

Freedom

Anarchist Weekly

6d

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LICENCE TO KILL

ON OCTOBER 11, 1966, a DC4 crashed in North Africa with a cargo of British and American sub-machine guns, part of an illegal arms shipment from Holland to the consignee, an unknown group of men within Nigeria.

It is now 10 months since this air mishap brought the gun-running system to light. In that time nothing has been done to alter the method of administration. No MP appears sufficiently outraged on moral grounds. No pressure group seemed to be at all concerned. As of today, the same men involved in last October's enterprise can repeat the performance exactly, without any government department having the power to lift a finger to stop them. And the farce of issuing certificates subject to acceptable 'intended' destinations continues to make Her Majesty's Government a laughing-stock in every black market from Amsterdam to Tangiers.

However, the creaking wheels of democracy have begun to turn at last, and the Board of Trade and the Ministry of Defence are now considering what action, if any, they should take to remedy the situation.

In an article dated October 23, 1966, the *Sunday Times* 'Insight' column, more aptly named 'Hindsight', perhaps, gave a detailed account of the plot. The crucial key which opened all the doors for the gun-runners was the import certificate issued by the Board of Trade. The same article stated, in passing, that 'all weapons imports are administered by the Board of Trade, and controlled by the Ministry of Defence'. They did not elaborate on how the system is administered, or controlled. This fascinating information is set out here.

ISSUED ON REQUEST

Import certificates issued from Britain supplement the export control of the country from which the arms are exported. They are only issued at the request of the exporting country who wish to see some proof that the arms in question will be exported to the UK and will not be diverted or re-exported without proper authority. (In practice, as was seen last October, such assurance is misplaced, the certificate being nothing more than a worthless piece of paper.)

IMPORT LICENCES

Import licences are issued by the Import Licensing Branch of the Board of Trade. Contrary to the conclusion that might be drawn from the terse statement in the *Sunday Times* article, most applications for firearms licences are not passed to the MOD. When dealing with prohibited weapons, the Branch checks from the lists supplied by the MOD that the applicant has been authorised to deal in these weapons, and if so, would then issue the licence unless it concerned machine guns. In this situation, the application would be referred to the MOD for advice. The main reason for this check is on production grounds only.

For other firearms, the Branch check that the applicant is on the MOD lists as a Registered Firearms Dealer and, if so, issue the licence unless the application is for a large consignment of military rifles in which case it would be referred to the MOD for advice. The main reason for this check is on production grounds, as before.

From this it will be seen that there is no tight control—or even collaboration—between Departments on the individual issue of weapons licences—without which the necessary import certificates cannot be obtained.

IMPORT CERTIFICATES

Import certificates for firearms—issued by the Export Licensing Branch of the BOT, are only issued when the Branch are satisfied that an import licence for the same goods has already been issued. The exception to the general rule—incredible though it sounds—is where the firearms are declared to be for trans-shipment at a United Kingdom port. In such an instance no import licence is necessary for the issuing of the essential import certificate. The old MOD lists are dragged out again for checking that the applicant is 'an authorised dealer' and, after concurrence that the intended destination is acceptable to Her Majesty's Government, the certificate is issued.

THE PROPOSAL

Someone, somewhere, has proposed—in an effort to tighten the present situation—that the BOT should be given power to deny the granting of the import certificates on the grounds that the applicant had earlier been engaged in doubtful business.

The Board of Trade were terrified by this suggestion. If this were put into practice, they would have to explain to a person who had already been authorised by the Government as a fit person to trade in arms that the Board of Trade considered him to be otherwise.

AND SO ON

All arms deals are inhuman, whether private deals or deals between governments; whether 'legal' or 'illegal', whatever these differences may make. It can make little difference when you stare into the barrel of a machine gun whether it came openly in crates as a gift from the Wilson kakistocracy, from the deals of black marketeers, or was paid for by a flagitious organisation such as 'Shell Oil'.

There is still time to insist that the system whereby the Ministry of Defence validates lists of 'authorised dealers in prohibited weapons' (which is in itself a contradictory statement) and 'registered firearms dealers' must be revoked.

What sort of advanced civilisation do we fondly imagine ourselves to be, where the men we voted into office are empowered to licence private individuals as 'authorised dealers in prohibited weapons'?

Such a demand might seem mild compared to the more drastic actions of anarchists recorded elsewhere in FREEDOM. But it is a practical demand. It is the first step along the long road which has to be taken before the crucial question must be considered. To prohibit the sale of all arms abroad, from atomic weapons to air pistols, whether promoted privately or by the government of the day. Our armaments industry is one industry we can well do without.

BOYCOTT

Given success in stopping mercenary munitions, follow-up action must be taken against the greater villain, the 'legal' private arms trade. To protest against Government trade, lobby MPs, deluge them with mail, present them with petitions, and promise to vote them out of office unless they act.

And for private organisations? Since Shell Oil have emerged as one of the first commercial groups to declare war on people who threaten their production

Could Harlow be Destroyed?

IN CASE anyone should need reminding (and a great deal of the brave promises that came out of the 1945 election have been forgotten), Harlow owes its existence to the New Towns Act of 1946 which created several new towns (by the way, 20 towns were promised). F. J. Osborn, in his foreword to Ebenezer Howard's *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, says: 'Those now nearing completion have proved remarkably successful as places to live in and efficient centres of modern industry. Moreover, taken together they more than pay their way as national investments. They have aroused intense interest throughout the world as demonstrations of the practicability of the relief of congestion in overgrown cities by some planned dispersal of people and workplaces to new towns beyond reserved green belts, thereby permitting central renewal on more spacious and more humane standards'. Fine and good, but what has happened?

The *Harlow News*, distributed by Harlow Council, attacks Peter Masefield, chairman of the British Airport Authority, for suggesting that Harlow and other Essex towns should be expanded by 45% to accommodate Stansted airport workers. *Harlow News* goes on to say, 'It would mean destroying completely the original expansion proposals for housing homeless Londoners. With many workers dependent on a single industry outside the town, the balance and range of employment and consequently the community

itself would be completely destroyed'.

Since the government of Harold Wilson has rejected the ideas of its own committee on the siting of Stansted airport, it seems probable that the government of Harold Wilson will destroy the work of Clement Attlee. Judging by the remarks of local citizens during an anarchist open-air meeting in Harlow on July 22, there is not much Harlow objection to the siting of the airport—the general opinion seemed to be that it would create more jobs for Harlow people. This seems to be the general excuse for the siting of anything, from nuclear bomb-testing sites to concentration camps. The inhabitants of Los Alamo and Dachau townships no doubt made a good thing out of it but, apart from the desire for 'work for work's sake', regardless of social consequences, it is undesirable that Harlow should be destroyed by the dispersal of its workers to earn their livings away from where they live and that it should place too much reliance upon one expendable industrial or service asset. The history of Stevenage and missile production is salutary.

A town is not just an agglomeration of bricks and mortar, otherwise London would be a fine place and not a collection of solitudes. There is a maximum size beyond which a town becomes a populous wilderness, there is a balance to towns, there is a balance to the countryside (which the establishment of Stansted threatens to destroy), there is even a balance in the country's economy

—which the Labour Government has destroyed.

One of the things which will prevent the destruction of Harlow is the vigilance of its citizens. The Harlow anarchists know that there are things to preserve in Harlow, the anarchist reputation for destruction comes oddly from a generation and governments that sponsored Hiroshima, Belsen, Dresden and Coventry and—on a lesser and apparently accidental scale—the Torrey Canyon and Aberfan.

Andre Gide said 'In times when I feel that all that makes for the dignity, the honour, and the true values of man is in such danger—so threatened on all sides—what we go on living for, what gives a reason to our life, is precisely the knowledge that there are some young people—however few and from whatever country—who do not sit back, who keep intact their moral and intellectual integrity and protest against every totalitarian slogan, every movement that seeks to band, to control, to subjugate thought, to weaken the soul (for in the last analysis it is the soul that is in question); it is the knowledge that they are there, these young people, that they are alive, they, the salt of the earth; it is precisely that which sustains our confidence. I believe in the value of small nations. I believe in the value of the minority. The world will be saved by the few'.

This is an anarchist belief.

JACK ROBINSON.

DETROIT: SUMMER PLUNDER FESTIVAL

DETROIT'S 12th STREET begins about a half mile west of downtown's Woodward Avenue. The street then stretches from the Detroit River north across the near west side of the city.

It is not until it crosses West Grand Boulevard, however, that you begin to get the emotional sense of it. Where the real street begins. 12th Street. Ghetto.

The ghetto it represents spreads over 169 blocks from Grand Boulevard, to Clairmont, branching out on its sides to Dexter and Woodrow Wilson. Here thousands of crowded black people live, work when they can, hustle, suffer the police, love, do all the things people do and die. And it was here, while the rest of the city slept or got ready for bed, as the police were making one of their usual raids on a blind pig early the Sunday morning of July 23 that the greatest insurrection of black people yet, against the tyranny of white property and the institutions of white power that protect it, began to explode.

However, there was no 'incident' that began the revolt. The 'incident' was the street, the ghetto, and the city. The 'incident' was their whole lives. The 'incident' was the instance then, or any time, of a lurch for sanity, a pursuit, an affirmation that the self is a possibility that exists in its own determination. Now. It began.

TIME RUNS OUT

By 11 a.m. Sunday, the police

agreed with this policy to Coventry; boycott Shell products and the products and services of any industrial company who dares to deliver mass-murder and wage war for the purposes of commercial preservation; if you are a shareholder—sell out—and publicize the reason why. While our licence to kill remains in operation, we in Britain are all mercenaries, and those who object are placed in an intolerable situation.

only had reports of one fire or so and a few lootings. They arrested 40 people and announced the 'situation under control'. But time in Detroit had already run out. By early Sunday afternoon smoke began to rise from the 12th Street area. First one, then two, three, four different plumes of black smoke could be seen merging together against the hot blue sky. The media were quiet for a while but soon anyone could see that the revolt was on and spreading fast. Sirens were heard everywhere and already National Guard helicopters criss-crossed back and forth through the smoke.

From an observation post on the roof of a two-storey building at John Lodge and crosstown Warren Avenue, huge lines of cars could be seen moving over from the east. A large sign reading 'Burn, Baby, Burn' with a black panther painted in one corner hung from the top of the building, and a most conscious spirit of insurrection could be felt sweeping through the people on the streets below. Cabs full of people dashed about, often stopping to pick up anyone who was walking. The police and National Guardsmen who had already begun to pour into the city tried to close off the revolt by surrounding the 12th Street area.

But the city belonged to the rebels for the taking and the people knew it. They knew it by the smoke from the fires that had begun to burn everywhere. The fires could be seen by early evening in a giant loop from the downtown section near the river on the west along Grand River and Trumbull all the way up through the west side ghetto across town and back along the east side towards the river again.

NO PANIC

The cars full of blacks and some whites streamed down Warren honking their horns, with wide grins on their faces. There was no sense of panic

had retreated and for a few desperate hours the city belonged to the inarticulate but revolutionary aspirations of the people. Everywhere down on the street people waved their hands out of the windows at one another, everywhere they raised their fists in solidarity, everywhere they shouted, laughing for one another.

This day people were in it together. And it must be emphasized that **THERE WAS NO HOSTILITY BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE CIVILIANS**. Later, the *Detroit News* quoted unnamed officials, calling it 'the first integrated looting in history'.

It was a process that continued through the week. The looting and fire-bombing, in most parts of the city, carried this dual and combined character with it. That is, on the one hand the insurrection began in the ghettos and took the form of black looting and destruction of the white businesses which exploit them. Thereby if its content was insurrectionary, in intent it remained within the limits of a racially determined context.

On the other hand, a new form developed which began to move the insurrection over against the concept of property, *per se*. Of course, most of those stores which had 'soul brother' posted were spared but there were some which evidently had a bad reputation and were destroyed like the rest.

Furthermore, while blacks and whites did loot together, there are even reports that blacks were telling whites what sections they would not be safe in.

Food was looted and then given away freely as looters often helped one another carry things to their cars, etc.

INSURRECTION

The overwhelming character of the looting was not riot but was insurrection against property which also began to destroy the egocentric structure of a crumbling American society. In one incident late Sunday afternoon, two white bicyclists toured the 12th Street area unharmed, while nearby police and soldiers, pinned down by gunfire, watched in disbelief.

A white looter I interviewed after his release described police terror in the impromptu jail and the spirit of the prisoners against it. He described bleed-

Continued on page 2

ANARCHY 79

ON SALE NEXT WEEK
DISCUSSES

ANARCHISM IN LATIN AMERICA

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DETROIT

Continued from page 1

ing and wounded men who were not given medical attention. He saw police hold one man while a soldier split open his skull with a bayonet. The police told the black prisoners he was caught burning black houses. The blacks at once saw the lie and yelled, 'Come in here cop, we want you' over and over again.

The development left many hard core radicals off guard. For instance, in the Lodge Warren area, both The Detroit Committee To End The War In Vietnam and the Fifth Estate were conspicuously absent during the first crucial three days of the revolt.

Meanwhile the Trans-love hippies from the old Artists' Workshop, who live in the area, in their own obtrusive way passed out leaflets in support of the insurrection. The thousands of leaflets they distributed to blacks read simply 'Summer Plunder Festival—get the big stuff and don't get caught'.

The big story Tuesday was 'guerrilla warfare'. There had been gunfire breaking out since early Sunday afternoon when police and firemen were forced to pull back from 12th Street under fire and abandon their equipment. Sniping picked up on Monday and Romney asked for Federal troops. Moreover, by Monday night snipers were attacking many police and fire stations. Johnson made his midnight (nationwide) speech and sent in paratroop shock troops to help put down the guerrilla warfare. Sniping was continually escalating and

by Tuesday night snipers were working in squads of up to six.

The ever more revolutionary character of the insurrection was demonstrated by the quickly developing use and organization of snipers up through Tuesday night as it reached its peak.

