Anarchist Weekly @

MAY 25 1968 Vol 29 No 16

THREE TYPES OF RESISTANCE

WHY THE RIGHTIST BACKLASH?

LEVELLERS/DIGGERS/ENGLISH REVOLUTION Etc.

AGIT PROP MIDDLECLASSWISE

New Revolutionary Movemen

written, workers in France are ing the bosses out of factories in a massive defiance of the authorities unparalleled in Western Europe since World War II. The Europe since World War II. The Minister of the Interior has spoken out against 'anarchy', the Daily Telegraph has reported the appearance of red and black anarchist flags in Paris, and the Daily Mail has described the situation as one of 'open revolt against traditional forms of authority'.

At this moment it is impossible to tell whether the end will be a

to tell whether the end will be a return to 'law and order' brought about by the unleashing of the truncheons, guns and poison gas of the Security Forces on the workers and students, the replacement of the present administration by a more 'liberal' regime (with or without De Gaulle), or a flare-up into open social revolution. But social revolution. But whatever the outcome, the importyond France.

First of all these events have smashed the talk put about by liberal sociologists and Maoists that the workers of the Western World have become too corrupted by increasing prosperity to fight capitalism. Within a fortnight the demands of the students unleashed forces that officially are out of date in the era of the Welfare State. Barricades have been built in Paris, buildings seized, and bosses taken prisoner. Official reaction has been predictable. The brutality of De Gaulle's CRS has been completely

naked and unconcealed.

This has been brought home to all by the reports in the British press of police clubbing passers-by indiscriminately and dragging the wounded off stretchers to beat them up. No matter how 'liberal' or 'progressive' capitalism may seem at a particular time, as soon as it is

mately based on naked barbarism.

Looking at the French situation

we also see the impotence of the traditional left leadership. The capitalist press, so fond of attributing all opposition as a 'communist plot', is forced to admit that when the students first took to the streets the students first took to the streets the French Communist Party dismissed them as 'adventurers' (just as the British Communist Party dismissed the organisers of the March 17 Grosvenor Square demonstration) stration).

Of course, when the student demonstrations were massive successes, the French Communists were forced to revise their line but in spite of their climbing on the bandwagon the libertarian nature of the movement is evident.

No directives are being issued from on high. Instead the students have seized the Paris Odeon for use have seized the Paris Odeon for use as a forum to discuss revolutionary strategy freely. The true danger of Communist influence is that it will lead to a repetition of the events of 1936 when French capitalism was shaken by another wave of stay-in strikes and the French Communists diverted the militancy into support of the liberal 'Popular Front' whose compromises so demoralised the French workers that it was an easy French workers that it was an easy

Today this is a similar threat.
Moscow is currently for 'peaceful
co-existence' and would be greatly co-existence' and would be greatly embarrassed by the participation of Communists in a social revolu-tionary movement in France parti-cularly in view of the friendly relations between Russia and the

Gaullist regime.

But, sell-out or no sell-out, the French workers and students have demonstrated the insecurity of the system which we fight. All over the

Western world a new revolutionary movement is being built. In Germany the SDS is the only real opposition to the coalition. In Poland demonstrations have shaken the Gomulka regime. In the USA the government arms itself for war in the cities this summer. And in Britain events such as the Grosvenor Square demonstration have shown Square demonstration have shown that the potential for a similar movement exists. Soon, perhaps, it may be Wilson's turn to tremble.

ROGER SANDELL.

WEEK BY WEEK

MONDAY, MAY 13
PARIS POLICE MONDAY, MAY 13

PARIS POLICE opened fire when students attacked a police van which had knocked down several of them in the Place Deufert-Rochereau. Negotiations between the North Vietnamese and the between the North Vietnamese and the Americans began. Both sides seemed prepared for a long stay. Essex University virtually declared itself independent. A meeting of 1,000, both staff and students, voted to set up a 'free university'. Students from the French Academy in London demonstrated in sympathy with their comparisors. their compatriots.

their compatriots.

Force was used to evict forty gipsy families at Forest Road, Redbridge, near London. Their caravans were forced open with crowbars and they were pulled

TUESDAY, MAY 14

Sorbonne students opened the University to the population, inviting 'the workers to come and discuss with them the problems of the University'. All demonstrators who were arrested have been released. A demonstration of nationalist youths took place in the Champs. Flysses.

Champs-Elysees.
WEDNESDAY, MAY 15
The Home Office denied that the
Government would impose internal movement control on immigrants of Common-

wealth origin.

THURSDAY, MAY 16

The French Prime Minister appealed to the population to resist 'anarchy'. Students at Enfield College of Technology protested against the decision of the academic board to impose a 10% quota on overseas students. Fifty Oxford students distributed leaflets outside the Cowley car factories, defying a ban by the Proctors. They are supporting the engineers' wage claim. Mr. Michael Inwood, a philosophy don, is supporting them. Suggestions for a temporary halt in immigration were rejected by the Home Secretary.

Pilots of BOAC began a work to rule, 48 hours earlier than originally planned, as a protest against the allegation on Wednesday by Sir Giles Guthrie, the air-line Chairman, that they had urged him to 'cook the books' over their producti-

The pound sank to a new low. The franc is also in trouble. A fresh outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease occurred at Maes-fan-y-Glwyden farm, near Oswestry. The Heathrow immigration officers who

supported Enoch Powell are to be let off with a strong reprimand. Noise of aircraft may compel the composer Benjamin Britten to move to Ireland from Aldeburgh, Suffolk. Three of the 42 boy soldiers who walked out of the Parachute Regiment depot at Aldershot have been discharged from the Army. All have been fined sums up to six guineas.

In a gesture of non-violent protest, a group of students squatted in the middle of Tavistock Square to protest against the hypocrisy of the general sums.

of Tavistock Square to protest against the hypocrisy of the government. Mr. Wilson was unveiling a statue of Gandhi in commemoration of his (Gandhi's)

Several thousand students marched for the second time in 24 hours from the Sorbonne to the Renault works. France was faced with a radio and television stoppage. The Greek Left refuses to be responsible for the safety of tourists in Greece. The two main underground Greece. The two main underground movements, Democratic Defence and the Patriotic Front, have issued a joint statement warning that tourists will be considered as sympathetic to the régime. The suspensions on three Essex students were lifted, Enfield College dropped the foreign quota plan. A country landowner offered his estate in Shropshire for a multiracial housing centre.

SATURDAY, MAY 18

SATURDAY, MAY 18
Ralph Schoenman was arrested in Dublin, and is to be deported back to Italy. He is said to have been attempting ter Britain

Two million workers are now on strike in France. The government had no intention of forcibly returning immi-grants who had settled in Britain, said the Home Office

the Home Office.

The revolt of the students and workers in France was part of a world-wide ferment, said Lord Brockway, addressing the Movement for Colonial Freedom. A disastrous racial war was inevitable in Rhodesia and South Africa, which perhaps might spread to Britain.

Hippies are being expelled from Laos. The government is 'disturbed' by the reputation they were giving the country. Hundreds of Madrid students fought the police after 6,000 had attended a performance by Raimon, Spain's protest singer. Banners representing Che Guevara were carried.

Vietcong guerillas made a rocket attack on the heart of Saigon.

Sinking Ship?

EVERYONE'S TALKING about the death of the Labour Party. Is it really doomed or does the rumour rest on customary Tory gestures at Opposi-tion? A few straws in the wind indicate that a real split is, in fact, imminent.

A Labour MP, Stan Newens of Epping and Harlow, has been publicly challenged on his stand in advocating socialism (whatever that is) and still remaining a member of the British political party which is capable of destroying an unprecedented number of people and which has proved itself the more efficient capitalist party of the two. In *Peace News* on 15.3.68 an attack was made on his position.

In response to a letter by Stan Newens and 44 of his hypocritical colleagues calling for a big Aldermaston to 'force upon our Labour Government new policies for nuclear disarmament and peace', an open letter, signed by 40 old regulars of Aldermaston indicated that pressure was not enough and that 'the State will never willingly abandon its major weapon of coercion'. This resulted in a long dispute in the pages of PN on the truth or not of the reply.

It interests us here only in that something has happened since then which is a clue to future action. Mr. Newens has openly stated his willingness to resign from his party. Couple this with the fact that his constituency is being divided and that he recently moved to the Labour stronghold of his area... in an attempt to take the local party with him?

This is one case. Nothing is definite.

to take the local party with him?

This is one case. Nothing is definite. Is it a sign of the times? This month's Sanity contains an article by Anthony Arblaster which suggests the old thing... a new party, perhaps after Wilson's defeat at the next election. True or not, there will be a falling off from the ranks of the LP. When it happens, we must ensure we are there to avoid any further parties springing up. parties springing up-

Don't Forget about them!

WHILE REPRESSION GROWS in www.in Spain, since the events of May I, De Gaulle and the French police go out of their way to contribute to the maintenance of the Franco dictator-

Five anti-Franco militants, residents France for some time, have been

Five anti-Franco militants, residents of France for some time, have been given an expulsion order without any explanation other than the classical 'security reasons'.

In spite of their status as political refugees, the Ministry of Interior has not hesitated in putting these measures into practice. Our comrades have been placed under 'town arrest'; their place of residence has been chosen for them. One of them, living in Tarbes, has had to move to Quimper, thus losing both his work and his house.

We find that opposing Franco dictatorship is a crime to the French tribunals. This is the sad state to which France has been brought. What suspicious ac-

tivities and deals are going on behind the façade of French democracy? From today it is urgent to put into action:

An exposure of the repressive measures taken against Antonio ROS, José PEIRATS, José SOS, Placida ARANDA, and Makno CUEVAS, so that these may

e lifted;
A demand for a ban on similar reressive actions upon other anti-Franco

EFFECTIVE SOLIDARITY for those who in Spain and the rest of the world are struggling for freedom and the emancipation of the working-class.

COMMITTEE FOR REVOLUTIONARY SPAIN. ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS.

(Letters of protest to the French Ambassador and local Vice-Consuls; Air-France is a Government agency susceptible to popular opinion!)

Alberola to go on Hunger-Strike

FIJL BRUSSELS reports that comrade Octavio Alberola, who was arrested and found guilty on the charges of illegal entry and carrying arms in Belgium, is considering further action in order to secure political asylum there. He has elected to remain in prison although the three months' term of imprisonment has already been served, as there is a deportation order against him. It is now two weeks since he has replied to the Belgian authorities and has had no reply from them. He has decided to go on hunger-

strike on May 22 if he is not released and allowed to go free pending the deci-sion of the Minister of Justice. The FIJL asks all comrades to protest

about his treatment to the Belgian authorities and point out the remarked contrast between the treatment given to Alberola as compared to the sanctuary given to Colonel Goddard of the OAS who was actively assisted by Belgian authorities in the supply of false identity

Dollar Leaflets for the Queen

THE AUTHORITIES' attempt to stop political protest by resorting to finicky prosecutions by using odd interpretations of the law is threatening to rebound against them in the case of Stuart Christie and the dollar leaflets.

An unusually courageous article in the Observer last Sunday brought the case now well into the open.

This is no less than a political prosecution, which aims to limit the activities of our comrade. The authorities were probably beginned to smugale this case. of our comrade. The authorities were probably hoping to smuggle this case into the courts as they did with Terry Chandler—and even then they only got a conditional discharge. But following Tony Smythe's speech at the NCCL's conference and reports in the Sunday Telegraph and the Guardian and now in the Observer, the authorities must be beginning to feel foolish about the stupidity of their decision to prosecute.

A protest movement around this issue is beginning to emerge. A woman

comrade was warmly applauded at last week-end's VSC national committee meeting when she appealed for help in this matter. At East Anglia University a demonstration is planned (according to the Guardian) when the Queen visits

the University.

All correspondence on further activities to the LFA.

JOHN RETY.

WORKERS & STUDENTS ANARCHIST ALLIANCE

DEFEND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

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(We've Moved! See col. 5)

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WITH THE TRAGIC death of Albert Grace on April 14 at Swindon at the age of 56, the anarcho-syndicalist movement has lost one of its longest serving propagandists in the industrial field. He died following an unsuccessful operation on December 20, 1967. His funeral and cremation took place on April 20 and was attended by a large number of fellow trades unionists from

building unions. He leaves a widow, Mrs. J. E. M. Grace, 37 Boscombe Road, Moredon, Swindon, Wilts., and several grown-up sons. His youngest son, Keith, is due to leave school in the summer. We extend to Mrs. Grace and her family our deepest sympathy in their bereavement.

the Electrical Trades Union and other

Albert Grace was born on the South Side of the River Thames, London, and at an early age became a docker, working mainly in and around the cold stores. Due to ill-health he left the docks in the mid-1950's and took up a second trade as a skilled electrician, first working in London and then as a result of constant victimisation, moved to the West Country where he worked in Bristol for a time and subsequently in various other parts of West and Southern England on various large contracting jobs. For a time he lived at Farnborough, near Bath, subsequently moving to Swindon, where he

joined the anarcho-syndicalist movement in the late 1920's as a young man and was actively associated with the late Mat Kavanagh and with McCartney in the unemployed movement.

He was also closely associated with Albert Meltzer in action in support of the CNT and FAI in Spain from 1936. He was also active in the production and distribution of The Syndicalist in 1952-53 and was a member of the committee which included Albert Meltzer and Philip Sansom and other militants. He was a regular supporter of the anarchist open-air platform at Hyde Park on Sundays and was ever ready to lend his help in any propaganda activities, particularly where this was conducted in the docks or in other industries, where he always felt the major anarcho-syndicalist propaganda and activity should be carried out.

The writer of this personal appreciation first met Albert Grace in the course of the series of dock workers' strikes and militant struggles in the immediate postwar period 1945 to 1951. During this period Albert Grace was extremely active and was associated with the unofficial committees which came into existence. He was on close personal terms with such prominent militant dockers and stevedores as Bert Aylward, Fred Morel, Harry Constable and many others too numerous to mention. During this whole period he was a member of the white union, the T&GWU.

He played an outstanding part in the mass strike movement associated with the defence of the dockers put on trial at the Old Bailey at the beginning of the 1950's and brought a contingent of dockers from his sector to the daily mass demonstrations outside the Old Bailey.

I have a vivid recollection of being

ALBERT GRACE

rescued by Albert Grace in the course of having an 'altercation' with a mounted policeman. Thanks to Albert Grace's quickness of thought and action on this occasion I was able to 'escape' uninjured.

A family man himself, Albert Grace was particularly solicitous for the welfare of the wives of the dockers on trial and every day that the trial lasted he and a group of dockers mounted guard over them in order to keep at bay the many 'sob' sisters and other reporters from Fleet Street who were assigned to get stories out of them.

Thanks to Albert Grace and his fellow workers, the Labour Government were forced to drop the charges against the dockers from Birkenhead, Liverpool and London who were on trial, and as a direct result of this daily strike and mass mobilisation of dockers and sympathetic workers from other industries, the wartime special legislation against strike and bitterly fought negotiations with the

action was also dropped.

