anything but crumbs from the table. Their children will go to school and be taught, in their turn, 'Your parents are inherently inferior'-even though they may never be lucky enough, from the standpoint of political education, to encounter someone who will put it into so many words. When I expressed shock at the wages a young fellow I know was earning, he said, But why should I earn any more? All I do is move things on and off the shelf. Without the supervisor I wouldn't know what to do.'

The two classes, divided according to 'intelligence', are called middleclass and working-class, but both are misnomers. I prefer 'upper' and 'lower' class, referring not to worth but to circumstances.

'Middle-class' implies that there is a significant landowning class above it, and that the professionals, administrators, etc., numerically, the chief beneficiaries of the system, are really just plain folks. Perhaps they have a bit more money than the rest of us, but basically they're in the same boat. In fact, they're exploiters. The direct exploiters, the businessmen. are of course traditional villains to the left-wing, so it's easier to recognize them as such; but faced with the greater current prestige of the professionals and technicians, the radical becomes confused, and either ignores them, mildly satirizes them, or imagines that he has common cause with them, as witness the widespread fantasy of the political importance of students. But brainworkers not only exploit by taking more than their share of the material standard of living made possible by everyone's work; they also mono-polize the satisfying work itself, which is just as important.

#### ALL IN THE SAME BOAT

The charwoman for the landlady at a place where I lived was once complaining about the price of oranges, and said, 'It's a crime that decent working-class people and decent middle-class people should have to pay such prices!' All in the same boat, you see, all doing their little bit together as best they could, and worrying about the price of oranges. The charwoman was unmistakably old, and the landlady (a teacher) was unmistakably middleaged, but they were both the same age; the charwoman lived in an unheated terraced house without a blade of grass in sight, and with an outdoor loo and no bathroom-the family bathed in the kitchen, heat-

she could still talk about 'decent middle-class people'!

Working-class', on the other hand, is an example of the 'moral glorification of the oppressed'; the term seeks to appease society's victims with the flattering notion that no one else does any real (Even Orwell was guilty of this kind of sentimentality, although he recognized his own role as indirect exploiter. Another example of it is the Richard Hoggart-type crap about Working-Class Culture and how vital and honest it is.) Of course, many upper-class jobs are very useful, while many lower-class jobs are a complete waste of time. I sometimes do temporary office work; a friend said that my current iob reminded him of the Red-Headed League - the Sherlock Holmes story where a man is got out of the way, to facilitate the commission of a crime, by being employed to copy out the city directory in longhand. As I told him, the sad truth is that all my jobs remind me of the Red-Headed League.

Along with all this goes the notion, commonly held by the liberal upper-class, its lower-class sycophants, and nice people, that it's 'just as good' to be lower as upper, and people 'should' be more democratic. (This is a bit oblique with the idea that the worker is in some way actually better because of the greater usefulness and concreteness of his job, but a prejudice syndrome can't be expected to be consistent. Both ideas are part of the disguise for the real belief that the lower-class person is stupid.) These democratic-minded inegalitarians don't believe in equal incomes, of course; intermarriage is out because of 'disparity of in-terests'; in real life a worker is unlikely to find himself at the dinner table, or even the factory canteen table, with a brainworker, but it's still 'just as good'. Oh, yes. Separate but equal, as they used to say in the South. And while even the nicest people can't quite deny that it's those obviously necessary lower incomes which cause lower-class people to live in slums, have a higher infant mortality rate, and grow prematurely old, at the same time there's a faint suggestion in much that you read and hear, that these things also are part of 'working-class culture', matters of taste

#### SHARED THE DRUDGERY

But it's not just as good to spend most of your waking hours, all your life, doing work you dislike, which offers neither interest, a sense of accomplishment, creativeness, independence or responsibility-it's

degrading and dishonourable. Put the dishonour where it belongs, but don't pretend that it doesn't exist. You hurt, not help, the lower-class that way, by obscuring its interests. There is work which is just drudgery, which is lower than other work. When one class of people have to do it all the time, they become associated with it and are thought of as lower people, and their lives are lower in that they are restricted, boring, frustrating. If everyone shared in the drudgery, and also did some of the higher work, then there would be nothing dishonourable about 'honest toil'.

Nor is it the authoritarian conditions of work which make such work low. It's the other way round: at present, division of labour perpetuates industrial authoritarianism, whatever its origins. As long as division of labour (in the up-anddown sense, from low to high, not of course the lateral kind, from one type of brainwork to another; there's nothing wrong with that, as it's voluntary) exists, not only will workers' control be meaningless, but social equality and even the obvious minimal reform of equal incomes will be psychologically impossible.

'Intelligence', inherent differences in which are supposed to explain and justify inequality today, is just as foggy and ill-defined a notion as 'the soul', and likewise implies a division between body and mind, but while no one any longer believes in the soul, intelligence is considered a concrete thing, with millions of pseudo-scientific tests, experiments, theories and institu-tions reflecting the belief. People will differ, according to their prejudices and interests, as to how to measure and develop intelligence and what it is, but this doesn't stop them believing that it exists and that the questions they raise have objective answers. Nowadays educationists will proclaim with great selfrighteousness and pride in their liberality that environment and physical health influence intelligence, but they stop short of seeing that this makes nonsense of the whole idea. All that is needed, according to them, is more nursery schools and whatnot, to provide equal opportunity, and all will be well with the world. Slum child Pedro, who would otherwise have become a ditchdigger,

will now become a doctor, while suburban child Richard, who would otherwise have become a doctor, will cheerfully become a ditchdigger because the new, revised, equal-opportunity intelligence tests have shown him that this is what he is really suited for. Of course, the educationists don't actually paint such a ridiculous picture, but without abolition of the division-of-labour system, it's naturally implied.

Suppose everyone had equal opportunity, and everyone passed all the tests needed for entry into the upper-class. Do you think that the inegalitarians would abandon their position? Of course not. This 'indiscriminate' result would be considered evidence that the tests were inadequate, and new barriers would be set up. The people at the bottom would still be considered stupid, and would accept the label themselves. Already this has started to happen; the man in the street is much better educated than two-hundred years ago but he is still doing shit work. In America, it's a cliche that you can't get anywhere without a higher degree.

A recent article says: 'The "11-plus rat race" in Surrey, where there are grammar school places for proportionately fewer children each year, is creating a boom for private schools in the county. . . . 'There are grammar school places for only 15 per cent of Surrey's 11-year-olds. As the percentage drops annually more parents complain that their bright children are not passing the

#### EXTEND THEIR INSIGHT

It's good that these parents have the self-confidence to see that their children's failure is artificial and statistical. One hopes that they might extend their insight to society as a whole.