Stokeley Carmichael, in Havana for the Latin American Solidarity Conference, announced that guerrilla warfare was being organized in the ghettos for a fight to the death. Rap Brown was arrested in Maryland for inciting a riot and later Castro himself appeared with Stokeley in Cuba to link Detroit, Newark and Latin America. The insurrection spread to almost all of Detroit suburbs, across lower Michigan and for a few days across the country.

In Detroit, soldiers began pouring in by the tens of thousands. They were armed with jeeps and trucks mounted with machine guns and tanks. Shooting could be heard everywhere. Tuesday night more than 100 police were pinned down at one point in the 12th Street area and forced to evacuate 250 blocks. Then tanks were brought in and tracer bullets flew through the air. From our observation post we heard stray bullets whiz nearby and crawled on our stomachs to avoid being shot. Bursts of machine gun fire rattled through the night.

Finally, guns and numbers of the soldiers began to crush the revolt. As their heavy equipment began to take over, the police suddenly became more aggressive and vicious. Deaths rose. A week later, 40 were dead and over 1,000 hospitalized. Upwards of 4,000 were arrested. Damage is estimated up to and over 300 million.

In the end it was the blacks in the

ghetto who suffered the brunt of army attacks, as they had before everywhere vanguarded the struggle. If, for the first time white looters and snipers fought with the blacks, still it was the blacks who suffered most of the shootings, beatings and jailings.

Now that, for the time being, it is over (although soldiers still roam the city), the blacks will be forced back into the ghettos under the same white domination, as the stores are already being rebuilt. One outcome may be to force the liberal politicians to take more radical leaders on as advisers. Mayor Cavanaugh remarked that the people he had been relying on didn't even know any of the people on the street. And earlier in the week even anti-war liberal black congressman John Conyers was booed in the streets.

Across the nation liberals were reeling under the implications of the Detroit insurrection. On Friday the *New York Times* ran TWO long editorials linking Vietnam, Castro, Latin American guerrillas, and Detroit/Newark.

For now things are unclear. But there was one clear thing that happened in Detroit. That is that the black people who live here, aided by a few whites, last week rediscovered Rimbaud's illumination on Democracy and branded it in the sky for the whole world to see 'IN THE GREAT CENTRES WE WILL NURTURE THE MOST CYNICAL PROSTITUTION. WELL MASSACRE LOGICAL REVOLTS'.

ALLEN VAN NEWKIRK.
(This abridged article is reprinted from the *Los Angeles Free Press*, 4.8.67.)

No Man is an Island

Built firm as Barrule/ty throne
of home rule/ makes us free as
thy sweet mountain air.

THE home rule has never in fact been much to make a song about and the words are invariably sung in English. They are from the Manx national anthem and although sung to a good vigorous tune are a litany of praise for the conquerors, physical and spiritual—Vikings and Christian missionaries—whose occupation was so total that, despite the fragmentary survival of the Manx language, its history prior to these invasions is lost in the mists that shrouded Mananan Mac Lir in magic.

The 'independence' of this small and lovely Island has rarely been put to the test and in the general run of things legislation enacted in Westminster is rubber stamped in the Island's parliament, the House of Keys, with minor variations such as lower income tax and beer tax, and a legal casino and lottery. I believe the only recent occasion when the Manx parliament, composed entirely of men, challenged an Order in Council in an important matter and carried the day, was their refusal of the edict to conscript and take away Manx women into the armed forces, during the last war.

Now the strains of freedom again sweep the mountain air from the emissions of Radio Caroline North, anchored off Ramsey and it seems still being supplied from the Island. At least, one supposes the cause of Tynwald's defiance is the oppression and suppression of free-enterprise Caroline—or is she only the occasion?

About the pirate radio stations affair itself there are several things that strike one as curious; notably how quietly the other pirate stations have gone, and been let go. Abysmal as some of us may think the almost non-stop noise that these disc-jockeys keep churning off the pop turntables, the programmes were said to have a vast and loyal audience, and it was true that to pass dozens of transistor radios in London streets was to have wafted to one's ears snatches of Radio London's beat. Then the advertisers—those stalwarts of freedom from state interference, those protagonists of competition and vying salesmanship. No doubt the lobbying and the other democratic methods were exhaustively gone through before the outlawing Act was passed, but the inaudibility of public protest has been fairly remarkable.

It seems little of the stream of 'Pop' will be lost as the BBC is aiming at a 24-hour non-stop emission on its new pop station, and hopes to prove itself able to meet the doubts expressed by young listeners that BBC employees can equal the zest and knowledgeability of their current DJ idols. Some interlocutors on a recent BBC interview were even assured that there would be pre-release records just the same. (This can hardly be quite the same, since it is understood that the DJs used to get theirs really pirated, from the factories. The only difference appears to be the advertising. Had I not a mild aversion to gambling I would be offering odds that the new BBC wavelength will shortly be taking advertising! What remains to be seen, or rather heard, is whether the BBC programmes will consist predominantly of the output of the large, established combines, or whether Tin Pan Alley and the off-beat, protest-type songs and singers will fare better than do the

minority political groupings and ideas in the allocation of broadcasting time in the political and current affairs programmes.

So Caroline stands alone in defiance, and with but one champion, the Tynwald of the Isle of Man, who feel so strongly in the matter that threats of a demand for real independence have resulted. The really curious thing I find is that the newspaper and radio reports do not appear to mention that the Isle of Man has its own radio station which resembles Radio Caroline in its content mainly of record programmes, and paid time for religious tapes by American evangelists. I have not seen anywhere an indication that the new Act threatens to close Manx Radio, but it is clear it exists on sufferance. With its (at any rate, at present) small resources evidenced by some improvisation and the 'doubling up' of jobs—disc-jockeys and announcer-reporters taking turns at all, it has not looked like offering any formidable competition to the BBC. They would like to have a strong enough booster to beam programmes to the North-West of England, where there are people who would very much like to be able to receive them. The BBC's little understood opposition ('They're so big—why should they be afraid of us?') has been maintained adamantly in regard to this.

There is no doubt that people like to hear their news in their own accents (incidentally, for the one big annual sporting event in the Island, the TT motor cycle races, the BBC continues to be the sole user of the broadcasting 'studio' at the pits—the local commentator broadcasts from a small van), and there are services which can only be of a local nature—Manx Radio runs an 'exchange and mart' as well as making appeals for lost tortoiseshells answering to the name of 'Gloria', and sorting out the matter of the bundle of daily newspapers that have not been dropped at the right newsagent's shop—as well, obviously, as 'What's On' for visitors, and results of

Continued on page 7

LETTER

Social Security Myth

Dear Sir,

Thank God for FREEDOM! My friends and I had been moaning about the fact that not a single national newspaper had pursued what should have been an important news-item, i.e. the belated resignation of Peggy Herbyson. Today's FREEDOM arrived in the post and restored the faint hope I've been nurturing in the future of our bloody awful society. But it may be that you do Miss Herbyson an injustice by suggesting that she hung on for so long because of her salary of £160 a week. That's a factor that might have influenced me if I had been in her position, but I think the answer is less cynical. Miss Herbyson is probably one of the many naive people like myself who, one memorable night in 1964, sat up by the television set watching the General Election results come in. And, like me, she may have got drunk on gin and cheap beaujolais and the prospect of a new, just society that the massive Wilsonian exercise in conmanship had led us to believe would follow on his victory.

Well, now we know. Three years later nothing had changed but the clichés. The only thing we have more of is unemployment and useless telephone kiosks. Hundreds of thousands of families live in grinding poverty because of the 'wage-stop'. The Ministry of Social Security itself reports that over a million children are living in poverty. A large proportion of these children have fathers who come into the category of 'light labourer'. In employment one of these men would be lucky to earn £10. Unemployed, an order of the Government restricts their benefits to less than that to ensure that they're not 'better off than he would be if he were working in his normal occupation.' Yet, when I try to find work for those of my clients who are in this category of 'light labourer' I am referred to the official Ministry of Labour Statistics, September 1966, which show that there were 111 unemployed 'light labourers' for every single vacancy that came up. The situation has worsened since then.

A strong attack on the evils of the 'wage-stop' has been mounted by Tony Lynes, Secretary of the Child Poverty Action Group. His campaign is already having some measure of success. Your readers may wish to help. The address to write to is, The Child Poverty Action Group, 13 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Your sincerely,

DAVID MCLAUGHLIN.
Family Caseworker.
*Quoted from a letter from the Ministry of Social Security.

ROUND THE GALLERIES

WITH JOHN SHARKEY and Gustav Metzger drawing a second and painful breath after the result of the DIAS trial and Mick Jagger being snubbed by the sponging taxi drivers of London Airport for his social fall from grace via Her Majesty's Court, one's sympathies must be left for Robert Fraser who, one feels, has been left to carry the can for the 'way-out' fringe. He now sits out his time in prison and while his wealth and cosmopolitan background will cushion the effect of his short and unnecessary prison sentence, one feels that he has a justifiable right to anger for in all the public breast-beating that has taken place little seems to have been wasted on the only one whom the Authorities sent to prison. A group of artists, to their credit, publicly recorded their concern by opening Fraser's gallery and mounting a display of their work but, though noble the gesture, it made little impact on the Carnaby Street, *International Times*, King's Road commandos whose social conscience would appear to work in inverse ratio to the noise that the victim can make. The Fraser Gallery at 69 Duke Street, W.1, is now continuing its course as a commercial gallery yet without Fraser to give the gallery its mystic it is a sad and dead scene. All the contemporary trivia redecorates its walls but the 'way-out' sexual themes have suffered a visual emasculation and the Jim Dines' work, that triggered off Robert Fraser's fall from Established

Grace, are but as nothing when forced to conform to the present society's wishes. Etchings and drawings of men's ties are so slight and inconsequential as to be unworthy of the space they occupy while his pair of high boots cast in aluminium and painted a brash red would hardly raise an eyebrow off the Berwick Market so quickly does the *scandale* of last week becomes this week's old hat. Andy Warhol is there with his wallpaper patterns and Ed Ruscha with his birds with pencils for tail feathers, but it is all so quickly dated and so poorly executed that one feels that Robert Fraser's prison sentence was a useless sacrifice. The Mayor Gallery at 14 South Molton Street, W.1 continues its shy path of eschewing public and publicity but its discoveries of minor pre-war mini-masters is always a joy. The gallery is indeed worth a visit if only to see the life-size, metal-cast dog by the Israeli sculptor Kadishman. The dog might not be the finest example of work in that particular medium but it is surely the saddest looking hound ever to squat on a gallery floor. Crudely modelled and without any attempt at subtlety it sits, with hanging head, as a manifestation of all the comic strip pooches that sought our childhood sympathies. For those who demand a social message with their art then duty demands that they attend the AIA Gallery at 15 Lisle Street, W.C.2. The AIA Gallery in the brave days of the 1930's beat many a drum

for the course of human liberty and many a brave banner that floated above the embattled streets was painted with dedicated fingers within this gallery. But the old battles are but old legends to bore the flower-pot men and this gallery sits out the years in this Soho backwater as a window for those who challenge with quiet small voices the aesthetic cannons of the moment. It has been left to Anthony Colbert to once more throw open the doors of this gallery to the social conscience of the Town. This slim, bearded artist went to South Vietnam on behalf of the Save the Children Fund and the drawings and the woodcuts and the oils are the record of what he saw in that tortured country. He makes no claim on our political sympathies and argues no creed, for all he did was but to record and from the photographs and sketches that he made he has offered us this pictorial record of the butchery of the innocents. All the work on the AIA walls is for sale in prices ranging from £15 to £25 and all monies will go to the Save the Children Fund. If you can afford £15 to £25 for a drawing or a painting, then save your conscience by buying one of these works. The money will do little to help the dead and the maimed children of that victimised land but of your charity give and, if you cannot give, then collect as a group to buy a painting or a drawing and let someone among you keep it as a communal gift. These dead and crippled children, tortured for a cause they cannot comprehend, are the end product of all those political polemics that fill our minds and our mouths, for these children died for our beliefs.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

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).

LEWISHAM. Locations of meetings temporarily altered to 83 Gregory Crescent, London, S.E.9. 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 Campa'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.
ABERDEEN GROUP. Correspondence to Michael Dey, 142 Walker Road, Aberdeen.
BEXLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence to Paul Wildish, 2 Cumbrian Avenue, Barnhurst, Kent.
BELFAST. Contact Tony Adams, 11 Winetavern Street, Smithfield Square, Belfast.
BERMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Geoff Charlton, 8 Lightwoods Hill, Bearwood, Sneythwaite, 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.
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 Brow, 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.

HARLOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Enquiries to Keith Nathan, 138 Pennymead, Harlow or John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping.
HERTS. Contact either Stuart Mitchell at John View, Potters Heath Lane, Potters Heath, Welwyn, Herts OR Jeff Cloves, 46 Highbury Road, Marshalswick, St. Albans, Herts.

HULL ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact J. Tempest, 89 Fountain Road, Hull. Telephone: 212526.

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).

ORFINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.

PLYMOUTH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Contact J. Hill, 79 Underlane, Plymouth, Plymouth, Devon.
READING ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Alan Ross, 116 Belmont Road, Reading, Berks.
ROCHDALE. Please contact Richard Crawford, 4 Harrogate Street, Sudden, Rochdale.
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 Lincroft, Basildon, Essex.

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

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

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

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

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

NORTH WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION. BUXTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: F. 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 Bree, 16 Faulkner Square, Liverpool, 8. Meetings weekly. 'Freedom' Sales—Pier Head, Saturdays, Sundays, Evenings.

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

SOUTH WALES ANARCHIST FEDERATION

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

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

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.

BATH ANARCHISTS don't exist! Or do they? Contact Roy Emery, 3 Abbey Street, Bath.

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, 4 p.m.

DANISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Gathers-gade, 27, Viborg, Denmark.