Albert Grace was greatly respected by his fellow dockworkers and his prestige as the lone anarchist docker in London over many years brought many into sympathetic contact with the anarchist movement, whether they agreed with its philosophy or not.

Mike Walsh who worked very closely with Albert Grace in the electrical contracting industry in Bristol and the West Country warmly recollects the consistent militancy and the help and advice that he gave the up-and-coming generation of 'sparks' in the day to day struggle and his help in general propaganda activity.

He particularly recalls the activities of Albert Grace when he was the 'sparks' job steward, when a contracting company was installing the electrical work on the reactor core at Hinckley Point around 1960. During the course of long battles management, Albert Grace was mainly responsible for achieving some of the highest pay and best working conditions on a major construction job

All this intensive industrial activity in two major industries over a long period of time was often carried out, particularly in later years, despite constant ill-health. This handicap, however, did not prevent Albert Grace from playing a very full part in the militant activities of his class and with a cheerfulness that won him many close friends.

Like many working class militants, Albert Grace was shy of writing or speaking on general public propaganda platforms. He was not a 'weekend' anarchist but carried his anarchist propaganda and activity into his daily working life. He made many friends outside the anarchist movement among militant trade unionists and introduced them for the first time to anarchist papers and other

Your movement has lost a very fine exponent of anarchism in action. I have lost a very great personal friend.

the trade union movement, M. Cohn-

J. THOMAS.

IS WILLIAM REES-MOGG A CRYPTO-ANARCHIST?

67 THE OPERATION (the French Government's attempt to modernise French industry and society) was succeeding, but depended for its continuing success on an illusion-which is the same illusion that all government is based on, that the individual is powerless against the Government. When enough individuals protest together, the strongest Governments bend, and by a wholly unexpected chain of circumstances the French (who have admittedly done it more often than most), are forcing their present Government to bend. If it refuses, they might well

-The Times' first leader, May 20. M. Cohn-Bendit's appearance at the labour stronghold of St. Nazaire last night was awaited with interest. His brother, a French citizen and teacher of German at the local lycée, who some time ago set up an anarchist group there, was in the chair. The hall was packed to overflowing, and several hundred people heard the proceedings over a loudspeaker. The police said there were 1,200 there, a conservative

'If you say the students are sons of bourgeois', he said, taking the bull by the horns, 'you are right. But a minority of them have made a complete break with their class. They are ready to join up with the workers. Where? In the street, where we can argue and act. People can talk about civil war. But on one side there are the workers, the peasants, the students; on the other. the bourgeois.

'The bourgeois will not fight in the

streets. And their police are tied down in Paris. There are not enough of them to go round. The first phase of the advanced struggle we are leading must be occupation of the factories. Then, the setting up of revolutionary councils. We must find new forms of management. We must be masters of the means of production. Equality of wages-that is very important. Wages must be equal in an egalitarian society.'

The question was not one of attacking

Bendit went on, but to create conditions for a workers democracy, where each, whatever his slogans or his banners, could have his say. 'I attack the leaders of the union organization, I do not attack the ordinary union member. Unity of the labour movement will be achieved through youth', he said to tumultuous cheering. 'Shop by shop, the young unionists must unite. Unity won't come from the top.' One worker got up to agree. 'Those in positions of leadership of the union movement want to keep their jobs. For them it is a career.' This is certainly true in St. Nazaire where the communist and noncommunist leaders are old hands at the -The Times, May 20.

AND 'THE OBSERVER' TOO ?

To the European student rebels, the conventional political parties have little to offer. Nor, in fact, do the Communists. In West Berlin, the East German party is derided as Stalinist. In Italy, the Communist Party is working hard to appear worthy to play a respectable part in parliamentary life, and treats the leftist students as a dangerous

In France, equally, L'Humanité excoriated the student rebels until the party suddenly decided that it was losing worker and student support, and pitched in. But now, even after supporting a 24-hour general strike, the Communist unions are still fighting to keep student influence down.

This weekend, the Gaullist-controlled radio was broadcasting Communist trade union bulletins discouraging students from marching to the factories. To the outsider, this seems a grotesque alliance. To the Dutschkes and Cohn-

Bendits, it is an obvious fact of life: threatened by liberty, the bureaucrats -Observer, May 19. embrace.

We've Moved

Editorial office open Friday, May 31, 6-8 p.m. Monday, June 3, 2-7 p.m. Telephone: BIShopsgate 3015. New temporary address:

84a WHITECHAPEL HIGH STREET, c/o Express Printers, (entrance Angel Alley), WHITECHAPEL, E.1.

(Underground: Aldgate East. Exit: Whitechapel Art Gallery. Turn right on emerging from station.)

Temporary opening times from May 21: Tuesday-Friday, 2-6 p.m. Saturday, 10 a.m.-4 p.m.

Anarchist Federation of Britain

AFB ANNUAL CONFERENCE. Can a group The London Fed will be organising this year's Conference (unless any other local group comes forward at once) possibly July/August.

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. c/o Libra House, 256 Pentonville Road, London, N.1. Business meetings first Sunday of the month. For details apply to LFA.

EAST LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP. Inaugural meeting Sunday, June 2, 7 p.m. at Ron ral meeting Sunday, June 2, 7 p.m. at Ron Bailey's, 128 Hainault Road, Leytonstone, London, E.11. LEY 8059.

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

EALING ANARCHIST GROUP. Get into touch with Ken King, 54 Norwood Road, Southall. FINCH'S (PORTOBELLO ROAD) ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact: Pamela Pearce, 385 Latimer Road, W.10. Meetings every Wednesday evening

RING'S CROSS GROUP, c,o Libra House, 256 Pentonville Road, London, N.I. S.W. LONDON LIBERTARIANS. Contact: 14 Clapham Court, King's Avenue (Acre Lane end),

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

Every Wednesday at Jack Robinson's and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m. at Board Road, S.W.6 (off King's 3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald and Irene Rooun's, now at 13 Savernake Road, London, N.W.3. London, N.W.3.

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

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

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

ABERDEEN ANARCHISTS meet 1st and 3rd Wednesdays of month at M. Dey's, 142 Walker Road, 2nd and 4th Wednesdays at Liz Smith's, 3 Sinclair Road. Correspondence to either address. ABERDEEN ANARCHIST FEDERATION (SWF local group, Folk Song Workshop and Committee of 100, Collater Climbing Club). Contact Iain MacDonald, 15 Cotton Street, Aberdeen.

BEXLEY PEACE ACTION GROUP. Enquiries to 150 Rydal Drive, Bexleyheath, Kent.

BIRMINGHAM LIBERTARIAN AND ANARCHIST GROUP. All anarchists, syndicalists, individualists, etc., please contact Geoff and Caroline Charlton, 32 Swindon Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham 17 (near Portland Road). Note new

BOLTON. Get in touch with Les Smith, 22 Grosvenor Street, Bolton, Lancs.
BOURNEMOUTH AND EAST DORSET ANARCHISTS. Please contact John McCain, 14 Milton Road, Bournemouth (B'm'th 22279) or Tim Deane, Juliet, West Moors, Wimborne, Dorset (Ferndown 3588).
BRIGHTON. Get in touch with Niek Heath, Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road, Brighton. Poetry readings Fish Market Hard, 2 p.m. every Sunday. Regular anarchist meetings every other Thursday. Next meeting: Combination, West Street, 2 p.m. BRISTOL ANARCHISTS. Contact Susie Fisher and Adam Nicholson at 15 The Paragon, Bristol, 8. CROYDON and area Libertarians alternate Fridays from April 26, 35 Natal Road, Thornton Heath, Croydon. EDGWARE PEACE ACTION GROUP. Contact: Melvyn Estrin, 84 Edgwarebury Lane, Edgware, Middx.

Middx.
HERTS. Contact either Stuart Mitchell at South View, Potters Heath, Lane, Potters Heath, Welwyn, Herts OR Jeff Cloves, 46 Hughendon Road Marshalswick, St. Albans, Herts.
Meeting at Jeff Cloves, place, May 24, 8 p.m.

Meeting at Jeff Cloves' place, May 24, 8 p.m. 'A Surprise.'
IPSWICH ANARCHISTS. Contact Neil Dean, 74 Cemetery Road, Ipswich, Suffolk.
KILBURN, LONDON. Contact Andrew Dewar, 16 Kilburn House, Malvern Place, London, N.W.6. Meetings 8 p.m. every Tuesday.
LEICESTER PROJECT. Peace/Libertarian action and debate. Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. at 1 The Crescent, King Street, Leicester.
NORTH SOMERSET ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Roy Emery, 3 Abbey Street, Bath, or Geoffrey Barfoot, 71 St. Thomas Street, Wells.
ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.
READING ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Alan Ross, 116 Belmont Road, Reading, Berks.

ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION

Three-monthly meetings. Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o Keith Nathan, 138 Pennymead, Harlow, Essex.
Group Addresses. BASILDON. M. Powell, 7 Lingcroft, Basildon,

Essex.
BISHOPS STORTFORD. Vic Mount, 'Eastview',
Castle Street, Bishops Stortford, Herts.
CHELMSFORD. (Mrs.) Eva Archer, Mill House,
Purleigh, Chelmsford, Essex.
EPPING. John Barrick. 14 Centre Avenue,
Epping, Essex
HARLOW. John Deards, 184 Carter's Mead, Harlow, and/or Geoff Hardy, 6 Redricks Lane, Harlow, Essex. Monthly meetings in 'The Essex
Skipper', The Stow, Harlow.

LOUGHTON, Group c/o Students' Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Borders MUCH HADHAM. Leslie Riodan, High Street,

Much Hadham, Herts. NORTH EAST ESSEX. Peter Newell, 'Maybush', Tintrae Essex Group meets first Monday in each month, 7.15 p.m. at 91 Brook Road, Tolleshunt Knights, Tiptree, Essex.

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

CHORLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Kevyn Lynch, 6 Garfield Terrace, Chorley,

LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST PROPAGANDA GROUP AND 'HIPPY' MOVEMENT. Gerry Bree, 16 Faulkner Square, Liverpool, 8. Meetings weekly. 'Freedom' Sales—Pier Head, Saturdays, MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Dave Poulson, 9 Boland Street, Fallowfield, Manchester, 14.

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

WELSH ANARCHIST FEDERATION

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. All correspondence to:—Pete Raymond, 90 Albany Road, Roath. MERTHYR TYDFIL ANARCHIST GROUP.
Correspondence to Huw Rowlands, 16 Cromwell
Street, Methyr Tydfil.
SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP.
J. Ross, 111 King Edward's Road,
Swansea. Weekly meetings, 'Freedom' sales and
action projects. action projects.

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

STUDENT GROUPS

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

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

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

SHEFFIELD UNIVERSITY GROUP. Contact Dave Jefferies c/o Students' Union, Sheffield. Dave Jefferies c/o Students' Union, Sheffield.
SOUTHWARK COLLEGE (New Libertarian Front). Contact Dave Biggs, Room T/7.
SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHISTS. For details contact Francis Jarman, 16 Charlotte Street, Brighton, BN2 1AG.

LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

Meetings-discussions-activities. Contact Peter

Ford, 36 Devonshire Road, Mill Hill, London, N.W.7.

PROPOSED GROUPS

EDINBURGH anarchists contact Konrad Borowski, 13 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh 3. Tel.: WAV 7459. TAUNTON LIBERTARIANS. Contact Jill and

John Driver, 59 Beadon Road, Taunton, Somerset. Meetings alternate Friday evenings.

ELTHAM (Libertarian/Peace Action). Contact Terry Liddle, 83 Gregory Crescent, S.E.9.

LANCASTER AND MORECAMBE ANARCHISTS. Interested in forming a small but dedicated group? Contact Terry Ann Higgins and Phil Woodhead, 6 Beecham Street Central, Morecambe

PORTHCURNO. Will D.R. (Press Fund, April 27) and any other comrades in Cornwall please contact Arthur Jacobs, 76 East Hill, St. Austell. We already have a nucleus for a group and need more support.

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

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

ABROAD

AUSTRALIA. Federation of Australian Anarchists, P.O. Box A 389, Sydney South. Public meetings every Sunday in the Domain, 2 p.m. and Mondays, 72 Oxford Street, Paddington. DANISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Gothers-

gade, 27, Viborg, Denmark.
VANCOUVER, B.C., CANADA. Anyone interes

VANCOUVER, B.C., CANADA. Anyone interested in forming anarchist and/or direct action peace group contact Derek A. James, 1844 Grand Boulevard, North Vancouver, B.C., Canada. Tel.: 987-2693.

USA: VERMONT. New Hampshire Anarchist Group. Meets weekly—discussion. individual action. Contact Ed. Strauss at RFD 2, Woodstock, Vermont 05091, USA.

SWEDEN. Stockholm Anarchist Federation. Contact Nadir, Box 19104, Stockholm 19, Sweden. SWEDEN: Libertad, Allmäna Vägen 6, Gothenburg V.

SWEDEN: Libertad, Allmana Vagen 6, Gothenburg V.
TORONTO ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact
R. Campbell, 219 Toryork Drive, Weston,
Ontario, Canada. Weekly meetings.
BELGIUM: LIEGE. Provos, c/o Jacques Charlier.
11 Avenue de la Laiterie, Sclessini-Liege, Belgium
EAST AFRICA. George Matthews would like to
make contact. Secondary school teacher from
UK. PO Box 90, Kakamega, Kenya.
USA. James W. Cain, secretary, Insurgency
Anarchist Association, 323 Fourth Street, Cloquet,
Minnesota 55720, USA.
GROUP-(T)REASON. Australian Anarchist, c/o
Melbourne University Union or Paddy Evans,
c/o the same.
MELBOURNE. Get in touch with Sebastian John,
34 Dorritt Street, Carlton, Victoria 3053,
Australia. Public meetings at Yarra Bank,
Melbourne.

Three Types of Resistance

Toutine—and to awaken its better judgment. We assume that the Americans do not 'really' will the Vietnam war but are morally asleep and brainwashed. If in fact they are so complacent, arrogant or callous that they do will it or don't care

Trible IDEA of resistance is to make it impossible for society to continue a bad on of 'really' will the Veitnam war but are morally assume that the Americans do not 'really' will the Veitnam war but are morally assleep and brainwashed. If in fact they are so complacent, arrogant or callous that they do will it or don't care about it, we have to talk not about resistance but exile, going underground or civil war. But it seems to us, rather, that there has been usurpation by a hidden government which makes policy, and that an awakened populace can throw it off.

The presence or absence of violence in such populate resistance is not of the essence, but the amount of violence. Is of the essence. The body oplitic does not consist of clashing billiard balls; one cannot change minds and will by physical attack. Physically attacked, a policeman or soldier responds routinely with tear gas and bayonet, but the aim is to get him to respond as man and fellow citizen. Nevertheless, if resistance is determined and especially if it is massive, there is bound to be a certain amount of violence. Let me spell this out.