When the economic set-up requires that a minority succeed while the majority fail, of course this is going to happen, one way or the other! How could it be otherwise? The only improvement that people can see when they accept such a system is the one described already, of greater 'justice' in separating the sheep from the goats. But even with perfect 'justice', the odds will still be against any given person. When automation does away with all phy-Continued on page 4

## SOCIAL SECURITY FOR GIPSIES

rehearsal of a lunch-time half-hour play in Stockholm putting the case for 47 gipsies who, having fled from Poland in the beginning, sought asylum in France. They had then fled from there to Sweden (because of brutal discrimination) and were asking for political asylum for the second time. As France happens to be within the 'free west' there was certain doubt as to whether asylum should be given.

A Social Democratic trade union leader, commenting on the question, said the following, 'The fate of these gipsies to stay here should be decided by the law of the country and not by public opinion.' Adding to this the Syndicalist movement here sent a telegram to the Government worded as follows, 'The gipsies need among other things the education and social security which Sweden can and must give them. SAC demands the Government's participation in fulfilling the gipsies' desire to build a new future in Sweden.' We might ask what 'security' SAC are referring How can the Government solve the gipsies' problems within a society made insecure by politicians? How does SAC account for the social insecurity that is the lot of many workers here including the homeless? Even those

who have this (completely illusory) social

security have to pay a high price, i.e.

obedience and stress.

The tragedy of this affair is that these 47 gipsies have had to make a choice between the harsh and less harsh discrimination, for most of them probably had no illusions concerning what would await them here. For our information await them here. For our information (whilst Mr. Nyerere, surrounded by police, was wined and dined by politicians and interviewed by Stockholm's comic opera journalists), the Dagens Nyheter told us, 'It's not desirable to have large numbers of Europe's discriminated poor southern peoples wandering around the country.'

On one hand the liberals support

them coming into the country. On the other hand once they are in and a complex industrial society, the liberal and trade union evening papers put on their hypocritical crown of barbed wire and slobber over the gipsies' mis-fortunes. Psychologically this has a complete reverse effect of making workers, who are often in full support of harsh immigration laws, more tolerant.

What the public, authorities and literary prostitutes of the press here will not accept are those gipsies who refuse to adjust themselves to a modern society whose ideologies emphasize status, stability and class distinction.

The gipsies more than most of us have a greater chance of psychological sur-vival from the rat-race of modern society and those of them that refuse to

Continued on page 4

## SCREWED-UP KIDS AND WOMEN'S LIBERATION

expensive. Consequently they sometimes develop pregnancy fears which help manipulate them into premature marriages. It is obviously irresponsible to enter into such a legalised association without a trial period to determine sexual and social compatibility. Likewise it is extremely wicked to force children into situations where they are confronted with perverse and irrational morality, social taboo, corruptive parental disapproval and repressive adult neurosis. An entire inhibiting complex of guilt and frustration. The normal human sexual syndrome. Cruelly faced with a choice between the suppression of natural instincts and the very real risk of conception. To substitute an expedient indulgence in self-masturbation and homosexual promiscuity or suffer impotent making ten-

MANY TEENAGERS don't use consions in heterosexual affairs with the traceptives. They are not always probability of an undesired and uneasily available to young people and are cherished creation. This is a central problem for a significant number of kids, incarcerated in authoritarian social

Such self-perpetuating unnatural conditioning is, however, but one spore of a cancerous growth which festers upon the psycho-physical reproductive system and destroys its orgiastic potential. It is symbolised by the prevailing selfishness of people used and abused as sexual objects. The masturbatory gratification or mutual rape which generally passes for love-making is a sad by-product of the competitive and acquisitive society. Can a quickly growing female liberation impetus make the anti-sex Bond Playboy Hollywood mystique redundant? Rediscover pubic-hair and genitals. The real people behind them?

Sexual discrimination saturates us all

for it is the index finger of the System's restraining and destructive hand. It is only the victimised and repressed who can liberate their jails and throw away the shackles for good. Yet we, as anar-chists and human beings, can help by transcending our conditioned prejudices and transforming a normal resentment into a natural encouragement, support and solidarity. Sister against brother or sister and brother together?

Creep up closer children and old Mother Freedom will tell you things you have never heard before. How she is no longer willing to function as a sexual object for you to masturbate into. How she does not cherish the drudgery and slavery of cleaning up your garbage and shit; suckling your kids. No longer willing to do all the dirty work and act stupid to bolster up your ego. She demands to be related to on the basis of what she actually is as a person. If your relation-ships (communication and intercourse) with women are fashioned by an assumed superiority, tinged with a benevolent or crudely patronising paternalism, shaped by a supposed innate inequality; up yours What chance the revolution whilst women remain incarcerated within the traditional abnormal authority of

DAVE CUNLIFFE.

## THE FALSE CRY

ON FRIDAY, MAY 16, 400 students from the University of Amsterdam occupied the administrative centre of their university (called Maagdenhuis = House of Virgins), as a desperate deed after more than one year of talking with the university authorities, without getting them to pronounce upon student-participation. Shortly before, the Vice-Chancellor even declared at a meeting that he thought participation was a 'false cry'; this statement was the motive for the occupation by a group called 'The False Cry'.

As soon as the authorities find out about the occupation-the same evening -they send this enormous police force which immediately draws a line round the building; but still new people come in, because the building is next to the university library, and since the director of this institute sympathizes with us, the students can get inside by way of a complicated climb and an elevated bridge made out of a wobbly ladder. It's a pretty uncanny trip, but many people take the risk. In the course of Sunday the bridge is improved by a rail of rope; this is done by sympathizing workers.

Inside the Maagdenhuis a perfect or-

ganization has spontaneously come up: there is an occupation council, there are people who see to it that nobody steals secret documents, or lets shower down objects on the fuzz outside; there is a documentation service, medical service, kitchen service, technical service, printing office, cleaning service.

#### THE OCCUPATION FORCE

All the secret documents are being photographed, and then multiplied in the printing office and handed out to everyone. In the printing office are beat-looking types working very hard, producing hundreds of leaflets and posters. Most of them are young workers. The 'occupation force' consists of 80% students, 20% workers, pupils and artists.

The press service publishes an information bulletin about what's happening. During the occupation some 20 numbers come out.

We are afraid of a police attack. In the course of Sunday and Monday the whole building is barricaded firmly, with the help of boards, cupboards and writingtables. Still people can go in and out of the building. There's no lack of food: the kitchen service buys food supplies, and besides there are enormous quantities coming in from the population. Mothers come and bring lunch-packets, the Communist Party is collecting for food in its sections, the Pacifist Party brings tobacco and fags, in the kitchen there are hundreds of loaves and the butter grows above our heads (a European phenomenon, after all).

In the meantime there are always full meetings about the propositions to negotiate from the Vice-Chancellor and the burgomaster (who is at the same time head governor of the university and head of the police, a nice combination, just you watch it).