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

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. Naair, 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-EAST 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.

PAUL GOODMAN AT THE ROUNDHOUSE

AT LEAST got the impression that hearers of the previous speakers at the International Congress on the Dialectics of Liberation (advertised as 'a unique gathering to demystify human violence in all its forms, the social systems from which it emanates, and to explore new forms of action') were relieved by a balance and moderation in Paul Goodman's speech on Tuesday morning (July 25) which contrasted with the tone of some earlier contributions. His whole message — which he delivered through his whole presence and not simply through words — was one of determined optimism, clear-eyed with regard to our present desperate condition, but not tragic, much less apocalyptic. His theme was political immodesty, and the need to give up such a dangerous addiction. The experimental part of the social sciences is political action, and political action involves getting a lot of people to do things together; the archetypal politically immodest man is the predatory Ruler* who sets out to produce this communal action by imposing himself and his ideas of what ought to be done on other people. But the same attitude often persists among those who profess to dissent from the Ruler's politics and wish to change it: they call their vision of change commonsense, and all other suggestions are so much nonsense not requiring serious discussion.

Destructive Potential

The present world situation is an increasing destructive potential in the hands of men and an increasing likelihood that the world will be destroyed. But this situation does help to clarify the fundamental division between the people of the world and the power structure. The only real revolution is humanity and peace. National liberation is fine as the means whereby the individual seeks and begins to achieve an identity; but if it is not informed by — if it does not issue out into — a vision of the humanity of all men, it becomes a stultifying — and aggressive — self-obsession; this was the hidden meaning of national independence which Gandhi endeavoured to point out in India, and Buber in Israel, and which the so-called political realists, Nehru and Ben-Gurion, ignored. The other obvious aspect of the world situation is a gross and wild urbanisation which has become more and more an international phenomenon and which will do us in if the nuclear bomb doesn't first; the abusive technology of this urbanisation is making the mass of mankind not relatively but absolutely poorer — and yet this mass lusts for the whole package of this abusive technology; of the emergent nations only Tanzania and perhaps now Cuba realise that this technology will be the doom of human beings; in other countries the people just see and feel that they are starving. It is in this situation that the community planner must realise that he is not merely a technician who applies an already given programme, but one who implements and therefore is called upon to make ethical decisions.

Goodman described himself as an old Jeffersonian way-out-of-date. He thinks people are much too politically ambitious. They hope to achieve some great human good by some political arrangement; when all that can be expected is the establishment of some minimum level of decency in which some human good may occur. Societies in which such a level does exist are Tanzania, Cuba and Ireland — where the average per capita income is a quarter that in the USA, and where the average per capita technological power is probably one-seventh or one-eighth: Ireland is of course not a paradise, but it is not bad when compared with the USA. The problem of the society of the USA is no longer one of the exploitation of the mass of the people, but their exclusion; a brief look at the history of the world shows an increasing sophistication and completeness in the ways in which one set of men have dominated over another: from the simple exaction of tribute to this last and completest form. Every Puerto Rican family in New York receives 10,000 dollars every year from the government of the United States, in the form of welfare services — that is, in a form which it is unable to use, which is useless to the family. The object of domination today is, not to make use of the labour of other men — with increasing automation this is becoming unnecessary: its object is, to keep them quiet, to keep quiet the people for whom there is no place in the lovely high technology of the city of conspicuous consumption*: why don't they go away? Why don't they simply cease to exist? In the United States the excluded groups are: the Negroes and the Spanish Americans, 12% of the population; the farmers,

5%; old people; the so-called insane and the delinquent who amount to many millions and are simply all those who cannot manage this sort of society; and of course youth as a whole is an excluded group. Education in the United States is an instrument of exclusion, and organized attempt to break the spirit of the young. The policeman knows far better than the White Liberal the threat to the society he is paid to protect which is in the hippy movement: however insubstantially and transiently, this represents real, existential revolt, while mere industrial unrest can be bought off.

The questions for the would-be revolutionary and for the free society to ask are: what forms of automation liberate, and what enslave, the human spirit? What items of the present system of upbringing should be retained? How can technological developments be adapted to the local needs of community and culture? Spread across the world we see an authority relationship which is too much accepted, and what is needed is its loosening up; power and social control must be decentralised as much as possible, so that people know what is happening, so that they are making the decisions for their own society. To make decisions concerning technology professional knowledge is required; most professionals are finks, not true professors of a science, but the personnel of a management hierarchy; but we must learn to separate knowledge from the abuse of it; as revolutionaries we must learn and profit from the possibility of a real professional knowledge. The only revolutionary situation is when the people from below demand a better way of life and employ professionals to help them build it. Today an International of abusive technology and management is opposed by an International of the young — I only wish, said Goodman, concluding his talk, that this revolutionary youth would learn the need and the use of the true professional.

Question Time

When the discussion moved out into the audience various people got up and were given a microphone and made statements or asked questions or did something of both, and Goodman commented. Laing asked for more specific leads on how to break the authority-obedience system and on how to distinguish between true professionals and finks; Goodman suggested that if the school of humanities at Harvard University were a truly and conscientiously professional body, its professors would come out with continual denunciations of the television, the thing, which is debauching the public and making their job of teaching the humanities impossible: even they would begin to build an international organisation to speak and to demonstrate in this way. Another questioner cited Jacques Ellul's demonstration of the way in which technological development is making impossible the sort of decentralisation of power envisaged by anarchists; to which Goodman replied that Ellul is mistaken in thinking that technology is a dominating force: it depends upon the application of moral philosophy, and thus is under the control of human prudence: it is not an autonomous absolute, as is science, or romantic love, or social justice. An American negro defended the political necessity of SNCC's decision to exclude white students, and Goodman conceded the right of the American negro to seek to establish his identity and autonomy, while pointing out that this constituted a dilemma. He (Goodman) declared himself, not a politician but a populist, against any theory of revolution by conspiracy, in favour of all disintegrations and decentralisations of power, including both student power and black power and Stokely Carmichael. Afterwards John Mackay, who occasionally writes for FREEDOM, suggested to me that Goodman is a bit soft on Carmichael, partly through a sense of guilt and partly perhaps at sheer envy at someone who perhaps looks more revolutionary than he does: which is perhaps at least food for thought, and possibly ties in with a carefully written and read but nonetheless enigmatical statement from a German (in English) which seemed to be to the effect that Goodman's talk was welcomed by the Roundhouse audience because its intelligence and coherence assuaged the guilt complex of the liberal bourgeois intelligentsia thankful to have their social usefulness reaffirmed.

In conclusion to the morning's proceedings a Christian with a wavering apocalyptic voice asked for a society in which men would be able to accept and to come to terms with the agony and the tragedy of human life; in reply Goodman agreed with a lot of the state-

ment but expressed suspicion of any attempt to build any theory of the tragedy and agony of human life into a political scheme: he for one would make his own tragedy for himself — only he would prefer to make it in a society where it would be more interesting than it can be today. That was the end of Wednesday morning's proceedings, the moral of which seems to have been that political immodesty is the great enemy of revolution, and that humility, amounting even to sheer pragmatism, is indispensable.

The only other session of the Congress that I attended was on Friday morning, July 28, when Herbert Marcuse was introduced, to a much larger audience than had heard Goodman, as 'one of the greatest thinkers of our age'. Marcuse said that he was glad to see so many people wearing flowers; but flowers have no power in themselves, and their beauty has to be defended by men against aggression. What he had to say was in the tradition of philosophical Marxism and interestingly contrasted with what Goodman had said — indeed the latter was often specifically mentioned by Marcuse. We must discuss, not merely an intellectual liberation, but a liberation of the

tendedly in the present society, and it cannot give men those needs, it will have to be constructed by men already possessing these new needs: thus Marx was right in describing the proletariat as the revolutionary class, because, in his words, 'it is free from the aggressive and competitive needs of the bourgeoisie'. There is a difference between the demand for more things, and the demand for a better way of life: the one may be satisfied by reform, the other only by revolution; but the desire for quantitative change may be transformed into the desire for qualitative change, and it is this transformation which we must now set about achieving.

Primary Aggressiveness

The characteristic of capitalist society is the mobilisation of primary aggressiveness and its almost complete monopolisation of the field of human motivation; in face of the enormous possibility of human freedom today, capitalism is still involved in the myth — and the reality — of the struggle for existence, still requiring the consciousness of an enemy as a stimulus to action; thus, the subjects of capital are engaged in defending their own servitude and its perpetuation.



whole existence of man: to be brought about by the application of forces within the already existing social system, forces generated by the contradictions within that system; liberation is a biological necessity, 'a socialist society is required by the very nature of human life' (Marx). Today we are seeking liberation from a rich and relatively well functioning society: not a disintegrating or even particularly terroristic society: a society which 'delivers the goods' more and more; thus liberation is deprived of its mass economic base, while the techniques of manipulation ever more subtly incorporate the voices of criticism and opposition into the establishment. We have been too modest: we have not said that a socialist society will be the complete negation of the present society, that it is an utopian scheme, a total rupture, a leap into something entirely new: what it is, what that will be, is suggested or dimly outlined in the shooting at the old church clocks which Walter Benjamin reported taking place in Paris at the time of the Commune in 1871.

The new society will be lived in by men who have entirely different needs from those felt by men living con-

Liberation requires the opening up and the activation of a human dimension underneath — not above — the sheerly material with which alone capitalism has concerned itself. What is required today is an unashamedly political and liberating psychology. Industrial society has provided the conditions of liberation; but to achieve it a new anthropology is necessary: the theory and the practice of a new man who rejects the performance principle of capitalist society, who has rid himself of its brutality and competitiveness, who is biologically incapable of waging war or of causing pain. The technology of the liberated man will be a technology guided by the creative imagination and not simply by the narrowly rationalised performance principle: it will play with the hitherto blocked potential of man. His sociology will be at once revolutionary and aesthetic: it will see society as a work of art: it will plan the restoration of nature, the creation of internal and external space necessary to the development of individual privacy, autonomy and tranquillity: it will plan for a life without fear, without brutality, without stupidity. The hippies are partly mere masquerade and clownery; but they also exemplify a

revolutionary sensitivity which rejects and scorns a performance principle which has become an insane obsession, and despises the whole puritanical (in the worst sense of the word only, of course) monomania for work-and-cleanliness.

Disappointingly, the questions had to be written down and read out by the chairman, Marcuse being too tired to take diatribes as Goodman had done: here again was contrast, between the frail professor refugee from East Europe, and the robust unashamedly indigenous populist. One speaker suggested that from Marcuse's picture of the new man it would seem that he would not find Huxley's picture of Brave New World too unsympathetic; and Marcuse agreed that — apart from the helot epsilons — there was much to be said for it: in the free society there will have to be indoctrination in freedom (Marcuse's very words) as there is now indoctrination in authoritarianism, and we will have to come to terms with the educational dictatorship. Unfortunately, this last subject was referred to the afternoon seminar for discussion, and I did not attend. The morning ended with another interesting contraposition of attitudes when a somewhat absurd question from, I think, Peter Cadogan asking Marcuse whether we should not incite mutiny in the American army in Vietnam elicited a charming statement of the natural law theory of the right of resistance to unjust power and the suggestion that one should not recommend civil disobedience to others unless one is prepared to act similarly in one's own situation. This brought out a voice from the crowd which demanded why Marcuse himself did not similarly civilly disobey in his own situation, why he did not pull out of the whole system and give up his academic job. Marcuse replied that he thought he was doing as much good as he was capable of where he was; and that indeed, anyway, he was too unprepared for the poverty which giving up his job would bring upon him. Talking it over with a friend afterwards, we concluded that this exchange fairly clearly pointed up the dilemma of the intellectual revolutionary, who sees the need for vast areas of public instruction in the meaning and the necessity of revolution but is not quite clear what form of action this is to take in his own life beyond some subtle 'conversio morae' or change of disposition which is difficult either to describe or even to experience exactly. M.S.

*Of all birds the eagle has seemed to wise men the type of royalty: not beautiful, not musical, not fit to eat; but carnivorous, greedy, hateful to all; and, with its great power of doing harm, exceeding all others in its desire of doing it. (Erasmus.)

*vid. Goodman's extended paradigmatic description of the city of conspicuous consumption in his *Communitas: Means of Livelihood and Ways of Life* (New York, Vintage Books).

†vid. the special issue of *Peace News* on Sanity, Insanity, Madness, Violence, May, 1967, which includes a chapter from David Cooper's *Psychiatry and Anti-Psychiatry* (Tavistock Publications).

‡vid. Jacques Ellul, *The Technological Society*.

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Russian Revolution 1917

IN THE MIDDLE of July 1917 we reached the eastern border of Russia. After that we were faced by the necessity of traversing a part of Manchuria, all of Siberia, a portion of Central Russia, and then the Ukraine as far as the shores of the Black Sea.

As soon as we had crossed the frontier we sensed immediately what the February Revolution had accomplished for the Russian people. There was tremendous rejoicing; the air was suffused with the exuberance of spring—such a spring as history has seldom recorded.

It was in such an atmosphere that the Russian Nation had its being during the honeymoon months of the February Revolution; only once in the course of centuries can a people experience such a mood.

It stands to reason that it was not the several demonstrations by hunger-stricken persons in the streets of Petrograd that were instrumental in hurling Czar Nicholas II from his throne and shaking Russian society to its very foundations. The awesome revolutionary hurricane had begun to gather momentum a full two centuries before.

As far back as in the days of Catherine the Great the first tender shoots of revolt sprouted in the initiative undertaken by PUGACHOV and Stenka Rozin. Decades later, under Czar Nicholas I, came the ill-fated uprising of the DEKABRISTS—a group of brilliant army officers and intellectuals inspired by the French Revolution, who demanded an end to Czarist absolutism. Not many years later came the Polish rebellion, as well as a series of little publicized peasant uprisings. A mighty revolutionary wave swept over the surface of Russia, gradually winning more and more partisans among the *intelligentsia*, the workers and peasants. The hurricane was gathering momentum.