(1) In the first place, confronted by people who say and act, To the best of our ability we won't let you continue,' a soldier or policeman, or the draft board or Dean who summons them, is bound at first to respond routinely as if attacked. The hope is that if we persist they cannot continue, because people do not really MEAN the whole package: so many jailed, burt, gassed—police on the campus, martial law, the social atmosphere poisoned. They will have to think it over.

(2) But given the complacency, callousness and sheepishness of any people, and certainly of the Americans, there is unfortunately an advantage to a certain amount of violence; it wakes people up and makes them understand that the matter is serious. We see that the TV and press mainly want to notice incidents of violence, it seems that in non-violence is neither profit on the violence anyway if they feel threatened, the question of the profit of

But I must not lose my perspective about these activists, although they bug me. The Oakland young are not thinking about poisoning the water of American about poisoning the water of American cities and causing major power failures; it is stupid to argue them to their 'logical conclusions'. To be a Provo pain in the neck to both the police AND the peace movement is not a mortal sin and perhaps such people do more good than harm by adding hugely to the accumulation of troubles to society caused by the Vietnam war. Despite the alarming editorials in the Times, I doubt that the Americans are outraged by them.

More attractive and potentially more effective is the opposite alternative of the young: non-violent terrorism-for ex-ample, when a draft-card burner is ample, when a draft-card burner is arraigned, five others burn their cards in the courtroom. Such a programme draws on the strongest single energy of young people today, their fantastic peer-group solidarity against irrational authority. It can be effective if the government is finally forced to meet the challenge and widespread processitions, that make widespread prosecutions; moment, I think, is at hand.

moment, I think, is at hand.

We cannot hold back acts of indignation and outrage; they justify themselves as a part of the elementary stuff of humanity. And as the last years have shown, it is hard to restrain the impatience of people who feel themselves powerless while horrors continue. Yet in general, we must use the tactics of opposition that in themselves do not prevent the reconstruction of a better society. In the end, all will have to live in community again. For this, a confronting conflict, mainly non-violent, is better than either false peace or violence. Further, the challenge to authority is itself a creative political act in modern societies which have been vastly over-centralized which have been vastly over-centralized and brainwashed. Best of all is to fight in groups and with methods of organization that we want to live with if we win, and

to pinpoint for attack those evils that we really want to get rid of permanently.

These have been commonplace topics which I repeat in order to make clear (also to myself) where I stand. Let me

go on to matters closer to my own

can distinguish three kinds of we can distinguish three kinds of necessary resistance: popular or mass resistance; citizenly or legal resistance; professional or institutional resistance. So far our movement has rapidly developed popular and legal resistance, but it has been badly lagging in professional resistance.

October 16-21 again proved, in the cities, on the campuses and at the Pentagon, the human value of big demonstrations: the courage given by the company of like-minded thousands; the ability spontaneously to override official rules and permits; above all, the heady sense of being the sovereign people, the body politic. All this is politically transitory and it often involves moral ambiguities, and it often involves moral ambiguities, but is a unique human experience and energizes all other resistance. It is NOT ineffective or 'merely symbolic' (whatever that means). It is the exercise of the right of petition guaranteed by the Bill of Rights and it is contagious to others as well as cementing solidarity among ourselves. Even among the police and soldiers there were cases of coming over, in Oakland and Washington. When students sat down in front of the State Department auditorium when I was telling off the gentlemen of the National Security Industrial Association (see The New York Review of Books, November 23, 1967), a dozen even of these representatives of the military-industrial came to me privately and said, 'Those youngsters are right; my own son and daughter are doing the same.' Naturally the problem is to get them to speak publicly and quit. but is a unique human experience and

In my opinion, if such demonstrations continue to grow, with increasing willingness to risk jail and injury and with the self-feeding conviction of sovereignty, the usurping government in fact cannot continue its course; and its jittery alarm and excessive mobilization of troops show that it knows it. Will it then order a massacre? Or will it cede? We shall see.

The twelve hundred draft cards turned in on October 16, plus the thousands of statements of complicity and the pledges of war-tax refusal, are citizenly resistance. It goes without saying that they are statements of moral conscience, but their deliberate purpose and obvious effect is to challenge the legal structure—the system of trust. Contract and compliance—that makes government possible. It is not necessary (or possible) physically to deplete the armed forces or bankrupt the Treasury. We who resist in this way deplete the armed forces or bankrupt the Treasury. We who resist in this way are usually asserting by our challenge that we are legitimate and the government is illegitimate. And we have—though fearfully, for the penalties are severe—welcomed a test in the courts, hoping that when everything is duly and publicly aired, we shall be vindicated. The always-emerging meaning of the law will support us, just as the civil rights

in using faculty power against the draft tests and class listings, backing up resist-ing students and refusing to discipline ing students and refusing to discip them, and opposing war contracts, they have not yet, to my knowledge, gun the long-overdue campaign to free the major universities from the incubus of military-industrial financing. Since the present university expansion is largely founded on this, such a campaign would be a showdown. An important case in point is the usual faculty mishandling of point is the usual faculty mishandling of student protests against the Dow Chemi-cal recruiters. Faculty members may abhor the manufacturer of napalm and the defoliants, but they hesitate to exo-nerate the students from discipline be-cause of the need to preserve 'free speech' or because if the Peace Corps and Macy's and SNCC are allowed to recruit, so must Dow be allowed. But these other

fessional consequences.

My point is not that professionals should be 'radicalized', but that they should come on as authentic professionals, autonomous and ethically responsible. (This is, of course, what Ralph Nader, Rachel Carson, Lewis Mumford, my brother and others have been saying.) In my opinion, it is unacceptable for a professional obligations and standards for even the best of causes. But since it is the genius of our society to co-opt the professions to subserve money and authority, for a professional to be authentic means to be in conflict. And since the system of institutions is interlocked and centralized, it is impossible to be in conflict without being gradually involved with general reform and even revolution. This approach to becoming revolutionary has one great advantage over 'radicaliza-



trespassers became legal. Naturally the government has been loath to pick up the challenge and has tried to pick off individuals as convenient, in order to deter. From the mass draft-card burning of April 15, there has still been only one arrest (Gary Rader); and on October 16 the marshals and the Attorney General tried to refuse the turned-in cards. But here again it is clear that the climate has changed and we are getting across. Since here again it is clear that the climate has changed and we are getting across. Since late October there has been a flurry of subpoenas to the Grand Jury. Will the government finally order a mass trial of the draft refusers, AND INCLUDE THE OLDER PEOPLE WHO EGGED THEM ON AND ARE LARGELY RESPONSIBLE ANYWAY? We shall see.

But occupational, professional, institutional resistance has so far been feeble. I mean action springing from what a man works at and the function he performs in the fabric of society. For many

forms in the fabric of society. For many people, if not most, their vocations are what they are most concerned, what they know most about, care most about, and where they have the most influence. And inevitably, in an interlocked and centralized society like ours, it is impossible to practice most vocations without control. to practice most vocations without con-necting with the war system. Yet wor-kers and professionals, who may resist in demonstrations and take part in civil disobedience, go on with their jobs as

ordinary.

I will merely mention as the most obvious and probably most important group the unionized workmen in war industries and the scientists and engineers; these may be opposed to the war and yet do not quit. I cannot dig this.

organizations are not an overwhelming threat to the essence of the University; threat to the essence of the University; the military-industrial corporations are such a threat and must be purged—just as the McCarthy witch hunt was such a threat and Harvard finally simply barred the door against it. This year 86% of the money for Research and Development is for military purposes!

The doctors who came to Dr. Levy's defence, refusing to practice phony redictions.

The doctors who came to Dr. Levy's defence, refusing to practice phony political medicine, did well. In general, it is a touchy question how physicians can resist: if they become politically involved, they lose the immunity which entitles them to the impartial compassion necessary for the practice of medicine altogether. Yet there must be some way for them to try to prevent the shastly

altogether. Yet there must be some way for them to try to prevent the ghastly situation where useless and immoral horrors are committed and they then feebly do the best they can.

Consider, again, a typical group of professionals strongly and actively opposed to the war, the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, of which I am an associate. Some of us, by our expertise and connections, are continually and even intimately in contact with government policy-makers. In these professional ment policy-makers. In these professional contacts, were there not opportunities for confrontation and resistance during October 16-21? One of us spoke at the Lincoln Memorial, others were in the crowd; but, in my opinion, it would have been better for a few of us to have been making it a little more lively in have been making it a little more lively in MacNamara's or William Bundy's office, with whatever supporting voices one could muster in. Naturally such behaviour might have had unpleasant pro-

tion': The dissident professional has a more concrete and knowledgeable programme of what needs to be done to reconstruct a decent society.

The professional dissident in his own terms is likely to be less passionately committed than the 'radicalized' professional, the one who devotes himself directly to hot causes like community development, peace action, etc. But I think he tends to be more enduringly committed, and he has more far-reaching and daring ideas. If activism has no room for authentic and absorbed professionals and does not use them on their own terms, it is a loss all round.

Let me say a word also about professional students. The New Left has been urging students to leave school and get into the world of real conflict. This certainly makes sense for many students who are wasting their time in universities.

into the world of real conflict. This certainly makes sense for many students who are wasting their time in universities and should never have been there. But for those who are potentially authentic professionals—who are good at something and want to build livable neighbourhoods, improve health, report the news, teach children, explore the unknown, find the right use of new technology—the best advice is still Prince Kropotkin's:

known, find the right nology—the best advice is still Prince Kropotkin's:

Think about the kind of world you want to live and work in. What do you need to know to help build that world? Demand that your teachers teach you that.

Then, in their own professional terms, most such students will also soon resist the Vietnam war and enter other areas of conflict, and may carry some of their teachers along.

PAUL GOODMAN.

WOBBLY

BLACK POWER by Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton. Jonathan

ONE WILL NOT FIND a tightly ONE WILL NOT FIND a tightly logical, well-formulated ideology in this book, because the Black Power idea and ideal was not worked out from reading philosophical tomes in a luxury flat or the British Museum; it has grown from the day-to-day experiences of the struggle of Afro-Americans to gain their freedom. It has changed and will continue to change as the black people of America will as the black people of America will continue to have experiences, taking the right path or the wrong path towards the solution of their problems. But the book, of course, is about Black Power today, as seen by the authors, and one can find in it aspects with

which one would agree and those which one would criticise. Here is reformism and revolutionism, parliamentarism and anarcho-communism

These Black Power people see a paral-l in their struggle and those of the trious 'National Liberation Fronts' various 'National Liberation Fronts' which have and are taking place in various parts of what is called 'The Third World'. In this they do not seem to have any feeling that the conditions and freedom of black people in Africa could have been improved had the struggle and the organisations of struggle taken different forms and had different ends other than that of establishing bourgeois republics.

They find a parallel because they see themselves subject to political and economic colonialism. For example, in some areas black people are a majority,

and here they suffer from indirect rule: the black establishment only having as much power as the white establishment will allow, and in the ghettos most shops are white-owned; resources, in the shape of money, are taken out of the ghettos, but not put back there. The situation is, however, different in that it would be difficult, to say the least, to establish an independent black republic in the USA. So the hard geographical facts force the authors to consider other means for the black people in America to acquire their freedom; push them onto a different road; a road whose end is not an independent republic, nor 'the domination and exploitation of other groups, but rather an effective say in the total power of society'.

However, in those administrative areas where Afro-Americans are in a majority.

where Afro-Americans are in a majority, the Black Power people want their party to take over, by vote, the governmental administrative and judicial machinery: a machinery that was built for the purpose of exploitation. They have

Continued on page 6

Why the Rightist Backlash?

NOTHING DOES or could demonstrate more the divorce between the NOTHING DOES or could demonstrate more the divorce between the Left and the workers than the support given Enoch Pe well. It's no use our burying our heads and asking the facts to go away as no doubt the majority of 'revolutionary' socialists will do), we have to face the fact fairly and squarely that there is widespread support for racism, support which shies away from more or less openly fascist groups but which welcomes any politician of the two main parties who uses racism. We had a foretaste of this in the Back Britain's Bosses lark, but that was merely a prelude. We have to see that the disillusion with Labour has not led many of the working class to the Left but has disheartened the more honest social democrats in industry and as a result the fascists have been able to creep out of their holes, and workers are to be heard cheering able to creep out of their holes, and workers are to be heard cheering Nabarro and Powell.

Nabarro and Powell.

Since Labour became the Government, the greater part of the revolutionary left has, while mouthing cliches about the dictatorship of the proletariat, turned its back on the British working class. Mao, Castro, Ho Chi Minh, Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, Abdul Malik and a host of others such, have all been produced as revolutionary leaders fitted to our day, all in some way or other having put (probably in some lesser measure than Debray, though not than Fanon) some way other than relying on the working class of making social revolution. The ideas of each have been used as sticks to beat the bourgeoisfication of our own working class, and to prove that the working class of the metropolitan countries is incurably reactionary, anyway quite irrelevant to modern revolution, and incurably reactionary, anyway quite irrelevant to modern revolution, and after such hectoring British workers are told that the most they can possibly do to aid revolution is to pass measures in favour of the NLF or perhaps take part in a demo organized by the Vietnam Solidarists.

WE HAD WARNING:

filled by the propaganda of the revo-

Anyone who studied the thirties, or who even studied the growth of the various post-war fascist groups in this country, knows that fascism flourishes were social-democracy has failed and there is no alternative. failed and there is no alternative socialist force arguing against racism or where milk and water reformists or where mink and water reformists duck the issues compromising with prejudice rather than meeting it head on and where revolutionaries, instead of campaigning in working-class areas, make blanket condem-nation of all non-revolutionaries as

being objectively fascist, and so avoid arguing with them.

Therefore when the Labour Government killed the Labour Party, it left a vacuum in industry and in working class constituencies, which working-class constituencies, which for sheer reason of numbers could only partially and inadequately be

However those who have pointed this out have tended to retreat into tail-ending advocates of Black this out have tended to retreat into tail-ending advocates of Black Power, ignoring the fact that if a 2% minority can demand power against the majority, then the majority will retailate in kind. Where such comrades are anarchists or at all knowledgeable of prebolshevist syndicalism this is inexcusable, as the Wobblies were a living embodiment of the integration of differing cultures and interests, of craftsmen workers and migrant angle Saxons. craftsmen workers and migrant labourers, of white Anglo-Saxons, Negroes, Mexicans, European immi-grants, Irish and Asiatics. The One Big Union was integration in practice, and at the same time set out to solve the economic causes of race prejudice. It may or may not be that some other organizational form could more adequately fulfil this job in today's condition but, if in today's conditions, but if none other are suggested here was one that did marvels in its day. Far more than in the days in which the IWW flourished, the major contradiction of capitalism today like positions. IWW flourished, the major contra-diction of capitalism today lies not in exploitation, but in those who are excluded from an equal chance to be exploited, who are homeless, per-manently unemployed and so forth; and for all of these the first neces-sity is the chance to join the ranks of the organized and established working class. working class.