#### THE ATTACK

GIPSIES

In the night from Monday to Tuesday when most students are lying in their sleeping-bags, fagged out, the fuzz attack us treacherously, instructed by the burgomaster. At 4 a.m. they try to get possession of the bridge, which is the only connection of the Maagdenhuis with the outside world. Inside a number of students pull with all their might, until the police throw in five heavy tear-gas shells (the kind that shouldn't be used inside buildings). As the students run, crying and gasping for breath out of the room, the bridge is smashed on the street. Inside everybody flees upstairs to the roof. After half an hour some breathing is possible inside, but most people walk around with watering eyes all day Tuesday. Two unconscious victims are carried off on stretchers through the



Now the Maagdenhuis is quite isolated, except for one communication channel: just after the tear-gas attack the transmitter 'de vrye maagd' (the free virgin) comes on the air, telling the population what has happened, asking them for food and medicine, and declaring that we'll continue to fight. (Afterwards the police never found the transmitter. It had been dismantled and smuggled out of the place.)

The requested articles come pouring in, by means of a basket along a rope be-tween Maagdenhuis and the library, which spouted at by the police water-tower.

We demand the gasburgomaster to resign, both as burgomaster and as head of the police.

Meanwhile it has appeared from the secret documents that the university authorities played double. They wanted to give the students 'a not-decisive form

Mr. Olof Palme. A Hungarian Jew, having fled first from Hungary to Continued from page 3 let themselves become static and urbanised will retain their communities of wandering craftsmen. However, the con-

sequences underlying accepting the 47 as political refugees could mean an invasion of Europe's gipsies into the country. Finally the Government decided that the 47 were to be deported back to France, which has also happened Most of the reformers didn't and don't wish to abolish immigration laws in this case, what they asked for were more 'humane immigration laws'.

Before we leave the subject let me lay the file of one refugee case on the desk of the new Prime Minister,

Czechoslovakia, was further punished (according to him) by being put into a concentration camp by the Germans, after being 'liberated' again fled to Sweden where he has been for over 18 years. Owing to his life in the concentration camp his nerves have been affected. Feeling psychologically in-secure and limited in freedom of movement he asked for Swedish citizenship. After waiting four years for an answer his application was refused. He now still has his refugee passport which has a very limited use, because immigration laws and national frontiers restrict the free movement of individuals from one place to another.

of participation' (quotation from one document). You know, let them just think they've got something to tell, then you keep them quiet.

#### DEMONSTRATION OF SOLIDARITY

On Tuesday night there's a demonstration of 2,000 young people, as a support for the students, and with a concrete goal: to bring food to the Maagdenhuis. But the police have blocked the sur-roundings and when the people go and sit on the road to listen to one of them, the cops ride into them with motorcycles and horses. People are thrashed unmercifully; till late into the night there is fighting, the heaviest fights Amsterdam has known in the sixties, except for July 14, 1966, when a man was shot dead.

At 3 a.m. the students decide to open the doors of the Maagdenhuis the next day, and wait for things to happen, because the occupation can't be maintained much longer: everybody is worn out, nervous, some people nearly break down completely. At a police attack non-violent resistance will be offered. All night long we work on, the place must be spotlessly clean, that's what the bourgeois press pays attention to first.

At 9 in the morning everybody sits on the floor of the big hall. The doors stay closed, however, for we'll wait and see what the police do. Well, they smash in a window and march in, where they are welcomed by singing. (During the occu-pation special 'Maagdenhuis songs' had been composed and later been put on record.) The atmosphere is fantastic, a kind of holy feeling of solidarity.

After two hours of singing the police start dragging away the students, more than 600. Everyone refuses to walk, this causing many to be pulled from the stairs, their backs bumping against the steps. With buses crammed with people, we are carried to the police office, where everybody gets a warrant for 'disturbance of domestic peace'. It is not till 7 in the evening that we are on the street again. That night and the day after that everybody is asleep

#### THE AFTERMATH

At the proceedings that followed things have also been rather turbulent of course, with heavy punishments and new demonstrations in protest. (In appeal everybody got 200 guilders' fine, or 20 days' The proceedings are still going on. 600 suspects, you know.)

The occupation has certainly had results. In all the faculties of the university democratisation suddenly went fast. Many things became public (thanks to the secret documents found in the Maagdenhuis). The occupation has made hundreds of students politically aware, opened their eyes to the methods of the establishment. At the moment there is much debating about the new structure, in which the students have a deciding

Of course a democratic university in an undemocratic society is impossible. That is why this is only a start, we go on with the fight.

(Signed) E.V.S.

#### THE MYTH OF INTELLIGENCE

Continued from page 3

sical drudgery, the losers will simply do white-collar drudgery instead Always the work will be rationalized into a pyramid with creativity at the top and repetitiveness at the

Some people will argue: 'Those who get to the top must have something on the ball. What difference does it make whether you call it intelligence or something else? They're obviously superior.' This is mere adolescent power-worship. If the qualities that enable people to get to the top aren't necessary to the economy, or to the creation of happiness, there's no point investigating them further; they're simply irrelevant. And it's not true that people will inevitably seek power, by whatever method prevails at a given time. Unequal societies create misery for everyone, including, by virtue of their insecurity and competitiveness in their own ranks, those at the top, and once people realize it the so-called power instinct will

People who believe in intelligence will sometimes cite the mentally retarded on the one hand, and Einstein, Mozart, Leonardo da Vinci, etc., on the other, as evidence that a spectrum exists. But why should it follow? Only long-standing dogma makes it seem obvious. Both examples are extremes, having little to do with the working and social arrangements of the majority. The mystique of The Genius is a hangover from nineteenth-century Napoleonism; there's no reason why people can't appreciate great accomplishments in a healthy way, without using them to underrate and denigrate the average man. You might just as well argue that a race which produces such things must have more to it than our society permits to develop! And mental retardation is a sickness which will probably be curable eventually, like any other.

#### ONLY AN ASSUMPTION

Someone else argues: 'But some people are just obviously stupider than others.' If you've read a few books, a person who has always considered such things as not for the likes of him, might seem stupid to you. Negro slaves in America were obviously a lower species, just like ground-down classes in any society. And on whatever basis, who is anyone to pronounce on another like that? How does anyone know what

goes on in another's mind, or what

he's capable of?

It's only because of the assumption of unequal intelligence, on the basis of which all the work arrangements and tests, etc., are set up, that people think evidence for it exists. If you quietly discarded all this machinery, and based your arrangements on the assumption of equality. the evidence for that would also be forthcoming, in that production and services would continue at least as successfully as before. Civilization wouldn't collapse due to the stupidity of the masses.

But at present, equality hasn't even been tried, except in such negligible, toe-dipping ways as schools for deprived children and workers' 'participation', so how can anyone claiming to think objectively (as inegalitarians do claim) say that equality wouldn't work?

