

# Freedom

## Anarchist Weekly

6d

JULY 29 1967 Vol 28 No 23

## HEALEY'S MORALE BOOSTER

MR. HEALEY, the Defence Minister, has now completed the job he set out to do when the Government was elected in 1964. He has pared down the military budget, with a saving in defence spending of up to £200m. by 1970-71. The White Paper on the Government's new defence plan includes the withdrawal of troops from Malaysia and Singapore by the mid-1970's. Other cut-backs previously announced are of troops in Cyprus, Malta, Aden and West Germany.

If any party needed something to bolster up its morale, it is the Labour Party. Whether these defence cuts will achieve this depends on how drastically the social services, at home, are cut.

The defence cuts have been made for a number of reasons. There is a need to reduce overseas spending, because of the economic difficulties at home. Now that the war with Indonesia is over, there is no need for a British military presence in the area. But although the bases might be unnecessary, the defence programme still envisages the need to maintain a strategic reserve at home, which could be despatched at short notice to deal with any emergency in the Far East. The Government is still, in fact, thinking of having bases in Australia and staging facilities in the Indian Ocean for use in flying out troops in an emergency. The defence policy is one of contradic-

tions and is only meant to cut cost without any real change. There is still an 'East of Suez' policy.

The chances of a war starting in either Singapore or Malaysia are remote and if opposition did resort to guerilla tactics, the governments would call for British assistance in putting the resistance down. While British troops are being withdrawn from Aden next year, the garrisons in the Persian Gulf are to be strengthened.

British Defence Policy still sees itself very much a part of NATO. 'This contribution will become even more important as we develop closer political and economic ties between Britain and her European neighbours.' This clearly means Britain's possible entry into the Common Market.

Obviously there is less need today to maintain costly military bases when it is possible to fly out troops to deal with any emergencies. This is only a shift in emphasis and does not mean that the Labour Party is not willing to put down any local uprisings by force of arms. It will continue to protect investments overseas, but today there is a shift to Europe and, with economic interdependence, there will follow political and military interdependence.

P.T.

## Federation Out

THE BATTLE for oil continues. Both Federal and Biafra Governments claim advances, but who is doing the actual advancing remains obscure. Both governments claim a fight to the death but it's not the leaders of either side who will do the dying except at the risk of assassination.

The situation in Nigeria is tragic to say the least, the Federal structure was used in the power game of aspiring politicians; prejudices and fears were used to that end. The Federation was doomed to failure from the beginning, there was a constant battle between the three regions who was to dominate the Federation, so the ground which was fertile for trouble, was exposed in tribal conflict. 30,000 Ibos were slaughtered in May, 1966, so it is understandable if Biafra fights literally to the death, they expect no quarter or mercy from Federal

troops.

Biafra has been under Federal Government blockade for over a month now, it was hoped that this would be all that was necessary to break Biafra and bring her back into the Federal fold. To date this has not succeeded, hence the military invasion.

Britain is very worried. She doesn't give a damn who fights, wins or loses, providing the oil keeps flowing. Mr. George Thomas, Minister of State at the Commonwealth Office, was sent to Nigeria for that specific purpose. At the moment oil cannot leave Nigeria because of the Federal blockade. If the blockade was lifted and the tankers moved again and the oil royalties were not paid to the Biafra Government it is more than likely the oil supply would start to dry up. Britain is well and truly in the hot seat, on this one she cannot back both ways. Even the oil produced in the Mid-West Region is 'boxed in' because it has to be channelled through the Biafra port of Bonny which is under Federal blockade. The Mid-West Region is a subscriber to the blockade, so progress is one step forward, three steps back.

The problem is a simple one but the solution is difficult to implement. Confederation is a solution. No matter how progressive we like to feel, there are tribal conflicts which are not likely to be broken down, just because it is the correct thing to do. Biafra's autonomy as an independent state should be recognised, it is up to the people of the Eastern Region if they want to continue with Colonel Ojukwu as a military dictator, remembering the fact that they have just disposed of one set of corrupt chiefs and politicians.

In the final analysis it is the Nigerian people themselves who must decide.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

## ANARCHY 77

ON SALE NEXT WEEK  
DISCUSSES

LIBERATORY  
TECHNOLOGY

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

AMONG the hallowed journalistic clichés of a cliché-ridden age 'the long hot summer of racial violence' has taken its place. Man seems foredoomed, like an impoverished editor of a dull magazine, to every now and then dust off the old type-blocks and run the same old story again. So it seems with the story of this summer in America. But unless, unlike our impoverished and dull editor, we are able to see a different story instead of the usual clichés, we are foredoomed to go on repeating the same story.

It could be that the change in quantity of the American negro riots could be sufficient of a change in quality to make them the negro revolution which Stokeley Carmichael proclaims them to be, but Mr. Carmichael, like all political leaders, is guilty of wishful thinking.

New Society, the sociological weekly, never at a loss for the obvious, has a perfect po-face pronouncement (complete with genuflexion) in an article by Sondra Silverman (July 20), 'Following outlines laid down by Professor Robert Merton, I suggest that rioting is a form of deviant behaviour which arises because of the inadequacies in the social structure. In other words it arises where the cultural goals of success clash with the institutional means for success. Money, education, family stability and middle class mores, what American ideology sets out as a value, are not available to the mass of ghetto dwellers through legitimate institutional means.' It was put rather more succinctly, according to a New York Times reporter, by a woman looter in Newark. 'The brother's got to take everything he gets. Whitey ain't about to get up off anything unless you make him.'

The 'long hot summer' means that negroes must stew in city slums; for them no deep freeze, no air-conditioning plant, no vacationing in the mountains and very few long cool drinks, all of which and more are offered by America's consumer-orientated society, with TV salesmen and the newspapers cooing 'Why don't you get out and down to your neighbourhood store and help yourself to delicious... whatever it is. They do, but not quite in the way that the sponsors thought.

But Whitey doesn't give up that easily. When the figures are given for deaths and injuries, Whitey is not on the losing side and whether these sporadic outbreaks will lead eventually to a revolution is any-

body's guess. Negro anarchists are few but it is obvious that even if he overcomes, he still has his black leaders to overcome. They may have changed from Martin Luther King and Malcolm X to Stokeley Carmichael, but basically they are all the same Simon Legrees.

### BLACK POWER

A few months ago Courtland Cox, one of the leaders of SNCC, spoke at a small CARD house meeting in Islington. The house had been marked with racist slogans which had obviously not been touched or painted over, in order that the memory could be evergreen. The audience was 75% negro.

The speaker gave a short resumé of the history of the negro liberation movement. From 1960 to 1963 the movement's main emphasis was upon integration. The first projects were lunch counter sit-ins emphasising the negro's 'right to sit here'. The notion of the movement was, Mr. Cox said, to become like whites.

The general liberal viewpoint seemed to be that 'a white child in a black school improved the school. A black child in a white school improves the child'. The assumption of American liberals was 'This is an open society'.

During 1960-63 the movement was in danger of falling into the trap of non-violence. They used non-violence merely as a tactic.

The attitude being fostered by non-violence was that what the country wanted to see was someone who would always suffer. The conclusions they had come to were that non-violence was no longer reasonable, integration was too limited (it was an extension of white supremacy) and the whole negro community should 'move together' and the liberation movement would deal with the total community.

In 1944, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party worked through the Democratic Party until Walter Reuther told Martin Luther King that donations from the unions to King's movement would be stopped if King supported the Mississippi Democratic split. The conclusion (at this point) Mr. Cox came to was that political parties are only interested in their own retention of power.

Following this good anarchist conclusion it was somewhat of an anti-climax

that in 1965 the Black Panther Party was formed which was a political party solely controlled by negroes. In Lowndes County, which was 84% black, they had put up candidates but had been beaten by the 'voting machine'.

### RACISM IN REVERSE

Black nationalism was, he claimed, racism in reverse. The previous role of the negro leader had been to act as 'broker' but with the advent of Stokeley Carmichael all that had changed. Stokeley was not an 'Uncle Tom' (i.e. collaborator with the white man).

The 1964 riot in Watts was defended by Carmichael, he described it as a rebellion. What they were aiming for was the unity of the coloured community which must have a readiness to use collective violence. They must build up larger political organs.

The rebellions would continue, the police were guarding a colony but the negroes must get control of the ghetto on every level. With regard to Vietnam and the draft, most of them had decided on individual resistance.

The rebellion at Watts had turned into a riot. He noted with some satisfaction that Dick Gregory had been injured. The stores which had been looted had cheated and robbed negro customers.

Many middle- and working-class negroes resent SNCC because of its tradition. They had to set up a new organization and Stokeley Carmichael has inherited the legacy of Malcolm X. He referred to him as 'the man' and 'the saviour', a little mockingly no doubt but in a self-defensive way.

The change in the negro had been psychological, they were no longer afraid.

In questions and discussion, the speaker claimed that black nationalism was not anti-white. Since the socialist movement was (practically) non-existent in the USA, he saw no hope in socialism. It was not reasonable for them to discuss coalitions with various parties (e.g. the Communists or Trotskyists) until the negroes have strong organization and have bargaining power.

Despite all the negro loss of life in rioting, it does not seem to me that emancipation is any nearer if they pin their hopes to political leaders and political ideas like those of Stokeley Carmichael and Co.

JACK ROBINSON.

## Prepare to meet thy boom

IT IS SOME time now since anarchists have held an effective demonstration by themselves in Central London. We too often find ourselves on demos organised by other organisations and complaining about their ineffectualness, subservience to police marshalling and so forth.

An anarchist demonstration is proposed for August 8 (7.30 p.m. assembly), to protest against the effects of the sonic boom.

This is not the most vital issue we can demonstrate about but it does typify the whole anarchist case for personal decision in determining the quality of our lives without abuse or compulsion from faceless men above.

It is also topical, and therefore 'newsworthy'—an aspect we often tend to ignore in our attempts to propagate anarchism.

The object is to ascertain whether Harold Wilson is as oblivious to deafening noise as various financial and governmental interests have led him to believe he is.

### DETAILS OF DEMONSTRATION

ASSEMBLE between 7.30 p.m. and 8 p.m. on August 8 outside Harold Wilson's home in Downing Street.

MATERIALS. Balloons, paper-bags for bursting, anything producing a loud noise (e.g. bangers, dustbin-lids, cans, etc.).

At the stroke of 8.30 p.m. on Big Ben, one sudden explosion of noise takes

place for the benefit of H.W. and household.

POSTERS—anarchist flags and banners in abundance and posters reading 'Prepare to meet thy boom', and other relevant slogans.

END with a short walk to Parliament Square to repeat the performance at 9 p.m. or 9.30 p.m.

CONTACT any other interested individuals, groups, organisations that you know of. Phone up newspapers, pirate radios, anybody you can think of.

Anarchists often make a noise at CND, YCL, etc., demonstrations. Let them all come and make a noise at ours.

There are hundreds of anarchists in London, and with added numbers from the readership of Private Eye, International Times, and members of the Committee of 100, etc., who have been contacted, a good-sized anarchist-inspired demonstration for once could take place.

Don't be defeated by police control. If they don't let us in to Downing Street (and this depends on us) then the nearest point in Whitehall will do. Most demos recently have been broken up by police moving the crowd on unreasonably, for example Genocide Square.

This does not have to happen, it depends on the crowd, but if we are moved, make for Parliament Square across the road straight away.

As anarchists we have a much-vaunted but recently little-realized tradition of propaganda by deed. Perhaps street

tactics is one of the important things we can learn ourselves, and teach other dissident groups and the remainder of the peace movement. Don't get arrested!

DAVE BURDEN.

## FROM NIC .. IN THE NICK

To the Editors of FREEDOM,

Now that the Brighton church demonstration case is over, and all that is left is for Jim and me to do our two months, I should like to express the gratitude of all eight of us to the people who have helped us in one way or another at one time or another during the last ten months.

One of the most encouraging things about being involved in a case like this is discovering just how many people—some we have known for years, some we have never heard of—feel that they are involved in our movement. Thank you, all of you, and see you again in September.

H.M. Prison,  
Brixton,  
London, S.W.2

NICOLAS WALTER.



# books?

**We can supply  
any book in print**

## PENGUINS

- Of Mice and Men and Cannery Row** John Steinbeck 3/6  
**Human Groups** W. J. H. Sprott 3/6  
**Consumer's Guide to British Social Services** Phyllis Willmott 6/-  
**Selected Poems 1923-58** e. e. cummings 3/6  
**The Worker and the Law** W. W. Wedderburn 7/6  
**The Politics of Experience and the Bird of Paradise** R. D. Laing 4/6  
**The Divided Self** R. D. Laing 3/6  
**Anarchism** George Woodcock 7/6  
**Pioneers of Modern Design** Nikolaus Pevsner 7/6

## PAPERBACKS

- Sahara Conquest** Richard St. Barbe Baker 8/6  
**The Death Ship** B. Traven 6/-  
**The Case of Joe Hill** Philip S. Foner 12/-  
**The Sane Society** Erich Fromm 12/6  
**Fear of Freedom** Erich Fromm 10/-  
**The Common People** G. D. H. Cole and Raymond Postgate 18/-  
**Que'est-Ce Que La Propriete?** P. J. Proudhon 7/6

## CLOTH-BOUND

- Equality and Power** R. V. Sampson 35/-  
**Plays, Prose Writings and Poems** Oscar Wilde 12/6  
**The Sexual Revolution** Wilhelm Reich 25/-  
**Character Analysis** Wilhelm Reich 63/-  
**Selected Writings** Wilhelm Reich 60/-

Postage Extra

## Freedom Bookshop

(Open 2 p.m.—5.30 p.m. daily;  
10 a.m.—1 p.m. Thursdays;  
10 a.m.—5 p.m. Saturdays).

**17a MAXWELL ROAD  
FULHAM SW6 Tel: REN 3736**

## FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

### SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM'

- Vol 3 1953: Colonialism on Trial  
Vol 4 1954: Living on a Volcano  
Vol 5 1955: The Immoral Moralists  
Vol 6 1956: Oil and Troubled Waters  
Vol 7 1957: Year One—Sputnik Era  
Vol 8 1958: Socialism in a Wheelchair  
Vol 9 1959: Print, Press & Public  
Vol 10 1960: The Tragedy of Africa  
Vol 11 1961: The People in the Street  
Vol 12 1962: Pilkington v. Beeching  
Vol 13 1963: Forces of Law and Order  
Vol 14 1964: Election Years  
Each volume: paper 7/6 cloth 10/6.  
The paper edition of the Selections is available to readers of FREEDOM at 5/6 post free.

### VERNON RICHARDS

Malatesta: His Life and Ideas  
cloth 21/-; paper 10/6

### E. MALATESTA

Anarchy Paper 1/-

### ALEXANDER BERKMAN

ABC of Anarchism paper 2/6

### ALEX COMFORT

Delinquency 6d.

