

'Democracy has been defined as the principle that "one man is as good as another, if not a little better."
Anarchy may be defined as the principle that one government is as bad as another, if not a little worse.'
—BENJ. R. TUCKER

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THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.

What IS the 'National Interest'?

In his statement on the pay pause last week, the Prime Minister, after pointing out that the government had to rely on the goodwill of private industry since it had no powers to impose such a policy, went on to say:

"I hope that those who are responsible will take the view that it is their duty to support the policy which the government honestly has put forward being in the national interest and not all in the interests of wage earners as well as other people. They have the power to influence and I hope they will be aware of this situation..." The words of his words were drowned in up-

It all depends of course on what is meant by "national interest". As far as we understand the present "policy" the government's pause policy is in the interest of capitalism and the measures taken in July were intended to deal with problems of finance. We shall be accused of bringing up all the old clichés, and it will also be pointed out to us that FREEDOM cannot carry on without money as our appeals for it each week only too clearly show. We have never said that in a capitalist society you can manage without money. Indeed it is our objection to the capitalist society that it is a high finance and not human needs that regulates production! Since those people engaged in high finance are a very small minority compared with the working population of the country, and since the so-called "economic crises" are in fact financial crises, then most people in their senses should agree with the anarchists that what needs to be done in the "national interest" is to seek by every means within our power to destroy that financial machine and reorganise production to serve the needs of the community.

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ACCORDING to the "Political and Economic Editor" of the *Sunday Times*:

In each crisis, when the pound seemed on the verge of a devaluation, Governments have for the moment been willing to adopt sensible economic policies. After each crisis the very success of those policies was their undoing: as the balance of trade returned to normal everyone breathed a sigh of relief and started up the engine of inflation once again.

In that writer's opinion "in the end the surest means of keeping inflation under control is to increase competition" and to this end he con-

siders Britain's entry into the Common Market is "the vital factor" for

much of the post-war inflation has only been possible because tariffs protected non-competitive firms and non-competitive prices against foreign competition.

It is interesting to note that the Chairman of I.C.I., addressing 5,000 delegates to the annual conference of the Institute of Directors also gave as one of the conditions "for the survival of a healthy British economy" this country's entry to the Common Market to "help in the task of blowing away the cobwebs of inefficiency and restrictive practices" which in more blunt language means the elimination of the small firms and, what is more important, mobility of labour which it is hoped will make the workers more amenable and less demanding. According to the *New Statesman's* expert

Reduction of real wages by one means or another seems an essential condition of Britain's entry into the Common Market.

The economic committee of the General Council of the T.U.C. in a letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer warns him that he will run the economy into a "serious decline" with higher unemployment, idle machines, and lower investment, if he does not take corrective action at once. They suggest a further cut in the bank rate, an end to the wage pause and a reduction in the surcharge on indirect taxes. In other words they suggest a reversal of all the measures taken last July by the government in the "national interest"! But then they accuse the government of having completely misjudged the situation in July when, they declare, far from there being an inflationary situation, there was "a levelling off" in activity, so that "plant is now standing idle in more than half of manufacturing establishments". The letter adds that

exports in the third quarter had been barely above the second quarter, and imports barely less, imports of manufacturing goods having risen sharply. "The only positive result of the measures—a reversal of the movement of short-term money—appears to have been on a scale which has embarrassed the Government to the point at which it has been compelled to reduce the bank rate."

This all sounds very impressive, but whether the movement of short-time money has got anything to do with human needs is another matter!

Now, the trade union movement is resisting the wage pause because presumably they believe the government's policy is not in the "national interest". They also point out that

"During the first eight months of this year, hourly wage-rates rose by about two per cent compared with a three per cent rise in productivity; in manufacturing industry they rose about one per cent compared with a 5 per cent productivity increase. In the same period dividends increased by about 14 per cent.

And in these statistics lies the strength of the trade unions' case for ending the wage pause and the weakness, and the underlying hypocrisy of the government's appeal for restraint.

The *Observer* maintains that the electricity settlement "has weakened not merely the pay pause itself, but confidence in the ability of the Government to enforce any kind of wages policy in the face of strike threats. Meanwhile production is

falling and the pound has been threatened by a fresh crop of devaluation rumours".