Naturally one cannot build a syndicalist movement out of thin air, and no serious socialist would think for one moment that one could. But if it is seen that the main reason that the greater part of the Left have effectively turned their backs on the working class is the lack of any real perspective of how, having got a number of people disillusioned with the Labour Party, one can progress to socialism, then the concept that somewhere along the way a Wobbly-

type organization would help and that all activity ought to be propa-gandist aimed at forwarding the day when this would be a possibility, the actions that would follow would conform more closely to sense.

But the real tragedy is that not only is there any immediate hope that the bulk of the Left will turn back to the working class but there are signs that sections who have till now refrained from pretending that they can overthrow the British state and build socialism against the wishes of the British working class, now look as if they are trying to see now look as if they are trying to get on the bandwagon created by those who have always thought in this touchstone for this is as always those who start to equate self-determination for the Vietnamese with uncritical support for the NLF nationalist struggle. The namese with uncritical support the NLF nationalist struggle. The ILP Conference has just made this step. The Solidarity Group (perhaps harmsciously motivated by the subconsciously motivated by the similarity of their name with that of Vietnam Solidarity Campaign), has just issued a pamphlet using techniques of distortion and character assassination which their leaders presumably learnt when they were the SLL bully boys, and which attacks practically everyone but themselves for not supporting the demo-some of those attacked had publicized the demo, and others, attacked by implication or even openly, were on the organizing committee (in my view-no commendation), though it must have been news to most Solidarity readers that that paper had any time at all for VSC. Anyway, these anti-bureaucratic advocates of mass spontaneity now tail-end those who ignore the masses and the limit of whose are as a Stalinist bureaucratic

However we must remember that

there are other indications that revolutionary Leninists are trying to horn in on the Maoist bonanza and making despicable compromises to do this. Lest anyone suggest that I am deliberately covering up tendencies to this among my anarchist comrades (other than the Easter anarchists who are not part of the anarchist movement), let me say that while I know of the occasional enthusiast for Black Power spokes-men, I know of none that has deliberately turned his back on the working class; it has been suggested that the First of May Group has. Apart from the fact that I have not the faintest idea who they are, what their previous views were, or whether they engage in any mass educational work when they are not engaged in sabotage, two out of three of their cyclostyled open letters would appear to contradict such an assessment; so, though I personally do not think the time is ripe for their methods, I am not prepared to make

a political judgement of them. But, having said this, one has to admit that remarkably little anar-chist activity has openly posited the integration of gypsies, of the home-less (to name but two instances where anarchists have justifiable reason to be proud of what they have done) into a mass movement aimed at winning workers in every field under a united banner. Certainly no easy task, as obviously an OBU wherein the depressed and excluded tenth were predominant would tend to frighten away other workers and so integration would not be achieved in it; but comrades who applauded when an inter-racial organization expelled its white members might now do a little thinking.

WORD SPACE Esperanto Notes

IF YOU ARE going to judge or criticize the artificial, but international lan-guage Esperanto, it's necessary, first of all, to know it. The writer of this article

This universal language was, at first, of petit bourgeois origin, but all the same, I, an anarchist, like it. You could say to me that a person who is against all rulers should avoid getting mixed up with a micro-bourgeois movement. Sometimes, there's a good reason for this criticism, but it's still a good idea that everyone should be able to understand each other despite all the different languages in use. All the same, linguistic understanding is not everything—husband and wife speak the same language, but that doesn't prevent the plates flying at times! Moral comprehension is also of some importance. This universal language was, at first,

times! Moral comprehension is also of some importance.

Yet one has to accept the idea of men and people communicating through an international language, if only to climinate 'treacherous translators'. Use of a language directly can avoid many grave misunderstandings. That it should be used by both bourgeois and proletarians is a separate question, though, in any case, such a situation is inevitable. The inventor of Esperanto, Dr. Zamenhof, was a man of the so-called middle class... and I have spoken in this language with clerics, rabbis and other people addicted to the capitalist system. I used to say to myself that I had nothing in common with these types, and I dreamt of a proletarian Esperanto movement. However, I eventually discovered that such an organisation already exists, the SAT—the Universal Anti-Nationalist Association. This, to some extent, fulfils my dream, except that it is not very powerful, since it is not tolerated in the 'Soviet-democratic' countries; and in Portugal not even Esperanto is allowed. Hence, propaganda for Esperanto is almost impossible in totalitarian countries, whatever their colour. As far as they can, however, the members of the SAT meet each year in different countries and exchange impressions and work together. What a pleasure it is to encounter understanding amongst people from different

The other universal Esperanto associa-tion, the UEA claims to be entirely neutral. This year the UEA held its conference in Madrid, where neutrality reached its peak in offering the presi-dency to General Francisco Von Franco.

filled by the propaganda of the revo-

lutionary groups. Views such as Black Power or the Guevarism of the Castrati were produced to justify

complete neglect of all mass propa gandizing, and radicals took to a

phoney radicalism, an activism not designed to win converts but which

purported to challenge the state, even though the activists were a minority, on behalf of the many.

ONE BIG UNION STILL

THE ANSWER!

Many comrades have rightly pointed to the fact that all too often advocacy of Negro integration, even

when the advocates are in the long term socialists, is done on the basis

of let's get integration first and struggle for social change later and

this, besides lacking a revolutionary spirit, is impossible as it ignores the economic causes of white racism.

dency to General Francisco Von Franco. Honours for everyone, its seems, including the chamber pot!

In the face of facts like these, friends of liberty who are not Esperantists will say that Esperanto can go to the devil. There's no need to go on so, friends. In every language you can say good things and bad things. If some tyrants hinder Esperanto this is a sign that it is a vehicle of progress, and if another Esperanto movement, like the UEA, is reactionary, others, such as the SAT, are a vital factor for the advance of the species. An ideal should never be abandoned because some inferior people try oned because some inferior people try

Against the so-called neutralists e USA we protest engage the USA we protest energetically because their adulation of tyrants is against the spirit of the movement, and of Zamen-hof. This 'neutralist' act of support for the Spanish dictator is an anti-Esperantist calamity. To honour Franco is to insult Spaniards. This 'civilisation', stuck together by Moors, Phalangists, Carlists, Nazis and 'Bersaglieri' from Spanish blood, should not be accepted by the gentlemen of the UEA.

blood, should not be accepted by the gentlemen of the UEA.

Esperanto's fortune is bound up with the growth of the anti-nationalist and proletarian movement, a well-defined entity which has no connection with reactionary societies of the UEA type, which visiby discredit Esperanto.

What matters is to make positive use of the facilities offered by Esperanto. It is easy to learn, there is hardly any grammar, and pronounciation is very easy. It is the only language which offers us the means to understand each other without using translators. International correspondence between comrades on interesting topics opens out wide perspectives, including anarchy itself. Workers who know Esperanto can become ardent internationalists, that is to say they can become independent of narrow party paths and reach wider horizons.

The use of a national language, however extensive it may appear to be, offers serious inconveniences owing to the greater part of its potential audience being ignorant of it. Neither English nor French offer any guarantee or internationality, since there exist other populations which, taken all together, are a

hundred times more numerous. The Russians and the Chinese, the new 'con-quistadores' of the age, could just as easily impose their languages owing to their military arrogance and their vast

It seems clear there is no national language equal to Esperanto. Our own comrade, Rudolf Rocker, used Yiddish to communicate with Jewish anarchists. He used it in the International Forum but in other spheres he had to resort to the national languages in vogue. Objectively, there is nothing better than Esperanto for international contacts

and for our own internal purposes. The language is, certainly, artificial, but it is simple and practical and can be learned in six, or at the most twelve weeks. When a Spaniard uses Esperanto weeks. When a Spaniard uses Esperanto in international circles nobody can say he 'speaks French like a Spanish cow', and no Spaniard can say a Frenchman speaks Spanish like a 'pig from Aubernia'.

CH. HOCHAUSER AMONY.

(From Le Combat Syndicaliste)

Translator's note: If people used Esperanto I could go to the cinema instead of translating this!

trans.: j.w.s.

LEVELLERS & DIGGERS

I keep hoping that one of these days-we might have a discussion in the pages of Freedom not on a point-scoring basis but in a serious attempt to get at the truth. Is this too much to hope for?

truth. Is this too much to hope for?

I was not 'attacking' Arthur Uloth. I was answering certain things he said because the English Revolution happens to be a subject into which I have put years of work and it seemed to me that a reply was called for.

From the radical point of view there are two quite different ways of looking at the Revolution and both are valid. They are to consider the separate and different contributions to progress made by the Levellers and the Diggers.

The Levellers were concerned with

by the Levellers and the Diggers.

The Levellers were concerned with politics and freedom at the immediate practical level, i.e. with defeating Stuart tyranny and creating a new and better political system for the future. In common with most people of the radical tradition, then and now, they were not anarchists. They cannot be blamed for not being what they never set out to be!

The Diggers were utopians who went

The Diggers were utopians who went off to create their own community at St. George's Hill and dropped out of political society. They were anarchists but I don't know if they ever actually described themselves as such. Perhaps Jim Duke or Nicolas Walter might take that point up.

It is difficult to say which the Estab-lishment of the day disliked the most. Both were destroyed by force, the Levellers at the Battle of Burford in 1649 and the Diggers about the same time by a landlord-police type operation exploit-

local peasant conservatism.

We still have the two traditions typified by the Levellers and the Diggers and they cross-fertilise each other. No useful purpose is served by vilifying either. What is needed is a sympathetic study

May I add one or two things in reply to the particular comments made by Jim Duke?

Jim Duke? 1647/48 was to the English Revolution what 1917 was to the Russian Revolution. In those years were concentrated every-thing that was essential. Jim Duke asks me make a comparative estimate of the Council of State Government of Cromwell and his friends as against that of the previous Presbyterian Government of Holles. This could be done but it begs the main question. The main augustion. the main question. The main question is this: 'Just how was Holles, the English Kerensky, defeated?' In brief what happened was that after the end of the First Civil War in 1646

the end of the First Civil War in 1646 Cromwell went into military retirement and lived and worked in London as MP for Cambridge. He was not with the Army in the critical first half of 1647.

The regiments of the New Model Army were widely distributed throughout East Anglia, in close touch with Lilburne and others in London and wise to the betrayal of the Revolution by the Presbyterian Government that had secretly decided to go over to the King.

The Levellers organised the regiments f the New Model as units of the revolution and each regiment appointed two Agitators. (Originally this word simply meant agents or people deputed to act on behalf of the group. The Levellers by their deeds gave the word its modern

meaning.)

The Leveller regiments' refusal to go to Ireland or to disband, to abduct the King and draft THE AGREEMENT OF THE PEOPLE culminated in the great army rendezvous at Newmarket at the beginning of June 1647. It was at that meeting that the march on London was decided. It was then and only then that Cromwell joined in again, He rejoined the revolution when the Levellers by their deeds had made it a going concern.

The tragedy is that the Levellers needed the military and political knowhow of Cromwell, Fairfax and the other Independents. Thus the Revolution was both made and unmade at the same time. Cromwell used the Levellers and then trod them into the ground.

It was after crushing the Levellers in 1649 that Oliver massacred the Irish. Burford was the Kronstadt of the English Revolution and the situation was quite different after it. 1649 cannot be compared with 1647/48.

The Levellers successfully opened up the struggle that was to last for another. meaning.)
The Leveller regiments' refusal to go

different after it. 1649 cannot be compared with 1647/48.

The Levellers successfully opened up the struggle that was to last for another 50 years until by the 1690s there was achieved in England the political and religious toleration that we have enjoyed (more or less) ever since. This was an achievement of historic proportions and the American and French Revolutions of the following century trod paths mapped out in England and even earlier in the Netherlands. To this day no absolutist (or totalitarian as we would now call him) has ever re-established himself in any of these four political cultures. This is the contemporary index of the Leveller achievement and of the radical tradition to which it is fundamental. It is part of that tradition that it never takes its freedom for granted or rests on its laurels.

PETER CADOGAN.

Revolution & The Levellers

like a man attempting to cross a deeply flowing mountain torrent at its most difficult point. Again and again he is swept off his feet, and only just manages to regain the bank from which he set forth. He is bruised and battered, soaked to the skin and thoroughly miserable, but nothing will induce him to seek some other way of getting across. He could go upstream, till he reached the source if necessary, and walk round dryshod. Or he could go downstream till he found a ferry or a bridge. Or he could build a boat, or get hold of an aeroplane, or anything. But no, back he comes to the same spot, and again and again he tries to wade across.

Revolutions have been attempted over and over again. If they have not been crushed by the existing regime, they have ended by setting up new tyrannies in place of the old. Still people keep advocating the social revolution. They study the revolutions of the past, and explain how they went wrong, hoping that the same mistakes will not be made again. Each new situation is just that little bit different, so in fact revolutionaries can and do make the same sort of mistakes, even if they are not absolutely identical. Isn't 1649, and 1789, and 1848, and

1871, and 1917, and 1936 enough? Has it got to happen yet again, and again, and again? Is there some mystical force which prevents us trying anything new? The only revolutions that have ever succeeded at all in achieving their stated aims have been wars of national

To be an anarchist does one have to believe in social change brought about by revolution? Can't we try to undermine existing society by setting up our own communities? I am inspired to write this by I. R. Mitchell's comments on my review of James Duke's book, which seems to me to exemplify the revolutionary attitude perfectly.

Were the Levellers a minority? Look, I don't know the population statistics of seventeenth century England, but I do know that the majority always gets its way if it is sufficiently determined Revolutionaries always like to feel that the majority of the population, 'the people' 'the workers', are with them. To read revolutionary writings you would think

what? The revolt never comes.

I used to have a large number of issues of the old war-time predecessor of FREEDOM called War Commentary. Over and over again, particularly towards the end of the war, prophecies were made of a revolution that was soon to break out. That's over twenty years ago now. What happened to that revolution?

Most people I meet outside Left-wing circles, whether working or middle class, are very reactionary in their attitudes. These attitudes are mitigated by a sort of Orwellian 'decency', but I would not care to rely too much on it in a crisis.

If the Levellers were not a minority of the population then the conclusion to be drawn from their defeated revolt is even more terrible than the conclusion to be drawn if they were a minority. It is simply this, that a large popular movement can be suppressed fairly easily by a small body of armed and well-organised and ruthless men. That the 'masses', despite their large numbers, can always be held down by a much smaller number

This is the only logical thing one can say. I do not however believe this. What I do believe is that if we had the statistics of those who actively participated in all the great revolutionary struggles and those who did not, we would find that only minorities were seriously engaged on either side. (People often sign petitions and don't do much else.)