The heroic revolutionary outbreak of 1905 was drowned in the blood of its heroes, and was followed by black reaction. Yet there was a general feeling that the Russian people was resolved to rid the land of Czarist tyranny and of the dark forces that surrounded the Czar.

It took 12 more years, and the First World War, which cast a lurid light upon the total corruption of the Regime, the notorious scandals involving Rasputin, as well as a series of lesser scandals—it took all this and more to pave the way for the prodigious, irresistible hurricane.

WHY DID IT FAIL?

All this is well known. What is not entirely clear to the public at large are the motives and the reasons which led to tragic failure a revolution so long in the making. In the numerous volumes concerning Russia which I have had occasion to read, I have found scarcely any indications or comprehension of the true causes of this fiasco. Virtually all writers are content to blame the Bolsheviks for this—and to be sure the Bolsheviks deserve plenty of criticism. However, let it be recalled that the Bolsheviks did not constitute all of Russia; they were not even the most numerous among the revolutionary movements of that era. For instance, the Socialist Revolutionary Party alone had several times as many followers as the Bolsheviks. Similarly, the Mensheviks were a force to reckon with. And—if the truth be known—the Anarchists of that period were by no means in the front ranks or on the summit of events—otherwise, the Bolsheviks could not have captured power as they did.

These introductory remarks are necessary before I proceed to record my impressions and experiences of that



Nestor Machno

period. For even our own colleagues—with the exception to some extent of Voline, Machno, but including even

Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—confining themselves to a criticism of the Bolsheviks, and appeared to overlook the universal blindness of all the revolutionary movements that preceded this prodigious epic explosion.

REPROACH OUR COMRADES

Most of all I must reproach our own comrades, who should not have been taken by surprise; for long before the Revolution of 1917 it seemed obvious as to what was the trend and what would be the outcome of all those 'State Socialists', including the Bolsheviks. Our foremost thinkers perceived clearly and explained lucidly what the perilous consequences would be if mankind allowed itself to be misled by the 'authoritarian Socialists'.

Suffice here to mention Bakunin's aphorism that: 'Socialism without freedom is a pigsty.' Nor can we have forgotten the outcome of Bakunin's debate with the elder Liebknecht—when the latter ran out of arguments and was unable to refute Bakunin's logic, he exclaimed: 'In spite of you we shall have the State.' To which Bakunin replied: 'I don't doubt that, but by the same token you will forfeit Socialism.'

I remember reading, some 50-60 years ago, a pamphlet by an Austrian Socialist (if I recall correctly, his name was 'Atlantius'), in which he portrayed what a Socialist State would look like—and that proved to be an accurate image of the Bolshevik regime!

In passing, I want to remark here that it was not a case of the Bolsheviks seizing power, but of power being handed to them on a silver platter. Let us now cite a few facts which will help the reader evaluate better the situation on the eve of the Revolution.

Disregarding for the present the Liberal parties and the millions who sympathized with the overthrow of Czarist oppression, there existed three major Socialist parties, namely: First, the Socialist Revolutionaries, with more than 300,000 members. This Party had the support of the Russian peasantry... who in reality constituted the backbone of the Revolution.

The second Party in importance were the Social Democrats, whose membership included approximately 70 to 75 thousand Bolsheviks. However, the Mensheviks likewise had a substantial following. Then came the Maximalists—with a rather modest following but highly militant with a strong revolutionary fervour.

ANARCHIST FACTIONS

In addition to these parties there existed in Russia a number of Anarchist factions and federations, whose precise number cannot be estimated. However, they were highly militant and their presence

was strongly felt. Then there appeared on the scene the 'Nestor Machno Army'.

All these factions and parties played a leading role in that vast and tragic drama—and all of them are responsible for the failure of the noble aspirations and of the stupendous possibilities inherent in the great Russian Revolution. It is they who brought Russia to its present state of affairs...

In the innermost depths of the Russian soul there had long been stirring powerful aspirations which the revolutionary movements above mentioned sought to bring to the surface. These aspirations found expression in two slogans: First: BREAD AND FREEDOM, a cry which resounded through every town and village; Second: LAND AND FREEDOM, and these were demanded by tens of millions of Russian peasants. When these potent yearnings reached the bursting point, there was no power in the world which could resist them; and anyone who might attempt to check this eruption by force, was doomed to destruction.

All that was lacking was the spark that would ignite this accumulated dynamite, and this spark of destiny was set off at the beginning of 1917.

What actually happened in Russia during that epoch?

The Russian people were bleeding and hungering at the time of World War I. To make matters worse, there reigned unbridled corruption among the bureaucracy which surrounded the Czarist government, whilst the sinister priest Rasputin, and the Czarina over whom he had so much influence, exerted pressure on those who held the reins of power in the Government.

Czar Nicholas II was a weakling, and lacked the strength of character to restrain the horde of bureaucrats who 'engaged in revels in the midst of an epidemic', and paid slight heed to the agony of blood and tears endured by the Russian masses.

DEMONSTRATIONS

In February of 1917 women and children began to stage demonstrations spontaneously in the streets of Petrograd. The Czarist officials paid little attention to these hunger demonstrations; they probably reasoned that the undernourished women would soon tire of demonstrating. But their reasoning was faulty—instead of abating, the demonstrations became more formidable with every passing day. As far as I could ascertain when I was in Petrograd, neither the Czarist officials nor the populace of the city dreamt that these hunger protests would build a foundation for the overpowering storm of a Social Revolution.

The Czar at the time found himself at the front. The authorities finally

decided to suppress these manifestations and pressed into action a regiment of soldiers. (If I mistake not, it was the notorious Semionovsky Regiment, which in past years had shed so much innocent blood of workers and peasants.)

The desperately brave and hungry women, however, did not turn and run; they rushed at the troops and, with tears in their eyes, clamoured that they wanted bread, that they were starving. For a moment the Regiment paused as if frozen to their posts; then of a sudden a great cry was heard:—'We are with you!' Thus the soldiers of the

MARTYRS OF BOLSHEVISM



David Kogan

(Formerly of the Little Eastern)
In 1917, member of the Anarchist Federation of Russia and editor of an Anarchist Weekly. Arrested in 1918 by Kulebik made incriminating escape. Active in the Ukraine Anarchist publications. Imprisoned by Denikin. Since 1920 member of the 12-1-1-1 secretariat (international) of Anarchist organizations in the Ukraine. Arrested by the Bolsheviks and of 1920. Released from prison 1921. Rescued in Moscow. Together with his comrade Akhmetov, secretary, in the Bolshevik prison. Has been liberated.

Joint Committee for the Defense of Revolutionary Anarchists Imprisoned in Russia
(P. Kator, Imperator's Street 210, Berlin O 41)

Semionovsky Regiment joined the demonstrators, and a joyous mass spread out in a demonstration throughout the City. News of this event spread like lightning throughout Petrograd, and the miracle had occurred: Russia was on the brink of the revolution. The news travelled swiftly through the country and soon reached the battle front, where the example set by that Regiment had tremendous impact. The wheels of the Revolution had begun to turn.

END OF THE MONARCHY

In the Duma, or Parliament, debates were raging as to what should be done. The factions on the right became alarmed, but at first could not even harbour the thought that the days of Czarism in Russia had come to an end. The leftist elements of all shades demanded that Nicholas should abdicate, and that the monarchy should come to an end.

But this bickering and quibbling did not last for long, for the revolutionary

Anarchism in Scandinavia

TWO YEARS AGO my friend Bengt Ericson visited London and provided FREEDOM with an article on 'Anarchism in Sweden'. While I'm here now it might be due time for another one—and for some reasons mentioned below I'd rather call it 'Anarchism in Scandinavia'.

The only anarchist grouping in Scandinavia is still the Swedish 'Anarkistiska Federationen', which consists of four clubs and individual members, in all about 150 organized anarchists. The members, as well as the activity, is concentrated in Gothenburg, from where the 70-year-old periodical *Brand* is edited and distributed. Since Bengt Ericson's article appeared in FREEDOM, the Federation has not been very active concerning public meetings and their own demonstrations. The anarchists, however, always take an observable part in various meetings, demonstrations and (naturally in direct) action. *Brand* has been threatened with seizure twice, both because of agitation for refusal to do military service, but the authorities realized that one of our weapons is to provoke them to be ridiculous and the whole affair came to nothing.

The Federation has grown slowly; many young people have shown interest in our ideas and actions and there is a greater revival than for some time. The anarchists, however, are more lonely than ever. The Swedish syndicalist movement, containing of 25,000 members, has long been a reformist movement, but this has never been so clear as today. Its journal, the weekly *Arbetaren*, speaks no longer of anarchism and looks upon syndicalism not as a socialist theory of

economical and social organization but as 'a guarantee for the further existence of the democratic principles in today's trade unions in today's capitalist society'. There is no wish for a socialist world. *Arbetaren* is the only remaining pro-American paper that calls itself socialist. The anarchists have inspired and been inspired by another group—the so-called 'Provotariat'. The greatest publicity has been paid to the group in Stockholm—'Provie', which also is the least dangerous. It's a mere teenager affair. The hottest group was in Gothenburg,

hagen, being the most original of the Scandinavian Provo groups. Their basis is complex and some of their favourites are Bakunin, the situationists (Scandinavian section mostly), Provo and Heatwave.

Brand (in English 'Fire') has a circulation of 1,000 copies. It is no longer an exclusively Swedish paper. It has been enlarged, with a Danish editor. The agitation in Denmark has been lively and at a conference in June it was decided that the new name of Anarkistiska Federation will be The Anarchist Federa-



and called themselves 'the vulgar anarchists', their paper *Skit Tidningen*, the Shit-paper. They sold a lot of it, campaigned for military refusal, free tram and bus travel, shop-lifting and all kinds of direct action for the *homoludens*. Some were arrested. But now they have been silent for a time, but so far they have very much inspired similar movements in Stockholm and Copen-

tion in Scandinavia'—Anarkistiska Federationen i Skandinavien. The Danes have formed three groups in one year, one of them being a conventional anarchist group, one a provo group and one a students' group. The formal association will be at a congress in Malmö on August 27. *Brand* becomes a Scandinavian paper, written in two or three languages.

The situation in the other Scandinavian countries is most depressing. In Norway there is one anarcho-syndicalist group (rather old); in Finland, none, just a few interested; in Iceland, no known groups or individuals.

So, for the information of our foreign comrades, I would like to state the birth of one Federation for the whole of Scandinavia, and finally to give some

addresses of interest:

Brand: Ralph Rådlund, Barytongatan 6, V: A Frölunda.

Skit-Tidningen: Bent Ericson, Allmänna vägen 6, Gothenburg V.

Anarkistiska Federationen: Ingemar Johansson, Övre Angatan 17, Gothenburg C.

PERCY ANDERSSON.

CAMILIO BERNERI'S LAST LETTER

TONIGHT EVERYTHING is calm and I hope that this crisis will be solved without later conflicts which would involve the war. What harm the communists do, even here!

It's two o'clock. Tonight, the whole house is armed. I had wanted to get up to let the others have some sleep, but everyone laughed, saying I could not have heard the gun fire; but then, later, one by one, they have gone to bed and I am on guard alone. And the one thing that is entirely beautiful, more absolute than love and more true than reality itself, is this working for all. Where would man be without this sense of duty, without this sense of being at one with those who have been, who are, and who will be?

Sometimes, I think this messianic feeling is just an evasion, nothing but the search for, and making of an economic equilibrium which, if it fails, will precipitate us in disorder and despair. At any rate one thing is certain, the most intense sentiments are the most human.

You can be disillusioned with everything and with everybody, but not with that which is affirmed by your own moral conscience. If I could save Bilbao by giving up my life I wouldn't hesitate an instant to do it. This certainty nobody can take from me, not even the most sophisticated philosopher. And this is enough to make me feel a man, and to console me every time I feel beneath myself, or below the affections of those I esteem and love the most.

What I have said seems rather ridiculous in its solemnity for anyone who does not live here. But perhaps one day, if I can tell you about the long months that have passed, and which I have lived through intensely, you will understand better.

C. BERNERI.

(From *Guerra di Classe*, Barcelona, 25.5.37.)

*Written a few hours before he was assassinated in Barcelona.

trans.: j.w.s.

tidal wave engulfed the entire country. Hence the Duma decided to send a delegation to the Czar and demand that he abdicate and that the Duma take over the Government.

One of the delegates was GUTCHKOV, a spokesman for the 'Centre', which leaned considerably to the 'right'. The Czar agreed, to abdicate, but he proposed at first that his minor son should accede to the throne, under the regency of the Czar's uncle. Gutchkov made clear to him, however, that the Duma was determined to bring an end to the Czarist regime, and that the armed forces were more and more coming over to the support of the Revolution. Consequently the Czar found himself obliged to sign all the documents handed to him, and thus the 300-year-old Dynasty of the Romanovs came to an end.

The wheels of the Revolution commenced to turn with a mighty momentum and swiftness, and anyone who sought to oppose this juggernaut was ground to dust beneath its wheels.

When Gutchkov returned from his interview with the Czar, the Duma decided to establish a provisional government constituted of the right and centrist elements. The participants in this coalition regime were not interested in mere reforms; it was their intention to set up in Russia a Constitutional system, but the wheels of the Revolution before long began to crush this provisional coalition regime.

ALL POWER TO THE SOVIETS!

The revolutionary tidal wave engulfed the entire land with lightning rapidity. As if overnight, there sprang up throughout the country, and at the war front, Soviets of workers, soldiers and peasants. And there echoed one mighty outcry: We do not want any Central Government . . . we demand Soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers—all power to the Soviets!

In the meantime all the leftists, radical political groupings, including the Anarchists, began to expropriate palaces, mansions, printing plants for their organizations and for propaganda purposes. The Coalition Regime, bewildered and unable to cope with this situation, collapsed. A new government of the leftist wing of the Duma, with Kerensky at its head, was formed.