To curb the wage-price spiral the *Observer*, echoing a number of "eminent and experienced economists" suggests in the first place that

the Government should have the power to send a representative to all arbitration bodies" to see that the public interest is fully represented". Secondly that the tax system should be used to "discourage wage in-

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'This the cranny is, Right and Sinister,
Thro' which the fearful lovers are to whisper.' (Wall in 'Midsummer Night's Dream')

SPANISH REFUGEE PRESS IN FRANCE BANNED

IN the French "Official Gazette" for 2nd and 3rd November an order was published forbidding the publication, distribution or sale throughout the territory of the publications in the Spanish language with the titles *Solidaridad Obrera*, *C.N.T.*, *Espana Libre* and *El Socialista*. The first three of these publications are published by the Spanish Libertarian Movement in Exile. *El Socialista* is the organ of the Spanish Socialist Party in exile.

The only explanation for this ban, which it may be recalled was preceded a few weeks earlier by the arrest of 12 leading members of the C.N.T. in France (11 of whom, however, were released the following day after energetic demonstrations by French workers on their behalf), is that de Gaulle is obliging Franco in return for the services rendered by the Spanish dictator in arresting some of de Gaulle's right-wing trouble makers in the Algerian organization OAS. There can be no other explanation because if there is one thing the Spanish press in exile is careful to avoid is the discussion of French affairs.

However our comrades have been quick to react, and already three new papers have appeared with the titles *Boletin Confederal*, *Solidaridad* and *Despertar*. Two issues of the latter have so far appeared. Now it is a question of seeing what is the fate of these new publications. We are sure that our Spanish com-

rades will have the support of a large section of the working class movement in France in their efforts to get the ban lifted. For our part we can only suggest that if the French government also seizes the new publications that as a temporary measure at least one of them should be published in Algeria, and of course the communists in this country, and our friends in *Humanité* too. This has in any decision they may want the truth to be known about what is happening in Algeria.

HENRI ALLEG ESCAPES

HENRI ALLEG, former editor of the Algerian communist newspaper *Alger Republicain*, who was arrested in Algiers and tortured by the French paratroopers caused a world-wide wave of indignation against French methods in Algeria when he succeeded in smuggling out of prison an account of his treatment which was published in France and many other countries with the title *La Question* (extracts were published in FREEDOM) managed to escape from Rennes jail early in October, where he was serving a 10-year sentence for "an attempt against the security of the State. Last Sunday's press announces that he has now arrived in Czechoslovakia as a guest of the Czechoslovak Union of Writers. We welcome the

good news and wish this courageous man well. But perhaps while he is an honoured guest on the other side of the curtain he will give a thought for those writers, courageous as himself, who spoke out against what they thought was wrong, and who are now languishing in some Russian or other Eastern bloc jail, and with probably less opportunities than he had of escaping. Alleg should remember that throughout the Western world there was warm sympathy for him among people who did not share his political views simply because among thinking people the belief is still strongly held that freedom of speech is more important than the actual ideas any individual may profess.

ANARCHY 10

ALAN SILLITOE
His Key to the Door

Notes of a Accidental Jailor
by COLIN MACINNES

INDUSTRIAL DECENTRALISATION
and WORKERS CONTROL

AUGUSTUS JOHN on
Fourier's Utopia—and Mine

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Keep Britons' Woad

THE Government's Immigrants' Bill has had a stormy passage through the House. The Labour Party has put up objections to the bill partly on the grounds that it is ineffectual, that it is unnecessary, and, to quote Mr. Gitts-kell's concluding words: that it is likely to 'deal another deadly blow at the Commonwealth'. Abstentions from voting were rather high (on both sides); 167 M.P.s abstained and it can easily be seen to be an issue which cuts across party boundaries.

There has been much criticism of the fact that Irish migrants are excluded from the bill not because freedom of the individual is held to be a necessity but because it is impossible to enforce such a law except by policing the Irish border. There has been by a strange coincidence (?) an exposure of housing conditions in London and this is being used as a stick to beat the West Indians on to whom the burden of this Bill will fall.

Look, it is claimed, at the housing shortage, all caused by this influx of "hordes of West Indians and aliens". It is in vain that one supplies statistics

of the fluctuations of migration caused by this bill, the fall of migration during times of unemployment, the counter-migration of a greater number of British subjects to the Commonwealth and the relatively small percentage of migrants compared to the total population.

We had a reader writing to Freedom Press saying he was sympathetic to anarchism but he "thought the hordes of aliens and coloureds should be driven out". In the *West London Observer* this week we have a letter headed 'Good Samaritans', saying "the world would be a better place to live in if only people could help one another" and concludes, "you only have to be a foreigner and get anything done for you." At Kensington Town Hall last Tuesday Sir

Oswald Mosley agreed that the numbers emigrating was higher than that of the immigrants, but claimed that the quality was better. We only got the brothel keepers and the dope peddlers.