But objective thinking isn't my own criterion. In the realm of social theory, all that matters is people's interests. To take the example of the Negro again: well-meaning people are still coming up with 'evidence' that he is equally intelligent, and illmeaning people, that he's not, but neither group is paid any attention any more, because for practical purposes the question is settled, and it wasn't settled by anthropological research. Where people's vital interests are concerned, it's more empirical to call your opponent a swine, or to throw a brick at him, than to try to defeat his arguments with statistics.

I don't say this recklessly. Privilegejustifying myths are automatically suspect, and the burden or argument should be left to those who invented them in the first place, and who profit by them. You shouldn't even accept the frame of reference of ideas which are loaded against your own interests, but should reject the whole business as meaningless.

The claims of an elite based on alleged intelligence may seem unimpeachable to those who are easily intimidated, but so, in their time, did the claims of the elites of the past, and none of them have been missed.

Until progressives of any kind see through the present myth and believe in literal equality, all their campaigns will amount to meliorism. with a theoretical basis of charitableness, however much of a 'wild-eyed radical' pose they adopt, or however many fights they have with the police.

K. PERLO.

## FASCIST FORUM

NINETY-TWO LOCAL fascists and N supporters held a private (admission by invite only!) get-together in Brighton's 'The Richmond' on the evening of January 21.

I arrived early to get a good look at the two literature stalls, packed with scores of leaflets (I had never realised there were so many varieties of fascism) including official Rhodesian and South African publications with horrifying titles like Red for Danger, or the Racial Preservation Society's The Great Betrayal

-Facts on Immigration. In greatest demand was God Save the Queen by Rev. Brian Williams, which produces evidence of a 'Black Magic' plot against the Oueen as part of the world Jewish Communist conspiracy. Racial mixings is one of the main objects of this plot to undermine the Western World, and Williams sees Enoch Powell as the only salvation.

'This is the best pamphlet of them all, friend!' the literature salesman assured me, pointing to a copy of Spear-head, published by the National Front, offspring of Colin Jordan's National Socialists. Articles call for the return of hanging, provide 'scientific proof' of the necessity for racialist policies, and urge the end of the persecution of Rudolf Hess.

Among the books offered for sale were America's Retreat from Victory by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and Suicide of the West by James Burnham.

The meeting itself was in the form of a forum. First speaker from the plat-form was Ted Button from Lewes, an AEF shop steward who, talking of the

workers he 'represents' exclaimed, 'most of them are not awfully clever-some might be intelligent-but their hearts are in the right place. He made it quite clear he was not against immigration, only coloured immigration which was crime against nature, and threatened the extinction of the white races. He criticised Enoch Powell as having spoken too late and not having gone far enough.

Next we were treated to a Lt.-Colonel Bartlett, who could boast 30 years' service with various police forces at home, in Europe and Africa. His last assignment had been to Northern Germany where he had been a mandatory witness to executions carried out by the Allied Military Forces. He organized a mammoth petition for the retention of hanging a few months ago, and his speech consisted simply of a listing of the various crimes of violence committed during the past few months.

Last official speaker was John Ormow leading stalwart of local fascism, billed as the only anti-communist in Sussex University. He launched into an exposure of the 'international conspiracy of subversion and Marxist infiltration'. lauded the British institutions 'that have produced a people capable of administering the greatest empire the world has ever seen, institutions now being corroded from within by Kremlin gnomes, renegades, quislings, disloyalists and

Even our own Anglican Church has succumbed to this destruction of moral values, ethical values and British values, he added, receiving a loud sympathetic sigh from the audience.

'The main institution to suffer has been education,' he continued. 'Let me give you an example of the academic conditioning that takes place at Sussex University. Here all students have a preliminary examination in a "language and values" course, a course deliberately designed to eradicate all innate Christian moral values, and leave a mental vacuum so easily filled with Marxist materialism. No student can remain uncontaminated.

Following Ormowe's harangue the meeting was open to question and discussion. First on his feet was a local Young Conservative exclaiming, 'Our fathers fought for a free Britain-for a white Britain.' 'Hear, hear,' shouted the audience.

But the really interesting discussion had taken place over pints of beer in the bar below prior to the meeting. Ormowe and his minions were clustered together planning

The important thing,' the Führer announced, 'is that we mustn't get labelled. We must give the impression that this is a genuine discussion forum. We know that the only effective political action must be in the Conservative constituency parties, but if we say this publicly the forum will be finished.'

His colleagues agreed.
The subject changed to the recent student demonstrations against racialism in sport, and a budding gauleiter from Worthing wondered if retaliatory action had ever been considered. Ormowe lowered his voice.

We discussed this at our local meeting, but nothing was decided. We did agree that if we were to do something, the obvious target would be the "Unicorn" bookshop."

By now it was 7.45 p.m., and the general staff moved upstairs for the meeting.

BOB POTTER

# Puppets of Productivity

of national working rules, widely known as the March Agreement. As is customary with Cannon & Co., the whole agreement was signed without prior consultation of shop stewards, branch secretaries or rank and file; furthermore the management were in possession of the NWR book (National Working Rule) prior to March 1, whilst we, the members, were not. The reason for this second article\* is because of the deliberate discrepancy between a circular sent to branch secretaries and shop stewards before March 1, outlining the rate changes, and the NWR book itself.

#### FIRST STRING

Whilst informing us that 40 hours must be completed between Monday and Friday before an electrician qualifies for overtime payment, e.g. if you are working 11 hours a day (8 to 6.30) and you have Monday and Tuesday off without one of the following excuses:

- (a) as lost time through certified sickness;
- (b) was on rest period for the day following continuous working all the previous night;
- (c) was absent with employer's permission;

then Wednesday, Thursday and Friday will be worked 8 to 6.30 at flat time, but what was omitted from the circular, but came to light on receiving the NWR book, was that if you have every day off, between Monday and Friday without one of the above excuses, you are precluded from working the following Saturday and Sunday. Has militancy in the ETU sunk to such a low level that

CANNON'S GRASS ROOTS demo- Cannon & Co. have been allowed to rain, not any more brothers. Cannon was personified in his revision sign an agreement which includes a com- Where operatives are required. pulsory working week, or have their energies been channelled in another direction?

#### SECOND STRING

Next, something which was not in the circular at all and applies to the discipline of apprentices and states:

Apprentices who are asked to leave a technical college because of misconduct or absenteeism will render themselves liable to disciplinary action (see clause

An apprentice who commits industrial misconduct or misbehaves will render himself liable to instant dismissal or, at the employer's discretion, a period of three to fourteen days suspension without pay subject to the right of appeal to the JIB.