### PAUL ELTZBACHER

Anarchism (Seven Exponents of the

Anarchist Philosophy) cloth 21/-

### RUDOLF ROCKER

Nationalism and Culture

cloth 21/-

### CHARLES MARTIN

Towards a Free Society 2/6

### JOHN HEWETSON

Ill-Health, Poverty and the State

cloth 2/6; paper 1/-

### VOLINE

Nineteen-Seventeen (The Russian

Revolution Betrayed) cloth 12/6

(The Unknown Revolution

(Kronstadt 1921, Ukraine 1918-21)

cloth 12/6

### E. A. GUTKIND

The Expanding Environment

(illustrated) boards 8/6

### GEORGE BARRETT

The First Person (Selections) 2/6

### MICHAEL BAKUNIN

Marxism, Freedom and the State

(ed.) K. J. Kenafick (paper) 7/6

### MARIE-LOUISE BERNIERI

Neither East nor West: Selected

Writings (paper) 6/-

JOHN SHARKEY: Conditionally discharged.

GUSTAV METZGER: Fined £100.

AT ELEVEN THIRTY on the morning of Wednesday the 19th of July Gustav Metzger and John Sharkey climbed up into the prisoners' dock within Court 5 at London's Old Bailey to plead not guilty to the charge that they had been responsible for arranging and presenting an indecent exhibition, contrary to Common Law. The jury had been sworn in and they sat there, 12 good and stolid citizens prepared, by order of Her Majesty the Queen, to decide a moral issue.

It was this singular point that the defence counsel tried to hammer into the minds of the jurors when he stated that though it is a common practice for learned judges to pontificate that their court is not a court of morals, in this specific case the jury would have to decide whether the actions performed by Hermann Nitsch was an outrage to public decency or a moral act that could and should be judged in relation to the cultural mainstreams of our particular society.

We who formed the human litter of the court had sat through the epilogue of a case in which three young men were accused of assaulting an epileptic and stealing his few shillings and we had listened as Judge Rogers had dismissed the charge against one youth, placed another on probation and sent another to a Training Centre, and in our hearts we cried, 'Most learned judge', for we chose to believe that here was a man who, if not sympathetic, would at least be understanding.

And so it was that at 11.30 Gustav Metzger and John Sharkey stood in the dock forced to defend the artist's right to act out his creative dreams and inspirations within the privacy of a closed room before a selective audience.

All the emotive polemics that the *Destruction in Arts Symposium* created has now settled like ancient dust and the angry words are but dead echoes in empty rooms. For the court does not question the death of innocence, only the matter of Hermann Nitsch and his part in the St. Bride's Institute performance, for the argument flowed around the question of whether it can be held to be an aesthetic act by Nitsch to show a short film in which he ties a string around his dummy penis and drags the penis from the body through various entrails, or whether the action of stuffing lamb's lungs through Nitsch's trousers fly, in a person to person encounter with the spectators at St. Brides, could be related to the catharsis of Greek tragedy.

Two court reporters, one on duty and one free loading, held that this was an affront to their dignity and, in common with a nameless Sunday newspaper, they 'phoned the Law. It can be accepted that if these two men had not attended this DIAS performance no case would ever have been brought, for this was but a noisy, slightly hysterical giggle that harmed no one but the unfortunate lamb and gave a number of people an exciting evening and a feeling of minor importance.

But unfortunately Green and Crooke, the two court reporters, did attend and did 'phone Scotland Yard and Inspector Smith did come with his men and take names and addresses.

Denied the intimacy of the early Mansion House hearing, Green cut a poor figure with his nervous and repetitive laugh while Crooke's answers to

# THE PRICE OF INDECENCY

questions, though they delighted the defence by their fumbblings, now meant little for these two men had acted out their roles, and the State, in all its awesome and clumsy might, now played this silly game.

But this was no Dostoevskian tragedy as the assault on the epileptic was and the counsel for the prosecution was fat and round and given to simple phrases. He was a man cast in the mould of Serjeant Buzfuz and like the late Serjeant he achieved his effect by speaking innocuous phrases in tones of horror. As Serjeant Buzfuz won the court's approval by quoting, in a voice that trembled with disgust, Pickwick's note to Mrs. Bardell *Dear Mrs. B. 'Chops and Tomato sauce'. Yours Pickwick* so the DIAS prosecution allowed the words art and destruction to roll reluctantly off his tongue, cleansing his mouth only with a pregnant pause.

It was a simple speech given by a

simple man to 12 intelligent men of the world and on a saloon bar level it was effective. The defence however were lucky in their choice of counsel for he played not to the emotions of the jury but to their commonsense.

Quietly and effectively he made the point that certain artists in seeking to destroy academic and traditional forms of art were, by doing so, extending the frontiers of all the arts. He drew his analogies from the emotions that one awakens by watching the burning coals within a fire for as he pointed out in that act of destruction new art forms arose. He spoke of the artist's approach to violence and in an age when carnage is the common coin one must give the artist the right to choose his own materials to communicate his personal vision and one must judge these matters on aesthetic grounds and not on personal likes and dislikes.

It was an intelligent and well-reasoned

speech and, by the luck of the gods, he spoke for the defence.

Gustav Metzger then went into the box as the first witness for the defence and for an hour he made a sympathetic showing but after four hours of questioning by both counsels one knew that somewhere something had gone wrong and one knew that the defence was now left with but two days to make a frantic attempt to recover lost ground.

Inquests will be held for many a long day over this particular trial but the very fact that Metzger and Sharkey were forced to stand in the dock was a victory for those who deny the right of others to speak openly and freely for, by this very action, others will now fear to speak.

Forget the claims of art, philosophy or religion as a justification for free speech and just remember this, that every encroachment on another's liberty is an encroachment on your own liberty.

A single 'phone call and two men stand in the dock with a legal debt that will probably ruin them. Who dares to speak now when the 'phone box is on the corner?

ARTHUR MOYSE.

## A Self-Governing Congress

AT THE TIME of writing, the congress on 'The Dialectics of Liberation' at the Roundhouse has been going on for nine days, and in that time a number of interesting developments have taken place.

The organisation of the congress itself was the first problem. On the first Saturday and Sunday, a great deal of informal discussion went on, small groups formed, dissolved, and re-formed, and people really began to meet and understand each other. So it came as a shock on the Monday and Tuesday to realise that we were expected to be a passive audience all the morning and half the afternoon, while speakers gave formal lectures and panel discussions.

Backs began to ache, and even worse, it became increasingly difficult to talk to one's neighbour—which was what we came for.

A sense of frustration built up until a group of people proposed a general meeting, which was held on Wednesday at 2 p.m., and at which it was decided to abolish the panel discussions, devote all the afternoons to informal seminars, and to have a general meeting every day in which complaints and suggestions could be made and the programme for the afternoons and evenings decided upon.

Thus the congress became self-governing.

During this week, a number of speakers with widely different interests have given their views on the problem that faces mankind.

Stokeley Carmichael gave a compelling picture of the violence and oppression that white civilisation perpetrates upon the coloured peoples of the world.

Gregory Bateson posed the problem of ecology, stating that our mechanised civilisation is upsetting the balance of nature in such a way that it threatens to destroy human life, if not all life, on this planet within 50 years.

Jules Henry described how the interdependence of business, government and the military in the USA makes the American war machine a self-perpetuating system.

Drs. Laing and Cooper described how the violence pervading our society produces pressures within the family that drive children mad; whereupon they are sent to mental hospitals where yet more violence is done to them, with the result that they stay mad.

All this adds up to a gigantic machine of violence, oppression, madness, which crushes us all in greater or lesser degree. Having got an idea of the problem, the next task is to look for solutions.

## More on Free Art

Sirs,

I am sorry to see your paper joining in the campaign to put us out of business. The letter attacking us in the *International Times* was inspired entirely by malice as an attempt to wreck the Free Art Legal Fund. Most of the allegations regarding restriction of copyright are malicious and untrue, and the anecdotes involving myself and Locus Solus, etc., are pure invention. There are certain forms of avant-garde literature on which unscrupulous booksellers make excessive profits by robbing the author and going around the British publisher to import the American edition. This does not have the effect of enlarging book sales and editions that are available, but of making minority books that are already unprofitable, more unprofitable still, because it eventually leads to certain authors finding no publisher in either country. Before jumping in to take sides in a very complicated and technical issue, where it is only too easy to obscure the issues, do you not think that you ought to find out what both points of view are?

Also, I see that whoever wrote the article in your issue of 15th July, has the usual cowardice of anonymous attackers in using a pseudonym.

Regarding John Cage's *Silence*, we have been negotiating to publish the book here for a very considerable time, and had agreed to do so but had not yet

Stokeley Carmichael has his solution: all-out rebellion against white civilisation, with violence if necessary. And only those who know what it feels like to have a black skin have the right to judge him.

Allen Ginsberg has his solution: take LSD and chant mantras; and it was interesting to find that Carmichael and Ginsberg seem to regard their programmes as supplementary to each other rather than in opposition.

Meanwhile, other solutions begin to appear, and no doubt we shall have arrived at some interesting possibilities by the end of the week.

## LETTER

signed a contract as there were considerable difficulties regarding the production. While negotiations were under way, the American publishers agreed not to supply the British market which would, in any case, be very small for a book of this nature. Some booksellers imported it through American sources without the right to do so, and as a result there will now be no British edition. This means that 80% of the British potential is probably lost, that the book cannot be found in public libraries over here, that the author has lost his British royalties (contrary to what is claimed the author gets at most half royalty on an American export and most of the time nothing, and instead of a book being available generally to British bookshops, it can only be obtained through the tight circle of bookshops who signed the original letter to the *International Times*). Very profitable business for them, but let's not pretend they are interested in freedom. At best they are interested in profit by being the only outlets for a certain kind of book, at worst they are helping to bring about a situation where minority literature can only survive with State support, and as officialdom stands at present, your readers can imagine how liberal and forward-looking the State is likely to be.

Yours, etc.,

London, W.1 JOHN CALDER.  
18.7.67

## Anarchist Federation of Britain

(As there is no national secretariat for enquiries, speakers, etc., please contact local groups.)

1967 AFB CONFERENCE. Oct. 6, 7, 8. For details of London venue and proposals for agenda apply to LFA.

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. Temporary address c/o Wooden Shoe, 42 New Compton Street, London, W.C.2. Sunday evening meetings 8 p.m. Lamb & Flag, Rose Street, off Garrick Street, London, W.C.2 (Leicester Square tube).

HARLOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Enquiries to Keith Nathan, 138 Pennynead, Harlow or John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping.

LEWISHAM. Locations of meetings temporarily altered because of new baby. Further details of meetings from 61b Granville Park, S.E.13 or ring LEE 8879.

NORTHOLT ANARCHISTS. Contact: Jim Huggon, 173 Kingshill Avenue, Northolt, Middlesex.

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

### OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

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

### REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

ALTRINCHAM ANARCHIST YOUTH GROUP. Get in touch with Stephen Richards, 25 North Vale Road, Timperley, Cheshire.  
BERKELEY GROUP. Correspondence to

Michael Day, 86 Rosemount Place, Aberdeen.

BEXLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence to Paul Wildish, 2 Cumbrian Avenue, Barnehurst, Kent.

BELFAST. Contact: Tony Adams, 11 Winetavern Street, Smithfield Square, Belfast.

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Geoff Charlton, 8 Lightwoods Hill, Bearwood, Smethwick, 41. Regular meetings at Geoff and Caroline's above address, top flat. First Wednesday of month.

RESISTANCE GROUP. C/o Birmingham Peace Action Centre (formerly CND office), Factory Road, Birmingham, 19.

BOLTON. Get in touch with Les Smith, 74 Arnold Street, Bolton, Lancs.

HERTS. Contact either Stuart Mitchell at South View, Potters Heath Lane, Potters Heath, Welwyn, Herts or Jeff Clives, 46 Hughendon Road, Marshaleys, St. Albans, Herts.

BRIGHTON. Get in touch with 79 Coleman Street, Brighton, 7. Poetry readings every Sunday from 4 to 5 p.m. at the Fishmarket. All poets welcome.

BRISTOL. Contact: Dave Thorne, 49 Cotham Road, Bristol, 6.

DUNDEE GROUP. Contact: Bob and Una Turnbull, 39 Stratheden Park, Stratheden Hospital, by Cupar, Fife.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP ONE. Correspondence to Robert Lynn, 2b Saracen Head Lane, Glasgow, C.1.

HULL ANARCHIST GROUP. J. Tempest, 8 p.m. 1st and 3rd Mondays of month. The Cabin, Blue Bell Inn, Queen Street.

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.

LEE, LONDON, S.E.12. Anarchist-Radical Group. Contact 'Paul', c/o Lewisham Group (above).

ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt, phone: Knockholt 23. Brian and Maureen Richardson.

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

ROCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Eryl Davies, 22 St. Margaret's Street, Rochester. Fortnightly meetings.

SLOUGH. Contact Sid Rawle, 4 Hillperton Road, Slough, Bucks.

SOUTH EAST ESSEX ANARCHIST GROUP. We would love to hear from fellow-sympathisers in area. All enquiries to M. Powell, 7 Lingeroff, Basildon, Essex.

SOUTH WEST MIDDLESEX ANARCHIST GROUP. Meetings alternate Thursdays and Saturdays, on Ed. Pie Island. Contact P. J. Goody, 36 Norman Avenue, Hanworth, Middlesex.

TROWBRIDGE PEACE ACTION GROUP. Contact P. Weston, Chivele, Butts Lane, Kewell, Trowbridge, Wiltshire. Meetings every Tuesday 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House (opp. Bus Station).

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

Regional Secretary: Alistair Rattray, 35a Devonshire Road, Chorley.

NORTH WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION. BUXTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: E. A. Gresty, Punchbowl, Manchester Road, Buxton.

CHORLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Anne Marie Fearon, 16 Devonshire Road, Chorley.

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

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

### EAST LONDON FEDERATION

WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Contact Stephen Higgs, 8 Westbury Road, Forest Gate, E.7.

LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION. Meetings—discussions—activities. Contact Peter Ford, 82 North Road, Highgate, N.6. (Tel.: MOU 5702.)

### SOUTH WALES ANARCHIST FEDERATION

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP, SWANSEA

ANARCHIST GROUP. All correspondence to: Julian Ross, 11 Wellfield Close, Bishopston, Swansea.

### PROPOSED GROUPS

NORTH EAST ESSEX. Would readers interested in proposed group write to P. Newell, 'Maybush', Maypole Road, Tiptree, Essex.

ELTHAM. 'Sons of Durrutti' Group. Get in touch with T. Liddle, 83 Gregory Crescent, London, S.E.9.

BIRKENHEAD. Please get in touch with G. Woodhouse, 59 Cambridge Road, Woodchurch, Birkenhead.

MUCH HADHAM, HERTS. Get in touch with Leslie Riordan, High Street, Much Hadham, Herts.

ROCHDALE. Please contact Richard Crawford, 4 Hargreaves Street, Sudden, Rochdale.