One of the first acts of the new regime was to proclaim complete amnesty for all political prisoners and emigres. Soon there began to stream from Siberia as well as from abroad thousands of revolutionaries, who constituted a potent revolutionary force.

In countless towns and villages all these revolutionary factions staged, day after day, meetings and assemblies. Propaganda fluttered in the air; newspapers and proclamations by the hundreds appeared spontaneously.

With the arrival of Lenin, the Bolsheviks betook themselves to the task of organizing the masses, and prepared for seizing power. Willingly or grudgingly, credit must be given them; for they were the only ones who knew exactly what

they wanted—even though they resorted to means not fit for revolutionaries.

Shortly afterward there occurred an event which most likely made it possible for the Bolsheviks to seize power later on—I refer to the profound schism or split which took place in the most numerous Socialist Party—namely the Socialist Revolutionary Party. It was the oldest radical movement and, as stated above, enjoyed the following of the peasants and the intelligentsia. However, it appears that when they came face to face with what they had advocated for many decades, they became frightened. A small portion split off and combined with the wing which sought to intensify the Revolution; another segment later combined with those who opposed the Revolution.

DOOR OPEN FOR BOLSHEVICS

As a result the political party which everyone had expected to play the leading role in the Revolution destroyed itself; in this manner the door was left open for the Bolsheviks to enter and seize power. Despite the fact that more than a half year had passed since the February Revolution and that the government was composed of revolutionary parties, the peasants still waited impatiently for the distribution of the land that had been promised them. Similarly the workers were clamouring for reforms in industry and control by workers themselves of mill, mine and factory. Thus the mood became more and more tense, the entire country hovered on the brink of famine, the army on the German front was bewildered, and entire regiments began to desert the line of battle. It was in this critical period that Kerensky and his colleagues chose to play a Napoleonic role and continue the futile fighting instead of improving the conditions of the masses. Consequently, at the urging of the Allies, they decided to launch an offensive on the German front—a blunder which served the interests of the Bolsheviks.

All the protests, demonstrations and petitions failed to sway the Kerensky regime to begin the division of the great estates. The 'revolutionary' government maintained that the distribution of the land must proceed in a legal manner, with the Constituent Assembly preparing the project. It seems that Kerensky, Martov, Cereteli, Abramovich and others in a position of leadership failed to comprehend that, with the vacillating 'principles', they were playing into the hands of the Bolsheviks.

PEASANTRY LOSES PATIENCE

Inevitably the Russian peasantry lost patience, and in countless places the peasants spontaneously began to take over the land estates and farms . . . without waiting for 'legal authorization', and divided up the land among those who wanted to cultivate it. The influence of the Government declined rapidly, and the Soviets were swiftly gaining the upper hand. There was a feeling in the air that climactic events were in the offing.

The ill-fated offensive on the German front and the uprising among the peasants who undertook to divide the land

COUP D'ETAT IN PETROGRAD.

LENIN DEPOSES KERENSKY.

"PEACE AND BREAD."

The Extreme wing of the Petrograd Soviet, under the leadership of the pacifist agitator Lenin, announces that it has deposed the Provisional Government of M. Kerensky, and that it has assumed power "until the creation of a Government of Soviets," whose function will be to offer "an immediate democratic peace" and to promote "an honest convocation of the Constituent Assembly."

According to the announcement, the coup d'etat, which was the work of the Petrograd garrison and proletariat, was accomplished "without bloodshed."

M. Kerensky is said to have taken to flight, and an order for his arrest has been issued. Several of his colleagues, including the Foreign Minister, M. Terestchenko, have already been arrested.

The text of the Extremist document was as follows:—

TO THE ARMY COMMITTEES OF THE ACTIVE ARMY, AND TO ALL THE SOVIETS OF THE SOLDIERS' DELEGATES.

The garrison and proletariat of Petrograd have deposed the Government of Kerensky, which rose against the Revolution and the people. The change which resulted in the deposition of the Provisional Government was accomplished without bloodshed.

The Petrograd Soviet of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates solemnly welcomes the accomplished change and proclaims the authority of the Military Revolutionary Committee until the creation of a Government of Soviets.

In announcing this to the Army at the front the Revolutionary Committee calls upon the revolutionary soldiers to watch closely the conduct of the men in command. Officers who do not join the accomplished revolution immediately and openly must be arrested at once as enemies.

The Petrograd Soviet considers as the programme of the new authority:—

1. The offer of an immediate democratic peace.
2. An immediate handing over of the large proprietorial lands to the peasants.
3. The transmission of all authority to the Soviets.
4. An honest convocation of the Constituent Assembly.

The National Revolutionary Army must not permit uncertain military detachments to leave the front for Petrograd.

Use persuasion, but where this fails oppose any such action on the part of these detachments by force without mercy.

The actual Order must be read immediately to all military detachments of all ranks. The concealment of this Order from the rank and file by the Army organizations is equivalent to a great crime against the Revolution, and will be punished by all the strength of the Revolutionary law.

Soldiers! For Peace, for Bread, for Land, for the Power of the People!

(Signed) THE MILITARY REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE.

—Admiralty, per Wireless Press.

among themselves—lent encouragement to the Bolsheviks to launch their October Revolution, when they succeeded in capturing Moscow. Before long the entire country followed Moscow's lead and the foundation beneath the Kerensky regime collapsed.

Indeed, the entire country was in a state of ferment and upheaval at that

time. The Bolsheviks themselves seemed frightened for a time when the still insecure power fell into their hands; there is even a belief in some quarters that the Bolsheviks sent spokesmen to the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries with a proposal to stop fighting and to organize a coalition government. But the latter declined the offer, thus losing both the battle and a place in the Government.

At the outset the Bolsheviks displayed some leniency. They took into the Government the left-wing Socialist Revolutionaries, and admitted the Anarchist KARELIN into the Central Soviet. They even permitted for a time a session of the Constituent Assembly, which had been elected prior to the October Revolution. In this Assembly the Bolsheviks had gained but a small number of Deputies, and therefore knew that they could not control it legally. For a time they adroitly played the role of 'democrats', while secretly preparing for others to do the 'dirty work' for them of dispersing the Assembly.

At that time a Partisan group of Baltic sailors was active under the leadership of an Anarchist named ZHELEZNIKOV. Unfortunately he was too naive to realize the dastardly purpose for which the Bolsheviks were exploiting him. Thus with a band of Partisans, armed to the teeth, he broke into the meeting hall of the Assembly and violently dispersed it. In this manner there came to an untimely end the noble dream, and the fond hopes reposed in the February Revolution were extinguished.

BOLSHEVICS 'INNOCENT'

The following day the Bolshevik newspapers broadcast the 'great' news, that the Anarchist partisan band had dispersed the Assembly . . . and of course they, the Bolsheviks, were quite 'innocent' in the matter.

In retrospect it should be noted that the October uprising, and the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks, marked the beginning of the end of the mighty Russian Revolution.

And now I should like to call attention to the main factors which made it possible to arrest the advance of the Great Russian Social Revolution and to nullify its vast potentialities not only for Russia but for the World as a whole. That country had for many years, as previously indicated, harboured a classical revolutionary movement, in which all levels of the Russian population participated. It seems, however, that notwithstanding the enthusiasm and devotion of the revolutionaries, they lacked a clear image of what a true Social Revolution entails. The truth is that the Liberals, who for so many years had supported the revolutionary movement both morally and financially, in large part got 'cold feet' when they sensed they were losing their privileged positions. The Mensheviks, on the other hand, who agitated among the working class and promised them 'the stars and the moon' when the Revolution should triumph, actually hesitated or

feared to deviate from their pet political dogmas and from the dalliance of Parliamentaryism. They wanted the workers, hungering and restless, to wait till the Mensheviks were in power, and then one would see what can be done for them.

However, the greatest physical and moral blow, one might say the death blow or *coup de grace*, was delivered to this Social Revolution by the heirs of the old traditional popular movement, the Party of the Socialist Revolutionaries. Their slogan of 'Land and Freedom' caught the imagination of most of the peasants. For the land question was by far the cardinal issue in Russia, and an immediate solution was imperative. Immediate agrarian reforms would have strengthened the revolution and would have averted a Bolshevik takeover. Alas, the traditional 'Revolutionaries' acted exactly like the Mensheviks and bade the masses 'wait for appropriate legislation'. This tragic miscalculation in time led to the death of millions of innocent persons in the ensuing Civil Wars and purges, and culminated in the 'death of the Revolution'.

The other revolutionary forces who, if they could not entirely overcome the Bolsheviks, at least might have wielded some control over them, were obliged to wage a war on two fronts: against the Bolshevik dictatorship and against the 'White Armies', which sought to bring back hated Czarism.

PARTISAN MOVEMENT

These revolutionary forces consisted of three groupings, of which the largest was the Anarchist one, along with the formidable Partisan Movement of NESTOR MACHNO. Doubtless the Anarchist movement was in a mood to fight, but was also permeated by a romanticism which left no room for broad, constructive activity. Furthermore, their opposition to the dictatorship came too late, at a time when the Bolsheviks were already entrenched and held in their hands all the instrumentalities of power.

The same fate was shared by the other two kindred movements: the Maximalists and the left Socialist Revolutionaries. Worst of all, it proved impossible to co-ordinate the resistance of these forces in order to present a united front against the Bolsheviks.

Fifty years have passed since the outbreak of the Great Social Russian Revolution. The black forces of State Capitalism ground under their filthy boots all noble aspirations evoked by that Revolution . . . all its exalted ideals. The Russian people remains enslaved . . . but the last word has not been spoken. The sound Socialist seed is planted deep in the fruitful soil; a time will surely come when it will sprout and produce a sturdy growth which will liberate the Russian people and civilization as a whole. Then the Russian nation will no longer be a destroyer, but will become the great builder of a new and better world.

BORIS YELENSKY.
(Translated from the Yiddish by Julian J. Steen.)

Kautskyan Heritage

NIWEHUIS (*Le socialisme en danger*, Stock, 282) records Karl Kautsky, the German Social Democrat theorist and leader, as saying that 'the worker enjoys now more liberty, than he will in a socialist society' (with apologies to F.E. for translating 'le cité socialiste' as socialist society); but probably the worst disservice Kautsky ever did socialism was not even in fathering this typically centrist-Marxist remark, but in his fathering of the term Revisionism. Kautsky, with equal impartiality, denounced Bernstein's collaboration with the Bourgeois Liberals and Luxembourg's libertarian brand of Marxism as Revisionist; and by so doing gave precedent for heresy hunters of the future. Today similarly, with equal impartiality, Trotskyists and Maoists use the term for both the Moscow- or Havana-oriented reformist Communists, and for such Left and semi-anarchist critics of Leninism as *Solidarity*.

Ever since Kautsky, the keepers of the scrolls of orthodoxy have, whenever any new idea has been evolved in the socialist movement, let forth a scream of 'Revisionist' and, not stopping to think whether or not the new idea was harmful, have launched an heresy hunt. Of course this makes life far easier for those whose commitment to revolutionary beliefs is too episodic or half baked for them to be interested in considering the case, or for those who are too slow-witted to do so if they wished, but it has always been a serious impediment to the development of adequate theories of revolution to fit the conditions of each age.

It is worth recalling the history of the

origins of Syndicalism to show that Revisionism should not by anarchists be considered a swear word and to show that even reformist revisionist streams of thought can play their part in the development of revolutionary anarchist thinking.

The French CGT, as everyone knows, came about from the fusion of two streams of industrial organization, the unions of the Parti Ouvrier Français and the Bourses de Travail. The first, the orthodox current of working class socialism, was virtually a laughing stock; the second had its origins in reformist socialism and liberal do-goodism. The Bourses were founded in different municipalities throughout France, in some cases with local government subsidies as Labour Exchanges cum working men's clubs. Liberals, who had picked up part of Proudhon's case against Marxism (as Pi y Margal's federalist party was to do in Spain), supported these; people influenced by Louis Blanc (not Blanqui), a socialist who had appealed to Louis Napoleon as to the founders of the third Republic to subsidize socialist experiments, saw in this the pattern of future work.

As the workers were in the Bourses and not in the Syndicats, militants of the latter began to talk of joining the former, naturally to be denounced as Revisionists—they were selling out to the bourgeois politicians of the municipalities and their subservient de-classed workers. In fact, of course, some of them really were; some, not at the time much different though later to be differentiated, had no doubt abandoned hope and were

making the best of a bad job in the Bourses saying that socialism was impossible and that the partial gains the Bourses might give were worthwhile; but others joined deliberately to instil into the Bourses radical ideas; or if they did not leave, the Syndicats advocated fusion for this reason.

Marxists pointed out that when Marx was asked to give an example of something approaching the 'Diktat of the Proletariat' he instanced the Paris Commune in which the Proudhonists were far stronger than the Marxists, suggested that a Marxist-Proudhonist rapprochement within the Bourses was possible. It was a 'right-wing' socialist party, the Ilemans, who introduced the idea of the General Strike into the Bourses, while the pro-unity 'Revisionist' members of the Syndicats forced through the concept of the General Strike within their organization against the opposition of the orthodox influence of the POF, and six years later forged unity. It was only after this that the orthodox followers of Proudhon and Bakunin (and then only a minority of them) joined the Syndicats though these had been long moving in an anarchist direction.