Facts would only confuse minds so firmly made up. It is undoubtedly true that the majority of us resent outsiders and we take time to assimilate them, but we do not erect pseudo-intellectual, racial, or economic theories to justify discriminatory batches of laws.

The Immigration laws of every state are a disgrace since they limit the free movement of individuals. Whether it is the deportation of Ralph Schoenman, the South African pass laws, the wall of West-East Berlin, this Immigration Bill or the simple passport of the holiday

Common Market Politics?

IT often happens when thieves fall out that a few shady facts are revealed about former conspirators. Sometimes the 'facts' are doubtful, but often they are true and significant, especially if politicians happen to be the "thieves".

Some rebellious Conservatives, who are opposed to Britain's entry into the Common Market and who also criticise the Commonwealth Immigrants Bill as constituted, have hinted that the Government had reasons other than fear of an overcrowded Britain for its sudden introduction of the Bill, without full consultation with the Commonwealth countries and a thorough investigation into the facts and figures of immigration.

It is reported that:

Some Conservatives now believe that the Cabinet's real reason for introducing its Commonwealth Immigrants Bill is to be found in the Common Market negotiations.

It is believed that the Government wishes to be able to assure the European countries that British membership of the Common Market would not open the door to Commonwealth immigration into Europe.

A group of Conservatives, who oppose the Common Market negotiations, have tabled an amendment to the Bill which, it is hoped, will reveal the Cabinet's intentions. The amendment says that the vital part of the Bill which controls Commonwealth immigration shall not operate if Britain makes an agreement permitting non-Commonwealth citizens to enter the country on terms more favourable than those applying to Commonwealth citizens.

Round the Galleries

THIS is a week of small-timers in the big time, and one feels that the dealers have an eye on the Christmas buyers rather than the collectors, and the critics can only play it accordingly. At the Molton Gallery at 44 South Molton Street, W.1., Robyn Denny was hanging his geometrical abstractions when I drifted in and the quiet harmonies of his subdued greens and blues lulled the mind into a passive acceptance. In a conversation with Denny that tended in the end to become a little acrimonious, Denny markedly denied that his abstractions should be called HARD EDGE. I would agree with him that it is a silly term, or did we agree? But as he rode happily in the Alloway circus of that name one can but quote the political boys and say that it is guilt by association.

Lefevre at 30 Bruton Street, W.1. have the canvases of Jean Commère on offer and his finicky drawn subject-matter sinks into a background of screaming yellow that leaves on the deadened mind of the spectator only a memory of scratches and blobs upon a yellow surface. This is unfortunate for Commère is an extremely good water colourist and one feels that he is out of his class with these large oils.

The Waddington at 2 Cork Street, W.1. has at last found a painter worth hanging on to with 45-year-old Kit Barker, and his landscapes are works of quiet beauty. He has killed the brightness of his colours and given them a luminosity and though quieter in tone than De Staël he has much in common with the Russian painter in that by the use of a few flat planes he can achieve the illusion of objects in their own space. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of Frank Avray Wilson at the Redfern at 20 Cork Street, W.1. for in spite of a full-page ad. in *Art News* that I could not imagine the directors of the Redfern Gallery paying for, and a friendly write-up from his one-time co-dealer Denis Bowen in the same *Art News* one can only repeat the words of Bernard Shaw in regard to these gaily-coloured daubs when he writes:

"It is exceedingly difficult to draw or paint well: it is exceedingly easy to smudge paper or canvas so as to suggest a picture just as the stains on an old

ceiling or the dark spots in a glowing coal-fire do. Plenty of rubbish of this kind was produced, exhibited, and tolerated at the time when people could not see the difference between any daub in which were aniline shadows and a landscape by Monet. Not that they thought the daub as good as the Monet: they thought the Monet as ridiculous as the daub: but they were afraid to say so, because they had discovered that people who were good judges did not think Monet ridiculous."

Shaw wrote that in 1907 and it is still appropriate.