In the Russian Revolution the majority of the people, who were peasants, must have continued to cultivate the soil, though the armies marched back and forth. If they had not, the armies would have had nothing to eat. I have no doubt much the same applied during the English Revolution too.

I am not advocating that we should be political quietists, still less am I saying that 'the course of history is determined by the actions . . . of those at the summit of the social pyramid'. All I am pointing out is that social revolution as a method of achieving a freer and more just society does not work. It has been tried repeatedly and it does not work. Let's try something else for Liberty's sake!

I am not a permanent protester. would very much like to see a free society coming into being. I have only

THE ANARCHIST and other liber-tarian revolutionary movements are that most of the population were on the vague ideas of how it might be done. We verge of revolt, held back only by . . . are just wasting our time though trying the revolutionary road.

Most of the Points made by I. R. Mitchell have already been dealt with in James Duke's letter a couple of weeks or so ago. The bit about the Irish seems to have stung one or two people, so I will quote chapter and verse. Regarding the massacres at Drogheda and Wexford see page nine of James Duke's book. On page eleven occurs the following, which I quote to show I have not distorted any-

The driving force behind the English Revolution was the Puritans and the driving force behind the Puritans was their religion, for every Puritan interested in reforming the government of England there were ten whose sole concern was the reform of the church. Even Lilburne was an opponent of prelacy long before he became an opponent of the government. And although the Levellers appeared to have large numbers of supporters when it came to threats of open warfare most would not fight against a Parliament which had carried out the religious reforms they desired. The other element of the Leveller defeat was shown in Cromwell's repeated exhortations to combine against the Irish. If there was to be more fighting most Englishmen whether Levellers or not preferred to have it in Ireland rather than in England and if anyone was to be killed they preferred it to be Irishmen. Men would cheer for John Lilburne but when it came to a crisis few would fight for him."

The Irish are a sore point because revolutionaries, who put their trust in the wisdom of the people, can't bear to admit that these same people are sometimes racial bigots, or are simply indifferent to the fate of foreigners. The dockers who marched in support of Enoch Powell

To sum up then, and finish with it. Either the majority of the population, who are after all mostly lower middle class or working class, accept the existing order, even if they grumble at times, and follow their rulers willingly, or the majority are 'natural anarchists' but are always outwitted or overawed by a tiny minority of well organised brutes. I find the second conclusion much the most repulsive, nor does it fit in with my own ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

NOT SO ANCIENT HISTORY

DON'T WANT to join the bizarre argument about the English Civil War/Revolution, but there's one word in I. R. Mitchell's article (FREEDOM, 27.4.68) I must comment on. He calls it 'a unique occurrence in our history'. Our history, Mitch? Surely not. In the sense that all humanity is one, yes-but in that case the possessive adjective is superfluous. For the benefit of Scots confused about their history, here is a brief picture of that period.

In 1649 Scotland was a theocracy ruled by a Covenanted Kirk, more Calvinist than Calvin. Heretics were hunted, witches burned, and the people had a foretaste of those torments which lay ahead for all but a chosen few. As for foreign policy, this was summed up Alexander Leslie, Supreme Commander of the Army: 'Consider what glory it would be before God and man if we were to drive the Catholics out of England and follow them to France. and rally round us all those of the true religion there, and plant, either with consent or by force, our religion in Paris, and thence to Rome, drive out Anti-Christ, and burn the town.'

Leslie's scheme failed for two main reasons: (1) The committee of ministers which travelled with the Army and 'advised' him on everything, and (2) discontent amongst his fanatical troops, who suspected him of being too

The Kirk's ambition to extend its

the inevitable reaction. In 1651 Cromwell invaded Scotland, and to cut a long story short, the English won. The Kirk was horrified by the invaders. They include Arians, Socinians, Pholimians, Familists, Seekers, Antimonians and Polagians; they practise freedom for all except Catholics and Episcopals; a door is opened, and an inlet made, unto the worst of those who bear the name of Christian, yea, unto Jews and Mahometans and Heathens, to converse, and dwell, and profess their religion in this land!

The English troops were, comparatively speaking, a liberalising element. In an age when the pulpit was virtually the only means of communicating ideas, they frequently took it over, and encouraged others to do likewise. Nevertheless, they were hated by the common people. The English Governor, Robert Lilburne, was distressed by this hatred. It is a curious fact that invaders often expect their victims to love them.

With the restoration of the monarchy came also the restoration of the Scots Parliament. The forts which Cromwell had built throughout Scotland were destroyed. The Kirk never regained absolute power, though in a watered-down version it remains to this day a force to be reckoned with, a major prop of the class system, and an ever-present threat to individual liberty.

DAVE COULL.

Labour Government

LABOUR GOVERNMENT OR to almost nil. A further election was SOCIALISM, published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain. Price 1s.

AS WITH their previous pamphlet, ls Labour Government the Way to Socialism?, the SPGB make out a very good case for not supporting the Labour Party or a Labour Government. Demolishing a Labour Government is not

After admitting that many people have come to believe that political parties are all the same, that politics is a sham and not worth supporting, but that in fact 'nothing could be more mistaken', the pamphlet then traces the history of successive Labour Govern-

The first Labour Government existed for less than a year. It was only a minority Government. It could not pass legislation without the support of the Tories and the Liberals. And when these combined against it, it fell. During its period in office, unemployment remained at well over one million and prices rose despite measures which were supposed to lower them. Despite its alleged lack of power, however, the pamphlet points out that it started the building of five new cruisers, was responsible for bombing tribesmen in Iraq, firing on strikers in India and made preparations to declare a state of emergency if a strike of underground workers was not called off. So much for the MacDonald Government of 1924.

The second Labour Government came to office in June 1929. Like the first was a minority Government, and like the first its Prime Minister was Ramsey MacDonald. It lasted two years. When it came in unemployment stood at 1,164,000; when it went out it had risen to almost 3,000,000. during the two years, the Government reduced the wages of its own of Altogether four million workers had

In 1945 the Labour Party won a clear majority for the first time. It had 393 MPs in a House of 640. They had real power. The coal mines, railways, gas, electricity, Cables and Wireless, the Bank of England and most of road transport were nationalised. Iron and steel were also taken over during the period of the third Labour Government. Fortunately, unemployment remained low (this was nothing to do with the Government), but the Government did everything in its power to keep wages down. It began a policy of 'wage restraint'. One of its promises was to keep prices stable. They rose 30 per cent. In 1949 a financial crisis developed and after a dozen declarations by Sir Stafford Cripps that the pound would not be devalued, it was devalued by 30 per cent. The Labour Party used troops to break a dock strike, and started to build the British A-bomb. At the 1950 General Election the Attlee

held in October 1951, and so began thirteen years of Tory 'mis-rule'.

Since 1964 the Labour Party has again ruled the country. And, as the pamphlet points out, wage freezes and devaluation are the order of the day They've failed again.

The SPGB's case is that the Labour Party cannot solve the problems of the working class by forming governments to administer capitalism. 'We, as socialists, say that no government can make capitalism work to the advantage of the working class', they say. It is the SPGB's argument-and I agree completely with them on this-that the Labour Party is not socialist. It is a matter of capitalism or socialism; and, they claim, you cannnot have both. Labour Party exists to run capitalism; to form governments that will inevitably fail the workers. And the SPGB? They want socialism—'. . . a social system in which the population of the world co-operated to supply the needs of all, by production solely for use: no buying and selling, no market, no wages system; no prices, profits, rent; no coercive state, no economic rivalries leading to armament and war'. All very nice, but here's

'The Socialist Party of Great Britain claims that it is not political action which has failed but-a very different matter-the kind of political aims pursued by the Labour Party.' In their view the working class (through the SPGB of course!) shall organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of Government in order that this machinery of Government, including the armed forces, may be converted into an agent of emancipation. This, of course, is where the Anarchist and genuine libertarian socialist part company with the Small Party of Good over a majority to their viewpoint (and there is not the slightest evidence that they will achieve that), our friends in the SPGB would, in fact, be running a Government. The State, said Engels, would not be abolished-it would die out. Perhaps? Anyway, certain moves by some of our more astute politicians may deal the SPGB its death blow. It has been suggested in some quarters that instead of having just names on the ballot papers, there should be names of the candidate's party as well. It has also been mooted that only bona fide parties with at least 1,000 (why not 5,000 or 10,000?) fully paid-up members be allowed to contest elections. If that is introduced, then vide the SPGB, a classless, wageless, stateless society would not be possible.

This pamphlet tells us very well why we should not support the Labour Party or its various governments, past and present: it also tells why we shouldn't support the SPGB either.

Nasty Mess at the Dorchester

THAT UNIQUE RATIO of exchange change values as outlined by your correspondent Jack Spratt in Vol. No. 10 has caused me a ton of trouble. Please grant me space to explain.

In my perambulations around London trying 'to get the bread', I dropped into the Dorchester, Park Lane. So I saw the Chief Engineer. He said, 'O.K. Mick, the bread is yours if you do the stoking. He is a nice man that Chief. I explained to him how when I started stoking 'they' had wooden boilers and iron men. Now 'they' have iron boilers and

You're the guy we want,' he said. So then he tells me about 'scratch'. It was good. I started the shift at 2.30 p.m. and took over at 8 p.m. Hope you understand this proletarian jargon.

The boiler-room seemed O.K. Next day a bell rang loudly and I got some fire buckets. The engineer asked what the fire buckets were for, 'Gonna put out the fire,' I sez. He said, 'Naw, it's the shit tank.' So I discovers two big tanks of genuine and correct excreta in the boiler-room. One of these tanks was overflowing. In the boiler-room. In the Dorchester. Underneath the entrance to the kitchen.

Then I discovered that the unchokeable pump was choked up. Meanwhile I had an alternate pump working. Unfortunately it could not take the load suddenly and there was a surplus of the dull yellow substance on the floor. If Jack Spratt had written sooner I would have known what to do. The Stank of England or the Federal Reserve Stank could have got it. Fort Knox is too far

I noticed the lawenorder boys around a lot. I suppose they were watching no one brought it out. If anyone was caught the government would introduce flogging. Quicker than the Asian passport bill. Learned judges and barristers would deliberate for months in the High Courts of conveyancing about legal technicalities. It would be worse than dollars for peace. Why? Well, it would probably be taken from the lawyers' own sanctuary.

Dear reader, don't think that it is a veritable Klondyke or Lena. No gold rushes across Hyde Park please. It is too well guarded. Fact. I will explain

The bottoms of these tanks are cleaned out (by hand) once a month. The cleaning out of these tanks has created considerable dissension among the engineering staff. There has been much arguing and bickering about who should have the privilege of doing it. It's worth £1 per hour.

There was one 'engineer' who really fought for his rights. And he was really good. He was the best carrier of buckets of shit that ever walked down Park Lane. It would do your heart good to see him. Shaymus was superb. Chin back, chest out, tummy in, erect each foot and firm each step. Nobly he marched through the boiler house and up the stairs. He then deposited it in a steel van. Fact. I think it went to the Houses of Parliament as there was something about Westminster written on the sides of the van.

But alas we are all human. And many humans are weak. Shaymus had a weakness. Alcohol. One Saturday the poor fellow had much too much. And he came in on overtime to carry his buckets. The poor fellow was delivering the buckets and he collapsed. Buckets of the dull yellow substance an' all. It was solid from the bottom of the tank. It sure made a nasty mess. He lost his place as champion shit carrier of the Dorchester Hotel. A famous place. He was deprived of his honoured position. He was a sad man.

The chief engineer is a good humane charitable man. We were all one big happy family there. The chief was the Daddy of them all.

But Shaymus was depressed. He got so confused, he put left-handed threaded nuts on with right-handed spanners. The humane chief got to hear about Shay.

The smooth flow of industrial relations was upset. He thought profoundly for some time. The all-wise chief solved the problem. Shay got a better job where he got more money. And he comes to work with yours truly. His beaming happy physiognomy graced our presence.

When he was asked why unchokeable pumps had to be dechoked, he explained that if such things did not happen there would be no necessity for engineers. Unchoking unchokeable pumps. A man can have a vocational interest in his job, and what can a poor igerant stoker say to an engineer?

Thus, while the Duke of Dulittle and the Duchess of Duless and Lord and Lady Stepladder reclined under a four poster in the arms of Morpheus at 3 a.m., the engineer can be happy unchoking unchokeable pumps. Getting the shsorry, effluvia, out of it. The dull yellow substance. Jack Spratt's ratio of exchange values. At the Dorchester. Nearly under the kitchen. An open tank too. When you are dining there, be cautious with the tornedo and the chateau-briand. The hors-d'oeuvres is OK.

Yours truly was offered the privilege of carrying the dull yellow substance upstairs. Being an anarchist and not mercenary, I at first declined. Then on volunteering to carry it up on condition that the manager would help me, my offer to do it, freely, was refused. I then got to hear about demarcation of employment. How it holds up the national effort. What a selfish beast I was, etc. etc. Backing Britain? I should read the Daily Express. Then I would get ambition. Become a go-getter.

If I would just carry the buckets of shit upstairs, I could rise to the top. As I was just a goddamned anarchist, and not mercenary, I saw that my 'face did not fit' and I left the Dorchester. This seemed to be the crime of the century. But that's another story. Thank you for the space anyhow.

Government had its majority reduced

AGI PROP MIDDLECLASSWISE

THE FABULOUS LIFE OF DIEGO RIVERA by Bertram D. Wolfe. Barrie Books Ltd. £3 10s. LUKE FILDES, RA, A VICTORIAN PAINTER by L. V. Fildes. Michael

Joseph Ltd. £2 2s.
MR. GILRAY THE CARICATURIST
by Draper Hill. Phaidon Press Ltd. £2.

FORTUNATE THE MAN whose life commands a wealth of literary pall-bearers each eager to deify or desecrate the monumental corpse, for only among the sycophantic adulation and the pure black hatred can pale truth, garnished with a wreath of historical facts, intrude. with a wreath of historical facts, intrude. But of all scribblers beware the self-appointed friend drunk with the wine of domestic gossip, wise to every failure and the self-anointed trigger of every major success. Here is the man who will damn the lately-departed with a sweet and tainted phrase and, in the acrimonious interjections that quickly begin to crupt like small scabs within his work of neo-fact, throw into grey relief a portrait of himself turning his subject into an undisciplined mirror of his own unfulfilled desires. Old hurts fester upon the spawning pages and as upon the spawning pages and as object of his exercise sinks into log of his self-pity there floats, a dead dog, to the surface a self-d and cruel image of the bio-

grapher.