There is a similarity between this and the present. A few years back we saw anarchists 'accepting the fact that the general trend is against but that yet paradoxically within society there is a growth of libertarian experiments such as free schooling which anarchists might foster and thus broaden the sphere of freedom', and on this basis developed a reformist anarchist philosophy. At the same time, we saw in CND and more

particularly in the early Committee of 100, an organization with, prominent in its councils, a number of ex-revolutionaries (sometimes even ex-anarchists) prepared to advocate one very far-reaching social reform and forget about further social revolution. Quite distinct from these, though members of the same organization, were those who said they believed in working for Unilateral Disarmament but at the same time insisting that it could only be achieved by anarchist methods, since one can only take from a State its major means of external coercion if one takes from its powers of internal coercion. These welcomed the actions of the reformists in fostering free schooling and so forth, seeing this as a necessary part of revolutionary anarchist propaganda but warned that the State could not permit libertarian organizations to be fostered without interfering, and that therefore, unless it was made clear that sooner or later the libertarians would have an head-on clash with the State, they would court disillusion.

Naturally since there will always be more people who wish to belong to an exclusive movement than there will be those anxious to identify themselves with the common herd, reformist anarchism grew faster than the revolutionary brand. Moreover, many of those who did become revolutionaries did so with no conception of what this entailed and retained their connections with their Stalinist past, so there has been a dilution of anarchism to this extent within the anarchist movement—though coupled with an increase of activity which has made the hard-core more revolutionary. Nevertheless it would, no doubt, be possible for the ultra-orthodox to write off the movement as compromised and the hard-core as Revisionists for working within it.

L.O.

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THOUGHTS ON LIBERATION

COMING to a Conference which is given the name of *Dialectics of Liberation* one is beforehand assailed by all kinds of considerations concerning the form and content of such a gathering. One thinks: after a multitude of First, Second, Third, Fourth, etc., Internationals, it is now time that we start thinking about a **First World Assembly of Minds**, which should be able to create and generate some kind of useful information to be spread around all corners of this time-spaceship-world of reality called Earth.

But we do all have our Pet Pilot Projects, concerning our own environment—we all play our own games, and—as much as we may talk and feel about Liberation—it is a hard but true fact that many of us, mortal earthlings, still render ourselves available for all kinds of violence; each of us continues his own beautiful and necessary role, each of us finally finding out that he's somehow left alone with his own most private and important planning proposals, structures and/or references.

All of us, these weeks, have been close witnesses to the fact that theory and practice of an American movement called **Black Power** coincided with our being here and now, and—as often is the case—time itself ran away from us, and out of the timelessness of our own private dreams, phantasies and imaginations (experiences which are the most real possessions Man can ever cherish), we were swept into the collective hallucination, called **ANGST**, anxiety. We were run over by front-page news, old-world power-struggles, politicians and ideologies—and we seem to have forgotten that the priest, the magician, the musician, the poet, the prophet, the artist may be the only real-lifelike man has got left to hang on to, by becoming aware of this himself.

TOO LATE

I really think that at this time of the evolutionary day it is too late for educators, sociologists, engineers, physicians, mathematicians, designers, futurologists and other pattern-weavers to attempt to build a future which should exclude and negate these necessary mediators and communicators between man's micro- and macro-cosmos, who are at this same moment changing our environment, much more by intuition and inspiration than through rational thinking and politico-social theorizing.

Poets are singers, singers become poets; and out of their public pop-images

the real representatives of this new age step forward, conscious individuals who declare, for example, and I take this from the *New York Times International* (Paris) edition, Friday, April 14, 1967, 'Here Are The Stones'—Brian Jones speaking: 'You realize I don't think we are doing anything wrong. I wouldn't KILL anyone. THAT would be wrong. I wouldn't STEAL from anyone. THAT would be wrong. You see, we're not criminals. We're believers. I believe—that's all'.

Or listen to Mick Jagger (23 also): 'It will be unpleasant on May 10, but it's not going to be nasty. I don't think it will have any serious effect. It was a mistake doing that to us. There are people who don't like what we have to say in our songs, in the way we choose to live and they want to stop us, cut off our influence. But they figured wrong—something like this is going to call a great deal more of attention to us than if we were simply allowed to go on the way we were. Bad figuring.'

These are simple words, very poetic, very just—it is the way we all feel; 'bad figuring' is the way the panicking establishment will answer all our actions; and there is enough of a fight to be picked every day, again and again, all kinds of fights, struggles, enlightenments, for ourselves and the people we will be meeting.

But if I want to be an objective writer, possessing an instrumentarium for life, a trained inboard observer accompanying me, who wants to qualify for just about All and Everything, then I cannot here but reload with meaning the warning words of a great philosopher, Professor Oliver Reiser, of Pittsburgh University, who states in his book *The Integration of Human Knowledge* (Boston, 1958):

'What confronts us, at the present time, is an immense problem in programming: a production number such as this old world of ours seldom witnessed. To say that man must first write the play before he can enact it is to miss the point: he is writing the play now, as he lives it, a 'psychodrama' such as Moreno never conceived. The simple fact is that the denouement can be unfolded only as the curtain rises on the next act of the cyclodrama and man is forced to create a planetary meaning in order to find out what it is all about.'

COSMIC ORGASM

Now what is it all about? I would use the world 'cosmic orgasm' but of course everyone should be able to find

out of his own contexts of living. I think that the finding out, the great energy continuum of inventions and explorations, of changes and resurgences, the revelations of life in all its manifold aspects, is the meaning of it all.

Last week I heard an afternoon of statements made here in London by Buckminster Fuller, of a nature which I should have expected during this Conference. But then, Buckminster Fuller's got his own Pet Pilot Project called *The World Design Science Decade 1965-1975*, which just entered its second phase: Prime Movers and Prime Metals.

I do regret his absence here; and organizing dialectics and demystifying violence one also cannot ignore the great Londoner, Elias Canetti, who turned me on to a great number of fascinating insights through his crystal clear book, *Crowds and Power* (Gollancz, London).

And indeed, we are witnessing the sudden movements and explosions of masses, upwards from killing, lynching, looting, pogromming and flight crowds, the entire scale upwards to feast crowds; freak-out frenzies and ecstasies, so absolutely necessary to our shared mental health.

What should have become the centre of our common interest here, all the revolutions in and out, in all its vertices and orifices, did NOT occupy our thoughts and actions, our wheeling and dealing all the time and all the way. Certainly: we all have all the ways out, I'm sure of that, if just everybody would listen to us—but who can really communicate that peace which passeth human understanding?—and how can we make people listen to us, how can we put our knowledge most effectively into practice?

I know that for a writer this whole basic need is a labour of love. You find out that you are practising wu wei, you just answer calls, get acquainted with the territory you reach—and when I am going on TV to read a poem, I try and follow some of the basic guerilla rules.

All fine and well, but it is then absolutely necessary that those who preach liberation to liberate themselves from all ideologies, just be their beautiful selves. In *La Fausse Industrie*, published in 1836, Charles Fourier said: 'Christopher Columbus chose the rule of complete deviation to reach a new continental world; he loosened himself of all the known ways, he sailed unto an un-sailed ocean, without taking into

account the anxieties of his time; let us do that as well—let us continue by complete deviation, nothing is easier, it is sufficient to try out a mechanism that contrasts with ours.'

What is our mechanism? War, violence, killing.

THE WAR IS OVER!

Like, then, War is a Game of the Past, and Phil Ochs told us so a few weeks ago in the LA Free Press: *The War is Over*, peace can be celebrated by all those who personally refuse to play along. I refuse to fight, and in the same way I also refuse the dualistic challenge of flight. There is nothing to cling unto, not when you see something beautiful, not when you see something ugly. It's all in your mind—where you can try and identify with all the cosmic and planetary meanings, as these are constantly being put into me by a number of great live and dead contemporaries.

'The ultimate creative capacity of the brain may be for all practical purposes, infinite, Dr. Ross Adey confides from the Space Laboratory of the UCLA Brain Research Institute. And thus does Marshall McLuhan—whose voice I missed here—explore for our benefit: Electronic man is making the world, using the cosmos as a teaching machine to imprint the mind with immortal information.'

Finding our new roles, changing along with all the other mind-benders, we are creating a brand new world, out of the originating chaos, to which this world may soon return, with its incessant natural drives towards total freedom. All games, politic, egotistic, all our illusion-ridden personal hang-up, will soon be outwitted, outgamed, outdated and obsolete, by the total assault on certainties and dogmas, on all our senses and beliefs, as these are being effectuated upon us in all imaginable ways, organized HERE and NOW, almost intangibly, unseen, undiscovered yet—not yet around to publish manifestoes, and programmes, and statements of purpose.

But it is in the coming; this womb called Life contains at this moment all the seeds which are necessary for the evolution from land-animal to space-man. This timeless world, which reduces us to nothing more than a vibration, a wave, a vision, a dream, unites right now all the pied pipers—helping the children away from this sick, violent and rat-ridden, by the plague overpowered parents.

HESITATIONS AND DOUBTS

And all we have to do is to know that we have NOTHING to lose but our hesitations, and our doubts. They stand in the way between our actions and our gloriously complex natural environments.

Just let's believe our own eyes: flowers are really beautiful, war is mortal, peace is eternal. Colour is light. Art is life. Poetry is science. Be a witness and a revealer, strengthen all that unite. How to refine the taste of our contemporaries? How to open their eyes for music, how to uncork their ears for all the colours that have to stream in—how can we blow their minds most effectively, most completely, most intensely?

It's a miracle to be born, it's a revelation to be alive, and it will be a great experience to leave this body, in peace, and lovingly. . . . How to spread this great and good news? How to put into words and actions the awarenesses of change, which makes us who we are, here, being in-and-out of it all?

Union and Reunion, Meeting and Encountering, Remembering and Refreshing will be the aim and purpose of any dialectics of liberation; it is the common concern of science, art and religion—the next answer will be followed by the next question, which is, is it OUR DUTY to answer all for ourselves? The Universe: a perpetuum mobile of inner and outer space, man smack on top, our centre everywhere, our circumference nowhere.

All the rest is silence. I share my trips with innumerable others, and I shall see the Last States Disintegrate through Love Special Delivery. In the healing business we are just beginners: let's do harm to nobody, let's be kind to ourselves, let's respect all others' dreams, let's be hard and fearless towards liars, let's be understanding, let no one judge his fellow-man, let no one doubt: WE ARE ALL ONE, there is nothing to be afraid of—you can follow the colours of your dream, which may lead us to one of the most beautiful definitions of man's highest missions, which I've ever heard articulated.

Oliver Reiser:

'Man's highest mission is to increasingly understand and recreate the products of the Supreme Imagination as these are revealed in nature and human nature. Such is the ecstasy, the mystery, and the agony of man's awesome journey through the vastness and the majesty of our eternal cosmos.'

SIMON VINGENOOG.

WILSON

the greatest Tory of all

DURING the last few years we have seen the re-incarnation of Machiavelli in the Gannex-coated form of Harold Wilson. It should be a matter of great concern to us that there is an alarming relationship between the decline of the factual content of Party Political Broadcasts, which are an insult to the intelligence of most knowledgeable people and the increasingly important role that the 'Father Figure' image has in winning elections.

The door has been opened to any man with enough ability, cunning and ruthlessness to establish a virtual dictatorship by using any of the party machines and the medium of television to command a personal following that even the party machines must bow down to.

Wilson is such a man, who has not only achieved the position of power, but is reinforcing it by destroying the basic principles on which his own party is built and forcing it to accept higher profits for industry and numerous economic measures that will bring hardship to the working man. He has turned 'socialism' on its head and created a new 'National Socialism' with the twin gods of efficiency and productivity as the ultimate yardstick to judge policies by. The economic carrot of 'primitive' Tories has a new label on it and by the middle of next year we may have more unemployed. For years, Tory economists have been advocating a 'pool of unemployment' as the great deterrent for industrial slackness and the means of making skilled labour more mobile.

They have never dared to put these policies before the electorate at election time but now Harold Wilson has done

it as an easy way out to the economic problems and because it can give him greater personal support amongst the 'key members' of the electorate, the floating voters and middle-of-the-road men.

He knows that the only way his power can be threatened is for the 'party' to try and implement the principles of workers' control and social justice inherent in the Labour Party's Constitution, in particular clause 4, and internationalist spirit of its left wing anxious for practical moves towards peace.

Harold Wilson obviously sees himself as another 'Churchill' and his approach has been the same, despite the fact that there is not a war on and therefore no justification in the revival of the spirit of nationalism and self-sacrifice that he appeals for among the subserviently minded.

He addressed himself to the 'loyal' and 'docile' to whom it is a crime to disobey and who form the significant proportion of the electorate. Blind loyalty is the basis of the political beliefs of millions and nothing seems to kill it, because the man who wants a strong, loving father figure to keep him happy, will find one in the first person in authority whom he is not actually compelled to regard as bad. Such people will continue in their support of a father figure even if the government makes mistakes, the ministers are mostly incompetent or he feels the 'pinch' of the policies himself.

Once converted, the loyal type will retain his faith in the 'imposing' man who represents supreme authority.

Wilson knows that votes lost on his left count for nothing compared to those

to be gained in the middle. The logic of the two-party system is that 75% of the constituencies don't change hands in twenty years and in the remaining constituencies the people who decide the issues are mainly from the 'new middle class' and politically unconscious working class. Those who have the bourgeois notion that they are 'moderates'. Those who like the feeling of being 'wooned' by the party leaders on the telly. Those who dislike being committed to one party, or vote for the winner as they see it. Those who 'take no interest in politics' but go to the polls just the same. Those who like the features of one party and not another—or a million other woolly-minded reasons that indicate they are not interested in fundamentals and can be 'led' by a dynamic 'father figure' leader.

These 'floating voters' are almost unanimous in seeing the 'unions' as being the fly in the ointment, who need to have their power curbed. Market Research Surveys prove that the myths about the misuse of union power and 'wildcat strikes' are seen as symptoms of 'disloyalty and disobedience' against the country and the common good.

This, then, is where the key votes lie and Harold Wilson has gone straight for them. He has followed up the anti-union and anti-strike propaganda of the Tory press and made the fullest use of it. A million or so people are coming to see Harold as the man who tames the unions and he knows it.