Gallery One at 16 North Audley Street, W.1. are showing F. N. Souza's latest stuff and these paintings, like trembling mosaics that have trembled just a shade too much, are the stuff that Souza has been turning out too much of late; more, one would feel, to pander to the 150 and more U Type names of collectors that decorate his catalogue than his own artistic integrity. A name one misises in this mass of top bumph is that of Durga Lall of the old Hammersmith Gallery. She was his friend and her gallery knew Souza well, yet one looks in vain for the name of that fat little woman who loved painting and painters too well and who is now eking out an existence in Australia. Who would not be cynical at the art racket for it is no more than that. In closing, the work of Rodolfo Ide Sanctis at the Arthur Jeffress Gallery at 28 Davies Street, W.1. Here is the sweet wine of death that cued the poets for their sad laments made vision. The breaking forms and faces of dead women swim to the surface of the grey papers spattered by Sanctis's water colour to flower into blossoms of corruption yet by the magic of youth are form without evil.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

SOMEBODY COULD GET KILLED

Murderer Ray Young, aged 29, has been given a two-month reprieve by the Governor of South Carolina.

Why? The State's electric chair is "dangerously unsafe." It is to be stripped down and rebuilt.

Daily Express.

tourist, they are all affirmations that the individual is the absolute property of any State into whose bedrooms he happens to have been born.

Clement Davies, in the Immigration debate, claimed (with truth), to be a direct descendant of the original inhabitants of this country. If those Ancient Britons could have written they would have chalked on cave walls "Keep Briton's Woad" to charm away the waves of Romans, Anglo-Saxons and Normans who have successfully 'polluted' our 'pure racial stock'. We have always gained from such mixtures. The myth of race did not die with Adolf Hitler and the economic and social problems will unerringly pinpoint a scapegoat.

There seems to operate a chronological morality in these matters. The refugees from the Huguenots, the Flemish weavers, the French aristocrats are all accepted as right and proper. The refugees from Hitler Germany, Bolshevik Russia, the Hungarian rising, Tristan da Cunha, and the European Voluntary Workers are accepted by some, but the more ancient of our Britons hold fast to their xenophobia. The Trade Unions add their contribution to international solidarity by occasional discriminatory practices.

The fear of unemployment, like the fear of lack of housing is only human, but the causes of unemployment like the causes of housing shortage are due not

to the presence of migrants but to the profit motive and racial animosity is easily fostered as an excuse.

Britain still has need of extra labour and the social conditions in the West Indies have been deplorable even since 1935, 1936 and 1937 when there were riots. The social problems in the West Indies can be solved by the people of the West Indies but the theory of increasing misery will not work.

Any law passed to control immigration means that ways will be found round the law. Examination of the now proposed shows several methods apart from the obvious solution of smuggling emigrants as practiced by Jews into Israel, or the Chinese into U.S.A.

All that the law does (since many of its provisions are covered already by West Indian regulations), is to calm the silly fears of the frightened. Since the Gallup poll has shown that the majority would favour such a law, what better recipe for popularity than to sponsor one. This bill, it is true, does not contain the maniac fancies of Sir Oswald Mosley, the Empire Loyalists or the British National Party but it is a step in a racialist direction.

The majority of us are subject to reasoning fears, quests for security and nagging suspicions. We are usually profoundly ashamed of them but we do put them into laws. We leave that to the weak in Westminster.

In the World as it is Today

In the world as it is today (said Mr. Seaton),
We all have to live as may be;
And from what you have been monotonously repeating,
Your efforts seem useless to me.
You're a nuisance, and only increase
The trials of our harrassed police
(Overworked, understaffed
—Expel those there that laughed).
So mark,
Clark,
You'll not get away this time with a two pound fine
—I'm giving you nine!

*In nine months a child
May be born
Good or wild
—Or fall out forlorn.*

In the world as it is just now (said R. E. Seaton),
You cannot indulge as you do
In subversive speech at a nasty untidy meeting
—And a hundred is far from a few.
You must not repose on the ground,
Nor refuse, when arraigned, to be bound
To keep peace in our land
—Peace plain men understand.
So hark,
Clark!
Until you learn how to take thought and amend your ways
—Three hundred days!

*In three hundred days,
Fall to heat,
Cold to blaze
—And summer to sleet.*

In the world of our troubled times (said Chairman Seaton),
You must silently bow and obey,
Or you'll find that the cells and a surreptitious beating
Will be coming up sharpish your way.
And I sit on this bench to ensure
That your conduct is ruled by the law,
Which you'll never defeat
By sit-downs in a street.
So dark,
Clark,
Is your lot till you realize a prison will kill an idea
—Three fourths of a year!

*In three fourths of a year,
Babe to breath?
Man to bier?
Life or death?*

From the well of the court there came loud cries of 'Shame!',
And magistrate Seaton was heard to exclaim:
'Though I own that I speak
More like cop than like beak,
Understand this man Clark has been fairly though by antique statute tried,
And if there's any more of this there will be more of you going inside!'