### ABROAD

AUSTRALIA. Federation of Australian Anarchists, P.O. Box A 389, Sydney South. Public meetings every Sunday in the Domain, 2 p.m. and Mondays, 72 Oxford Street, Paddington, Sydney, 8 p.m.

DANISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. 52 Mindevej, Soborg-Copenhagen, Denmark.

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

U.S.A. VERMONT/NEW HAMPSHIRE. Discussion group meets weekly. Contact Ed Strauss at RFD 2, Woodstock, Vermont 05091, USA.

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

CANADA: Winnipeg. Anybody interested in Direct action/anarchy contact G. J. Nasir, 606 Matheson Avenue, Winnipeg, 17, Manitoba.

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

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

USA: NORTH-EASTERN MINNESOTA. Contact James W. Cain, 323 Fourth Street, Cloquet, Minn. 55720, USA.

GROUP (TREASON). Australian Anarchist, c/o Melbourne University Union or A.R. Giles Peters, c/o same.



# Anarchists on Organisation

*NOTE: An International Anarchist Congress is scheduled to take place in Carrara, September, 1968. Debate wages as to what shall be discussed, and who shall participate.*

IN THE COURSE of many talks on the subject of anarchism, I have rarely failed to hear the criticism, especially from unorganised people, that Anarchists, of course, 'disbelieve in organisation'. One goes on explaining that there is a difference between libertarian organisation on the one hand, and authoritarian organisation on the other; even among Anarchists, however, it is difficult for those proselytising from other movements to understand that the rejection of authority does not necessarily carry with it the rejection of all and any form of association.

It is not in a way surprising that those coming from highly authoritarian concepts might think that if they now reject authority, they have abandoned any method by which organisations could exist, having no experience of FREE ORGANISATION. It is equally the case that those who reduce a fashionable tinge of radicalism and a comfortable feeling of permanent protest—might well also see no necessity to organise, since nothing can be done save as lies within the well-worn path of liberalism.

The Anarchist movement proper is not to be identified with these parasitical growths; it faces now a problem of organisation not as regards future society but as regards itself. In preparation for the proposed International Congress, the discussions as to what should be placed on the agenda are bound to remain sterile until we can answer the major question: 'What is the congress about?' To prepare the way for a 'federation of national federations' (as the Paris preparatory commission has suggested) and on which the Bulgarian Anarchists have expounded at length? The Bulgarian comrades have explained how, just as groups should combine to form a local federation, and the local federations combine to form a national federation, so finally the national federations can combine. All this, it should be said immediately, takes place on paper. The English movement has challenged it. They ask for fresh thinking as to WHAT IS A FEDERATION? The Spanish comrades, equally with the Bulgarians, lay down a clear plan as to how a federation 'should' work, but, equally with their fellow-exiles, they have no opportunity to put into practice.

## WHAT IS A FEDERATION?

The idea now adopted by the Preparatory Commission, which has managed to avoid having English participation upon it, that those not in national federations should be excluded from the conference, means that, while nobody can deny that at some point some faction must be excluded from any conference, here we have the situation where a group has only to call itself a national federation to be 'recognised' as such. A larger group, thus beaten to the post, is left outside—an idea which has bedevilled the syndicalist international for years, and caused it to disappear where it could legally operate, being preserved by its movements 'in exile'.

Let us cast a critical look—for the first time, I think—at this notion of anarchist 'movements in exile'. I have before referred in articles to the 'tragicomic' situation of the political refugee, and each time the editor of the paper concerned has altered the word—not believing his eyes—to 'tragic'. Certainly the lot of the refugee in, say, France 1938/50, was fraught with hazards and danger; this was hardly the case in England, where political exile merges into café-keeping and the refugees, looking back at their old countries, petrified into salt like Lot's wife, were rarely ever to be taken seriously, as a political force;

**'Liberty  
not the daughter  
but the  
mother of order'**

**PROUDHON**

notwithstanding a spectrum ranging from 'Free Austrian' Allies to White Russians.

The Polish reactionaries may regard themselves as exiled in Kensington; but why are Anarchists, who reject the nation-state, in exile in any country? Our many Australian friends in the anarchist movement in London would laugh their heads off if it were suggested they form an 'Australian movement in exile'; yet the Bulgarian Anarchists in Australia regard themselves in all seriousness as the 'Bulgarian movement in exile'. It is true the latter are forced expatriates and the former voluntary (but not always); yet is this why the Bulgarians must remain obstinately Bulgars? The Irish, of all political opinions, never go abroad as political refugees; it is 'voluntary'—

i.e. economic, or sometimes mere preference—yet they always proclaim they are 'EXILES' from Erin. What has this sentimental bunk to do with Anarchism? We well understand the nationalistic sentiment that induces the Irish in England to say they need separate Irish labour organisations in England; we do not understand why Spaniards, many of whom will never go back to Spain, and who are far from being nationalists—who indeed risked their lives against the Nationalists—should cling to being 'exiles' after 28 years of exile, if indeed they have ever been to Spain at all, to the point of requiring separate organisations. After 28 years, one is not a refugee any more than one is still an adolescent; the refugee politician is as tragic and comical as the adolescent in his forties.

## WHAT CAN EXILES DO?

But, you will say, the exile movement has a purpose. I wish I knew what it was. To prepare a Garibaldian expedition to the homeland? To march back in formation, re-taking the cities it lost on the way out? To be re-invited by a revolutionary movement to come back and lead it? Dreams!

It is true the Austrian refugees kept themselves firmly organised, across party lines, and went back, established by foreign arms, as a tightly-knit government and opposition. This would be quite inconceivable from an anarchist point of view; yet because there are anarchist movements 'in exile', voices have not been lacking to suggest, for instance, an 'anarchist party' to put up for the Cortes, perhaps by taking part in another (paper) government and having its stake in a (paper) republic.

Can an exile movement keep in touch with the movement at home? Certainly. But what ties has it that others of us do not have, save those of blood?—and those ties it has with the oppressor too! How much more effective would it be if the exile movement had integrated with the local movement, brought its experiences to bear on the local movement's development, and helped form local working-class support for the underground movement in the old country? This was the attitude of the Italian Anarchists for many years. They formed Italian-language movements, but not movements in exile. Their militants helped take part and form local movements all over the world.

They helped the movement in Spain, Argentina, France, for instance, not to mention this country (Malatesta, etc.), retaining their interest in Italian affairs (e.g. sending out comrades to try to assassinate Mussolini) but not to the point of nationalism. The Russian Anarchists went equally far; Bakunin, though coming from a background of Slavophilism, became a thorough-going internationalist; Kropotkin was criticised by the patriotic Russian revolutionaries for

'abandoning' Russia in his integration in the French and English movements. Whilst Emma Goldman relates (in *Living My Life*) how, when she and Berkman came to be deported from the USA they found, to their surprise, at addressing a meeting of Russians, they had forgotten how to speak Russian. (Their period in America was comparable to that of the Spanish movement 'in exile' in point of time.) Lenin, to be sure, kept more in touch with Russian affairs than that, and he was successful; but he intended to form a government. If the political refugee intends to return and rule, backed by foreign arms or the dreams of a 'people's recall', he should not forget his national tongue! But for a libertarian to remain a political refugee by choice (i.e. by conviction once his domicile or occupation is settled elsewhere) betrays a tinge of nationalism incompatible with an entire disbelief in imposed leadership. This is not to disparage the Bulgarian and Spanish Anarchists, though they themselves might note such trends in their ranks. Yet in the very suggestion of a 'tight' federation is the belief that some such body must keep the exiles together. Yet is it not an impossibility? The Spanish Communist may dream (who may not?) that he will march back victorious with the Chinese Army; or Señor de Madariaga may dream that a Cortes invoked by a liberal Europe will insist he comes back and be President; but how is a 'refugee' to go back and liberate his country? Either it liberates itself or it remains unfree. The Emperor Haile Selassie went back to Addis Ababa; this is not the way, surely, the Toulouse CNT dreams of going back to the old offices in the via Layetana?

## IS A FEDERATION A PARTY?

When the Anarchists speak of a federation and renounce the idea of a political party, they must bear in mind that words are of no consequence. To call oneself a federation, yet go through the same paraphernalia of bureaucracy, abdication of responsibility, membership cards, majority decisions at conferences, etc., is to play with words. If that is not a party, what is?

True, it is equally easy to have no bureaucracy, no membership cards and precious little membership, and pass decisions without any conference to ratify them or intention to carry them out. That is not unknown either!

A 'federation of federations' would merely stand in the way of international co-operation by creating a new bureaucracy. At worst it might become something on the lines of the Trotskyist International, which bestows recognition on those who toe the line and uses the International as a disciplinary force against those who do not. (This has only become a farce since the 'official' line became less numerous than the 'unofficial'.)

For an organisation to be able to

genuinely style itself an anarchist federation, i.e. a union of anarchist groups, it must be composed of groups with an active life, and the more active the life the less they will abdicate, or delegate, their responsibilities. Such a federation should correspond with the realities of the situation, and its groups be real ones not paper kites. One can sympathise with those who feel that groups are superfluous since revolution is spontaneous, but at the same time, while the revolution can only be the work of the workers themselves, the idea of anarchism can only come from those who accept the idea.

In looking at the composition of workers' councils insofar as they exist in industry today, they do in fact reflect the type of council that would arise in a revolutionary situation. The whole of the workers in a factory are represented; but the most active ones are supported by outside organisations with parties and factions. Should not the libertarians also unite, outside the factory, with those who want to keep authority out? It is with this in mind that one calls for the organisation of anarchists: an organisation keeping in touch with each other those who are determined to resist authority, with the necessary physical and moral support to oppose those who wish to impose authority.

To prevent any organisation, even an anarchist one, from becoming a bureaucracy, is a herculean task; it is only by the right of recall that it can be done, and that functional groups can become bureaucratic is a fact of which we are all aware. The problem arises in the case of a local group where all, in theory, can be gathered at a moment's notice; it becomes more serious in the case of an international that meets perhaps every ten years. It is a sad fact that the FAI and the Spanish libertarian movement generally have not been able to shake off the bureaucracy that was imposed in 1936, and that compromised itself beyond belief.

Such is the problem facing the formation of an international. And yet, if we could build a non-bureaucratic and libertarian international movement, we would be able to show that anarchism was possible. At present, however, and for many years, the Anarchist movement, and particularly the rarefied air of the international and 'exile' movements, have resembled nothing so much as a closely guarded Masonic Lodge, whose initiates guard secrets that have long since ceased to exist. Let us hope, if not too optimistically, that at last we may be able to break through and create a situation where anarchists can discuss mutual problems, and joint action, even criticising each other's movements without provoking cries of 'interference', and profiting by each other's success and failure.

'INTERNATIONALIST'

Reprinted from *The Wooden Shoe*, No. 1, July 1967.

## WHEN I WAS IN THE GOVERNMENT

THE VILLAGE was in the North East of Scotland. A few fishing boats, but most people worked in the nearby town. The few middle class families lived in 'Posh Terrace' and kept themselves to themselves. They went to the English Kirk in town, and as everybody knows that is almost as bad as being a Catholic. They sent their children to a fee-paying school in town. And we hated them.

When I first went to the village school I went through various brutal and humiliating initiation ceremonies. Just wait, we told each other. Just wait till we are the big boys!

There were two playgrounds, one for the boys and one for the girls, with a high wall between. Anyone found in the wrong one was in real trouble. The headmaster was a Quaker, but that didn't stop him belting us. He would take out his belt in class while we were doing our sums. He sat at his desk and waxed the tawse lovingly to keep it supple. Sometimes he belted you on the hand, sometimes on the arse. Once a boy punched him in the stomach in the middle of a belting. The head went berserk, hitting the boy on the legs, the arms, anywhere.

A new boy came to the school in the middle of a term. At the interval we discovered he was a Catholic. We stared at him. A being from another planet. 'Is it true you believe pigs can see the wind?' As it turned out, this

was the only thing we had heard that wasn't true.

And at last the great day came and we were the big boys. We had another

They liked the idea so the school was declared a republic. (There was much talk at this time amongst our elders about the Scottish Republican Army. It was a legend. You could see 'up the SRA' scrawled here and there.) Then we had an election. There were two candidates, myself and my cousin Donal. He had the advantage of being reckoned the best fighter in the school, while I couldn't punch my way out of a paper bag. He got twice as many votes as

performance in class. If you got a low mark you were punished. Donal and I usually got the best marks.

One of the customs of the school was 'the heap'. This consisted of throwing one boy to the ground and jumping on him, shouting 'a heap! a heap!' whereupon everybody dived upon the unfortunate victim. Strangely enough, no bones were ever broken. This became one of the official punishments for lawbreakers. As 'big boys' we were much, much worse than previous generations. Their violence had been sporadic. We were organised.

I wasn't happy with just being vice-president. I demanded another election. Donal said, 'Everybody who wants me for president run over to that wall'. He started running and the rest followed like sheep.

Donal couldn't spell. He has taken an honours degree at university but he still can't spell. One day he got seven out of ten for spelling. The minimum according to law was eight. I saw my chance to make another bid for power. Out in the playground I incited the boys to seize him. 'What are you waiting for? He's broken the law.' They just stood and looked at me expectantly. 'Oh well, if it's like that . . . I grabbed hold of Donal and tried to throw him on the ground. He struggled with me. He punched, I wrestled. I got him down on the ground and sat on him. He rained punches on me, panic-stricken. 'Come on!' I shouted, 'a heap! a heap!' But the others had decided this was between Donal and me. He managed to throw me off him, landed a good punch on my nose which started to bleed, and that was the end of that.

Later that day I walked across the chalk circle and spat on the totem.



cause for rejoicing. The old head retired, and the new one, a youngish man, didn't belt us so often. He was very keen for us to get good marks in the qualifying exam. After all, it would decide whether we went to the academy or the townhead. It was at this time I had my brilliant idea. I explained it to the others in the playground. 'What we need,' I said, 'is a government.'

me, so he became President. He magnanimously made me the vice-president.

Intoxicated with power, Donal and I started passing laws about everything. In the playground was a wooden basketball stand. This was designated as our totem. A chalk circle was drawn around it. Anyone who crossed this line was punished. We also made laws about

Some of the boys made a move to grab me but I said, 'If he can break the law, so can I'. They saw the sense of this. And that was the end of the government. We returned to disorganised chaos. And at least one member of the government had taken the first step on the long, long road to anarchism.

DAVE COULL



SIX SHILLINGS EACH WILL BRING THEM 'FREEDOM' AND 'ANARCHY' FOR TWO MONTHS WITH YOUR COMPLIMENTS.