The above four words 'at the employer's discretion' constantly recur throughout this book. Some may say that Cannon & Co. must have great faith in the integrity of our employers, but it's another indication of what the ETU has become-nothing more than an extension or arm of the NFEA (the boss), the arm with the stick in it, furthermore the employer's discretion becomes the foreman's discretion, so on a small site with no militant shop steward representation an apprentice can be victimized at the say-so of a foreman. Is it not possible at the next rules revision that maybe this rule will be applicable to electricians?

#### THIRD STRING

It's been custom and practice in our trade that we never work exposed to the

Where operatives are required to work in muddy conditions they will be provided with rubber boots and in rain with waterproof clothing.

Cannon, have you ever worked on a building site, in fact have you ever been on a building site, because, if so, you've never been on top of a shuttering on a rainy day, when one slip and you break something which all the plastic macs in the world won't stop. So after being condemned to compulsory overtime, earning £3 per week below the national average on a 40-hour week, threatened by disciplinary action, reduced to working in the rain, he has now given the employers the flexibility of labour to screw bigger profits out of the workers. Read on, quote,

#### FOURTH STRING

A cable gang of labourers may be employed on pulling in heavy cables larger than 3" in diameter, providing there is adequate skilled supervision of not less than the approved electrician grade. If labourers are not available, skilled operatives can be used.

And how often are labourers going to be available when the 'boss-man' can pay one electrician 10/6 an hour who has to be able to bend and fix conduit, trunking and tray, wire lights and socket outlets, fix panels into place, work in the rain on slippery shuttering, pull heavy cables down muddy trenches, under the threat of a £100 fine and/or three months' suspension, if he opposes the JIB rules; in a nutshell he would have to be a SUPER-SPARK'

THE FINAL NOOSE

This concerns the Job/Shop Repre-

sentative, and is as follows:

ceases to act in this capacity. The Job/ Shop Representative shall be a skilled operative, and will be responsible for the application of the JIB Rules, the National Determinations and the National Working Rule on the job or at the shop involved, and that every effort is made to maintain good industrial relations.

The EETU/PTU shall notify the Jaint

Industry Board and the Employer of the

Job/Shop Representative and when he

That's where the circular ended, and now the line which is continued in the NWR book: 'AND THEREBY TO INCREASE PRODUCTIVITY.' So the shop steward is not only responsible for maintaining industrial relations, applying the JIB rules, but also has to make sure productivity is increased.

A rank and file shop steward is responsible for increasing productivity; perhaps Cannon would like the shop steward to carry a whip and wear a blue serge uniform, and thereby take another step in turning the ETU into an employers' police force. The above is yet another indication of Cannon & Co.'s capitulation to the boss; who but an employer or employer's lackey, would sign an agreement like this? But that's what productivity is all about.

First the unions have fixed rates of pay, secondly a card must be held for employment, thirdly they will reduce the GEGEGEGEGEGEGEGEGEGE labour force, and fourthly they have increased productivity with Measured Day

The reader of this article might well consider that these conditions given to the employers by Cannon & Co. were worth a few shillings an hour at least, but there lies the danger of productivity deals. As time progresses, the carrot gets smaller, and the stick gets bigger.

What of the militants in the ETU? The only visible, organized opposition to Cannon & Co. is the CP-instigated LAC (London Action Committee). This is a committee which works through trade union reform, which in itself is only a defence against Cannon's attack,

which is all every trade union is in Britain, a defence against the employer's attack. Their inadequacies in taking the initiative was finally illustrated recently when, after calling for a one day's strike and march to Caxton Hall where a London area shops stewards' conference was to take place, in protest against the March Agreement, Cannon announced in the Financial Times (March 31), a day before the proposed strike, that he was 'calling the Conference off because of the threat of violent demonstration by left wing militants' and 'would not expose "our" delegates to rowdyism and hooliganism'. After this announcement by Cannon, the LAC then went and called off the proposed strike, and by so doing, killed off any militant rank and file movement which had been started up by the signing of the March Agreement. They are even incapable of influencing the vote, as was shown in the last election where Cannon reaped 24,000, and the two left-wing candidates 17,000, out of an estimated 36,000 sparks.

To conclude, until the rank and file take our union back, it will always be controlled by some elite party or the

ELECTRICIAN.

\*Vol. 31, No. 7, 28.2.70.



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## News from Milan

SEVERAL ANARCHIST GROUPS from Northern Italy at a meeting in Milan issued the following statement regarding the recent incidents and the police repression. This statement was published in L'Internazionale.

The anti-anarchist manoeuvres (based on provocation, police persecution and brutality, and lying attacks in the press) culminated with the slaughter of Pizza Fontana which was followed by arrests, imprisonments without trial, interrogations, denunciations and further press attacks. All this is, as foreseen, the beginning of an even greater repressive movement against all extra-parliamentary and extra-'union machine' opposition.

It is obvious now that these methods are to be used instead of the feared 'coup d'état' (perhaps intentionally proposed to hide what was really happening

in the meantime) for a 'legal' authoritarian takeover. That is to say, it is not to be carried out by the colonels or traditional fascism but by socialdemocracy which is often better able to carry out repression than an openly reactionary regime.

The connections between these people and certain Greek and Italian fascists (and there is specific proof regarding Greek participation in the terrorism of April 25, 1969) is not out of line with our political analysis of the outrage. It is in fact certain that US imperialism, apologist of the Greek dictatorship, has here as in Greece a great interest in strong government, but realising that the internal political situation could not support an open 'coup d'état' has to disguise it with socialdemocracy.

L'Internazionale then lists some of the several dozen cases of the police repression of our comrades in Italy (especially in the north of the country). committee for the victims of political repression has been set up. Those interested should contact: Euro Spadoni, Casela Postale 20, 60019 Senigallia, Italy.

TONY LEVENE.

### LABOUR ATTACKS TENANTS' LEADERS

THE PULITICAL PARTIES showed this week their reply to the tenants campaign in the Greater London Area. Two of the tenants representatives who are seeking election to the GLC were holding a meeting to further their campaign at Bethnal Green, E.1, on Saturday, April 4.

The two men, Bill O'Dell and Doug Watts, were both ex-Labour Party members who had been expelled from the Tower Hamlets Council for their support of the tenants, both are in their late sixties and Doug Watts had just been released from hospital following treatment for a heart attack. Just after the meeting started, a local Labour Party Alderman, Ald. Rattley, and two accomplices, attacked their car, they dragged Bill O'Dell out of the car and proceeded to beat him up. Due, presumably, to the shock of this, Doug Watts collapsed with another heart attack. The Alderman and his cronies fled and Doug was rushed off to hospital where he was admitted to the intensive care unit. The last information received about his condition was that it was very serious and only his wife was allowed in to see him, and then only for two minutes.