25 November 1961

COLIN MACINNES.

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Liberation, October, 1961 1/9
Cambridge Forward, No. 12 9d.
New University, No. 7 2/-
World Labour News, Nov.-Dec. 4d.
Worker's Voice, No. 16. 3d.

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What is the 'National Interest'?

Continued from page 1
 cases which go beyond the safety level. (Will the safety level be Dr. King's £24,000 p.a.?). And it goes without saying that a policy on wages must be accompanied by a policy on profits. And it follows a most complicated proposal for dealing with this problem, you see, "profits play a different role from wages". And in the final paragraph we are that

the alternative to a workable policy on wages and profits is the notorious policy which has held back production for so long. We can retain an ongoing anarchic attitude to industrial relations, but only if we are prepared to living standards in every Western European country overtake ours and we are ready to tolerate a far higher level of unemployment than we have been to recently.

What a pathetic remark where we maintain that the price of social anarchy is that the living standards of every West European country will overtake ours. (We can thank God presumably that things aren't so bad that even Western Europe, or Africa, or Asia overtake us some day).

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where in fact a "workable policy" on wages and profits? Of course the sense that "it can be worked" systems are workable. After slavery worked to some people's satisfaction for a long time. But "workable" in the sense of being practicable, feasible, worth working, the answer surely, is No! So long as we have a society in which there are wages and profits you have a society of employers and employees, of privileged and underprivileged, of a class society, inequality and permanent antagonisms. How can one talk of "national interest" and, in the same breath, of the "two sides" in industry, of the need for arbitrators, as well as representatives "to see that the public interest is fully represented"?

There is no possible way of reconciling the interests of workers and employers. Even in America where it appears that the Unions have long ceased talking of abolishing capitalism, and accept the relationship of worker to boss as a kind of law of nature, nevertheless the wage struggle, the demand for a bigger slice of the cake of production is unremitting. And in spite of the "Communist menace threatening our way of life" and all that, long and bitter strikes have taken place in such key industries as steel and car production.

So long as workers are not in control of their jobs, they will never feel secure. Government promises of full employment mean nothing when the means of production are in the hands of the industrialists and financiers who are in business not for the purpose of giving everybody work but to make profits for themselves and the shareholders. And neither is there much more security in the so-called nationalised industries and services in which a concern to make them "pay their way" now seems to be the overriding consideration. Coal pits are being closed down, and branch railway lines abandoned in the interests of national economy just as aircraft, cycle and other factories are being closed down in the interests of shareholders' dividends, and in both private and public sectors, workers are realising that full-employment is a fact only so long as it suits somebody else's interests that should be so.

WE believe that any group of workers in striving to better their conditions should consider what effect their actions may have on the public, for they and their fellow-workers and their families are the public. But we equally believe that so long as the system of production and distribution is as it is, and so long as workers are robbed of the full fruits of their labour and are denied free access to the means of production they are morally entitled to do all within their power to weaken and ultimately, if they can, destroy the present financial basis of our economy.

"Full-employment" as we have pointed out on other occasions belongs to the vocabulary of wage slaves and not of free men. Free men will work to provide the needs of life for the community; that these needs could be satisfied by every able-bodied adult working, for the sake of argument, an average of two hours a day, would give no one a feeling of insecurity; nor would it be felt necessary to obtain the services of an army of ideas-men and salesmen to think up some use that the machines could be put to to keep them going eight hours a day! You agree? But this is what happens today in the "affluent" countries. Office workers because they are paid to, must sit at their desks for a certain number of hours a week even though they could do the work given them in two or three hours a day. (Travel through the City on top of a bus and look into those offices of human boredom and of knitting and newspapers tucked away in office drawers, that line your route, to get a picture of the slavery of our times). Again, to keep the wheels of industry turning—and the more shifts they work the more profits for the shareholders—goods must be produced not to last; goods are produced which will satisfy a short-lived, artificially-created craze and are then discarded; high pressure salesmen are engaged to convince you that your needs are much greater than you have ever imagined and more than £400 millions a year are spent in advertising to prepare the way for the super-salesmen! And all this in order to employ capital and, as one advertisement put it "make your money work for you".

But this is not enough to satisfy the ever-growing appetite of ever-growing financial interests and so a large number of people and huge quantities of raw materials are absorbed in producing the weapons for our "defence". This is a very profitable line since a large proportion of the weapons (thanks to the giant strides made by science and technology) are obsolescent by the time they come off the production lines. And this means that everybody concerned enjoys full-employment (including, in America, an army of ex-soldiers who have top jobs in the industries concerned), the wheels of industry keep turning, raw materials are gobbled up, and the shareholders are well-satisfied.