# A Statement

**T**HE DESIRE and striving for complete, unfettered individual freedom is at the heart of anarchism. Meetings, demonstrations, social criticism, ideas about anarchic organisation—all these things revolve around the central idea which is individual liberty. Co-operation and mutual aid are not mainly or wholly what anarchism is about although there will doubtless be much of these things in anarchy. Neither do welfare and higher living standards constitute anarchism. While only a fool would deny that, as far as most people are concerned, a measure of material well-being is essential before freedom can become a reality so only another sort of fool would argue that the mad scramble to consume which obsesses so many people can lead to freedom or, worse still, is freedom. Freedom is what anarchism is about. Even if the fascists are storming to power or nuclear bombs are descending, or the extermination of the anarchists is imminent, freedom, nevertheless, remains at the core of anarchism.

Freedom does not mean simply doing what you like because many people are at this moment doing exactly what they like which is coercing and dominating others or willingly submitting to the coercion and domination of others. Hardly anyone wants abject slavery but many people are quite happy with the less crude, euphemised oppressions that are so prevalent in the world.

Individual freedom means a healthy awareness of oneself, an acceptance of one's tastes and capabilities and the unhindered asserting of oneself so that one can think, feel and act to the limits of one's aspirations and capabilities. Freedom means the full flowering of human personalities in all their variety and uniqueness. Some personalities will flower further than others and some of the blooms will be exotic if not bizarre. Inevitably too conflict situations will sometimes arise and be resolved as people think fit. Sex alone will ensure this. But there will be no armies, hydrogen bombs, X-ray lasers or states because free men and women would not desire such things nor submit to them should some pervert try to start them all over again. Anarchists squabble at the 'Lamb and Flag' but they never, I notice, come to blows and they become quite pale again in the bar downstairs.

## THE SCHOOLS OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT

It is sometimes argued that there is an irreconcilable gulf between the individualist and collectivist schools of anarchist thought. Once they are properly understood I do not believe this is so and the main differences seem to be of emphasis based largely on personality and personal taste.

Firstly, every true anarchist is necessarily an individualist in that he at least desires his own individual liberty. An anarchist communist is an individualist (in the above sense) who also desires and works for a special kind of economic and social organisation called anarchist communism. An anarcho-syndicalist is an individualist (in the above sense) who also desires and works for a special form of organisation called anarcho-syndicalism. Nearly all collectivist anarchists favour mass revolt in some shape or form as the means of attaining their desired societies.

The conflict between those who describe themselves as individualist anarchists and those who call themselves collectivists arises from the following. (If you agree that freedom is at the heart of anarchism then I think you will see that there is no unbridgeable gap between the two schools. I am trying, in a few lines, to sort out generations of muddle.)

1. Some individualist anarchists say that they are *only* interested in their own freedom and while, as anarchists, they do not wish to set up as coercers and dominators, they do not see freeing others as their concern. This attitude is perfectly compatible with anarchism. Why should there be any logical necessity that an anarchist takes part in other people's struggles? Many individualists do, however.

2. Some collectivists say that one should subordinate one's own freedom now to the struggle for general human betterment even if it means suffering and gaol, that an anarchist *must*, out of a sense of commitment, throw himself heart and soul into this struggle. Again, I do not see why an anarchist *must* do this. Many have not the time, talent or inclination and I notice that some collectivists who are on paper extremely militant never turn up on demonstrations.

3. Some collectivists state that, come anarchy, everybody *must* live according to their own pet form of economic and social organisation even if they favour some other form. This sort of dogmatism, which is fortunately on the way out, is the negation of anarchism.

4. Individualist anarchists argue that basically all that is needed is not some great upheaval or mass revolution but the quiet acceptance and spread of anarchist ideas and that mass revolution, however well-intentioned, would be going out of the frying pan into the fire so far as domination and coercion are concerned. No one would deny, I think, that a state, seeing mass revolutionary ideas spreading, would not resort to fascism to maintain the status quo. The state might, of course, resort to fascism if, say, individualist ideas started to

spread on a wide scale but the chances of the state acting in this way are less in the second instance.

5. The fifth reason is the main one. It is that individualist anarchists almost to a man believe that the future of the human race is bleak and that individualism in the here and now is all that is possible. Individualist anarchists call this realism. Collectivists call it pessimism.

## THE THREATS TO FREEDOM

These can be grouped under two main headings — external coercion and domination and internal coercion and domination.

Bosses, bullies, schools, etc., are forms of external oppression of which we all have our own experiences and they do not need to be discussed here.

There can be no doubt that the main form of external coercion and domination is the modern state in all its ramifications. The power and extent of state control is steadily growing. The average citizen today must fill in hundreds of forms in his lifetime. If you want to own a dog or send a letter you must do it the state's way. The cleverest lawyer in the land knows only a fraction of the legislation in the statute book. The police, customs, bureaucrats, tax collectors, planners, etc., stultify and oppress just about everyone in the land. Just about everything is centrally organised and tightly controlled.

It is currently being argued that Britain is showing signs of becoming a corporate state especially since the advent of the present Labour (sic) Government. A corporate state would be another step towards Brave New World or worse. In one, people are not considered or treated as individuals at all but as diverse economic and functional groups. Members of each corporate group would, in the interests of unity, forego their private interests and ambitions and, shoulder to shoulder, move forward in the direction decided by the politicians and top financiers.

What is so bad about a corporate state is this idea of unity. All factional and individual disputes and aspirations would cease and the 'national interest' would be the only consideration.

In the past the corporate state has been something resorted to by nationalists and capitalists at times of crisis and the 'unity' so far as most people were concerned was enforced by the police. In the kind of corporate state that seems to be emerging in Britain the unity seems to be to a large extent real. This is a far worse thing than unity enforced by police terror because it *really* means the extinction of individuality and diversity. Corporate state terminology and thought processes are on the increase. People

talk about and are regarded as 'producers', 'consumers', 'the export industries', 'the home industries', 'commuters', 'ratepayers' and all the other terrible jargon. In the interests of 'the economy' and the 'export drive' (like Goldstein in 1984, the 'export drive' will always be with us) many people accept NEDC, the PIB and the other corporate state measures. They may think these things are badly run or that their particular industry (or corporate group) is being unfairly treated but they accept the need for such things.

The reason for the trend to a corporate state and all the other accelerating authoritarianism is not that Wilson and Co. are secret fascists but is the inevitable outcome of the ever-increasing complexity of modern industry, modern commerce and modern life. Centuries ago, when life was unhurried and uncomplicated, the state concerned itself almost entirely with the army and navy, legislation, diplomacy and the taxing of wealthier citizens. The mass of the people hardly ever had any direct dealings with the state. Today, by contrast, the state's nasty finger is in every pie. So vast and complex are modern enterprises that the state is bound to take an interest. Something as complicated as modern civil aviation, for instance, inevitably requires something like the Ministry of Civil Aviation, with its hordes of officials, inspectors, clerks and typists to run it efficiently. Such complex problems as the safe routing of airlines over a crowded country, the siting of airports and the co-ordination of services require a bureaucracy. If an anarchist society is one without bureaucracy then it must also be one without civil aviation on the modern scale.

Economic growth, the jargon phrase for the trend to an automated hell and more authoritarianism, is desired by nearly everyone. Capitalists want it because it means more profits and capitalism can never stand still. Workers want it because it promises more jobs and in the long run higher wages. School-leavers want it because it promises an 'exciting' future. Patriots because it makes 'their' country more powerful. Even Welsh nationalists gain support because Whitehall isn't channelling enough economic growth their way. Whitehall is the spider at the centre of the expanding web of economic growth. Whitehall is *inevitably* at the centre. Such complex decisions as the siting of new towns and factories, the routing of motorways, the co-ordination of transport and the provision of electric and other forms of power need something as centralised, organised and accepted as the state to sort them all out. It is absurd to talk about millions of people voluntarily agreeing to something as huge and complicated as the M4 motorway. It was only after years of public enquiry and argument that the final route across the Berkshire and Wiltshire Downs was decided upon and this was done by finally riding roughshod over the objections of the farmers and countryside preservers who *inevitably* object when

their livelihoods and interests are threatened.

Scientific and technological development are phenomena of the last few centuries in Europe and America. Before, say, 1600, new techniques came in slowly, there was never a whole class of people whose sole function it is to dream up and do research into new scientific applications. Apart from reasons of greed, ambition, power politics and capitalism, all the scientific and technological research and development that goes on is motivated by an urgent, inner restlessness and an arrogant inquisitiveness towards nature, dressed up as rationalism. Some idea of the tempo of scientific 'progress' can be gained from the fact that of all the scientists who have ever lived over 90% are alive today. Science, technology and economic growth are now ends in themselves quite apart from their effects for good or ill on men and women.

## INNER FREEDOM

Government, capitalism, oppression and war are, like 'progress', merely outward manifestations of inner compunctions. Capitalism is caused by human greed, government by urges to power and willingness to submit to power, it is only the particular form and degree of government that is caused by the level of scientific development. However, there are plenty of fundamentally decent people who are not obsessed by greed, power or submission and only support oppressive institutions out of apathy, obedience and because they can see no alternative.

What is wanted is inner freedom from the things that produce the loathsome and abominable world in which we live. Less greed, less hate, less apathy, less obedience, less obsession with slave-trends like economic growth.

People are what they are because of heredity, upbringing, education and environment. A Zenist can transcend all these and enter into a timeless, egoless existence, but Zen is for the esoteric few. Slightly more down to earth there are Epicureanism and Max Stirner. But there are few people who, with the necessary desire and effort, could not liberate themselves of passions and obsessions unaided by psychologists and philosophers. All self-liberation basically requires, and self-liberation is what I am talking about, is complete honesty. So far as most people are concerned the effects of conditioning cannot be wholly set aside. But when we are aware of them and honestly acknowledge them we no longer have to be ruled by them. Greed, fear, hate (but not obedience) can exist in a mind without enslaving it.

Inner freedom is possible in the modern world even in a prison cell and outer freedom of a sort is possible by living carefully and resolutely. When enough people are like this there will be anarchy.

By all means let us try to change institutions, protest against injustice and tyranny and chip away at Leviathan. But the ultimate and fundamental revolution must be in the human mind.

JEFF ROBINSON.

# NINE MONTHS OF CONTROL

**T**HE rain of sanctions ordered during months by the Ministry of Information and Tourist Trade against certain publications—amongst them the picture papers *Triunfo* and *Destino* (this latter because it called for the resignation of the rector of the University of Barcelona, Garcia Valdescaes), the Catholic publications *Mundo Social* and *Signo*, the Madrid daily *El Alcazar*, the retiring of the director of *Cuadernos para el Dialogo*, Ruiz Jimenez, incites us to draw up a balance of the nine months of functioning of the new Law of Press and Printing, since it came into effect on the 9th of April last.

This Press Law—let us recall—followed the regime existing since the promulgation of the earlier law, April 22, 1938. The official Bulletin of the Cortes (Parliament) reviewing the project submitted by the Minister of Information, Fraga Iribarne, in October 1965 (after a laborious preparation which lasted four years) affirmed that this Press Law 'crowned a quarter of a century of fruitful peace'. In the hands of the procurators the text suffered amendments in 52 of its 75 articles before its final adoption. Fraga Iribarne presented his project as a 'new chapter in the history of Spain', a compromise equidistant between total liberty and total control by the State.

The suppression of the earlier censorship, liberty to name the directors of a publication, the possibility—in the case of sanctions—of presenting an appeal to a public tribunal, have, as counterpoise 'the responsibility which the use (of these prerogatives) carries with it',

and in particular, those which refer to respect for the principles of the Movement, the exigencies of National Defence, the Security of the State and public morality.

Being interested in knowing in detail the mechanism of the new Press Law, a laborious synthesis of the principles of the Movement, and of those which regulate liberty of expression in the 'democratic' countries, I met recently in Madrid an old fellow-student, well situated in official circles, and asked him to explain to me functions of the services directed by Fraga Iribarne.

We decided to hold our interview in the Ministry of Information and Touring which holds, for these sort of emergencies, a modern and hospitable cafeteria.

We met in Colon Street and climbed up, with sun and frost on our faces on a splendid winter morning, towards the Ministry. I don't know the Ministry; I told this to my friend as we were walking hastily, with our hands in our pockets.

'What! you don't know the building? It's impressive, Egyptian style. Pure granite. Illuminated fountains, marble staircases, ultra-modern cafeteria, young dynamic staff, like our Minister, and very pretty girls with wonderful legs.'

## IN THE CAFETERIA OF THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND TOURING

Finally we arrived at the Ministry. We crossed between several French-style flower-beds, several (I hope) official cars came out of the main entrance; in the vestibule there was a continual coming and going of employees, like the back-

cloth of a stage set of immense dimensions, like a theme extracted from mythology and the official type of art. In corners at the foot of the monumental staircases, types standing around talking, yawning or trying to light their cigarettes.

We went down some stairs to the lower floor. On the way down my friend pointed to the vestibule we had just left and said you could get your favourite tobacco there at reduced prices.

We entered into a big room and I presumed this was the cafeteria. I looked at my watch; it was just past twelve. Smoke and chatter, meetings of friends, small groups standing round the bar, in the middle of which appeared young girls in sweaters, sitting on high red-topped stools. There were many empty places. We ordered two bottles of beer and sat at a table near the window, at a prudent distance from the bar.

'Now let's get down to brass tacks,' I said. 'Can you give me a balance of the operation, after eight months, of the new Press Law?'

'Let's see.' He leaned forward showing his slightly bald head. 'The Press Law was received in various ways. I think it is an important political measure. The "tough" elements in the opposition, both within and without the regime, see in it an important step in the present process of "liberalization". The "extremists" of the regime call it a "doorway through which will infiltrate subversion, masonry, and communism". Nothing less. I think that Emilio Romero gave an exact definition of its range and objectives—the Director of the

Pueblo wrote, in effect that the new Press Law was intended for those who accepted "constructive criticism", to those who wished to discuss the political future of Spain, starting from the present state of affairs.'

He thought for a moment, looking at the ceiling.

'Now let's make a rapid inventory of the victims of the new legislation. I believe the first periodicals sanctioned against were *Juventud Obrera* (Young Worker) and the French journal *La Croix*. Then followed, I quote from memory, *Promos*, *Signo* (twice), *ABC*, *Montejurra*, *Semana* and *La Voz del Trabajo* (The Voice of Labour). More recently, *Triunfo* and *Mundo Social*. As you say, the list is long. I don't even know if it is exhaustive.'

## THE MECHANISM OF THE CENSORSHIP

I am interested in knowing the mechanism of the censorship, in so far as it refers to press and publications...

It would be more appropriate not to speak of censorship. Article Three of the Press Law states, quite clearly, 'The Administration cannot impose a prior censorship or impose compulsory publication'... except in cases expressly allowed for in the laws.

Let's speak of the 'Service of Bibliographic Orientation'. Previously, one had to submit to the censorship two copies of the original to be published. It was passed, there was no problem. But, if it did not bear the odour of sanctity, and within a maximum period of one year, you would be sent a paper in which would be pointed out the pages or paragraphs which were to be suppressed. You are still left with one solution—send a claim to the Ministry of Information and Touring. If this person was against it, you could still appeal to the Minister in person. If

the Minister confirmed the first ban, there was no further solution.