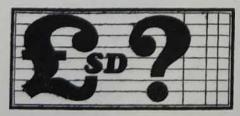
Bill O'Dell was not too seriously hurt, due to the Alderman rushing off when Doug collapsed, and said that he was taking a summons for assault against the Labour Party hack. According to information received, Alderman Rattley

was a member of Oswald Mosley's Union Movement before the war. So it would seem that while the

leopard changes his political coat, he can't change the spots so easily.

Latest report on Doug's condition: Very serious, next of kin only allowed to see him.

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# Victory for Aberdeen **Anarchists**

THE FIGHT to secure a council house for 72-year-old Jimmy White of 34 Kintore Place, Aberdeen, goes on. And not only have we proved that direct action works, we've proved that the threat of direct action can get results

Following the difficulties experienced by the local University Chaplain (who has greatly assisted our campaign to get the old man out of his leaking garret home) in getting any change out of Bob Hughes (Chairman of the Labourcontrolled Aberdeen Council Health and Welfare Committee), we issued a firm statement to the effect that, failing any firm action by the Council by April 16 (the date of the next full Council meeting), we would occupy the Council Chamber and interrupt the meetingthus forcing them to discuss this tragic

Bob Hughes informed the Chaplain (eventually) that he had instructed the Sanitary Department (who have kissed the arse of the old man's landlord throughout) to make a complete survey of the crumbling tenement at 34 Kintore Place, with a view to possible inclusion of the building on the Council's list of unfit properties-which would mean automatic rehousing of the occupants, including Jimmy. He promised that the Chaplain would receive a copy of this report.

At the Housing Committee meeting on April 10, Hughes raised the question of re-housing Jimmy and, according to the account we have, pushed his case with sincerity and vigour. Parry, the city's chief Sanitary Inspector, turned up and flatly stated that the house was perfectly safe (the only perfectly safe falling slates and crumbling stairs in Scotland, we presume) and, unbelievably, that it was 'watertight'. Hughes lost the argument, the inspector proclaiming that he was 'the professional' and therefore was the only one qualified to judge. It would appear, from this rubbish, that it is necessary to possess technical qualifications in order to smell damp!

To his credit, Hughes is not taking this lying down and intends to raise the matter in his committee. We understand that he is no longer on speaking terms with Parry. In view of the fact that an incensed Council Committee chairman is likely to achieve more than our demo-and getting Jimmy a house

is the object of the exercise, not proving a political point - Aberdeen Anarchists will probably call off the planned sit-in, after due discussion. We will keep our plans in being, though, lest Hughes cools off and changes his

A meeting between Hughes and our comrade Ian Sutherland is being planned, and Ian will give him a conducted tour of 34 Kintore Place, plus certain information (which, alas for the laws of libel, we can't print here) about certain activities of Cummings, the district Sanitary Inspector for Rosemount. Cumis well over retiring age totally incompetent, and, like a worn-out carthorse, ought to be shot.

Increasingly, as we 'collect' instances of Sanitary Department uselessness, the name of Cummings crops up. We may well try to compile a Cummings 'file for use by Bob Hughes at the next Health and Welfare Committee meeting. Once Hughes has seen the house, Parry and Cummings are going to be in the de facto position of calling their own 'employer' a liar.

Our threat of non-violent direct action to secure decent housing for old people like Jimmy remains a valid one, and neither Council nor officials need have any doubts on that. In the meantime, we will play this 'game' of manipulating the 'levers of power'. When the bureaucrats (i.e. Hughes and Parry) tread on each other's toes, cut each other's throats and injure their respective egos and pride, we're being effective. And people like Jimmy White see a glimmer of hope at the end of a tunnel 72 years long.

PETER THE PAINTER.

#### POSTSCRIPT

The two year fight by members of Aberdeen Anarchists to secure a Council house for 72-year-old Jimmy White of 34 Kintore Place, Aberdeen, has ended in a diplomatic climb-down by the Council from their ivory tower of splendid silence and apparent indifference, and a letter from the Town Clerk to the University Chaplain (who has helped greatly in this struggle) stating that Jimmy would get a first-floor Council flat before the end of the year. This letter arrived ONE day before the anarchist group had planned to carry out their threatened invasion of the Council Chamber in order to interrupt the full Council meeting on April 16!

Direct action works! We certainly would have preferred that Jimmy is rehoused a bit quicker, but we're able to recognise a right about turn by the Council when we see it. We don't believe in the idea of kicking your enemy when he's down, so we'll wait the few months and let the bureaucracy lose face gracefully. To all who wrote and talked, telephoned and went to meetings, thanks for a struggle well fought. Bring on the next councillor!

IAN S. SUTHERLAND.

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# The Other Side of Lenin

MUCH NONSENSE has been written about Lenin in celebration of the centenary of his birth that it is worth giving the other side; if this seems biased, that is because it is meant to balance the existing bias. Lenin is being remembered not because he was a profound thinker (within the modern Marxist tradition, he was outstripped by Rosa Luxemburg and Antonio Gramsci), or a creative writer (here he was outstripped by Trotsky and Georg Lukács), a revolutionary leader (Mao and Castro), or even a skilful politician (Stalin and Tito)-no. it is because he was the boss (vozhd, in Russian) of the party which won the struggle for power after the Russian Revolution.

Ironically, despite his reputation as the great champion of a proletarian revolution in Russia, Lenin was not a worker at all, not much of a Russian, and a very odd revolutionary. He was a typical bourgeois intellectual, being brought up in comfortable middle-class surroundings, and, though he qualified as a lawyer and practised for a couple of years, he never had to work for his living. Russian Communists have acknowledged this fact, but they have tended to hide the fact that he was of Tatar descent through his father and of German descent through his mothera fact which a believer in racial characteristics might sav was reflected in his personality.

#### THE DICTATOR UNARMED

As for his revolutionary career, until 1917 he was very much a leader who led from behind, and he took a long time to lead at all. His elder brother was hanged for plotting to assassinate the Tsar in 1887, but there is no evidence that this influenced Lenin politically, though it certainly affected him personally and caused difficulties for him when he got into trouble at university a few months later. At all events he did not follow his brother's path. In 1889 he became a Marxist, but at that time in Russia the Marxists were not very active, and Lenin's activity was typical. From 1889 to 1894 he took part in discussion groups in various places; from 1894 to 1895 he took part in cautious propa-ganda among workers in St. Petersburg; in 1896 he spent a year in a comfortable prison in St. Petersburg; and from 1897 he spent three years in comfortable exile in southern Siberia.

In 1900 he left Russia, and his important political career began. activity abroad consisted mainly of what was later to be 'splittism'-in order to create a party under his own control, he worked to split the socialists from the rest of the Russian revolutionary movement, to split the Marxists from the rest of the socialists, and then to split the Marxists between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks (the names come from the Russian words for 'majority' and 'minority' respectively, though after the vote which divided them in 1903 the Bolsheviks were actually in a minority right down to the October Revolution).