Alright, we know that man does not live by bread alone. But doesn't it strike you that not only does one have to go a long way round to get the bread under capitalism, but that in the process you haven't much time left to eat it and enjoy it because you have also been producing things like Nuclear Bombs and useless gadgets which you never asked for?

IN this country you can generally meet with tolerance in the Press for unconventional ideas. But there is a big difference in the attitude when it comes to putting these ideas into practise. As was to be expected, the announcement by the Committee of 100 of its national disobedience day, which includes making things more difficult for the administrators of law and order, has been strongly deprecated both by the *Guardian* and the *New Statesman*. With the title "How to Lose Sympathy" the *Guardian's* first leader last Tuesday week pointed out that "Lord Russell's long life has not yet taught him that extreme militancy seldom works in this country, at least in home affairs". It goes on to admit, reluctantly one feels, that "the committee has enjoyed some public sympathy" but concludes, after listing all the terrible things the committee proposes to do to clog up the wheels of the law that "this time the police will be the ones to enjoy public sympathy, whether they try to stop the demonstrations by legal steps taken beforehand or only on the spot". How superficial, how slender is the so-called tradition of freedom when it comes to the point of people wanting to exercise and defend their freedom, for then the voices of the establishment are down on them like a ton of bricks.

Action is Another Matter

To the *Guardian's* credit it published a spirited letter from our comrade Nicolas Walter in which he ably defends the Committee of 100's proposed action in these terms:

Sir,—Your first leader of November 21 misses the point of the growing militancy of the Committee of 100. The Committee's aim is not primarily to cause more and more inconvenience for the public or more and more work for the police; nor is it to win meaningless sympathy from liberal-minded people for whatever martyrdom the authorities choose to inflict.

Our aim is to make ordinary people aware that they are all on the edge of an appalling abyss, and to dissociate ourselves publicly from the policies that threaten to hurl mankind right over the edge. This can only be done by dramatic means, such as mass meetings, mass marches, mass lobbies, mass sit-downs, and nonviolent direct action. Formerly the Committee of 100 has concentrated on civil disobedience; now it is turning to true direct action, and is trying to sustain its impetus by filling the local prisons immediately afterwards as well.

Many people will march but will not break the law; some will break the law but will accept bail, pay fines and agree to be bound over; some prefer to go to prison; and some will even withhold names and addresses and refuse to eat or walk. We all have our own limit,

our own position, our own choice; we all work out our own compromise between comfort and conscience. You will never find the Committee "getting" people to do this or that, any more than you will find its leaders "inciting" people to sit down. The Committee makes its recommendations, and each supporter makes up his own mind for himself. This is one of the best things about the nuclear disarmament movement, something that neither the press nor the police seem to understand.

It is objected that passive resistance is unfair to the police, who are not responsible for Government policy. No, but they (like the armed forces) are a limb of Government policy, a vital organ of the authority of the State. Would you prefer us to obstruct parliamentary debates or Cabinet meetings? That may come, but in the meantime we seem to be chiefly opposed by the paid servants of the State.

We are not concerned with the particular trouble we do or do not cause, or with the particular sympathy we do or do not win. We are concerned with making a moral impact on both rulers and ruled, and if this involves making trouble and losing sympathy then we must make trouble and lose sympathy as circumstances demand. For oddly enough, a first leader about us in the *Guardian* always turns out to be for us, even when it sets out to be against us.—

Yours faithfully, NICOLAS WALTER.

National Civil Disobedience Day

DECEMBER 9th, the Committee of 100 hopes, will be national civil disobedience day in Britain. Besides their plans for action at Wethersfield and Ruislip which has been organized by the London Committee, other demonstrations that day will be at York, Manchester, Brize Norton, Cardiff and Bristol. The Committee is calling for 50,000 supporters for these demonstrations.

The Committee of 100 is urging as many supporters as possible to go to the Wethersfield action because a more ambitious programme is planned for there: demonstrators will walk on to the air base and sit in front of the H-bombers, while others block the entrances.

Coachloads of demonstrators will leave London at 9.30 a.m. and transport from other directions is being arranged. Separate coaches will be provided for those intending to block and those preparing to enter the base. Final briefings will then be given in the coaches. The Committee told the press that if the authorities attempted to stop the coaches leaving London alternative transport plans were in hand. (If some of the organisers or marshals are arrested before the demonstrations, all actions will continue as planned.)