Vladimir Nabokov created a history of such a man in his r Pale Fire and any little comrade yearns to play the recording angel for Last Saturday's Great would be well warned to read Nabokov's brilliant treatise on the act and art of selfimmolation. They can range from the unfortunate Rufus Wilmot Griswold, forever damned as the black-hearted enemy of Poe, to the clownishness of Swinburne's friend Watts-Dunton. They can encompass Graves' bitter attack on the death of the poet Roy Campbell to Graves maudling adulation for Lawrence of Arabia—yea, even to the of Dylan Thomas while the fumes oung in the American air.

Those sad and plaintive lines that creep into the scurrying narrative turn silent respect into jeering laughter, and the special pleading earns the reader's contempt for always there are the minor saprophytes ever eager to act out their role as second murderer within the pages of the Statesman, Spectator or The Times Literary Supplement where, with one swift and evil stab with a pen tipped with the poison of a single piece of information, they will turn the biographer's high-minded in memoriam into an embarrassed scream. In 1953 Conrad Aiken, the American poet, submitted to a long interview with Robert Wilbur and towards the end of the ordeal Wilbur asked Aiken Did you ever meet Freud? Wasn't H.D. trying for a while to get you to work with him? to which Conrad Aiken, American poet, replied Freud's influence.

American poet, replied Freud's influence
—and along with his, that of Rank,
Ferenczi, Adler, and (somewhat less)
Jung was tremendous. And I wrote one Freud, to which he never sentence Aiker

turned the whole of his pleasant name-dropping interview into a sick little giggle and brought to life Vladimir Nabokov's fiction and, with this base reality, who would dare to be a Boswell for a plastic Johnson?

Bertram D. Wolfe is such a man and in over 400 pages of his Fabulous Life of Diego Rivera he has sought to establish himself as the candid friend and guiding companion of this eratic 'genius' yet one single incident should be sufficient to sum up the relationship that must have existed between them for Wolfe writes that, on an occasion that must have existed between them for Wolfe writes that, on an occasion when Rivera's wife Guadalupe Marin attempted to pad out her Twiggy breasts with a pair of stockings, Rivera reached into her blouse and pulled them out with a delightful roar. A small and unimportant piece of historical gossip yet, and this is what dries the lips when reading this biography, Wolfe adds a humourless and pedantic footnote that At least this was Diego's story, told to me in her laughing presence.

Of Wolfe himself little now need be

said for he has received three Guggenheim Fellowships, served as Chief of the Ideological Advisory Staff of the State Department and the Voice of America, been praised by Edmund Wilson, had his written works translated 16 languages, was at one time a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Mexico, and is one of those characters who will always float to the surface no matter what forms the mire that bogs down the rank and file. Yet, for all that, I doubt if any better book than this will be produced by the Rivera industry. Extremely well documented and with 164 illustrations (unfortunately in black and white), this book should prove invaluable to any who desire a permanent run through of the life of Diego Rivera.

Rivera was born at Guanajuato in 1886 and died in 1957 wrapped in the clammy arms of the Catholic Church after a life spent in the pleasant pastime of taking the piss out of the ecclesiastical establishment. He had no deeplyheld opinions or beliefs and he loved to play out the shallow role of the romantic rebel yet always from an entrenched position with a powerful group. He is a type that the anarchist movements attract and disgorge by the hundreds for they are the nonconformists committed to nothing beyond a public flaunting of their own particular iconoclasm, the poet of protest who insists on wearing hobnail boots when dining with bankers, the younger son of the Great Landed Gentry who joins the

with bankers, the younger son of the Great Landed Gentry who joins the Communist Party before settling down as a gentleman farmer. It is an infantile romanticism that harms only those unnticism that harms only those nates who are carried along in ional wake of some unstab

individual.

Always Rivera sought to become the centre of attraction and always he invited expulsion and the State and the Communist Party and Big Business took back their erring child for they had a use for the talent that he so profligately expended and that use was to decorate their walls. A brilliant draughtsman and a magnificent craftsman, he always

talents into the public domain and this talents into the public domain and this he found by marrying the ancient art of the Mayas and the Aztecs to that of the revolutionary mood of the Mexican peoples. And the State gave him wall after wall upon which to paint vast frescoes to the glory of the common people and to the revolution while out in the hot sun the people continued to labour at their tasks under their new masters.

Rivers took withit asking the Mexical Control of the control of the

Rivera took, withut asking, the Mexi-en workers and elevated them into religion as he did with the American workers when, with a down-payment of 10,000 dollars from Edsel Ford, he undertook to help decorate the Detroit Institute of Arts and he offered his employers a middle-class prole version employers a middle-class prole version of Michelangelo's Holy Family with a sturdy workerchild held by Mary the Nurse as Joseph the Physician vaccinates it, while behind them Three Wise Scientists peer into the future. If Rivera for a brief while, and this I believe he did, gave a dignity to the humble Mexican people, then he justified his craft but it was a sentimental and superficial approach that cries its failure in the very fact that the very forces superficial approach that cries its failure in the very fact that the very forces that oppressed paid for the finished versions and did not hesitate to put them on public display for why should they fear these myths of middle-class romantic radicalism?

Diego Rivera has lived out his life to the full in his own particular fashion and the gay and gaudy reproductions of his work have now given way to the posters of American gangsters while

of his work have now given way to the posters of American gangsters while the Mexican people continue to sweat out their working lives in the hot sun of their master's lands. Wolfe should have turned to L. V.

Wolfe should have turned to L. V. Fildes for instructions on how to produce a hagiology for this biography of the Victorian Royal Academy painter Luke Fildes is a work of charm and self-effacement on the part of the painter's son. The names of the Victorian great from Dickens to Edward VII. torian great from Dickens to Edward VII form a many-stranded thread to bind this story of the fashionable painter of that day and hour yet they are used with an air of familiarity of a man firmly entrenched within his powerful social strata for Luke Fildes painted the kings and queens of Europe and his bill for payment made them respect him for he dealt, not in the small coins of public applause, but in thousands

of guineas. For a narrative painting he could ask and get 2,500 guineas and pay a Trooper in the Life Guards a shilling a morning to pose for one a shilling a morning to pose for one of the central characters while the son could write, without irony or patronage, of his mother's maids fluttering 'below

of his mother's maids fluttering 'below stairs' on the mornings when the gallant Life-Guardsman was due for a sitting.

And if you, little comrade, wearily cry that you neither know nor wish to know of Fildes' work remember that his painting of the saintly bearded doctor sitting out the long night hours at the bedside of a small child was as potent a piece of social propaganda for the middle-class medical hacks as Picasso's Guernica painting was to prove forty years later in another cause in another context. L. V. Fildes offers a portrait of a society that could conportrait of a society that could implate no answer to the evils neir own society created beyond of individual charity and in their litera-ture they did not hesitate to record this cancerous evil while Fildes, in common with other brilliant black and white illustrators, faithfully recorded white illustrators, faithfully recorded what they found for Dickens and the daily press but the highest rewards were for the oil paintings and the sharp bite of the seeing pen gave way to the sentimental brush that churned out a class slop as welcomed as Rivera's, for in 1876 the critic of The Times made the point for them all when he wrote that the painter is under a wrote that the painter is under a mistake who brings big dirty boots, squalling and scrambling children, etc., into pictures meant to adorn English living rooms.

Who said art is classless? But for these professionalism one is left with

who said art is classicss. But to sheer professionalism one is left with Draper Hill's Mr. Gilray the Caricaturist where Gilray's life and social environment form the studied background to his art for here in this scholarly book is the life and time of Gilray, the Peter Simple of his age, a magnificent hater who sold his brilliant pen to the highest bidder and publicly and openly despised the buyer. We who are weekly opposed to everything that Gilray propagated may loath his politics and his social attitudes but when Diego Rivera and Luke Fildes, RA, share a common forgotten corner in some life and time of Gilray, common forgotten corner in some dealer's cellar Gilray's black genius will

ARTHUR MOYSE

WOBBLY

Continued from page 3

criticisms of the black bourgeoisie, but only that they are not helping enough in the struggle, because they are too integrated into present-day American society. The poor black people have not yet experienced a black bourgeoisie not yet experienced a black bourgeoisie with power—the power to keep the poor blacks down and themselves on top. Neither have they yet experienced the inevitable betrayal by a black political party. The authors suggest that independent black political parties be established in the south; in this way 110 counties could be controlled, but they would still have to deal with the imperialist state and federal governments. But these political parties would be imperialist' state and federal goverments. But these political parties would be different. Each black politician would be responsible to his constituents; he could be recalled at any time and another would take his place, if he did not do what his constituents wanted. The conflict between what the party wanted (assuming the probability that each party would not be limited to one constituency) and what the electors wanted, is not considered. Yet here is the seed of anarcho-communism, which, if allowed to grow, would provide freedom.

which, if allowed to grow, would provide freedom.

The difficulty is over the meaning of words. What do the authors mean by 'political party' and 'government'? 'Black power could establish a viable government, based on a new and different set of values—on humaneness, and serve as an example of what civilised government could be in this society.'

Any inclination for black people to do down black people would not only be overcome by the constituents' power, but by the sense of unity, of community, of the brotherhood of black people. After centuries of degradation they are to create a positive image of themselves. I do not think the authors should place much hope in this idea of a fraternal union embracing all of one colour if they intend to use the present governmental structures (and here there is a divergence between what they suggest for Lowndes County and Tuskegee, and what they say in other parts of the book), as they themselves admit that white people do down other white people; it is only when they are up against a black person that they unite. But black people are to run their own affairs, so black organisations will be led and staffed by black people.

And so the question arises. Is Black

Power racist? Most of the time the authors point out that racism is what they are attacking. They define racism as 'not merely exclusion on the basis of race, but exclusion for the purpose of subjugating or maintaining subjugation'. If one accepts this definition, Black Power, as expounded in the book, is not racist. The best parallel to make would be, I think, Celtic Nationalism: if one finds this racist, one would find Black Power racist. (But, and this is important, the sons of English immi-grants to Scotland became grants to Scotland become integrated Scots, but black people cannot unite with whites, as yet, in America, white people will not have them.

However, some of Carmichael's speeches to black people are another matter. It seems to me that their result, intended or not, would be to stir up hatred against all white people. Inter-national Times has reported that a Black Power HQ in Britain welcomes white women, but does not allow white men in: this is the sexual psychology

But here we are concerned with the book. The authors say, 'In the end we cannot and shall not offer any guarantees, that Black Power, if achieved, would be non-racist.' There seems to be two reasons for this. First, they do not see Black Power as fixed, and they do not want to predict human behaviour. Secondly, that 'white society is not entitled to reassurances', a whisper of 'Vengeance, Baby', to keep white of 'Vengeance, Baby', to keep people slightly worried.

The ultimate reason for this is that black people see themselves as having been betrayed by liberals and reformists. They refuse to have anything to do with the two major US parties, socialism, communism, non-violence as a principle, and middle-class values. (They also want to free white people from misery-making middle-class values.) Different political and economic forms are called for to create a free and open society: for to create a free and open society:
Black people should create rather than
imitate—create new forms which are
potentially inclusive, rather than imitate racist forms, which are politically

I could give many quotations on revolutionary themes, calling for power to be held by those at the 'bottom'. The ideas suggested include many put forward by anarchists: parents' and teachers' control of schools, tenants' control of housing, rent strikes, and others which anarchists could well adopt such as a boycott of merchants who do not re-invest their profits in the

local area.

Here are lots of areas for agreement and unity, but be careful! The Black Power people are not taking any advice from white people. They have had too much experience of racists and liberals, and not enough of social revolutionaries. If you want to get involved, there is a whole chapter devoted to this subject in the book which every anary

there is a whole chapter devoted to this subject in the book, which every anarchist should read in full.

Ultimately the authors see the need for a social revolution involving both white people and black people, but the poor whites will not move until they see the lowest class, the poor blacks, having success. It is then hoped that they will adopt black people's goals and methods.

Perhans I have somewhat countries.

Perhaps I have somewhat overstressed those areas in the book with which I disagree, so to end on a different note, I would say that the actions of black people in America, in attacking white exploiters rather than whites in general, it is recorded for extension that a social give grounds for optimism that a social revolution could develop from Black Power.

BOB BLAKEMAN

We've Moved

see page 2

ANARCHY 87

The Penal System

ANARCHY is Published by FREEDOM PRESS at 2s. on first Saturday of every month

BURY ME IN MY BOOTS by Sally Trench, Hodder & Stoughton, 1968, 25s.

REPRESSION is an essential psycho-R logical mechanism, and its wholesale use by the exploiting classes enable them to go about their life of crime with clear consciences and honest faces. Occa-sionally one of them, bolder, more sensitive, more generous than the rest, lays himself open to the truth, open to the pressure of social facts.

the pressure of social facts.

When this happens, an overpowering sense of guilt arises in the individual, the cause of which is often not seen at first, but which must be found if the person is not to be destroyed by it. Some never understand it and become acute neurotics. Others, blessed with a capacity for analysis, are able to find the cause of this overpowering emotion, and come to this overpowering emotion, and come to identify completely with the revolutionary forces. The aristocrat amongst the anarchists is a rare but recognisable example of this type. But most of them, their analytical abilities severely dam-aged by repressive education, struggle valiantly to understand themselves, and expiate their guilt in furious activity This book is really about one of these.

This book is really about one of these. Sally Trench, 17, a very self-confident but otherwise conventional upper-class Catholic, with a 'good' job as a PRO assistant, coming back to London one weekend, bumped into an old woman dosser on Waterloo Station. Noticing several more, she went home, and, that night, unknown to her family, slipped out of the house, with a thermos of coffee and some sandwiches, back to Waterloo, to feed the poor.

From my own experience, I know her excitement at this moment must have been intense. For years you have had

been intense. For years you have had drummed into you all that religious stuff about feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, etc., and at last you have been able to put some of it into practice. For the first time you really feel you are doing something worthwhile. To do something so obviously necessary as feeding hungry people; it's a blinding

revelation!
With terrific energy Sally attempts to live up to this revelation. Continuing her feeding of the dossers, she works part-time at the Goldborne Centre, an ex-prisoners' hostel off the Portobello Road, and, when she meets the founder of the Simon Community, Anton Wallich-Clifford, she gives up her job and joins the Community, organising and speaking at meetings, travelling and running the

various Simon Houses of Hospitality. Of course she overworks, and after 2½ years collapses in the street and is carted off to a mental hospital. Most people would have had enough by now but not

her.