As for the rest of us, who feel that conformity and blind loyalty is slavish, contemptible and unintelligent, he in-

tended to make us all efficient by acts of Parliament. Legislation follows legislation rapidly and the state gains more powers so that it can exercise more control over our personal and working lives. The location of industry board, the prices and incomes board, the retraining centres, have all been set up to make us more efficient. This rather complicated NOTION is linked with another sacred cow—productivity and the 'theology' which has evolved has many facets and subdivisions in the bureaucracy of state. We have 'social efficiency', industrial efficiency, cost efficiency, structural efficiency, functional efficiency, all to be weighed and judged by the technocrats of the arising 'meritocracy'.

And who will pay for this glorious 'efficiency'? Dear uncle Harold on his £14,000 a year, or his 150 ministers who earn about £3,000 a year on average? The Directors of Industry will take a cut in salary, perhaps?

Our Scilly Isles dreamer has invented a new socialist vocabulary to sugar-coat the realities of being out of work. You no longer get the 'sack'; you are declared redundant, which implies that the necessary drive for efficiency has released you for other work. It does not feel any different slogging it around factories and offices looking for work in competition with other redundant men, but it sounds nicer, doesn't it? Mr. Brown says the employers will 're-deploy' most of us. It's unfortunate that this pious exhortation for your retraining and fitting you for another job in the same firm won't happen, but be content. 'Piggy' Brown has given you his moral support and anyway 'redeployment' sounds nice, doesn't it?

We are told not to worry in Scotland as the Midlands and London area is only going to suffer what those in Scotland and the North-West have had to put up with in the last ten years and Scotland, after all, is a development area. I wonder, has anyone even thought what will happen to the annual flood of 45,000 Scots going south for 'plush' jobs in the Midlands and the London area, when things get tight down there? This flood south will dry up and after making

allowance for the 'redevelopment', there will be another 30,000 jobs needed in Scotland apart from the redundancies in the motor industry.

Has it never occurred to Wilson that we could both improve our balance of payments and increase our productivity by getting shot of Polarix, the F.111 and by bringing a few thousand troops home from Germany? Eighty per cent. of the aircraft industry is working on the production of obsolete flying machines and in this industry there are a vast number of qualified scientists and technologists who could improve the productivity of industry without putting the working man out of a job.

Let us get rid of the illusion that Genghis Khan flying the hammer and sickle is going to invade us, or that Chinese junks will be sailing up the English Channel, and get down to the business of creating a peaceful economy. Johnson may be content to kill 'wogs' in Vietnam because they understandably want to govern their own country, but I do not see why Wilson can't send him away with a flea in his ear.

He ought to realize that this island is a floating aircraft carrier with more targets for nuclear attack than any other place on earth; and if he wants to give the British people a real sense of security, he should remove the targets for attack. However, I don't suppose it bothers him too much if Johnson is as clever as he is in pulling the economic levers to stop the war in Vietnam escalating. He can always rely on his 'funk hole' to crawl into.

Either way 'Flyman' Wilson will be deep underground with the other political rats, come economic or nuclear disaster, and still in charge afterwards. With the moral support of most British Right-wingers, Wilson has 'puked' on the working class and the obedient seekers of the father figure are going to welcome the sacrifice of 'blood, sweat and tears' in the wartime tradition. However, as far as I am concerned, the 'podgytund', with a statistician's mentality instead of wisdom, is becoming to look more like Benito Mussolini every day—'il duce' of Downing Street.

ALAN PARKER

How to Start a Group & Influence People

Dear Editors,

The best way to promote anarchism is surely through an anarchist group. Bearing this in mind I have been looking at the 'groups column' in FREEDOM and, judging from the groups listed, there are only two areas in Britain where people have a real chance of coming into contact with anarchist ideas — around Manchester in the North-West and around London. There are vast areas of the country—almost the entire Midlands, and many large towns—Leeds, Tyneside, Nottingham—with no groups at all. Now there must be some anarchists in these areas—and there are, just look at the financial contributions in FREEDOM every week. So I say to them, why not send your names? Write FREEDOM and start a group in your area. You may be surprised at the number of fellow anarchists there are in your vicinity or, more likely, you may get only one or two replies, or perhaps none at all.

But don't give up if this is the case, it only needs two people to make a group and this is in fact the number with which we started in Swansea. I received only one reply to a 'proposed group' suggested in FREEDOM, but despite this the two of us decided to do something—distribute leaflets, paint slogans, etc.

Gradually you can persuade friends to help you on particular issues and join with other groups — CND, etc. — on certain other issues, thus meeting many people who are anarchistically inclined but are coming into contact with anarchist ideas as such for the first time.

Also much publicity can be gained through a curious local press and even radio in our case. Now, after nine months, there are at least fifteen people in Swansea who call themselves anarchists and many more have been introduced to anarchist ideas for the first

time. Not many in such a large town, but I hope it shows that a fairly active group can be built up from a seemingly hopeless beginning.

If such small places as Trowbridge and Buxton can have anarchist groups, then there must be hopes that very many other towns throughout Britain can do so also.

Therefore I suggest that if you are an anarchist all on your own, get your address placed in the 'proposed groups' column. If there are two or more of you, get it placed in the 'permanent groups' column and make sure it stays there by not withdrawing it as soon as you discover that you're not going to be overwhelmed with replies.

When we, and others, can see a network of well over 100 anarchist groups throughout Britain, then it may well have a kind of snowball effect and we shall at last lose our minority tag as more and more people become aware of anarchist ideas.

Yours fraternally,
IAN BONE.
(For Swansea Anarchists.)

More on Stokeley Carmichael

Dear Comrades,

While Jack Robinson's lucidly cynical article on Black Power 'Who Shall Overcome?' may be a valid corrective to any idealization of Stokeley Carmichael which could lead to 'dictatorship' (aren't anarchists a little too paranoid on this score?), it both fails to do the heir of Malcolm X justice and misses an essential — if not the most vital — point at issue. To deal with the first objection: what is there to prove that the working-class of the heroic 1870s did NOT equally tend to idolize such figures as Bakunin, Marx, Kropotkin (let alone present-day comrades)? Secondly, anarchism, while proud of its internationalism, has failed to keep pace with modern society in that it remains White and European and shows little sign of realizing this inadequacy!

In the *Guardian*, the correspondent then in Newark, New Jersey, reported a conversation between two (Polish) workmen. One said, 'They say "whitey get off my back" but, if I'm "whitey" I ain't on anybody's back, tho' there's a lot of people on mine'—very encouraging, syndicalists might say, but to some negroes here also I am still perhaps 'Whitey' even though I dig Mingus, Wild Blue-beat, Anti-apartheid, Negritude poetry and loathe the Western 'Shitilization' sharing its under-privilege with numberless others! It is all very well criticizing Black Power, but what the hell has anarchism ever done for them, let alone the official trade union movement, with the exception of support for the Indians striking unofficially in Southall?

Some of us have coloured friends (fellow-students, next-door neighbours, marijuana-contacts, workmates—and may I add my former landlord—what have you) but we simply regard each other as people; when 'race' is bolstered up as a concept by a ghetto-like community and (as anarchism recommends) communities organise themselves, and it ends up as a tribal division between persons of different colour, irrelevant in personal relationships, then our individualist idealism finds itself in a dilemma, unable to find an applicable anarchist solution. CARD tries its well-intentioned liberal best to integrate 'racial minorities' into 'our' way of life and succeeds in 'white'-washing the problem caused by exploitation of man-by-man by solving individual cases of discrimination in law which we anarchists recognize as futile if one would change attitudes of mind. It has been said that CARD helps create racial differences by emphasizing them. Legislation may make 'whitey' more antagonistic to the negro than before, as orders create resentment.

Then we come to the futility of violence. Don't let's be hypocrites, if one admits that violence may be the only way the negro can free himself in Southern Africa, why join the middle-class-minded European hypocrites in shunning it within the confines of 'our own' (?) civilization? Why join those (even without intending to) who think everything's all right and keep up the myth of 'law-guaranteeing-security' or orderly 'non-violence'—as much as I dislike violence myself?

Who would be willing to stick his neck out like Stokeley Carmichael with the risk of death by assassination? If we had more in the anarchist 'movement' with such guts (I admit to a certain lack of this myself), with our numbers, we

'Malcolm Muggeridge Goes into a Monastery'

—Observer

L.B.J. STEPPED UP THE WAR in Vietnam as reports spread of civil war in China. Mr. Gunter returned from the Scilly Islands (where Mr. Wilson is on holiday) to speak to the Scottish Council of Labour in which he spoke in favour of giving selective increases in social benefits even at the price of a 'means test'. 'Just because,' he said, 'the hated words "means test" always crop up in the argument is no reason why we should not argue it out in a constructive manner. The means test of the thirties was a vicious evil thing in its application, but I doubt if emotional memories are really relevant to what is a different world.' Earlier he had said, 'I do wish so many of our comrades would stop equating profits with incest or lechery. Only the expansion of our industry can in the end prevent even more unemployment.'

IN ANOTHER SOCIALIST STATE, East Germany, it was explained (in the *Democratic German Report*) to a visitor who asked why in a socialist system where the main enterprises are nationalised, it was necessary for the state to pay out money as wages with one hand, and gather it again promptly with the other as taxes. John Peet replies, 'There are in fact two main reasons for this apparent illogicality. Firstly, there are still a very considerable number of privately-owned or part-private enterprises. Secondly, and probably more important, the income-tax system has evolved over the course of many years and almost imperceptibly, into an indirect form of family allowance.' A blue plaque was erected by the GLC in Dean Street, Soho, outside a house where Karl Marx lived. It is now an expensive restaurant called 'Quo Vadis?'

A CZECHOSLOVAK AUTHOR, Ladislav Mnacko, who has gone to Israel in defiance of his Government's anti-Israel policy, has been deprived of his Czech

nationality, all his awards and decorations, and has been expelled from the Communist Party. 'How can they dare take away my citizenship so soon after every newspaper in my country has published a massive denunciation ridiculing the Greeks for depriving Melina Mercouri of her nationality?' The Writers' Association of Czechoslovakia denounced Mnacko as a political adventurer and an anarchist, he describes himself as a loyal communist and a Czech patriot and says, 'I'd rather be a political adventurer and anarchist than a publicist who receives instructions and writes what is demanded of him.'

RONALD WEBSTER, the chairman of the Anguilla Island Council took space in the *International Herald Tribune* to reply to the *New York Times* attack on Anguilla's independence efforts as 'touching and silly'. He details that Anguilla turned down an offer of one million dollars cash for gambling concessions. 'We could settle our financial distress today were we willing to sign any of the numerous offers we have received from land and resort developers. . . . Why did we turn these offers down? Because even one magnificent Hiltonesque hotel on an island of 6,000 people, 4,000 of whom are youngsters, would turn us into a nation of bus [page] boys, waiters, and servants. There is nothing wrong with service or hard physical work, you understand, but a whole nation of servants is unthinkable. In five years—or perhaps less—Anguillians would become as sullen, malcontent, and rootless as the rest of the Caribbean, or Harlem as far as that goes. Though we haven't mentioned it before, we are a nation of what you would call "Negroes". To us, we are simply Anguillians, because nobody has ever brought the subject up and that's the way we intend to keep it. But you do see what we mean, don't you? Even one

fine hotel and we would become "natives". To preserve their independence unfortunately they must ask for donations. For \$100 one may become an honorary citizen of Anguilla. Contributions to Anguilla Trust Fund, Chase Manhattan Bank, St. Thomas, US Virgin Island. . . .

THE BOOKSELLER reports from Denmark that a measure passed to remove the offence of obscenity (as far as printed matter is concerned) from the statute book has not had the dire effects opponents foresaw. A Danish publisher who had published a wide range of sex books said there were signs that the market for pornographic books was shrinking because 'the interest of the public because of police confiscations is no longer very great'. The *Bookseller* quotes a Copenhagen press agency: 'The liberal Danish attitude combines tolerance with a kind of bored sophistication that could prove deadly to the trade.'

THE ROLLING STONES proceeded downhill by making a film *The Trials of Oscar Wilde* to publicise their new record *We Love You*. Mick Jagger is quoted by the *New Musical Express* as saying, 'We were luckier than Oscar. As for any connection between his life and the record—well, it's all there, isn't it?'

MOST PIRATE POP STATIONS went off the air. Manufacturers complained about their products being advertised free on an illegal station, Radio Caroline. No complaint from God whose advertisements still continued. Dick Gregory broadcast in favour of freedom of the air and Caroline added to her signature tune *We Shall Overcome*.

JOHN QUIXOTE.

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Anarchist Summer Camp

THE ANARCHIST SUMMER CAMP, held this year at Lake Como in Italy, was a much smaller affair than in recent years. It was the first time it had ever been held outside France, and the Spanish comrades in exile in France who normally comprise around 80% of those present, cannot leave France, and so could not attend this year.

Nevertheless there were never less than about 50 present, from France, England, Italy, and even a couple from the USA and Spain.

The day we arrived, so did the police who, having left the anarchists in peace for three weeks, suddenly decided to intervene and throw us off the site, as it was insanitary (this, incidentally, was true). We merely moved *en masse* into the next field, a properly equipped site at no extra cost, and we were free to enjoy our former site for meetings, swimming, games, cooking—there was a fully equipped kitchen laid on—in short, we had the best of both worlds.

The site had a shop, a cafe/pub where we held meetings if it was too wet to hold them by the lakeside round a blazing fire, and was quite good all round.

The discussions ranged around such topics as workers' control, violence, activities in the various countries, the situation regarding the recent split in the French Anarchist Federation, Vietnam, the anti-militarist struggle (there is, of

course, conscription in most European countries still), manual and intellectual work—a controversy important on the continent about which one hears little in England, Capitalists, Spain, and various other matters. These discussions were held in three different languages simultaneously (French, Italian, English), and translation was generally surprisingly efficient, thanks mainly to the comrades of Paris University.