The Bolsheviks-who would really be better described as Leninists, since their one unifying feature was their loyalty to Lenin-claimed to be the only ortho-dox Russian Marxists, though their opponents claimed and it is easy to see that in fact they diverged from the Marxist tradition. This is a problem which can be left to Marxist theologians, but it is worth noting that Lenin's particular development tended towards a different tradition—that of the Jacobins in the French Revolution, of Babeuf, Blanqui and Allemane in France, and of such Russian figures as Zaichnevski. Tkachov and even Nechavev-the tradition of socialism introduced not so much and coup d'état, not so much through the dictatorship of the proletariat as through the dictatorship of a revolutionary party and leader.

At the same time as creating a party under his own control, Lenin established a theoretical justification for it-especially in his book What is to be done? (1902). His main thesis was that the working class could not achieve its own emancipation by itself, as Marx had taught, but needed the leadership of full-time revolutionaries organized in a centralized and disciplined party. This made a central principle of that tendency in Marxism which Bakunin had warned against thirty years before. It was based on what was later to be called 'substitutionism'; the party did not just represent the proletariat-it was substituted for it. Party interest was interpreted as class interest; and if party policy did not go the way Lenin wanted, he would split the party or intrigue to change the policy.

Leninism was opposed by many socialists, not just by anarchists. As Trotsky (then not a Bolshevik) warned prophetically, 'The organisation of the party takes the place of the party itself; the central committee takes the place of the organisation; and finally the dictator takes the place of the central committee.' But he was quite willing to see the party take the place of the proletariat. A more radical and equally prophetic warning came from Jan Waclaw Machajski, a Polish socialist, who held that the revolution might well lead not to a classless society at all, but to a new class system whose ruling class would be the professional intelligentsia.

Lenin maintained his position in un-

World War came, and Lenin won a much stronger position for his opposition to the war. As before, this was not because he opposed war as such but because he hoped defeat would weaken the Tsarist régime; indeed he opposed the pacifists nearly as strongly as the chauvinists, and he condemned individual resistance to war as an anarchist deviation! His activities were liked by the German government, since they weakened the Russian war effort, and again funds were skilfully channelled into the Bolshevik organisation.

The war did weaken the Tsarist régime, and this time of course it collapsed. But, as before, the February Revolution took Lenin by surprise, and



favourable circumstances, often in virtual isolation, for a decade and a half. His agitation was directed more against his rivals in the revolutionary movement than against the Tsarist régime itself, and he was always more concerned about the circulation of his particular paper than the general awakening of the masses. He expressed various and often contradictory views about most issues, being more interested in tactical advantage than in theoretical consistencythough he always insisted that each view he expressed conformed with Marxist orthodoxy, and monotonously described those to the right of him as 'opportunist' and those to the left of him as 'adventurist' (to say nothing of a whole catalogue of abusive labels reminiscent of the heresies of the Christian Church). When the war with Japan came in

1904, he opposed the Russian war effort not because he opposed war as such but because he hoped defeat would weaken the Tsarist régime. But when it did and near revolution came in 1905, he was taken by surprise, and the Bolsheviks had little influence on events-largely because Lenin believed that Russia was not yet ripe for socialism and that a bourgeois liberal régime was the most that could be expected. As for the workers' councils (Soviets, in Russian), which were the characteristic phenomenon of 1905. Lenin followed a familiar sequence of hostility fading into condescension turning into envy followed by infiltration (Trotsky, still not a Bolshevik, made his reputation by taking a prominent part in the St. Petersburg

his preser the revolution and the Bolsheviks remained a relatively unimportant sect. After the failure of the revolution he went abroad again and resumed his intrigues. His activities were liked by the Russian government, since they divided the revolutionary movement, and funds and agents were skilfully channelled into the Bolshevik organisation (the most successful agent. Roman Malinovski who worked for the police from 1902. was a member of the central committee and even a Bolshevik deputy in the Duma from 1912 to 1914; Lenin refused to believe he was an agent until the official records proving it were opened Lenin took little notice of the Socialist

International, using it mainly as a means to advance the interests of the Bolsheviks against the Mensheviks, and in 1914 he was about to be censured for his sectarian behaviour. But the Socialist International collapsed when the First

again the Bolsheviks had little influence on events. But this time Lenin had learnt his lesson, and for the first time he began to lead from in front. He returned to Russia as soon as he could (through the help of the German authorities, who gladly transported him there), and immediately argued not just against other socialists but against most Bolsheviks that Russia was now indeed ripe not just for a bourgeois liberal régime but for a proletarian socialist régime-that is, not just for the Provisional Government but for a Bolshevik seizure of power. It took Lenin six months to put this argument into practice and this is his first important achievement, but it should not be misinterpreted.

#### THE DICTATOR ARMED

It is quite wrong to call the Bolshevik coup d'état the October Revolution; it was in fact a counter-revolution. During 1917 the soldiers began to abandon the army, the peasants began to take possession of the land, the workers began to take control of the factories, and the Soviets began to replace the government of men by the administration of things. The Bolsheviks supported this growing social revolution—with one condition: they wanted to control it.

hich were the characteristic phenomenon of 1905, Lenin followed a familiar quence of hostility fading into consecusion turning into envy followed infiltration (Trotsky, still not a Bolevik, made his reputation by taking a rominent part in the St. Petersburg to the Soviets!, though they were all totally opposed to Bolshevik doctrine, and in The State and Revolution he came near to an anarcho-syndicalist line. He tried to organise military risings in June and July, and when the Bolsheviks finally worn majorities in the Petrograd and Moscow Soviets he insisted on the final, successful rising.

The Provisional Government was overthrown in the name of the Soviets, but except in some large towns the Bolsheviks were still in a minority, and the Soviets never exercised their new authority. On the day after the rising new government was established in the disguise of a 'Council of People's Commissars'; it consisted entirely of Bolsheviks under the chairmanship of Lenin. This was officially described as a 'provisional workers' and peasants' government pending the meeting of the Constituent Assembly', and it immediately arranged the elections to the long-awaited parliament which was the first one to be freely elected in Russian history and which was intended to settle the political future of the country.

But the Bolsheviks won less than a quarter of the seats, winning majorities only in industrial centres, and the largest party was the Social Revolutionaries (the heirs of the Populists, expressing a moderate peasant socialism). Having lost the election, the Bolsheviks simply dissolved the assembly—in the name of the Soviets again, but the Soviets were now completely taken over by the government, that is, the Bolsheviks (the use of the word Soviet to mean Bolshevik, or even Russian, is a deception dating from 1918).