Discharging herself after a week or two, and needing to work on her own, she decides to take in the beatnik and drug scene of the Soho clubs and Trafalgar Square. But the beats are triangle square. The poor old dossers (who are usually willing to be friendly to anyone who takes an interest in them) and are pretty hostile. But after a while her bounce and toughness, and willingness to take all the shit and harassment that the beat has to put up with, make her acceptable, and some of them even become interested in helping her to feed the dossers. So she decides to set up some sort of communal pad where they can all live. She approaches a certain Lady Henriques for some help to do this and Henriques for some help to do this and there follows an absurd scene where Her Ladyship says she will only help if they will all get jobs! Sally sadly agrees and gives up this idea. Accepting some motherly advice from Lady Bountiful, she goes off and enrols in a 'Youth Leadership Course' at Birmingham Uni-

It all reads rather like a girl's adventure book. She is always getting into tight corners, involved in fights, attacked by crazed junkies, chased by fuzz out of crazed junkies, chased by fuzz out of derelict houses, getting nicked on suspi-cion, getting people into hospital and bailing them out of jail, saving them from fires and from suicide, all related in a bossy, no-nonsense, head prefect style. It's hard not to like her but one does wish she would grow up. One feels she plunges into all this frantic activity in order to avoid identifying the real in order to avoid identifying the real causes of social injustice. She wants, in a sense, to have her cake and eat it, to retain her upper-class Catholic identity with all its mores and prejudices intact, and yet to identify with the poor and

the outcast.

But Sally should read the Gospels more carefully, and come to see that it is necessary for her to put on a new personality and to repudiate the old. If she is to give herself completely to the work of liberating mankind, she must not let even her most cherished beliefs stand in the way. Let us hope when she comes to fight this far greater struggle with herself that her courage and spirit will not desert her.

Peter Lumsden.

PETER LUMSDEN.

Dear Editors.

My letter concerning anarchist view-points on Vietnam, the March 17 demo and its effects and FREEDOM's comments on it (April 20) was largely misunderstood or consciously or unconsciously distorted by Christie and Co., Mitchell and Blakeman (April 27). Christie's also contained vicious libels. I'll how. Please compare my letter with the critics' inaccurate versions of But first a concession.

(1) 'Cannons' satire and Christie's allegation that I repeated a police lie seem justified. I did, unknowingly, since I wrote the letter before the lie about the policeman's fractured spine had been exposed or before I'd heard it. The editors published the letter weeks later after I'd given up hope that it They could have told me and I would have sent a correction or they could have cut the part themselves. They didn't and some readers were misled. (The onus was on Comrade Featherstone. His long letter, and this one, is contrary to our editorial request to keep letters to 250 words.

(2) Christie calls me a police glorifier, sympathiser and, practically, a police agent. See my letter for condemnation of police brutality, provocation of violence, clumsiness, framing and the suggestion that we should say to a particular policeman 'why we hope he'll make his own decision to leave the police force whose existence we think as harmful as the violence done to See my Peace News article (April 26) for the application of this suggestion to all police and armed forces and other recommendations for resistance to the state, which, if distorted by the authorities, could earn me a possible of over 20 years in prison.

If we want to eliminate the police and forces and state they defend, we've got to deal with the real situation, not project fantasies of our own onto it. I don't glorify the police, but just try to get at the truth of their behaviour in a particular situation with the aid of the report of the NCCL, which we can trust more than most. Lying about the police or attacking them violently is not likely to make them decide to leave the State's service.

A main point of my letter was to show how the March 17 violence strengthened the support of the police by most of the public after the rightly growing and increasingly distrust based on the Challoner case, the treatment of many non-violent demonstrators, the Sheffield Rhino whip case, the recent repeated mishandling of identification evidence, etc. Donald Rooum did some of the best work for anarchism in the '60s by exposing Challoner and the others at West End Central. (I did much investigation and reporting for Peace News of this and the reports (like those of FREEDOM) were widely used by the national press and in Mary Grigg's book.) But now police don't havt to plant offensive weapons on some demonstrators and this creates the situation where they can more convincingly frame others as does violence. Here, and in non-violent demos, the advantage was that you could often put the police clearly and publicly in

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KEEP IT UP!

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LETTERS Godfrey Featherstone replies to critics

the wrong and clearly reveal their true function and violence. We should learn lessons from the Leveller mutinies and those of 1797 and 1917 and the police strike of 1919, but, if we lie and use violence, violent or non-violent equivalents of these are never going to occur.

Police agents? I've been arrested many times for demonstrating and speaking, helped found the Yorkshire Committee 100 and organised civil disobedience, helped to organise the Hampstead forces leaflet and have assisted troops to leave, was joint author of the Hampstead Mail Interception and Telephone Tapping which created a national outcry about police methods and am prepared in every way to assist US draft resisters. Christie, who is going on trial for ossessing the Vietnam imitation dollar leaflet, should look among his friends and letter co-signatories for a police agent before inventing libels about people he's never met. Will his associates say how we can help him fight this ridiculous charge? One suggestion in previous cases was to present one of these leaflets to a bank asking it to be cashed and then to use the refusal as evidence

(3) Christie writes: 'Medical aid "to both sides"; send money for General Franco's bedsocks. No, not bedsocks, but aid for the victims of napalming and mass-bombing and torture by the US and the victims of NLF mines, mortar shells, flame throwers and the dependants whose relatives have been shot in massacres or tortured to death or disembowelled by the NLF, who desperately need help now. Christie and his friends brutally callous attempt at humour at these people's expense reveals their true worth very precisely. The appropriate comment on this (and on Mitchell's comment on the police: These people have no claims on our humanity, their lives count for little') comes from J.M.'s front page article on Powell and racialism: 'In politics expediency is all; and when the crunch

comes, human beings are nothing. (4) Christie calls me a 'liberal' and an 'authoritarian' pacifist 'in the Dick Sheppard tradition who 'equates anar-chism with non-resistant Christianity'. An atheist, I believe in the abolition of all states and every hierarchy of authority by non-violent revolution and in all forms of non-violent direct action, civil disobedience, resistance, coercion and revolution. I disagree strongly with the small minority among pacifists who are 'non-resisters' who rely on and, in many things, submit to 'constitutional I connect up class, race and international conflicts and identify my pacifism with anarchism, because I believe that nuclear war can be avoided and disarmament achieved by the nonviolent abolition of all states. Conflict and struggle can't be eliminated, indeed they must be created sometimes, but I believe the only effective methods to reach anarchist ends are those of non-violence. Christie calls me 'authoritarian', yet it is he who wishes to ban me from FREEDOM, not vice-versa.

(5) I pointed out that, if violent demos continued, some demonstrators or policemen might die. Christie evades the point about demonstrators and asks: What would their attitude be to a situation vaguely resembling Spain 1936? "A fascist might be killed 1968, cruel and vicious though it is, is not Spain 1936 or Christie would be dead, tortured to death by fascists, or, if he escaped that, possibly killed by treacherous communists. (Comrade Featherstone forgets that Stuart Christie as a foreign national was in a different position to Delgado and Granados who were garotted.—EDS.)

To answer directly. I'd have fought in Spain, but I'm a pacifist now, because the making and spreading of nuclear weapons has totally transformed the historical situation. The political naiveté in even remotely comparing the attempt to break into a London square to break a few windows with Spanish resistance to fascism is scarcely credible. In Britain, 1968, a tiny minority of anarchists divided into nine strands of belief and divided right across them by the violence-non-violence differences has to face its real situation. It must resist authority wherever possible, but its main task is persuasion and education, including non-violent propaganda by deed, in order to make the anarchist movement powerful in numbers. A punch-up, breaking a few windows, even playing with bombs, which may injure or kill innocent people: these are not just irrelevant, they are positive hindrances to anarchism's progress.

That's the situation we've got to work from and, for a long time, the main business needs to be persuasion,

through non-violent propaganda by deed as well as words, to make the anarchist movement Powerful in numbers. This won't be done by a punch-up to decide whether or not we can go into a London square to break a few windows—or by playing with bombs which, however careful the preparation, always risks the injury or deaths of innocent people who come on the scene unpredictably.

(6) Christie's confusion is finally exemplified by his description of anarchists 'ranging from the majority view that most anti-war demonstrations should be joined, to those who draw the line at working with the supporters of a Ho Chi Minh victory Of course most anti-war demonstrations should be joined, but March 17 was not anti-war, but pro-war, for the military victory of the NLF and the extension of a communist dictatorship. This was the main argument of my letter and the crux of my disagreement with the letters of Christie, Mitchell and Blakeman and the comments of Rety and Hicks in the March 23 issue.

I have no objections at all to anarchists going to the pre-demonstration meeting or to the place where the demo is going to be held to put, in argument, or by selling FREEDOM the Neither Washington nor Hanoi' case, but I do object to them joining in the demonstrations for military victory and a communist dictatorship just as I would to them joining 'the people in the streets', if they were dockers supporting racialism or thorough-going fascists.

We are, as Bob Blakeman says, antifascist and anti-imperialist, but equally, if we are, in fact, anarchist, we are against communist dictatorships and against communist (state-capitalist) imperialism. Those Marxists and Trotskyists who believe in a dictatorial state (and there are some who don't) are part of the same enemy, not our allies. And it is no good, as Blakeman does, melodramatically writing that 'We know the statists are our enemies, but this time we will be ready when they attack us'. It is during the struggle by such a 'popular front', not afterwards, that statists begin destroying anarchism and that communists destroy their allies, statist or not. This is the repeated experience from the time of the Russian revolution, to the communist attacks and take-over in the Spanish Civil War, to Ho Chi Minh's betrayal of some elements and elimination of all other elements in the Viet-Minh, to the Algerian FLN's wiping out of the MLN and the killing, imprisonment or exile of all other revolutionary elements which has led to Boumedienne's military dictatorship, to what is bound to happen when the NLF take over in Vietnam.

Both the Communists and the Ameri-

cans have already used the March 17 demonstration on their mass media for their own ends. In their reports which we have no effective way of countering, they'll both have given the impression to the majorities in their empires that 'the Left' in Britain is violent, pro-war and for an NLF victory. In the US, they'll have used it to smear our antiwar movement and theirs and to suggest that it was communist inspired and, in the communist countries, including North Vietnam, they'll have used it to suggest that the anti-war movement is communist or sympathetic to communism and to military victory. There will have been no mention whatsoever of anarchists or their policy of 'Neither Washington nor Hanoi'. In Britain we know for certain that the majority of the press have smeared the anti-war movement with the thuggery of a prowar and violent minority who were a minority even on the March 17 demonstration itself.

(7) I. R. Mitchell complains of 'the repeated assertions that if you are not non-violent you are fraudulent and hypocritical to call yourself an anarchist' and that the formal anarchist movement has not traditionally been non-violent. First, Mitchell has misread what I said. I said and still say that it is hypocritical for anarchists to support in action and effect the extension of a communist dictatorship, while opposing it in words and proposing non-aligned demonstra-I also wrote of 'thugs who fraudulently appropriate the words "anarchists" and "peace".

There, I first meant those who do

take these labels precisely because they need an outlet for their frustrated violent neuroses: some people calling themselves anarchists in Russia and Spain committed as vicious atrocities as any of their opponents. Secondly, I meant those anarchists who claim to be 'anti-war', but in actual situations are for violence and war when it suits them and against it when it does Of course many anarchists have, in the past, committed violence and often, though far from always, have been right to do so, though its effectiveness for their own ends was even then very questionable. In the nuclear age, the whole historical situation has been transformed and anarchist methods have to be transformed to put anarchism into effect, if they are not finally to serve statists' ends as they did in all those historical examples Mitchell gives.

FREEDOM'S editors wrote that there is a need for non-aligned demonstrations in sympathy with the people of Viet-Again, I repeat that I agree absolutely with this. Let's begin to organise such demonstrations and not parasite ourselves onto the demonstrations of people who are as much our enemies as the Western capitalists, demonstrations which are used by capitalists and state-capitalists alike to give the impression to the majority of people who read about them or see them on newsreels that all the demonstrators have precisely the opposite ends to those of anarchists.

> Fraternally, GODFREY FEATHERSTONE.

FIFTH COLUMN

It can happen! HOW VIOLENT were the students

in last week's Battle of Paris? A lecturer who took part in the student demonstrations wrote to the Observer: The students were neither trained nor

armed, and on no occasion did they riot, attack the police or set fire to shops. To prevent incidents, certain students even created a 'service d'ordre', linking arms to hold back over-enthusiastic elements. This was a more or less spontaneous activity, as was the building of barricades on the Friday night (with the police just keeping their distance and trying to look unconcerned).

Cohn-Bendit, the student leader, was himself on the barricades calling for calm and asking demonstrators to refrain from any deliberate provocation of the police. To talk of 'political com-mandos' is ridiculous. The students' principal aim was simply to 'dig themselves' in until negotiations took a turn for the better. When the police finally attacked, at 2.20 a.m., some students were already asleep on the pavement.

Violence apart, the French students have gone further in a revolutionary direction than the Japanese, Americans, Germans. They have succeeded not only in forcing the state to make concessions but in spreading their revolt to the industrial working class. It is true that the official trades union and political organisations have asserted their own power by calling for strikes: the significant fact is that they were forced to do this by the action of the students.

The students have demonstrated on the streets that they will not accept the invasion of the university by the state. In the university itself they have begun to establish their own forms of organisation. And by their attempts to join forces with the industrial working class they have shown that their challenge to the state is serious.

De Gaulle's government may fall: the French state will not. But things in Europe will never be quite the same

It will not be possible for revolutionary theorists to say that students are bourgeois counter-revolutionary force. It will not be possible for opponents of revolutionary ideas to argue that mass

action against the state cannot happen. The bureaucrats have been given a warning-the people an example.

He's the Greatest!

I had doubts about using that inflammable word bastards. It has inspired one reader to send me, anonymously, a small torn piece of paper inscribed with the words:

You are the bastards. Enoch is the greatest of all men.

Indeed: the greatest bastard in Britain.

WYNFORD HICKS.

THE GROVE is changing, there is little doubt about that; it's changing like all fashionable ghettos into a semi-arty, semi-middle-class, Peeping Tom district. The immigrants are trend-setters of white middle-class background who have come mainly to look at the blacks and the Irish and catch their kicks off polite conversation with a little bit of hip

Like, 'yes man, there was this spade who lived across the landing from me, man he was like a gas, he had all them white chicks he was living off, and one day he called me into his room, which was dirty, and the furniture was really bad . . . man he rolled a joint and turned me on.' This conversation of course takes place in Kensington Church Road at the Saturday night swinger away from it all. Hip talk is all the rage these days, and every black is a spade, and every nigger becomes 'man'; some of these petty subverters even get themselves 'groovy black chicks' and take them down the King's Road on a Saturday morning on a string.

Others, the older, liberal-minded once arty pet lovers, attach themselves to ghetto property, because they want to show the world, especially themselves, how really liberal they are. So they pay big money for ex-black rooming-houses, then spend four and five thousand pounds re-doing them, and let the two top floors to young 'hip white kids' squeezing the immigrant black further down the Harrow Road.

To date, they have reached as far as Talbot Road and soon they will cross over into Westbourne Park Road. They work almost hand in hand with the Council, Kensington and Chelsea. The Council being politicians with commercial interests and influence, build

The Writing On The Wall

huge towers, fill them with misguided working middle-classes, the politics of these Towers in terms of votes depends on which Party is in power by the time the Towers are ready for occupation. A Conservative Council (since this is the one in power) build just enough Towers in any particular ward to swing the balance in terms of votes in their favour. This being done, they have a show-piece, and safe electoral support.