Those entering the base will cross the surrounding fields from points along the perimeter roads and—says the briefing document published this week—"sit in front of the aircraft and the fuel and H-bomb storage sites." The main runway, it adds, will not be blocked to any incoming planes.

"The intention is to ground all aircraft and demand the reclaiming of the base for civilian purposes. Each group will remain at the base for as long as possible."

The two main entrances to the base will be blocked by demonstrators sitting. They plan to remain there until 7 p.m. unless removed. "If the police make arrests, however," adds the document, "we ask everyone to continue the demonstration in solidarity for as long

as possible. Go limp and offer not resistance if arrested."

For the action at the US Air Force Headquarters, the Committee of 100 is asking demonstrators to assemble at South Ruislip underground station (Central line) at 2 p.m. Contingents of demonstrators will arrive by various routes and from opposite directions at the entrances, some of which will be blocked by the Committee's Middlesex group. "In every case," says the Committee, "we shall march across the full width of the roads." The entrances will be blocked from 3-9 p.m., or as long as possible if any arrests are made.

Besides the developments in the walk-on action at Wethersfield, the Committee plans to further the effectiveness of its demonstrations on December 9 by recommending that demonstrators remain limp and refuse to co-operate in any way until inside the police station (instead of until arrested, as previously). This will enable the demonstrations to continue for a longer period.

We are as usual," the Committee continues, "asking all those who feel able to refuse to accept bail, to refuse to pay fines, and to refuse a binding-over order. This time, in addition, we are recommending that people refuse to give their name and address."

★

"In the past the authorities have been able to impose fines, allow time to pay, and then arrest one by one in the succeeding weeks and months those who refused to pay. We are calling for at least 1,000 demonstrators to pledge themselves to refuse to give their names and addresses so that they will have to be dealt with immediately as a body. This will add enormously to the impact of the demonstration."

There will be a London briefing meeting for Wethersfield and Ruislip demonstrators at Unity House (the Euston Road Headquarters of the National Union of Railwaymen) on Saturday, December 2, at 2.30 p.m. Copies of the briefing document are available from the Com-

mittee at 13 Goodwin Street, London, N.4. (ARCHWAY 1239).

Details of the other demonstrations, and the addresses of the local Committees are as follows:

The Oxford Committee of 100 (22 Waterperry, Oxford) is planning to block and immobilise the strategic bomber base at Brize Norton. A short supporting march and vigil at the base are also being planned for those unable or unwilling to commit civil disobedience.

Committee of 100 supporters in the Midlands are being urged to go to the Brize Norton action. Details of transport are available from Simon Hurdley, 4 Pakenham Road, Birmingham 15. (Calthorpe 3175.) The area envisaged for transport includes Wolverhampton, Coventry, Derby and Leicester.

In York demonstrators at the Northern Command Headquarters will demand to look round the nuclear weapons control centre there and if they disapprove of what they see will sit down inside. If they are not allowed in they will sit outside. The Yorkshire Committee of 100 is at Brook House, Farlington, York. (Stillington 364.)

A lawful meeting in central Bristol is scheduled for December 9, but there will be civil disobedience in the event of police interference. The West of England Committee of 100's address is 9 Cornwallis Crescent, Bristol 8. (Bristol 33412.)

Demonstrators will assemble at 3.30 p.m. in the Court Yard of the John Wesley Chapel, Broadmead, and march to the city centre for a public assembly.

At Cardiff on December 9 demonstrators will sit down outside the castle and fix on its door a declaration of their resistance to nuclear policy. The Welsh Committee of 100 is at Morel Buildings, Stuart Street, Pier Head, Cardiff. (Cardiff 28466.)

The North-West Committee of 100 is organising the Manchester sit-down—outside the Town Hall—from 140 Upper Parliament Street, Liverpool 8. (Royal 2282.)

Seaton Strikes Again

The longest sentence passed by Mr. R. E. Seaton, chairman of London Sessions was imposed yesterday on James Robert Styles, 47, described as a stage artist, of no fixed address.

Styles, sentenced to 14 years' preventive detention, pleaded guilty to stealing a £1,500 car; obtaining by false pretences a £240 diamond ring; obtaining clothing by false pretences and attempting to obtain a £385 gold watch by false pretences.