Having taken state power, the Bolsheviks proceeded to establish 'socialism' -that is, a dictatorship. They were forced to make peace with Germany and then forced to make war against the White armies which attacked from all sides. But instead of broadening the base of the régime to strengthen its support, they narrowed it and destroyed the opposition instead. To defeat external enemies they established a new army, the Red Army, which reintroduced the military discipline of the past; to defeat internal enemies they established a new political police, the Cheka, which reintroduced the arbitrary terror of the past; new labour camps as well. The rightwing parties were banned, and then the left-wing parties as well. In the confusion several provinces of the Russian empire declared themselves independent; the government first approved of the principle of self-determination, and then ended such secessions by overthrowing the new governments and replacing them with Bolshevik régimes which returned to the 'Soviet Union', that is, the Russian

The first act of the new government had been to give the land to the peasants; soon it was taken over by communes and collectives, under the control of the Similarly the government had given the factories to the workers-but as a class, not as individual producers; soon they were taken over by trade unions, also under the control of the The whole of the economy was 'statised' and a system was established which the anarchists called a 'commissarocracy'. But there was more to it than that. Not only was the state controlled by the Bolsheviks, not only were the commissars Bolsheviks, but at the same time a dictatorship was established within the Bolshevik party. Free discussion was limited, factional intrigues were banned, the central committee controlled the rank and file-moreover the central committee was itself controlled by the new political bureau, and this was dominated by the leader: Lenin.

Lenin was neither corrupt nor pathological, so his dictatorship was not as revolting as those of Stalin and Mao, or Hitler and Mussolini. He was not interested in the trappings of power, and lived modestly and rejected any cult of personality, but there is no doubt that from 1918 he possessed the reality of power, and by the time of his first strokes in 1922 the whole apparatus of total personal dictatorship was already in place. Every step that Stalin later took was down a path prepared by Lenin, and the same is true of Malenkov, Khrushchov and Brezhnev. Every 'deformation' or 'corruption' or 'betrayal' of the Russian revolution can be traced back to the deliberate actions of Lenin himself.

Lenin, following Marx, had contradicted the anarchist line by insisting that the only way to abolish the state was to seize it and use it to destroy the class system first. But the state became stronger after 1917, not weaker. The dictatorial attitudes which had been found necessary when the Bolsheviks were an underground revolutionary party and later when they were a besieged revolutionary régime were found just as necessary, even more necessary, after 1921 when they were secure. The final victory of the Bolsheviks was celebrated in 1921, when the Kronstadt rising was camp was set up in 1921, at Kholmogory near Archangel. Right to the end Lenin continued to

express various and often contradictory views about most issues, being always more interested in tactical advantage than in theoretical consistency-and now each view he expressed was backed not just by Marxist ideology but by Russian power. The Communist International was used almost entirely as a means to advance the interests of the Bolshevik régime against the world. Marxism, and socialism itself, were identified Leninism. When Lenin died in 1924 he left the strongest dictatorship Russia had ever known. This is his second important achievement, but again it should not be misinterpreted. For half a century the revolutionary socialist movement has been haunted by a spectre of Lenin. It is true that in comparison with Stalin. Lenin seems to be a benign figure, but we should not let ourselves be taken in as so many of our comrades have been. Leninism means one thing and one thing



Going to Canada to Avoid the Draft?

'Immigration to Canada and Its
Relation to the Draft and the Military.' Single copies free from the
Montreal Council to Aid War
Resisters, Case Postale 5, Succarsale
Westmount, Montreal 215, Quebec,
Canada.

Bristol Group. Anyone interested in getting a group going on a regular basis, contact: Alex Bird, 59 Belvoir Road, St. Andrews, Bristol.

Comrade seeks accommodation in Trowbridge, Wilts. area. Please write Box 01, Freedom Press.

Anarchism and the Mythology of the 20th Century. Talk by Arthur Uloth, 8 p.m. on Wednesday, April 29, 1970, at Freedom Press Meeting Hall.

Drug Dependents' Care Group Meeting on Thursday, April 23, at 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, at 7.30 p.m. Short, formal meeting, followed by informal discussion and refreshments.

Anniversary Luncheon and Lecture.—
Saturday noon, May 2, 1970. Richard Drinnon, author of Rebel in Paradise, is pleased to address us on 'Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman and The Dream We Hark Back To'. Paul Avrich, author of The Russian Anarchists, consented to be chairman. At Tip Toe Inn, Broadway & 74th Street, N.Y.C., upper hall. Roast Chicken Luncheon served 1 p.m. sharp. Price \$5.00 to Sarah Taback, Libertarian Book Club, Box 842 General Post Office, New York 1, N.Y.

'Bit' publication. 'Arts Lab News Letter'
3/- including postage. Articles by
Miles, Allen Ginsberg and interview
with Robin Farquaharson. List of
crash pads outside London and progressive schools. Obtainable at Bit,
141 Westbourne Park Road, W.11.
Also obtainable: Communes (journal
of Commune movement), 3/6.

Scottish Anarchists Meeting on Anti-Election Tactics at Mike Malet's, 138 Gt. Northern Road, Aberdeen. May 2 and 3. Write for details.

Ethical Society Meetings, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1 (admission free):

> 'New Frontiers in the Mind of Lewis Mumford', Peter Cadogan, B.A. Sunday, April 26 at 11 a.m.

> 'Peaceniks or Freedom Fighters', Roger Moody and others. Sunday, April 26 at 3 p.m.

Former Fulham Anarchist Group Members and others will be welcome at Freedom Hall on Wednesdays, 8 p.m. onwards — coffee and discussion — from April 8.

Makhno & Durruti Pamphlet, 9d. Order copies, sale or return, from Freedom Press.

Manchester Anti-Election Campaign. Bill West, 16 Northern Grove, West Didsbury, Manchester 20. Meetings every Wednesday.

Tory Five Point Fascism Electioneering.
We must start our work now—preparation for printed leaflets and posters for a nationwide factory gate campaign—money and ideas needed—Interested? Contact L.S.F., c/o Keith Nathan, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York.

York Group Need Speakers. Expenses and accommodation arranged. Write R. Atkins, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York.

Every Tuesday Evening at Freedom Hall. Informal discussion / entertainment / chess evenings. Small musical instruments and pocket chess sets welcomed. Refreshments. From 7 p.m. admission 2/-. Proceeds to Press Fund. All Welcome.

Urgent. Help fold and dispatch FREEDOM every Thursday from 4 p.m. onwards.

Malatesta Poster Screen Printed. 7/6 (inc. post) from Freedom Bookshop.

Schools Anarchist Group in Gloucestershire? Contact Kate & Joe, 3 Withy Lea, Leonard Stanly, nr. Stonehouse, GL10 3NS, Glos.

only—the rigid dictatorship of a centralised and disciplined party which in the name of the noblest ideal of humanity has created the greatest empire and the strongest tyranny in human history. It really is time to get rid once and for all of what Emma Goldman called 'the Bolshevik myth and its principal spook'.