The set-up abroad seems to be far less flexible and libertarian than in England. The split in France, e.g., seems to have occurred because *Le monde libertaire* is the OFFICIAL organ of the FAF, surely an impossible situation inside any Federation. Imagine what would happen if FREEDOM were the official organ of the AFB!

The various different shades of anarchist opinion on the continent seem to be far more compartmentalised than here, communists, syndicalists, individualists, freemasons (no, I am not joking!), each having their entirely own separate organisations, with far less common areas of agreement and joint discussion and activity than here.

Generally, it was a very satisfactory fortnight, valuable in clarifying individual ideas and establishing contacts inside the anarchist movement abroad. There are some delightful people in the anarchist movements of Europe.

PADDY FIELDS.

The Writer and Politics

Freedom Press has newly re-issued George Woodcock's collection of essays *The Writer and Politics* (first published by Porcupine Press in 1948), of which the author says in his Introduction:

'It recognizes the paramount need for a change in social structure, in order to promote the freedom of individual development. . . . This book . . . embraces a social approach to literature and thought, which take into account the society where writers work and live. Its attitude is, however, very different from that of the social literature of the 1930s, which was dominated by the political ideology of Marxism.'

Among the writers whose work he discusses are: Herzen, Kafka, Koestler, Kropotkin, Proudhon, Orwell, and Silone.

248 pp. app. 7" x 5" 7s. 6d. paper covers

No Man is an Island

Continued from page 2

local festivals and competitions and reviews of local affairs and happenings. Some of these functions could no doubt be carried out very satisfactorily, as indeed some of them already are, by regional stations of the centralized broadcasting system.

There is a dilemma in the choice between cramming the wavelengths with mutually obstructive and competing programmes, and that of the danger of 'thought police' provisions which could creep into the interpretation of the Marine, etc., Broadcasting (Offences) Act 1967.

M.C.

GOING STRONG!

WEEK 33, AUGUST 19:
Expenses: 33 weeks at £90: £2970
Income: Sales and Subs.: £2258

DEFICIT £712

Dunedin: C.R. 4/-; California: Los Gatos Proceeds of Picnic, August 6 £17/10/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; Slough: R.W. 5/-; Hartfield: O.M. 8/8; Bury St. Edmunds: C.P. 6/-; Manchester: V.R. 14/-; Ohio: G.S. £6/2/6; Glasgow: A.M. 3/3; Bangor, N. Ireland: J.T. £5/15/6; Vancouver: D.J. 9/9; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Belfast: W.G. 5/6; New Jersey: J.Y. 15/6; London, N.W.8: D.R. 13/-; London, S.W.5: D.S. £1; Manchester: M.S. 2/9; Glasgow: A.J. 1/9; New York: Black Flag £1.

TOTAL: £36 12 2
Previously Acknowledged: £731 1 3

1967 Total to Date: £767 13 5

*Denotes Regular Contributor.

The Run-down in Textiles

THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY in Britain has been a declining one for a number of years and this is likely to continue for some time, at least until the plans for rationalisation are complete. However, what is meant by a declining industry is not so much the amount of production, as the number of men and women employed in it. This is the case of the Lancashire cotton industry, which employed 314,000 people in 1951, but is now down to about 108,000.

Contact Column

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

Adventure Playgrounds. Anarchy in Action—warden needed to assist in running permissive adventure play scheme in South London, with prospect of opening new scheme next year; aptitude for working with kids and for manual work essential; salary by discussion; write to CAPSC, 131 Camberwell Road, London, S.E.5.

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.

Lost Touch. Will Roddy Cameron or anyone knowing his whereabouts please get in touch with Larry Hutchinson now at 105 Melville Road, London, N.W.10.

Accommodation. One or two comrades offered share of country cottage (West Country) in return for few hours work weekly. Own transport essential. Box 63.

Accommodation, London, S.W.5-S.W.10. B/s. No petty restrictions. If possible mother who is home in mornings, minding people. David Ian Scott, 25 West Cromwell Road, S.W.5. Ring bottom bell three times.

Holiday Camp. There's a few vacancies left. Come and join us in Kent, either or 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.

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

Play Leader, Reading. Full-time play-leader required for Adventure Playground Scheme by Reading branch of International Voluntary Service. All we can afford is keep and pocket-money (£1 per week), but we feel the scheme very worthwhile. Starting date Sept. 1, 1967. Appointment for six months initially. Experience of work with children an advantage. Apply to Isabel Forsyth, 104b Oxford Road, Reading, Berks.

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

Margaret Lathey. Please contact Freedom Press.

Committee of 100. Action at Glen Douglas, September 6-8. A week-end of activity in the Glen Douglas area of Scotland. Further details from Lea Morris, 4a Beechwood, Sauchie, Clacks, Scotland. Enclose s.a.e.

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. Comrade seeks accommodation in West Country. Box 64.

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.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

While new and developing industries have taken on some of the workers sacked from the textile industry, there have not been enough jobs to go round. Even though the unemployment figures have not leapt up, there is still a lot of 'hidden unemployment', probably because the industry employs a high proportion of women. The economic squeeze of the past year has, of course, accelerated this process and has brought about the conditions favourable to the large manufacturing concerns of Courtaulds and Virella International. These combines have been taking over the smaller fry, and once in control, have closed down their mills.

Mr. Hyman, Chairman of Virella, has said that the size of the industry might be 50 spinning mills, 35 weaving mills and 40 cloth finishing works by 1970. This forecast represents an enormous shut-down compared with the present set-up of 152 spinning mills, 474 weaving mills and 162 finishing works. The Government has, in the past, tried to help this process of decline by offering compensation for voluntary mill closure, but in many cases the figure offered was not high enough to tempt the owners and so the mills remained.

HUGE PROFITS

However, the trend in closures is going to continue, but even with the amount of redundancy now and the decline in total output, productivity in Lancashire textiles has risen by 31% since 1958. During this period many small companies have gone to the wall, but the big concerns are now reaping huge profits and this trend is likely to continue for a considerable time. Virella's profits in 1965 were £3,322,885 compared to £191,927 in 1960 and Courtaulds, whose profits for last year exceeded £2m., expect an astronomical increase to £7m. in 1967/68.

While men and women are being sacked under the re-organisation plans, the big companies, which dominate the industry, are making huge profits. This has been achieved by the integration and concentration of all the manufacturing processes in the same factory, hence the closure of mills. Intensive capital investment has provided new automatic machinery for these large factories and this not only increases production, but needs less people to operate it. Three-shift working has been introduced and this ensures that the employers get a quick return on their investment before the machinery is superseded in the rapid pace of technological change.

Workers in the industry are angry about what has happened, but their unions have failed completely in stopping the decline, which will worsen unless some action is taken. Textile workers recently jeered and cat-called when Mr. Greenwood, Minister of Housing and Local Government, represented Mr. Wilson at a pageant at Belle Vue, Manchester. This show had been organised by the United Textile Factory Workers' Association and those attending had been given a half-day holiday, with pay, by their employers.

The mill workers were protesting about the lack of Government aid to the industry and against the import of cheap foreign and Commonwealth textiles from developing countries. Mr. Wright, General Secretary of the Weavers' Amalgamation, said, 'Don't take our loyalty for granted.' He said that the unions had co-operated with modernisation and shift schemes and, because of this, their members had been moved from

mill to mill as each had closed down. 'There are members who have been harried from mill to mill five times.'

BLAME MISPLACED

The textile unions and their members are directing their protest in the wrong direction. While they blame cheap imports, the employers will give them support in an attempt to try to change the policies of the Government. Blaming imports from other countries only draws attention away from the real problem, which is at home. If opposition had been mounted to these modernisation plans, then the plight of textile workers would not be as it is today. These plans might be progress, but if workers are to be made redundant because of them, then they should be rejected. Textile workers are not exactly highly paid, and there is certainly a need for wage increases, especially for women, out of the huge profits being made by the employers.

It is usual for developing countries to build up a cotton industry, since it does not need a high investment or new knowledge. Although old out-of-date machinery might be used, the low wages more than compensate and it is possible to produce much cheaper goods, but generally there is now over-production and a scramble for markets.

Textile workers in this country should recognise that the workers in other countries face similar problems. With the present depressed state of the market, these developing countries are not even able to sell the amount that our Government allows them to export to this country. The men here want the import restrictions to be more stringent, but this will lead to even greater hardship for the lowly paid workers of the developing countries than has been experienced in Lancashire. Nor will these countries be able, financially, to purchase goods from us and this, in turn, will affect workers in other industries in this country.

The answer does not lie in import protection, but in workers recognising who is their real enemy. It is not their fellow workers abroad, but the employers and the Government at home. Unions have admitted that they accepted modernisation plans. They should now admit that they were wrong and stop blaming extraneous factors for the present situation. They and their members should oppose sackings and fight for cuts in working hours. With the profits being made today, no employer can say that he is unable to afford this and increase wages.

If workers continue to blame imports, they will be divided and ruled by the employers and their present plight will be worsened. If the present unions cannot prevent this, then other organisations of struggle will have to be built up. Workers have done this in other industries and something should be done in textiles if they are not going to be beaten by the present policies of the employers.

P.T.

LABOUR ONLY

THE INSTITUTE OF BUILDING in its submission to the Phelps-Brown committee on engagement and use of labour in construction, claims that any artificial restrictions placed on the use of labour only sub-contracting must include the conscious acceptance of lower output from the building industry and increased costs which means that, purely on the basis of cut-throat speed up, and skirting around safety regulations (this is what the majority of 'labour only' contracting means), depends the cheapness and efficiency of the building industry. On the question of safety, the building site has one of the worst safety records in British industry and if the Institute's views are policy of all building employers, the

Freedom For Workers' Control

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THE DIRTY DEAD

Chief Inspector of Factories Annual Report of HM Chief Inspector of Factories 1966. HMSO. 12/6d. Annual Report of HM Chief Inspector of Factories on Industrial Health. HMSO. 6/6d.

Each year industry hands out for public survey its list of those who have been killed and crippled in factory, workshop and building site and it is a roll call without honour and without fanfare. In small villages and drear industrial towns the killed and the wounded are but figures on the graphs of statistics and the clerks grow sleek and fat on the shame of our industrial society for there are no medals for the crippled and the dead, only the soft voices of legal disputation and the machinery of the factories continues to operate as another workman steps into place.

When Ronald Christy, the Chief Inspector of Factories, addressed us at the press conference, it was his final report after 37 years in the department and he was scathing in his condemnation of irresponsible employers who, he claimed, remained unconcerned and inactive until a serious accident occurs. Christy gave figures for 1965 and 1966 and on behalf of his department gave voice to the disquiet that was felt, for while the death roll for 1965 was 627, 1966 figures showed an increase of 74 killed on the work shop floor. Christy stated that of the deaths in factories and construction sites, 281 were due to apparent breaches of the law while at least 535 could have been avoided by the foresight of one or more persons on or near the scene.

One must accept that we are all meat for the grave and that there is danger for us all at some particular time and place but what we must not accept is that any man has the right to put the lives or the physical well-being of any man, woman or child in danger for his personal profit, for let there be no mistake on this point: too many deaths and accidents are the result of workpeople being forced by human greed or pressure from employers to ignore elementary safety standards.

Christy in his report describes as inexcusable the careless and inadequate training that leads to the majority of these accidents and the report states that the accidents among people under 18 which affected 13,415 boys and 3,987 girls shows, and I quote, a **wanton disregard of moral responsibility to the young** and it is worthy of your time to remember that 20 of these boys and one young girl died as a result of these industrial accidents. When one contemplates the figure of 300,000 reported accidents in a single year while employers and politicians scream for greater and still greater productivity for the dear old flag, one must surely ask who

is making these sacrifices and who stands to gain from the killing and the crippling of these young people.

In honesty to the employers, one must record that stupid and irresponsible actions still take place within any factory or on any industrial site but in these days they form but a small part of these black figures. The electrician who told a boy to work on a live wire, a boy whose eye was seriously injured in a mock battle in an upholstery shop, the ghastly and imbecilic game of forcing a compressed air gun nozzle up another workman's arse and then turning the airgun on, is still a maniac workshop game, as was the painting of the boy labourer's penis with paint or crude oil in the old days, for all that has happened is that the factory fools have taken advantage of technological innovation for their idiot sport.

In the report, there is the story of the man who was extensively burned because another workman set fire to the oil rag tucked into his overalls, and the lad whose legs were crushed after being thrown into a dough moulding machine as a joke, or of another boy who went into the wood bailing machine feet first, as a joke, and had both his feet amputated.

These are the usual stupid and childish games of irresponsible people and, if their labour is hired, then they should be checked and guarded as one would do with any dangerous machine.

But when a boy of 17 dies before he can reach hospital because a circular saw whirling at the rate of 18,000 revolutions a minute shatters and hurls pieces of steel with the death speed of bullets across the workshop floor, and this through no failure on the boy's part, but because the saw was made to operate on a home-made brass spindle and was twice the size that it should have been for that particular machine, then this is no game.

Having accepted that there is a lunatic fringe of workpeople in every workshop, one is then forced to acknowledge that too many victims of the industrial battle fell because of the indifference or the greed of the individual employers. When, in the presence of a foreman, a boy's fingers are amputated because the machine had no guard, or a girl loses her finger while trying to remove a blockage from the nozzle of a food machine, then one must surely ask if those demonstrations and protests that delight the middle-class liberal heart, cover the full area of registered compassion for bleak and dreary death which is too often part of the cheapness of the article that you buy at the well-lit, hygienic supermarket.

LUMPENPROLETARIAT.

and Bleachers dispute in Bradford which the employers won, or ENV at Willesden, another dispute lost. If this dispute at Stockport drags on, it is sure to go the way of the other two. Whilst it cannot be said that the Roberts-Arundel strikers are in isolation, obviously all the pressure that could be used against the employers is not being exercised. The struggle has to spread; these employers are not playing pat-a-cake; they are out to win at all costs, to prove quite simply who is BOSS.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

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