There's no doubt that there have been some improvements. Now they will not tell you that 'the book cannot be published'. You will receive a note saying that 'publication of the book is not advisable'. Previously they forbade it, now they advise you with formulas such as 'we suggest you withdraw the paragraphs marked in red, in the original'.

If you don't follow this advice, what can happen? Can you print your manuscript, without authorization?

Now we go into the heart of the new regulations. You can, in fact, get your work printed without authorization. You have at your disposal a service of 'Voluntary Consultation'; having presented your manuscript you receive a reply within ten days. Imagine that you publish your book without waiting for the 'diagnosis' of the Ministry, being content to deposit the six statutory copies. You will be exposed to the danger that within 24 hours the authorities will appear at the publishers and confiscate the complete edition, and take away the type set up.

What is the internal organization of these services?

Look, in Spain the censorship is still a mysterious institution. Apart from a few gleams of light here and there, the gloom of the Middle Ages still hangs over this noble edifice. Here, manuscripts deposited make an impressive pile, that is to say, when they are not being passed from Ministry to Ministry. I know a curious case, a book which passed the censorship of four Ministries. The first one was, naturally, the Ministry of Information and Touring. But since it dealt with 'other aspects' of the nation's life, Fraga didn't dare make a decision alone. He put the book in question into orbit and it stopped at the Ministry

Continued on page 5



# Letter from the Commune

From F.U. Spiegel (Free U. Mirror—Berlin Student newspaper).

(A statement made by one of those who got arrested for planning a 'dynamite' attempt on Humphrey's life—i.e. they planned to throw pudding in his face.)

WE'RE SUPPOSED now to write something for F.U. Spiegel—for a change not something about us, but by us. We can't think of much to say. How are you supposed to talk to people via an article? Face to face is hard enough.

We could say, of course, that we are from the SDS (German Socialist students' organization—Tr.), that we want to change society fundamentally—revolution—and that our methods aim at disturbing or destroying this society. And that it is particularly the Left that attacks us for being unpolitical and detrimental to the good radical-democratic cause.

Tossing pudding or whipped cream in Humphrey's disgusting face is not poli-

Berlin Senate come to the junction between the Humphrey affair and the budget cut? It's the students they are afraid of, not the much-touted 'insignificant minority'.

But these are none of them the real questions. Why should we stand question and answer for our comic inspirations? Demonstrations with coloured eggs or smoke bombs—or commune? Whether that is 'political' or 'effective'?

What's the matter with you? Why do you put up with the fact that you can't sleep with one another as you ought? Landladies, student rooms and idiotic up-bringing above all. That you can't communicate with one another? Or why do the couple relationships always end in fiasco, whether they stay together—which is worse—or not? And the children, 'who should have it better than their parents did'? Or how is it really with political matters? Do they really in-

marry from fear of losing a convenient lay? And the children must be raised responsibly, for they don't know what is right? Is that it? Or demonstrations and beatings? Yes, and study, for later, when you've made it—and can't enjoy it? Or, for what do we live? Somehow we don't have it. Yes, they all say, that's how things are (from the right, human nature—from the left, society). Have you ever been to a demo on Ku Damm, or at the sit-in on April 19? And have you seen how it looks when ink-spotted and pied policemen run around hollering orders, or where a cop without a hat is a cop without a head? Or when the fuzz has to give up trying to carry a thousand people out of the Henry Ford Building, because they can't do it? When the massive arm of the manure pile is powerless!

Is it unpolitical, for each of us when we really play out the holy Berlin model and that freedom of speech bit? Hardly,

but active ones too—we could prepare them at the sit-in.

What happens at such demos is short-lived; the problems return, and the alienation is back before we are back home. We are more sensitive to abstract nonsense on Democracy and Society and University and blah-blah—but not much more.

And so we came to the idea of the commune—a living together where the problems of each are the problems of all and . . . and . . . here too we have difficulties, because there is no perfection and utopian promises are worthless.

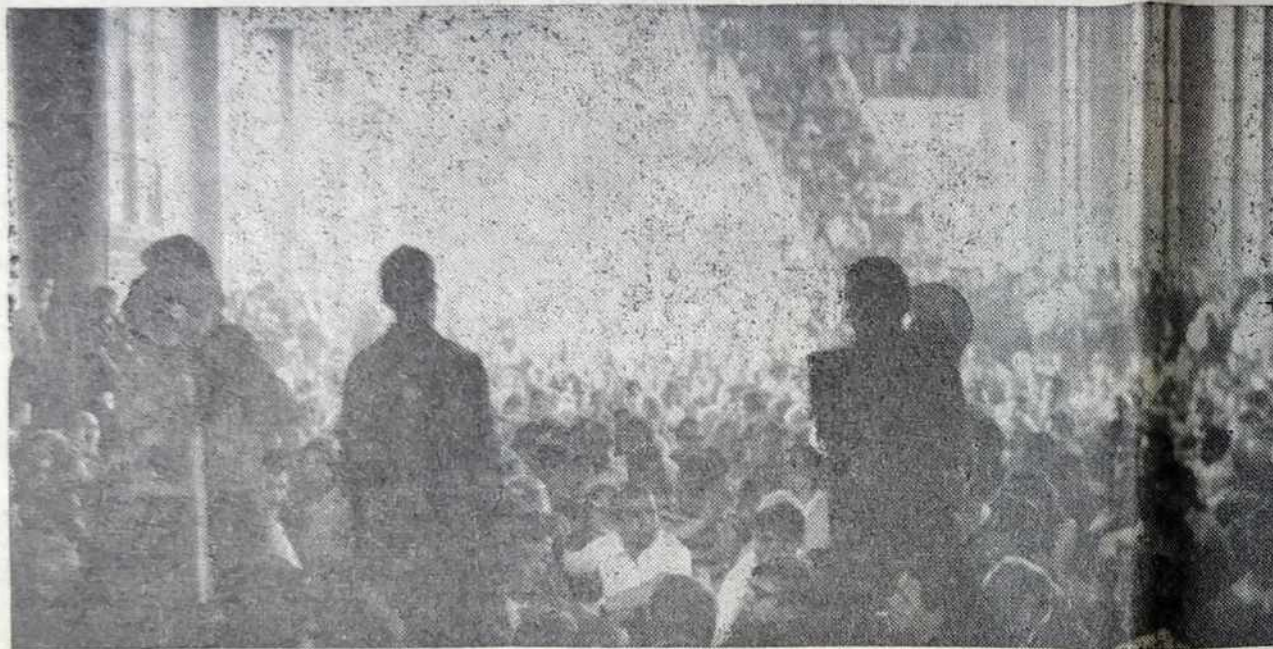
Of course we can make big talk about transcending relations of sexual property—something like tenderness which need not be repressed—that the women in this situation of living together don't get trapped in an even more subtle division of labour along lines of feeling and sensuality (children, kitchen, sex)—that the men grasp how relative this rationality is, where everything has a discoverable reason, etc., etc., and we could get high on Paradise, and talk, and talk, and talk.

But where does that get us? The few problems we have tackled and experiences we have had are very personal—there are no recipes valid for all of us, and certainly none for all of you. Only a type of community, that the matter is not perfect, and we cannot do otherwise! You will have to do it yourselves, and what comes of it, then we can discuss and act on that—we need that. We have nothing more to say.

Do something on May 3. Form Communes. How, what, you will have to decide that for yourselves; we don't have any magic recipes either. So don't rely on us. We will be living at Stuttgarter Platz from May 1 on.

RAINER LANGHANS  
(tr. Jim Evrard)

*Translator's footnote.* Though this is a small minority group, developments in Berlin have made them increasingly relevant for the students as a whole. Unlike the beatniks—that right-wing of the drop-out movement, they are not anti-political—they simply refuse to exclude everyday life from politics.



Massive Sit-In at West Berlin Free University

tical, they say, the ridicule hits us, not H.H.H. As if the serious, mournful and impotent forests of placards were political, and not themselves detrimental to the good cause. As if the ruling powers weren't using just such demonstrations to show its own power. (This is very important; as far as I know, we've the Provos to thank for being the first to establish the connection in theory and practice—Tr.) And so it appears before the people as right. As if the rulers didn't fear other possibilities of being shit on even more. Or university policies, where more and more the conflicts do not remain within academic halls, but by way of the university bureaucracy affect the government of Berlin, and actions, which harm the government, help university politics. How else would the

terest you at all? Your studies—are they really so enjoyable—crawling up professors' arses, anxiety before exams, idiotic subject matter? Where do you get your money? From home: gratitude, show yourself once in a while, learn a proper profession, honour, proud of you? Or a grant: proof of accomplishment, study fast, debts? Or earn it yourself? Is that all accident, like a worm in a good apple? Is it only the exception to a rule? Or are they connected? Of course . . . !

You know all this yourselves, so why do you ask us? Should you ask what to do about it? Sleep with someone else when it becomes dull or unbearable? Hold monologues of self-confirmation? Or couples: try the next best, and afterwards resignation like our parents? Or

because it's fun, at the point we'd almost given up, belly full of fear and sick of trying. For a short time we experience something which almost has no place here by us, and which we've almost forgotten, it's so seldom. We feel ourselves as belonging together; we know one another, not strangers; we forget our problems, we can communicate with one another—and can hardly describe to others who were not there what it actually was—words fail us.

On May 3 (this was written end of April—Tr.) we should therefore really let the beat band play and write and discuss wall newspapers—not merely the few who stand at the microphones. And we should show the chief of police that we have not only passive forms of action like going limp and getting carried out,

THERE was the fortnight of hysteria when the world went mad again, planes bombed, tanks rolled, hundreds of thousands fled in terror, and great and small powers stirred the devil's brew and rattled rockets. From all this I went to Montreal as delegate to a writers' congress.

Expo '67 is not exactly a blueprint of the future anarchist society. Capitalist and communist nations, and smaller ones that don't know which they are, have all weighed in with patriotic fervour. The very Expo is a symbol of the confrontation of French and English Canadian nationalisms.

And yet . . . the Expo is enormously encouraging. The overall design is immensely intelligent, and visually of outstanding beauty. The peoples of all races are on their best behaviour, and showing what they can do creatively when they want to. The rivalries, whatever the governmental intentions were, are essentially cultural. And every people seem fascinated by what the others have been up to.

Looking round, you feel, 'My God, this is what we could all do if we tried'. This Expo costs only a fraction of what we all spend on slaughtering one another. Yet even this relatively small expenditure has produced a living emblem of what, on a vaster scale, our world could so soon be made: a beautiful and intelligent world in which we learn from one another.

Even more extraordinary than the

buildings are the people: thousands from everywhere, all skins, all languages, yet all rapidly gazing at the same dream come momentarily true. No jostling, fighting, argument; but smiles, grins, politeness, curiosity.

My favourite pavilion was the Red Indian. Camped-up warriors with feathers, looking courteous and bored (and bloody hot), and lounging round in jeans and minis, their sons and daughters, laughing at the camera-clickers and at poor old Chief Dad and Squaw Mum having to put on this charming pantomime. The pavilion's slogan: 'We are the only people in the world who have stolen land from nobody.'

The Red Indians, before we all came and messed them up, were proto-anarchists: property held in common, and chiefs ruling not as autocrats, but by the will and choice of the tribal council. That is one of the many reasons why we tried to exterminate them.

But they're fighting back. And perhaps one day when we palefaces who live under capitalist or communist bureaucracy have murdered a few more millions of one another in the name of these abstract dogmas, we may learn from these illiterate savages. And perhaps one day we may understand that our formidable paleface technology might be better used to create a world like Expo '67, than to clobber one another as the warriors in Sinai have been doing so successfully.

COLIN MACINNES.

## CONTROL

Continued from page 4 of Labour. This Minister considered he couldn't deal with it without having first consulted the Trade Unions. Comrade Solis also had no taste for dealing with it, and it finally came to rest in the hands of the Minister of Local Government, Alonso Vega, who, naturally, banned it.

### SOME CONFIDENTIAL READERS: THE DOMINICANS

An edifying story. Since you have spoken of pillars of the nation, which pillars precisely figure in the body of censors?

The censors are usually Dominicans. I should imagine that the pre-eminently reactionary character of this order is a guarantee for the regime.

The censors note their observations on a form ten pages long. They hand this form to the Head of the Service of Bibliographic Orientation, Sr. Sanchez Marin. Perhaps we passed him coming here, he's a little man with dark glasses, looks a bit like the old head of the Gestapo—Himmler.

What other political and religious groups are represented?

The confidential readers are first of all the Dominicans. After them the Victors of War. Old hands are numerous. Don't forget that Arias Salgado was Minister of Information. At one time or another there have been various people who did technical jobs, and who had a well-defined political orientation. They are efficient servants of the propaganda machine.

And now we will describe in detail how the service functions: the work handed in to the 'Service of Biblio-

graphic Orientation' reaches the hands of Sanchez Marin. This he passes to a Reader who has to fill in a series of subsections: Attack on the Head of the State, Attack on the Regime, Attack on the Church, etc. It can also happen that an important book will be submitted to several Readers. When Señor Marin has made his decision, he passes it to the Director-General of Information, Carlos Piquer, who will decide, in the last resort, if the book is to receive the approval or otherwise of the censors.

### THE ELEMENTS OF DECISION

What other elements come into the decision? They are not, in fact, the only ones. Other factors, of a subjective nature, can be important, for example the price of the book and its circulation. A book on the Spanish civil war, which is sold in bookshops at 500 pesetas, has fairly good chances of passing the censor . . . the same, treated in a pamphlet at a low price, will have no chance whatever it says. If the author is well known, especially if he has an international reputation, he stands a better chance than if he knows no one. . . . They tolerate the distribution of certain works of a more or less 'subversive' character in university and intellectual circles. Nevertheless, it would be useless to attempt their circulation in working-class circles.

There are also other factors, apart from the principles of the official censorship, which can in special cases, exercise considerable influence.

### THE DAILY 'TELEXPRESS' AND ITS QUOTA OF PAPER

There are certain aspects of the Press Law on which it would, perhaps, be premature to offer an opinion. I am referring to the possibility of taking legal

proceedings against the Government. It's possible they have seriously considered the results of a systematic use of this procedure.

Suppose these cases did multiply. How would the Administration react?

In fact, they have thought of this already. At the present time, civil tribunals are intervening and these cases are being noted. If there should come to be a considerable sequestration of periodicals, books, etc., and if the judgments pile up, they will create a tribunal presided over by an official of the Ministry of Information. Without going to this extreme, they already have sufficient means of pressure against 'recalcitrants'. A concrete case—the daily paper *Telexpress* published, some months ago, a series of articles which, it seems, did not please the Ministry of Information. The Ministry called for the resignation of the editor of this paper. It seems, in vain. Next week, their quota of paper was suppressed. The result—they obtained the resignation of the Director and the *Telexpress* received its quota of paper.

### THE 'PRESNA OBRERA', THE CASE OF 'PUEBLO' AND 'EL ALCAZAR'

What possibilities exist at present to launch a working-class paper? On what terms would it have to develop, and what would be its range?