The Grove reeks with political robbers and social working subverters. And not one of them mentions the fact that the 'ghetto proper' is divided conveniently between three different local authorities. By dividing the area of discontent in this way, the powers that be make sure that 'the ghetto' remains divided against itself. Using race is the most effective way of keeping the whites and blacks divided . similarly by calling the Irish 'drunken bastards' they divide the English workingclass from the Irish . . . by mixing the Irish and the blacks together and giving each a slogan to use against the other THE MAN swings.

I spoke with the Mayor of Kensington recently (I was a 'heckler', he was his Lordship) The Mayor said: The Farmer and the Ploughman should be friends. He was introducing the interracial council to 'The Grove' in the Town Hall. Together with cops from Scotland Yard . . . local Superintendents, and welfare workers. I asked the

Mayor if he would like to take the opportunity to discuss with all the blacks in the audience the reason for his being at such a meeting. He told me to shut up or else he would use the police to evict me. Bellowing deep into his microphone he shouted, 'You can't shout me down in my own Town Hall, I've got a microphone. I can shout louder than you.' I said, 'Yes, baby, let me hear you.

Back in the jungle slogans begin to appear on the walls. Big red and black letters sprayed in jungle type

DYNAMITE IS FREEDOM NEVER WORK NAMELESS WILDNESS HANG ALL LANDLORDS-BLACK AND WHITE EXCESS LEADS TO THE PALACE OF WISDOM

BURN BABY BURN There is only one thing wrong with all this. I live in 'The Grove'. If anyone wants to burn or dynamite any place, please leave where I live because by burning down 'The Grove' you won't affect the MAN in the least.

In the meantime there is a film being made in ST. STEPHENS GARDENS called 'Two Gentlemen', all about blackness and whiteness. I got a telegram from out of the sky offering me the leading role. I phoned up the source and turned it down. Lots of 'The Grove' black hustlers have landed parts, and I read some place of another being made up Portobello Road.

I expect the cultural programmes to follow, and the summer camps, and the black candidate, and the black headmaster. BUT it's all leading to one thing, 'BACKS AGAINST THE WALL MOTHER FUCKER'. I wonder whose voice will echo thus.

COURTNEY TULLOCH.

Facing the Same Problems

TOKEN STOPPAGES are very rarely a successful method of attacking an employer. They are really only a way of letting off a bit of steam. They dislocate production, but this can soon be made up and profits are not really affected.

This is what happened on Wednesday, when the engineering unions came out on strike in pursuance of their claim for a substantial increase in basic wage rates, not based on increased productivity. The strike was 'pretty well 100% success throughout the country'. In many cities, marches and meetings were held and at a number of these a call went out for an all-out stoppage. But for many it was just another strike, a day's holiday or at least a day off from work, when they caught up with the chores at home.

However, it did not hit the employer very hard. British Leyland might have lost 4,000 vehicles worth £2m., but, due to there being plenty of warning of the stoppage, much of the loss was averted or can be made

For those who see Hugh Scanlon's

Contact Column

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

Liverpool Vietnam Demo. Saturday, May 25, 2.30 p.m., St. Georges Plateau, Liverpool, followed by march to American Consulate

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

Australian Comrades! Bronwen Lee, c/o Jansen, 48 Kyre Avenue, Kingswood, 5062, South Australia (forwarding address only), English comrade (girl) hitching around Australia wants to meet local comrades.

Walk-on at Upper Heyford USAF base with 'Green Beret', 'ACT' and various other leaflets at approx. 2.30 p.m., Sunday, May 26. Transport from Oxford. For details contact Chris Reeve, 12 Richmond Road, Oxford.

'Risinghill: Death of a Comprehensive School'. Posters advertising Leila Berg's book-for display on school or college notice-boards. Please enclose 6d. stamp. From Libertarian Teachers' Association, 36 Devonshire Road, Mill Hill, N.W.7.

Anarchist Symbol-useful for stickers/ painting walls. Suggestions please. One colour (i.e. outline, not red) black) to Peter Neville, 12 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham 23.

Flat wanted for two girls and two kids. Tired of being discriminated against rotten landowners because of kids. Prefer Islington/Canonbury/ Highbury area. Contact Barbara or Julie at 'Peace News', 5 Caledonian

Road, N.1. Phone: 837 4473.

Loving foster home is wanted for boy (3½ years), pacifist family. Box No. 9 Whitsun weekend camp. Manchester and Liverpool anarchists are having a weekend camp at Whitsuntide, near Llangollen, details from Ron Marsden, 9 Boland Street, Manchester, 14.

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

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

Porton Demonstration. Saturday, June 1 -Meeting at Salisbury Market Square, followed by march to Porton. June 2-Leafletting, June 3-Disinfectant Ceremony. Information from M. Dukes, 25 Cranbury Ave., Southampton,

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

If you wish to make contact let us know.

militant achievement, the decision by the National Committee of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundry Workers (AEF) to call for a token strike instead of a total stoppage, must have been very disappointing. However, it does show that the union machinery still remains in the hands of the 'right

NO PAPERS

What highlighted Wednesday's stoppage, at least in Southern England, was the failure of the national newspapers to publish, because of the unofficial sympathy action by Fleet Street engineers. Some newspapers, The Times, the Telegraph, Express and the Guardian, attempted publication, but were frustrated by members of SOGAT, who refused to operate machines without engineers present to carry out safety functions. Although the AEF leadership did little to dissuade the engineers, SOGAT militants did a good job of agitation to prevent other papers from printing.

The Guardian is very bitter about this. They think they are something special, a muddled liberal view of theirs, which should make for a 'loyalty to one's newspaper'. Their editorial says: 'The AEF is not in dispute with the newspapers, having come to an agreement with them last year. But it chose to involve them for the sake of a political demonstration. Even then, at least some of the newspapers might have appeared; they were near to doing so. But a sense of inter-union loyalty caused some printing workers (a minority, but enough) to prevent publication. Inter-union solidarity is a sound instinct, well warranted by past experience.' They then continue about the loyalty to the newspaper and 'to the public function it fulfils'. But recently the Guardian's loyalty only extended to the owners, when men were sacked in an attempt to stop the financial losses that were

The inter-union solidarity is a good sign and a recognition that problems are linked. It is a mistaken view that because you are in different unions and work in different industries, your problems should be kept to yourself. This view leads to isolation and defeat.

That this is just another strike is also a mistaken attitude, because it is also political. The engineers' Government's incomes policies and its crusade for local productivity agreements. If the engineers fail, then the struggle is that much harder for the next group of workers. Industrial struggles are linked, we all have the same basic problems and we all now face the additional opposition of the State to our claims for higher wages and better conditions.

On top of this, we, as workers, are exploited either by the State or a private employer. The benefits of the wealth that is produced by our labours goes to a minority in our society. It is to maintain this that the Government's incomes policies were devised. Its aim is to increase profit, with greater exploitation of the worker. All workers suffer this exploitation to a greater or lesser degree, according to the strength of their union organisation.

Workers' problems are related. The incomes policies are a means to cure the current capitalist crisis. Other countries have faced the same situation and their Governments have carried out similar policies. France is an example of this and workers there are now in revolt against the consequences of these policies, which have brought them a lower standard of living, increased exploitation and increasing unemployment. So the problems facing the British workers here are basically the same as those of their French brothers. Students also face similar problems, with low grants, very little say in the running of their colleges, just as workers have little control over their jobs.

All are involved in the increased exploitation that is taking place and all should unite to oppose it and the system of which it is a part, with revolutionary ideas. Because we are Anarchists, we do not want to replace one system of exploitation with that of another. We want people to run and control the places in which they work, where goods would be made, under workers' control, for the needs of the community and not for the profit of the few.

It is no good looking to politicians or trade union leaders to do this, we should look to ourselves. We, the people, the workers in the factories. on building sites, on the land, in the hospitals, in colleges and universities, we are the only ones who can do it, by our own efforts. P.T.

election to presidency as a major claim hits slap up against the

INCREASED EXPLOITATION

PUT YOUR HEARTS INTO YOUR WORK THE FIRST heart transplant operation

For Workers' Control

in this country was commercialised into a national achievement, with flags and bunting. It was an outstanding medical and surgical achievement, but the 'I'm backing Britain' badges were sickening, especially as it was an Irish heart that was beating inside Mr. West.

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The donor was a carpenter and he was fatally injured when he fell from scaffolding on the Southwark Borough Council's site in Peckham. This fact was hardly mentioned at the time of the operation. The papers that did only gave it a line or two. However, his workmates stopped work as a token of their sympathy, but also in protest against what they consider are inadequate safety measures on the council's site

The Chairman of the site's Works Committee made the following allegations: 'That there is no full-time qualified first-aid nurse on the site. That a request of the foreman scaffolder to build a "bird-cage" - safety scaffolding - at the place where Mr. Ryan fell about 17 feet to a concrete floor, was turned down several weeks ago.' 'The reason alleged to have been given was that the engineers' specifications did not require such scaffolding. The men vesterday maintained that safety regulations required working scaffolding to be built when men would be working more than six feet six inches from the ground.'

'The safety officer on this site is a real safety officer,' said Mr. Brian Boggans, scaffolder, 'but he has been over-ruled time after time. The management say they can't afford the scaffolding.' The site lacks in other requirements, having only six toilets and two hot water taps for 400 men.

The men also stopped work on the day of Mr. Pat Ryan's funeral. On Wednesday, the whole site downed tools in protest against the sacking of Bro. Finn, Chairman of the Works Committee, and Bro. Boggan, a scaffolder. These men were sacked for 'misrepresentation', along with three other workers. One can only assume the Southwark Borough Council was embarrassed by the interview these two men gave to newspaper reporters. The only paper that printed it was the Morning Star, from which the above quotes have been taken.

At the time of writing, the strike is still on and workers have said they did not want to be sacked for 'talking to the Press about anything'. Southwark's Town Clerk has said that the reports are 'without foundation and incorrect'

On this occasion, the Morning Star should be congratulated for publishing the men's views, for safety measures on building sites leave a lot to be desired. This is equally true with the GLC and other local authorities, direct labour schemes, as well as the private companies.

There are many good safety officers, but their efforts and those of the shop stewards are frustrated by managements and the bureaucrats of the GLC and the Local Authorities. A strict vigilance has to be always maintained by the men, otherwise the management usually lets things slide. The provision that guides safety measures is not the wellbeing of the men, but how much it will cost.

Deaths on building sites are mounting. Twelve men have been killed in the London area already this year. The increasing mechanisation on sites and higher buildings now being put up have produced a heavy toll in lives and suffering. You cannot prevent accidents, but safety regulations must be adhered to and if the management fail in this, then the workers should force them to.

Unfortunately, the regulations are either inadequate or full of loopholes, through which the employers wriggle. It needs an all-out campaign to tighten up on safety. The Hammersmith and Kensington Trades Council is starting such a campaign to gain safeguards on screw jacks, used in jacking up tower cranes when new sections are added. A recent fatal accident on a council site in the area happened when this jacking process was taking place and the jack sheared through metal fatigue. The provision of a ratchet would probably have saved the man's life. Here again it is a matter of cost and the Board of Trade's regulations do not require such safeguards on lifting equipment of this sort.

Union organisation on sites is one of the best safeguards against accidents. Without the shop steward's vigilance and the threat of organised action, things would be far worse. However, more stringent regulations are needed, with independent safety officers on all large sites and regular visits to the smaller ones.

The building worker does not want to become the supplier of hearts, but wants to work in a safe industry.

P.T.

THE MAY DAY COMMITTEE

THE LONDON WORKERS May Day Committee, which organised the march of more than 2,000 workers and students on Wednesday, May 1, will be kept in being. This was decided by a (most of whom had taken part in the workers to reject it. The Communist

May 1 march). It was generally agreed that the May Day Committee should be developed into an organisation around which real socialists can gather.

The anti-working class policies of the meeting of about 60 engineers, printers, Labour Government have completely disbuilding workers, teachers and students credited the Labour Party and caused the

May Day in Melbourne

THE MELBOURNE Anarchist Group opened its action by participating in the Trades Hall May Day March and managed to muster 30 comrades which was admirable for a first effort. Especially considering the small amount of active comrades beforehand. Also members of the CNT were marching and together we appeared quite strong.

The NLF flag wavers were out in force but their docile acceptance of the local Union hacks May Day platitudes left them overshadowed by the Red and Black/Black flag people who did not accept. Subsequently the Anarchist presence was noted and the response in terms of enquiries and arguments after

the rally, made for quite a worthwhile sojourn into the 'left wing' ranks. Next year we plan to hold our own May I activity with the view to bigger and better things.

The London May I rally made newspapers in Australia but was concerned mainly with the Powell incidents. rider, however, cleared the Anarchists of such deviations and noted that they and the International Socialists marched under industrial-oriented banners. Also Octavio Alberola has made news space, though generally implying 'Anarchists can't be trusted Comrades'. Shades of the Stuart Christic publicity here.
S. JOHN.

Party, associated as it is with the dictatorial regimes in Russia and Eastern Europe, offers no alternative. It is a dangerous situation into which Powell and the fascists are pouring their racialist

Under these circumstances, an organisation which will take socialist and revolutionary ideas into the working class must somehow be created to urge the destruction of this rotten state-ridden capitalist system and its replacement by a free, socialist society based on workers' control of production and distribution.

All who want to help in this task are welcome. The main activity at this stage will be open-air meetings. The first one was held last Sunday in the East End's 'Club Row' market. All who turned up and spoke, sold literature, and generally helped to make it a success are thanked most sincerely. Now let's carry on the good work. If racialism is to be stopped socialists must get out to the people and make more socialists. You can say what you like on the May Day platformproviding you are for the ending of capitalism. There will be no 'line' and no control over what is said and done Like millions of people everywhere we

are utterly opposed to bureaucratic orders from on high. Give us your support.

Below is a list of meetings that have already been arranged. If you have ideas for other sites for meetings let us know. Write to the May Day Committee, 29 Love Walk, S.E.5, or contact supporters in your area.

JOHN LAWRENCE, Chairman, May Day Committee.

MEETINGS

SUNDAY, MAY 26

Corner of Matthew Road and Cheshire Street, Bethnal Green, at 11 a.m. ('Club Row' Market).

WEDNESDAY, MAY 29

Corner of Ossulston Street and Euston Road, St. Pancras, at 8 p.m. WEDNESDAY, JUNE 5

Camberwell Green, S.E.5, corner of Wren Road, at 8 p.m.

SUNDAY, JUNE 9 Corner of Liverpool Grove and Walworth Road (near East Lane Market,

S.E.17). (We urge all comrades who wish to

peak and sell anarchist literature to go along to these meetings.-Editors.)