You are not the first one to ask this. At present there's a regular scramble to capture, by means of a newspaper, a sphere of opinion—to be precise the working class—which is beginning to wake up.

A typical example—the daily *Pueblo*. Before Emilio Romero took charge of it, the *Pueblo* was just one more newspaper, soporific and provincial as all

Spanish dailies tend to be. Romero, apart from being an 'advanced trade unionist' and a man 'with a future' (he himself calls himself that)—he's a man with a certain amount of intelligence, saw the great advantages that would follow from controlling an organ of public opinion. Modernize its format and introduce controlled doses of four ingredients—working-class movements, attack the 'Opus Dei', prudent denunciations of American imperialism, monopolies, etc. Add the usual interviews with famous footballers and pictures of attractive young ladies in bikinis. The formula was attractive and the sale of *Pueblo* rose enormously.

Give me your opinion on El Alcazar. If I remember rightly, El Alcazar was a complete bore. What has happened to it?

Simple, the Opus Dei has accepted the challenge. The Opus has discovered an affection for the workers as tender as it was unexpected.

In Madrid the Opus Dei controls two dailies, *Madrid* edited by Calvo Serer, and *El Alcazar*. The *Alcazar* was the worst paper in Madrid, or perhaps the palm is carried off by *Informaciones*. Anyway, as soon as they took it over, the Opus Dei made a sensational change of direction. The change was as follows: Let us stop publishing the opening of chapels in the Canary Islands, and let us concentrate on things that interest the 'producers' directly, i.e., the social conflict. The formula produced unexpected results. The *El Alcazar* is being read more and more every day. It doesn't sell more than the *Pueblo*, but the latter has dropped its sales in an alarming manner.

Real competition has broken out between them. Suppose, for example, in

a small town in the province of Leon, a workman who works in a butter factory gets mixed up in a labour dispute; he can be sure that the following day *El Alcazar* will mention it. It was this paper, for instance, which gave the most complete reports on the trade union elections.

### FORESEEABLE EVOLUTION OF THE PRESS LAW

After this 'running in' period, what will be, according to you, the development of the Press Law?

I think the Press Law, in its application, will follow the same evolution as the regime; it will be parallel to it, without going either before or behind. Don't forget that the Press Law is an essential part of the new set-up they are arranging. The 'free play' of Spanish Institutions will be impossible without a public opinion—the new 'Press Law' is intended to form and model this opinion.

We finished our beers and put the final stop to our interview. The cafeteria had emptied. We went into the street and I said goodbye to him. I walked quickly with my overcoat collar raised, searching for a bus that would take me to La Cibeles. While waiting I had time to look at my notes and to conscientiously re-read the initial paragraph of the Law of Press and Printing:

'The principle inspiring this law is the idea of attaining the maximum degree and development of individual liberty of the person for the expression of thought . . . allowing this liberty to be exercised with adequate protection for the exigencies of the common good, social peace and a right way of life for all Spaniards.'

SERGIO DANIEL.



# Kropotkin on Action

THE main article in Kropotkin's paper, *Le Révolté*, on December 25, 1880, was a most un-Christmas-like piece called 'Action'. It is not certain that it was written by Kropotkin. It was anonymous, but most articles in *Le Révolté* were anonymous, including many of those known to have been written by Kropotkin. Its prominence in the paper would suggest that it was in fact written by him, but its absence from the book *Paroles d'un Révolté*, which collected his most important articles printed in *Le Révolté* between 1879 and 1882, would suggest that it was not. It was certainly more extreme than most of the articles he wrote at that time, but he must have agreed with it to publish it, and he had written in favour of 'propaganda by deed' for the *Bulletin of the Jura Federation* in 1877, and he always defended the Russian terrorists. There are many definite similarities to his style. Jean Maitron attributes the article to Kropotkin without question (*L'Histoire du mouvement anarchiste en France*, Paris 1951, p. 70). 'Action' does not seem to have ever been reprinted or translated into English before. It may be helpful to explain a few points. Carlo Pisacane was an Italian Republican killed in 1857. Proudhon wrote *What is Property?* in 1840. The First International was formed in 1864. The Paris Commune rose and fell in 1871. The Hague Congress was held in 1872. Blanqui and Trinet were candidates in 1879 and 1880 respectively, when imprisoned and deprived of civil rights for their part in the Paris Commune. The so-called 'scientific socialists' are the Social Democrats, but it should be remembered that Karl Marx at least knew plenty of science and supported the Paris Commune.

N.W.

THERE'S NO NEED for scholars to shrug their shoulders too much, as if they had to bear the weight of the whole world—it wasn't they who invented the revolutionary idea. It was the oppressed people, who by their often unconscious attempts to shake off the yoke of their oppressors drew the attention of scholars to social morality. And it was only later that a few rare thinkers managed to find this insufficient, and later still that others agreed to find it completely false.

Yes, it is the blood spilt by the people which ends by forming ideas in scholars' heads. 'Ideals spring from deeds, and not the other way round,' said Carlo Pisacane in his political testament, and he was right. It is the people who make progress as well as revolution—the constructive and destructive aspects of the same process. It is the people who are sacrificed every day to maintain universal production, and it is the people again who feed with their blood the torch which lights up



PETER KROPOTKIN

human destiny.

When a thinker who has carefully studied the book of the sufferings of mankind defines the formula of a popular aspiration,

conservatives and reactionaries of all kinds all over the world begin shouting at the top of their voices that it is a scandal. Yes, it is a scandal, and we need scandals, for it is by the force of scandal that the revolutionary idea makes its way. What a scandal was stirred up by Proudhon when he cried: 'Property is theft!' But today there is no man of sense or feeling who does not think that the capitalist is the worst scoundrel among thieves—more than that, the only true thief. Armed with the most terrible instrument of torture, hunger, he torments his victim, not for a moment but for a lifetime; he torments not only his victim, but also the wife and children of the man he holds in his power. A thief risks liberty and often life, but the capitalist, the real thief, risks nothing, and when he steals he takes not just a part but the whole of the wealth of the worker.

But it is not enough to find a theoretical formula. Just as the deed gave rise to the revolutionary idea, so it is the deed again which must put it into practice.

At the first Congresses of the International, there were only a few workers in the French proletariat who accepted the idea of collective property. It needed the light which was thrown on the whole world by the incendiaries of the Commune to bring to life and to spread the revolutionary idea, and to bring us to the Hague Congress, which by the votes of 48 representatives of the French workers recognised free communism as the end. And yet we still remember that certain authoritarian dogmatists, full of seriousness and wisdom, repeated only a few years ago that the Commune had checked the socialist movement by giving rise to the most disastrous of reactions. Facts have shown the soundness of the opinions of these 'scientific socialists' (most of them knowing no science) who tried to

spread among socialists the well-known 'politics of results'.

So it is action which is needed, action and action again. In taking action, we are working at the same time for theory and for practice, for it is action which gives rise to ideas and which spreads them across the world.

But what kind of action shall we take? Should we go or send others to Parliament, or even to municipal councils? No, a thousand times no! We have nothing to do with the intrigues of the bourgeoisie. We have no need to get involved with the games of our oppressors, unless we wish to take part in their oppression. 'To go to Parliament is to parley; and to parley is to make peace,' said a German ex-revolutionary, who did plenty of parleying after that.

Our action must be permanent rebellion, by word, by writing, by dagger, gun or dynamite, sometimes even by ballot when it is a case of voting for an ineligible candidate like Blanqui or Trinet. We are consistent, and we shall use every weapon which can be used for rebellion. Everything is right for us which is not legal.

'But when should we begin to take our action, and open our attack?' friends sometimes ask us. 'Shouldn't we wait until our strength is organised? To attack before you are ready is to expose yourself and risk failure.'

Friends, if we go on waiting until we are strong enough before attacking, we shall never attack, and we shall be like the good man who wouldn't go into the sea until he had learnt to swim. It is exactly revolutionary action which develops our strength, just as exercise develops the strength of our muscles. True, at first our blows will not be deadly ones. Perhaps we shall even make the serious and wise socialists laugh, but we can always reply: 'You are

laughing at us because you are as stupid as those who laugh at a child falling down when it learns to walk. Does it amuse you to call us children? All right then, we are children, for the development of our strength is still in its infancy. But by trying to walk, we show that we are trying to become men—complete organisms, healthy and strong, able to make a revolution—not scribbling editors, old before their time, constantly chewing over a science which they can never digest, and always preparing in infinite space and time a revolution which has disappeared into the clouds.'

How shall we begin our action? Just look for an opportunity, and it will soon appear. Wherever rebellion can be sensed and the sound of battle can be heard, that is where we must be. Don't wait to take part in a movement which appears with the label of official socialism on it. Every popular movement already carries within it the seeds of the social revolution—we must take part in it to ensure its growth. A clear and precise ideal of revolution is formulated only by an infinitesimal minority, and if we wait to take part in a struggle which appears exactly as we have imagined it in our minds, we shall wait for ever. Do not imitate the dogmatists who ask for the formula before everything else—the people carry the living revolution in their hearts, and we must fight and die with them.

And when the supporters of legal or parliamentary action come and criticise us for not having anything to do with the people when they vote, we shall reply to them: 'Certainly, we refuse to have anything to do with the people when they are down on their knees in front of their god, their king, or their master; but we shall always be with them when they are standing upright against their powerful enemies. For us, abstention from politics is not abstention from revolution; our refusal to take part in any parliamentary, legal or reactionary action is the measure of our devotion to a violent and anarchist revolution, to the revolution of the rabble and the poor.'

(translation by Nicolas Walter)

## MAX STIRNER: LIBERTY UNLIMITED

MAX STIRNER'S thought places him among the most rewarding of the anarchist philosophers, yet he remains much more talked about than read and is all too often dismissed as out of date. What I want to do here is to make a brief analysis of his work with particular reference to the present day.

He was born Johann Kaspar Schmidt in Bayreuth, Germany, in 1806, of a family with modest means. The name 'Stirner' which became his *nom de plume* is a slang term that translates roughly as 'highbrow' and sprang from the fact that he had an extraordinarily large forehead. Highbrow or not, he was a poor student and after years of study was qualified only for a minor teaching job. By day he taught philosophy to respectable young ladies; but by night he was a completely different man, an habitué of the café used as a meeting place by the 'Free Ones'. This group of humanists and backroom revolutionaries claimed freedom as a basic human right and devoted their time to discussing it while trying, as far as possible, to live freely. Stirner's role in relation to the group was for the most part a passive one; smoking a large cigar, the only luxury in his otherwise frugal life, he was content simply to sit and listen. Yet at the same time he was thinking and writing, and in 1843 he published his major work, *The Ego and His Own*. Suddenly he was famous, his work read, discussed, commented on; he found himself thrust into the limelight, the undisputed spokesman for the cause of freedom without restriction. From that time he aimed to live solely for his work. Marriage to a member of the Free Ones followed, but his fortunes declined; his fame disappeared as quickly as it had come, earning a living was difficult, his marriage ended in divorce. He died, forgotten and destitute, in 1856.

Thus his life-story lacks the heroic quality we associate with Proudhon, Bakunin or Kropotkin, and this probably goes a long way towards explaining the lack of interest in the man and his work. His life was unremarkable; but the same

cannot be said of *The Ego and His Own*, for he succeeded in putting into this book all the main elements, revolutionary and constructive, of his thought.

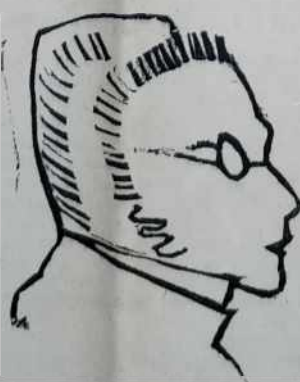
*The Ego and His Own* is made up of two contrasting parts: in the first Stirner takes a comprehensive look at the social factors which result in the alienation, the subduing and the subordination of the individual; in the second section a critical re-examination of the terms of the first leads him to the conclusion that absolute individual freedom is the most vital of all social conditions. This second part, the better of the two, is of further importance in that it proves beyond contradiction that Stirner's philosophy is constructive rather than nihilist; verification of this can be found in his demonstration of how the forces which alienate the individual could be reappropriated for the benefit of all.

In this connection he considers the State and shows that coercion and manipulation are fundamental to its wellbeing, even when, as in the case of a liberal regime, freedom and the good of humanity are proclaimed as goals. In fact it is this liberal, democratic state that Stirner attacks most strongly for, by proposing what he terms 'citizenship' as a prime virtue, it demands the co-operation of the individual: 'Citizenship is nothing else than the thought that the state is all in all, the true man, and that the individual's human value consists in being a citizen of the state.' In declaring man's freedom its only goal, the liberal state in fact imposes limitations on the individual by creating duties for him: 'But if the deserving count as the free... the obedient servant is the free man! What glaring nonsense!'

We can't afford to kid ourselves in this respect: the state's idea of the perfect man is not the fully developed individual, but one who shows no divergence from an accepted standard of general mediocrity, one who won't generate unrest and dissatisfaction in others. What the state wants is... a 'rational order', a 'moral behaviour', a 'limited freedom', not anarchy, lawlessness, selfhood.

Thus in the liberal state 'reason' reigns and the individual is submerged.

The real danger here is not subjection, which can always be resisted, but the fact that in the democratic state authority becomes impersonal and hypocritical: 'In the citizen-State there are only "free people" who are compelled to thousands of things... But what does that amount to? Why, it is only the State, the law, not any man that compels them!' Thus authority is everybody and nobody at the same time. In this regard Stirner states in clear form what we feel today: which of us, at some stage, has not been at odds with some official department; which of us, trying to get something definite amidst the evasion and the buck-passing, has not found himself sitting opposite somebody whose responsibility is so diluted, so diffuse, as to be almost non-existent? Inevitably, the order has come from 'higher-up'.



MAX STIRNER

Stirner readily accepts that man is a social being: the unacceptable thing is that society as we know it relies basically on coercion as a motive force. He begins by demonstrating that in a liberal society men depend on each other and that out of this situation work has emerged as being of overriding importance; like public-mindedness it is raised to the level of a social virtue, deprived of its intimate connection with the individual, and turned into a new form of subjection: 'That the Communist sees in you the

man, the brother, is only the Sunday side of Communism. According to the work-day side he does not by any means take you as man simply, but as human labourer or labouring man... If you were a "lazybones" he would not indeed fail to recognize the man in you, but would endeavour to cleanse him as a "lazy man" from laziness and to convert you to the faith that labour is man's "destiny and calling".'

The two sources of alienation that we have looked at, the liberal state and the liberal society, are doubly dangerous in that both are the products of a well-intentioned point of view. This leads Stirner to an examination of humanitarian liberalism, in his eyes the worst of all creators of alienation. Humanism, preoccupied with man in general, with what he represents and what he can become, has as its main aim human perfection. With religion on the decline, humanism has created a new god whose form is that of the perfect man; what each of us is, what each of us has that sets him apart from his fellows, is to disappear, to be absorbed into the imaginary ideal. This fundamental aberration, the sacrifice of the individual to a generalized 'ideal man', is the main target of Stirner's attack in this part of the book: '... the humane liberal no longer concedes to the individual anything private or exclusive, any private thought, any private folly... his hatred of the private is an absolute and fanatical one... he knows no tolerance toward what is private, because everything private is unhuman... The end-product of this kind of humanism, with its implicit denial of all individual originality, is 1984.'

Stirner reaches the conclusion that the state, whatever form it takes, always restricts personal freedom, but that life in society comes naturally to man and that it is therefore necessary to find a social system which leaves the individual free of all constraint. With this end in mind, he proposes an arrangement whereby individuals, of their own free will, enter into association with each other in order to satisfy the needs they feel; but this association must be totally flexible, always allowing for any change called for by the self-interest and the capacities of each individual. This, for Stirner, is the only system which allows people to live together and to derive benefit from each

other in the way they should; for it acknowledges that relationships between individuals are based solely on self-interest. The only valid form of society is that which allows the individual to be his own master at all times and in all circumstances, which leaves him free to act as his wishes and his possibilities dictate. His acts will be founded upon personal decisions, and he will bear full responsibility for them; whether he succeeds or fails, or proves incapable of the things he attempts, he alone will bear the consequences of his actions.

Thus we are led to consider the individual and his personal enjoyment of the world around him. In the chapter entitled 'My Self-enjoyment' Stirner again examines humanism in order to develop his own theory of man and man's freedom. He begins by disputing the validity of the idea that man is in the process of 'becoming', of realizing his potential; for Stirner the individual is himself at all times: 'The true man does not lie in the future, an object of longing, but lies, existent and real, in the present. Whatever and whoever I may be... I am it, I am the true man.'

And so each man is unique; he has his own possibilities; and his own capacities enable him to be what he wants to be. 'I am not an ego along with all the other egos, but the sole ego; I am unique... It is only as this unique I that I take everything for my own, I set myself to work, and develop myself... I do not develop men, nor as man, but, as I, I develop—myself.' In this, the last section of the book, Stirner's thought reaches its apogee: the individual is released from the humanist quagmire, his unity and intrinsic value are brilliantly demonstrated; and the possibility is revealed of his coming to full flower in a climate of boundless freedom.

'In the unique one the owner himself returns into his creative nothing, of which he is born.' Thus Stirner, in his closing words, asks that this book should not be taken literally; but that each of us, considering himself as the unique one, should rewrite it for himself.

(PAUL CHAUVEY in *Le Monde Libéraire*, translated by John Thurston.)

(All quotations are from Stephen T. Byington's translation of *The Ego and His Own*, obtainable from Freedom Bookshop at 15/-.)



# On Sheikhs and 'Censorship'

Dear Editors,

John Rety swings wildly in his 'Sheikhs and Shekels' article. Of King Faisal's visit, he writes 'the independent free press of this country obeyed instructions to whip up some interest'. Has it escaped Rety's notice that FREEDOM itself is part of that free press? It is nonsense to suggest that a mainly Tory press would obey 'instructions' from a Labour Government—or even from a Tory Government. The British system is nothing like so blatant and much more effective for its subtlety. A mainly Tory press could be expected to do what it did in any case: no doubt they were strongly urged to by Government officials, probably receiving promises of a favoured access to inside information afterwards. On the other hand, if Constantine did secretly visit Britain, that might very well be covered by a 'D' notice.

John Rety also alleges that the magazine *Censorship* was subsidised by the CIA and that it 'paid its way by creating a kind of universal guilt about censorship'. I'm not sure what the quoted words mean, would Rety be more explicit? What is his evidence for the CIA allegation? *Censorship*, now extinct I think, was financed by the Congress for Cultural Freedom. But this was after the Congress had refused CIA money and

had become financed by the Ford Foundation, if the press reports about the *Encounter* mess up are to be believed. The first issue of *Censorship* appeared in Autumn, 1964. The *Observer* writes in its article, May 14, 1967: 'Congress too was seeking a new financial base. This took somewhat longer, but by 1965 the Ford Foundation was providing all the help that was needed.' Looking through *Censorship*, whose associate editors included Richard Hoggart and Ignazio Silone, I do see one extreme and biased view on China's censorship apparatus, but I also see criticisms of censorship in the USA, Britain, France, W. Germany, Italy, Spain, Japan, Sweden, Canada, etc., etc. Dave Cunliffe will be interested in Rety's allegation, since he contributed an article on the *Golden Convolvulus* case. So will Boleslaw Sulik, *Tribune's* film critic, and Raymond Durnat, a contributor to *Views* and to *International Times*.

The same suspicion had crossed my mind, which is why I took care to look at what evidence is available and, on that, at any rate, found the suspicion unfounded. A pity John Rety didn't do the same. If he has evidence to substantiate his allegation, I'd like to hear it.

TOM PAINE.

## Reflections on 'Censorship'

LET me say at the outset that I thought *Censorship* magazine was an excellent periodical, whoever financed it. As I said in my previous article it does not matter where the subsidy comes from—the CWS proved a worse patron than the CIA. I was trying to prove that a communal subsidy (similar to the one FREEDOM enjoys) leaves editorial policy free from demands of advertisers and backers.

Nevertheless *Censorship* magazine was a very good job. It reprinted a little known classic on censorship by R. P. Blackmur: 'Dirty hands, or the true born censor'. Rescuing this article from oblivion (it was first printed in 1930 and then forgotten) alone would have justified its existence. But there were many other articles of value. Here is a personal choice. 'Pi Printers' by B. S. Johnson, B. H. Yemini on the 'British Public Libraries', Giles Gordon's 'Smith's Choice'—all these articles I found very illuminating on the special difficulties minority papers face in printing and distribution. In the last-named article there is a reference to W. H. Smith's propensity to be self-appointed censors and their curious reason for refusing to distribute *Sanity*—because it always carried a large CND symbol on its front page.

On a different level I also enjoyed Raymond Durnat's contribution which was a truly libertarian piece of writing, as was also Dave Cunliffe's account of his trial.

Now, even allowing for some 'bias', what, you might ask, was there for the CIA in it? Statistical analysis can prove nothing. The fact that 10 articles were published on censorship in Soviet bloc countries and only five about the United States means nothing because even one article is bad propaganda for the US.

I cannot argue my case the way 'Tom Paine' wishes me to, my assertion only makes sense if one accepts my premise (which he professes to misunderstand). The phrase simply means that if it is shown that censorship exists in all the countries of the world, a regrettable but unavoidable evil, then all fight against it is useless. Therefore to hope for its total disappearance is illusory and one should merely try to limit the extent of censorship. I hope that it is becoming evident what I am driving at. There is more censorship in a dictatorship than in a democracy. In the latter it takes a more subtle form perhaps, suggests 'Tom Paine'. This word 'subtle' appears in a key passage on American censorship by Alan Reitman: 'The battle continues on subtler levels'. Here is the passage:

'A survey of the American censorship scene covering books and magazines,

films, art, and radio-TV happily begins and concludes with the clear fact that traditional forms of censorship, governmental bans or prosecutions are not today's major pressure points.

'However, new and more complex methods are being substituted including harassment by private groups, extra-legal coercion (some direct and some subtle) and classification of material audiences.'

A recent report (*Times*, June 5) corroborates this. The University of Missouri conducted a survey to determine the freedom of the press in 94 countries. They defined freedom as absolute independence and critical ability, qualified only by minimal legislation against libel and obscenity, and the absence of concentrated ownership, marginal economic units, or organised self-regulation.

It is no surprise that the US was amongst the leading countries and the Soviet bloc right at the bottom, but 'Tom Paine' should learn that the British press was considered less free than that of Costa Rica, Peru (!) and fourteen other countries.

Britain's press was considered unfree because of the libel laws, organised self-regulation (which includes the Press Council and acceptance of 'D' notices), concentrated ownership, the number of marginal press units (I don't know what this means—J.R.), and Government control of foreign exchange.

This may answer 'Tom Paine's' wild assertion that we are part of the 'free press' of this country. I think we (FREEDOM and *Anarchy*) are freer than most, but nowhere near free. We rely on the intelligence and co-operation of our type-setters and printers and in this respect we are luckier than other Libertarian papers in this country. There are two other papers in this country that attempt at least to be free and they both fail. *Peace News* fails because of prudishness on the part of its readers and printers, and *International Times* fails because it gives way to the police and to the censorship laws. It would be a good idea to list sometime all papers in this country, big or small, who attempt to be free. There must be other specialised ones.

The first time I looked at *Censorship* magazine was to read Dave Cunliffe's article and in that issue I noticed two articles that aroused my suspicion. There was this article on China by George N. Patterson which is not just biased but is blatant cold war propaganda and an article on Cuba which was not much better. When I saw the Congress for Cultural Freedom's imprint my suspicions were confirmed that the CIA had a hand in this magazine. (This was long before

## 'Moscow Says Mao Readies a Refuge'—International Herald Tribune

BRITISH GOVERNMENT DECLARE they are laying down part of the white man's burden 'somewhere East of Suez', withdrawing from Malaysia and Singapore between 1973 and 1977. They claim to be making a one-fifth reduction in military manpower by mid-1970s and one-twentieth in defence budget over the same period. Owing to deteriorating economic position this is surmised to be a prelude to cuts in social services (for example, an increase in school meal prices), forecast for announcement before Parliament's long summer holiday.

MILITARY EXPENDITURE INCREASED in Hong-Kong where troops founded up known—and suspected—Communists. The ultimate British deterrent seems to have been launched in Hong-Kong with the transmitting of *Coronation Street* (an independent television soap opera) with Cantonese subtitles. The Indian government has proposed the soothing charms of a free (FREE!) transistor set to those who clip—pardon!—to those men undergoing voluntary sterilization after having had three children. The chairman of Carreras tobacco company resigned on the issue of cigarette coupons.

THE REVEREND JOHN MCNIHOL, secretary of the National Association of Drug Addiction (according to the *Evening Standard*), is protesting to Lord Thomson (who is away in Canada) against the acceptance by *The Times* of a full-page advertisement calling for the legalisation of marijuana. 'If,' says the Reverend, 'I am unable to reach Lord Thomson in time to prevent the advertisement I will take a full-page advertisement in *The*

*Times* next week to state the case against marijuana.' (Happy days for *The Times* advertising manager!) The Reverend goes on to say that one of the big dangers of the pro-marijuana advertisement was that it had been organised by a group of people who had been infiltrated by Communists. 'I am quite certain that Communists are behind this, I regard it as very significant that Steve Abrahams (the organiser of the advertisement) taught for a time at Leningrad University, and that was the place where he first got interested in drugs.' Somebody should tell the *Morning Star* (or their advertising manager). Their attitude on drugs is at best non-committal or, at worst, Puritanical.

A READER WROTE to the *Morning Star* to complain about Dr. John Lewis's remark that 'When Marx said that "Religion is the opium of the people" he did not mean that it was a drug administered by the rich to keep the poor quiet, but that suffering people create their own consoling beliefs to make their lives endurable. Marx himself,' goes on Dr. Lewis (a Marxist), 'did not realise, as Lenin did, that while religion very often has this function, it can also lend powerful supernatural support to the authority and the monarchy on the one hand, and can give courage and inspiration to revolutionary movements on the other.' The reader in his letter criticizes the *Morning Star's* apparent support of the 'dialogue' between Communists and Christians saying, 'I note, with some regret, the present tendency of some Socialist intellectuals to "give ground" on very fundamental points in our (Communist) ideology.'

THE NEW YORK TIMES MOSCOW correspondent reports an increase in ceremonial in Moscow's Palace of Weddings where nuptial rites are performed. The *N.Y. Times* quotes this 'will make weddings more beautiful. And more official. . . . The stronger the family the stronger is the state,' Mrs. Baschenko [assistant director of the Palace] said, paraphrasing both Marx and Lenin. 'We want our brides and grooms to be sure of what they're doing. We want these marriages to last. We believe the solemn ceremonies have great value.'

THE WASHINGTON POST reported a 'mar-

riage' at a peace farm at Voluntown, New Connecticut, New England. Both bride and groom wore white for the occasion and the groom wore a red sash and bells. No clergyman was present because, said the bride's mother, 'the couple do not believe that getting married has anything to do with the church or state. . . . You don't need permission to get married.' The ceremony consisted of a dialogue between bride and groom explaining their 'marriage' plans—peace work—to the wedding guests. They met, says the *Washington Post* at a sit-in at the Pentagon, shortly after the 'groom' had finished a 17-month prison sentence for refusing to serve in the Army.

PEACE NEWS had a severe attack of the flower-power of the press by a rather ostentatious plea for justice for a jailed police constable, a touching picture of President Johnson as a grandfather, and a profile of Senator Wayne Morse, who, among other things, is a supporter of strike-breaking legislation; who has just been appointed head of a mediation board for the US railways strike settlement. (Mr. George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO is a member of the board.)

NICOLAS WALTER, committed to Brixton for his part in the Brighton church demonstration, has notified the press (saying he was an anarchist): 'I will not co-operate with regulations I feel are unreasonable and I will do no work except under union conditions for union pay.' He further said he would go on hunger strike if he was excessively punished (e.g. withdrawal of privileges) for his attitude at Brixton.

IN BRAZIL three men were acquitted by a judge on a charge of carrying marijuana. Sitting in Brasilia, he said, 'It is impossible to condemn anyone for carrying four grains of marijuana when at the same time television promotes in an insistent manner the consumption of hard liquor. . . . Alcohol is as much or more benumbing than marijuana and causes immense damage to the public health. It would be cynical to condemn anyone for using the herb.'

JON QUIXOTE.

### LETTERS

## On Spain & Revolution

Dear Readers,

M. J. Walsh, writing on the Barcelona 'May Days' denounces the CNT/FAI leaders for 'selling the social revolution down the river for a mess of potage'. Apart from his (I hope unintentional) use of 'selling' Mike doesn't say why the CNT/FAI leaders acted as they did, nor why so many of the rank and file agreed with the leaders (sic), nor did he write of the terrible dilemma which faced the leaders nor suggest how it could have been avoided.

The dilemma arises from the following. As social or revolutionary feeling grows in a country it will flow into various channels. A straight line-up and showdown between a wholly anarchist revolutionary movement and the right, with no shades of opinion in between, is impossible. On the left there will be liberals, democratic socialists and communists as well as anarchists. On the right will be a mixture of opinions, too. Many people will not support any faction. The situation in Spain was further complicated by regionalism—thus the right-wing Basque and Catalan nationalists opposed Franco because, unlike many republicans, he stood for strong central government.

Once, say, 10% of the population support the anarchists, then either the right or the moderate left, whichever is in power, sets out to smash them. They are hardly likely to wait until anarchist strength becomes formidable. Thus the anarchists will have to fight when they are weak and at a time chosen by their opponents.

But in Spain the right struck first and at all shades of the left. Although the moderate left was anti-anarchist, it was still preferable to fascism, so what were the CNT/FAI leaders to do? To cause large-scale dissension in the left camp would jeopardise the moderate left's foreign support as well as make things easier militarily for the fascists. And even if the anarchists thought the moderate left as bad as the fascists they just hadn't the strength to fight all their opponents at once.

This is the dilemma the Spanish anarchists found themselves in. To see their hopes and gains whittled away or to help fascism with a hopeless attack on the moderate left. What, I ask Mike Walsh, is to be done in such a situation? Even

if Mike thinks the moderate left is on a par with fascism (and many Spanish anarchists didn't) there is still the problem of how the anarchists can fight all their opponents at once.

This doesn't mean that anarchism will always be smashed or whittled away and forced to compromise. There is anarchism and anarchism. I don't think the opponents of anarchism would resort to smashing tactics if the sort of ideas of, say, ANARCHY were to become widespread.

But militant, revolutionary anarchism, for all its courage and idealism, either gets nowhere or helps to lead out of the social democratic frying pan into the fascist fire. This is the real 'lesson of the Spanish revolution'.

Yours,  
JEFF ROBINSON.

## Genocide Square

Dear Comrades,

Last week I wrote a letter to *Peace News* with regard to police violence. I was happy to see a complementary article in *FREEDOM*, but my letter was also an appeal—an appeal for people who saw or were involved in the incident ending with unnecessary violence and brutality. The appeal is also to Janet Chatten who was the unfortunate culprit and punchbag for the police, who still had an excess of energy. It is only with her that the train of legal proceedings can start rolling.

I have also noticed bystanders taking photographs, these too can be used in evidence.

If there is anything that you know write to me at 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

Till now there was only one useful bit of information, and that is the name and division of a police inspector watching the display of fists, knees and boots flying to their intended target.

The public must be made aware of this body called the Police, for they still have got the impression that the gentlemen in blue are here to protect us from thugs.

Remember this is the same way the police started in Germany and now in Greece, we may be next. Come forward if you know anything.  
London, N.1. S. MANDELBAUM.

## A Successful Meeting in Harlow

A CROWD of never less than 50 and, on occasions, as many as 200, listened and argued with six anarchist speakers last Saturday, July 22. There was one local speaker, all the others travelled from London, Birmingham, Suffolk and West Essex to be there at the invitation of the very active and resourceful Harlow Anarchist Group. The speakers were Albert Meltzer, Roger Sandall, Nigel Wilson, Robert Barltrop, an HAF member, John Rety and Philip Sansom.

R.

## Posters

GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS who take bundles of *FREEDOM* will be receiving soon a poster to help them with sales. These posters merely carry the name *FREEDOM* on top and it is hoped that sellers will fill in their own headlines as appropriate (within the laws of libel-obscenity and grammar!). If you require one please let us know.

We would like to remind all readers and groups that we need more street sellings. Copies can be supplied on sale or return. For example, we should like to thank the new group in Rochdale for taking 40 copies to try and sell.



# Unemployment Again

A YEAR HAS PASSED since the Prime Minister announced his July measures to deal with the economy. We have had six months of wage freeze, six of severe restraint and an economic squeeze which has deflated the economy. Looking back, the Government had it easy, as far as the trade unions were concerned. There were many cases where wage freeze orders were made, but that was as far as it went. For all Mr. Cousins' talk and all Mr. Clive Jenkins' legal argy-bargy, the freeze worked.

It must be admitted that not only have earnings been reduced, but in many instances, shop floor union organisation has either been smashed or emasculated.

However, this is not to say that no workers made breakthroughs.

## Contact Column

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

**Floor Space Required, Sheffield.** For three comrades August 21-23, in or around Sheffield. Contact B. P. Norcott, 116 Lower Cippinham Lane, Slough.

**Camping.** Weekend camp in bucolic surroundings. If anyone is interested in a camping holiday in late August in Lyme Regis, please contact B. Shuttleworth, 103 City Road, Bristol, 2.

**Change of address.** Ian and Peggy Sutherland are now at 8 Esslemont Avenue, Aberdeen.

**Accommodation.** One or two comrades offered share of country cottage (West Country) in return for few hours work weekly. Own transport essential. Box.

**Libertarian Teachers' Association Bulletin No. 3** now on sale from bookshops and by post (2/- p.o.) from P. Ford, 82 North Road, Highgate, London, N.6.

**Holiday Camp.** There's a few vacancies left. Come and join us in Kent, either on both of first two weeks in September, it's only £9 full board, less for children. I've organised speakers, films and poetry readings so far. Information: B. McDonald, 80 Marten Road, E.17.

**Holiday for Children.** Weekend holiday offered for children in Kent. Deprived or hard-up, gardenless children welcome. Small contribution 8a Montacute Gardens, Tunbridge Wells.

**Flats and Houses Cleaned.** Simple redecoration and gardening jobs wanted. A. W. Uloth, 75 Templars Avenue, London, N.W.11.

**Come Home All is Forgiven.** Wanted news of whereabouts of Lewisham Anarchist banner arrested in Genocide Square. News to Lewisham Group.

**Accommodation—London.** Any kind of accommodation wanted from Aug./Sept./Oct. for anarchist-inclined student (male). No petty restrictions. Apply Paul Kiddey, 1 West Hill Way, Totteridge, London, N.20.

**Wanted.** Financial help to establish anarchist press (or printing facilities) in Far East. Box 62.

**Dialectics of Liberation.** July 15-28. Roundhouse, Chalk Farm. Laing, Bateson, Carmichael, Marcuse, Goodman, Ginsberg, etc. 10/- per lecture, 7/6 students. Further details: The Roundhouse.

**Summer School.** Committee of 100. Aylesmore Farm, Shipston-on-Stour, Warwick. July 29-August 9. Details from John and April Majoram, 47 St. Alban's Road, Leicester.

**Broadmoor patient** soon to be released needs job. Replies to A.R. Reading Group.

**Former Junkie.** Wants job and accommodation in London. Box 54.

**Accommodation.** Anarchist seeks accommodation, in Camden Town or Islington. Box 50.

**Musicians.** Required for a South-East London Anarchist Social on September 23. Enquiries and quotes to Lewisham Anarchists address.

**Blues.** Piano player wishes to join/form R & B group. Please phone Eddie, 722 9188.

**Anarchist Christianity/Christian Anarchism.** A dialectic. 7 p.m. Friday, August 11, 1967, at 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

These involved a few but, nevertheless, well-organised workers who managed to force their managements to pay up. They did not make the headlines because neither party wanted the Government to step in.

Last year's measures were taken to revive our capitalist economy. There was a 'sterling crisis', an ever-increasing trade deficit and inflation. The Labour Government took measures to solve these, but once again, in this month of July, the economy is faced with the same, although perhaps not so extensive, problems. There is another run on sterling and after the surpluses at the end of last year, trade balances are once again showing a deficit. So have last year's measures worked?

As far as Anarchists are concerned, I do not think it matters one way or the other, the point being that under a capitalist system, there will always be problems and it will be working people who will have to make the sacrifices to solve these ever-recurring set-backs in the system. We do not have the answers for solving capitalist problems but we are concerned about the effects these problems have on people.

### OUR 'TRIBUNE' FRIENDS

It seems to me to be somewhat naive for people to blame the Labour Government for the present economic system. This week's *Tribune* does this in a number of articles, but only gives another capitalistic variation of a solution. They want devaluation of the pound, so as to bring about an 'export-orientated' expansion, and import controls. But what seems to escape our *Tribune* friends is that someone has to buy the exports in order to bring about this expansion and it is very easy for other countries to impose import control in retaliation.

What must be recognised is that capitalism is not British, but international and, as such, faces that same problem elsewhere. World trade as a whole is not expanding enough. America, Germany and France are having similar problems. They are all trying to export more

and import less and so, as in all competitions, someone has to come out second.

In all these countries, including Britain, unemployment is rising. This week, the Ministry of Labour published the July figures of 496,372 people out of work, which is nearly double the number in July of last year and the highest July figure since the Second World War. The most disturbing thing, though, is that the trend is still rising and the signs are that in the first quarter of next year, about 700,000 people will be unemployed.

In spite of all the tinkering with the economy, we are still faced with unemployment. *Tribune* calls for expansion, but there is no longer a seller's market and so the system's answer is unemployment. While this, or redeployment as it is sometimes misnamed, has been rising, managements are using their reduced labour forces more efficiently. It has been a year of take-overs, mergers, closures and re-organisation of production. While companies have reduced their labour force, overall output has not been lost. This, although small, means an increase in productivity. In the same period, the fall in investments has not been so great as was expected. While wages were frozen, prices went up and so further helped profits.

The trouble with *Tribune* is that they attack the Government for not being 'socialist'. Of course the contradiction is that in order to have socialism, you must first abolish capitalism and the Government are first of all administering a capitalist economy. They are trying to put British capitalism on a better competitive basis. For a number of reasons, mostly external and inherent in the system, they have not succeeded in doing this to any great extent during the past year, but no matter how politically uncomfortable this might be to the Government in the short term, I am certain they will carry out their plans, despite *Tribune* and the 'left' MPs.

P.T.

## THE VAUXHALL CARVE-UP

VAUXHALL'S have been told, in no uncertain terms, what they can do with their new wage proposals. One union official is reported as saying that the company's proposals were so way out that they could not be considered even as a basis for discussion. An interim wage increase was proposed by the union whilst the management considered the unions' proposals, this was turned down by the management.

Vauxhall's used to boast of its industrial relations with its Management Advisory Committee (MAC). This committee is elected by workers from 22 constituencies. Its terms of reference include welfare matters, promotions and some manning questions. Pay was excluded. It appears that everyone became so friendly that the workers on the shop floor became confused as to who represented who.

A year ago Vauxhall management appointed four 'labour representatives', all former trade union officials. Vauxhall workers should have no difficulty in recognising the 'labour representatives' for what they are worth. That's simple. They are the bastards who have 'sold out'.

Another anomaly imposed by Vauxhall management upon themselves is their recognition of only three unions, the AEU, NUVB and, in recent times, the ETU. Workers outside these unions do not know how they are represented in negotiations.

Vauxhall's are attempting a Ford-type

wages deal whereby the workers pay for their increases themselves, by speed-up, alteration of shift working and compulsory overtime. It is heartening to note that the Vauxhall workers at all three plants (Luton, Dunstable and Ellesmere Port) are standing together against the management's proposals. Why not include Ford workers in the struggle—after all, the management is the same.

### THE WONDERS OF MODERN UNIONISM

It took a Ministry of Labour arbitration inquiry to find out who should work fork-lift trucks—dockers (TGWU) or NUR men at Tyne Dock. The argument has been going on for about a year. The arbitration's findings worked out to be approximately 50/50. Whilst it is understandable that men are concerned about their jobs in terms of redundancy, friction over jobs is one of the most effective ways of dividing workers. Whilst they are fighting each other, they are leaving the employers alone. Modern trade union outlook encourages these situations, it is the only way some of them can express their militancy, plus the fact that members mean cash in the union coffers.

### TRAWLMEN MAY BE TORPEDOED

Early last month the trawlermen's union (TGWU) negotiated with the trawler-owners a sliding scale paid holidays arrangement. The TUC hatchet committee gave it its blessing, but it appears that the Ministry of Labour

# Freedom For Workers' Control

JULY 29 1967 Vol 28 No 23

## ACT NOW AGAINST ONE-MAN BUSES

IN a recent article in *FREEDOM* I pointed out the grave dangers to both busmen and the ordinary public of a plan for the introduction of one-man 72-seater double-decker buses on three less important Birmingham bus routes. These were to be introduced 'as an experiment' on Sundays. I suggested that this 'experiment' was likely to succeed. It has.

One-man double-decker buses have now been introduced onto the very busy 96 bus route running from Ratcliffe Place to the Smethwick boundary. There is a standard fare of 6d. (which is a blessing, except that most of the revenue was bound to come from the 4d. short distance tickets anyway—it passes through an old, densely-populated area of Newtown close to the city boundary—this means that for most people using them fares have gone up 50%). The standard of driving does not yet seem to have been affected though the traffic flow has decreased as the fares have to be paid on entry whilst the vehicle is stationary and queues of traffic form behind in the narrow streets. However, the time taken to cover the distances has increased, though with an inspector at nearly every timing point this might decrease, but what this does for the driver's nerves is nobody's business.

The thing that is most important about this is the fact that this has been introduced and the Corporation has been allowed to get away with it. It will be seen by other Corporations and Companies that 'this works' and used as a precedent.

Now is the time to start fighting against its introduction elsewhere lest we find that 50% of the labour force in many companies is put out of work, while the other 50% work like hell to keep their jobs.

In an era of trade union disintegration,

great losses are being made by the working class. It is up to busmen now to see that they do not lose further. If you don't fight now you've had it, tomorrow is too late. It is too late precisely because the general public are being sold on the idea of cheaper standard fares for long distances. If you try to fight against an accomplished fact, you will get no support. You must fight now, or you've had your chance mates, and that is it.

PETER NEVILLE.

## DISABLED RALLY

Dear Comrades,

As I find *FREEDOM* in sympathy with the struggle of the disabled sick, and the long-term sick, may I therefore add the following for publication for us in *FREEDOM*.

The Disabled Meeting  
SUNDAY, July 30, 1967  
at 2.45 p.m.

in Trafalgar Square

Television, radio and press arrangements are being made (without help we would be unknown today).

**TIMETABLE**  
2-3 Music  
Gathering in Trafalgar Square  
3.30 Procession along Whitehall to Downing Street in wheelchairs, invalid cars, ambulances, crutches  
4 Call on Prime Minister—Petition  
5.15 Finish

Fraternally,

Slough, Bucks.  
12.7.67

R. E. WILLIAMS.

## OK So Far—But Winter Is Ahead

WEEK 29, JULY 22, 1967:

Expenses: 29 weeks at £90: £2610

Income: Sales and Subs.: £2027

DEFICIT: £583

Slough: Anarchists 5/-; Aberdeen: I.S. 1/6; Kensing: K.B. 2/-; Northolt: J.H. 2/-; London, E.17: B.McD. £1; Nottingham: H.T. £1; London, W.2: P.B.W. £1/3/10; Cheltenham: L.G.W.\* 10/-; Leeds: A.C. 5/-; London, W.11: D.R. 12/-; Dereham: J.B. 3/9; London, N.4: B. & H. McG. 10/-; Needham, Mass.: Gruppo Libertario, per L.T. £14; Waterloo, Ont.: D.R. £2/12/6; Portland, Oregon: J.G.C. 5/-; Twickenham: J.B. 4/9; Lymington: M.H. 5/-.

TOTAL: £23 2 4

Previously Acknowledged: £670 16 9

1967 Total to Date: £693 19 1

\*Denotes Regular Contributor.

## Subscribe for a Friend

BILL CHRISTOPHER.