He asked the Court to consider 20 further offences which concerned property worth £2,117. Styles had 15 previous convictions and had served sentences of three years' penal servitude,

14 YEARS FOR "A PEST TO SOCIETY"

five years' preventive detention, two of seven years' preventive detention and one of eight years' preventive detention.

Styles said he had spent 30 years in prison. He added, "The trouble starts when a man comes out of prison and cannot get a job."

Mr. Seaton told him, "You are an absolute pest to society when you are out of prison."

Is this man really such a pest to society? How many members of society, we wonder, possess a £1,500 car, a £240 diamond ring or a £385 gold watch? A very small number

surely, and one can well imagine that these inexpensive little trinkets, not to mention the car, were all insured. So at the most it could be said that this "pest" is a minor nuisance to the insurance companies and to a few well-to-do people who won't in any case lose anything by his actions. But of course these are the important people, these are the pillars of society. And so this miserable man of 47 who declares that he has spent 30 years of his life inside is sent back.

What a commentary on the penal system. And what a nasty piece of work Mr. Seaton makes himself out to be!

The Worship Weapon

DEAR EDITORS. In answer to Albert R. Brimicombe and "Teacher", I do not agree that more teachers and more classrooms will solve the educational problem.

Since these teachers have taken this callous attitude towards a serious matter, and since they are members of a union which works in terms of expediency only, I am tempted to think that they are concerned only with getting more money for themselves.

Bucks, Nov. 19. Yours, etc., "PARENT".

Correspondence

Homage to Joe Hill

"The state of Utah murdered Joe Hill 46 years ago today." So declared 68-year-old Catholic Anarchist Ammon A. Hennacy in dedication of the Joe Hill Hospitality House named for the famous I.W.W. song-writer Joe Hill.

Mr. Hennacy presided over the dedication meeting and addressed a Salt Lake City audience at the Joe Hill House, 72 Post Office Place, where transients are fed and housed without paying or praying.

In his opening remarks at the meeting Mr. Hennacy declared the "young folks at the University of Utah raised \$250 to start the Joe Hill House. I hadn't thought of starting one for a year or two. But I thought if people are that interested we'd better start it.

The guest speakers both of whom are working on heavily researched books on Joe Hill were Joseph Curitis, who has written a thesis on Joe Hill for a degree at the University of Utah, who said there was "reasonable doubt" of Hill's guilt and Zapata Modesto, I.W.W. member, and national prize winner writer who said: "Joe Hill is the man Utah will never forget."

Questions for a Breakthrough

DEAR COMRADES. It is becoming clear that should the forthcoming civil disobedience demonstrations be successful we shall be faced with exciting and exacting problems. I am not sure whether my experiences are similar to others but it does seem that the confusion and muddle in the minds of many people, who either support civil disobedience or who are close to doing so, might lead to something of a disaster.

There is no doubt that anarchism is becoming a topic for serious consideration.

tion, in fact the Committee of 100 and the various Committees throughout the country are being looked to as the framework of a new society growing within the shell of the old. This might seem fantastic, but with the growing realisation that both the Trade Unions and the Labour Party are hopeless, there are only the various hundreds to whom sincere unilateralists can turn.

It seems that the generation of the 'thirties who went to Spain to fight fascism is being reproduced today by a generation of the 'sixties desperately involved in the fight against the Bomb. The similarities are very evident, and the growing sympathy for our movement that is coming from ordinary unpolitical people is perhaps the most significant similarity.

FILM REVIEW

why did they make heroin illegal. The reply is "I really don't know. To protect people from themselves. Maybe popular opinion. Maybe the liquor lobby. I once heard it was a plot of the rich. Beats me." Cowboy says, "Who cares? Man, they got a bomb, haven't they? Protect us from ourselves. Man, the Japanese cats don't feel that way. . . . Everything that's illegal is illegal because it makes more money for more people that way."

Later the discussion comes up about the necessity for the drug traffic to be controlled. The doctors are suggested as the controllers. Cowboy says: "Man, doctors wouldn't help me. I'd be out of a job. Hell, the doctors would be the big connection."

In the film, Solly merely says, "I don't trust them." In the play he goes on, "Those are the people who mildly electrocute thousands of people every year. And how many prefrontal lobotomies are performed? Oh, no. I don't trust them as a group any more than I trust the police as a group. Or Junkies, especially the likes of Ernie and Leach."

This is a good, thought-provoking film. But not for squares. There is, so they tell me, some good jazz playing, for those who dig that stuff.

Waiting for Cowboy

Academy "The Connection" Man, it makes like we're always waiting for something. In the Thirties, it was Lefty, (he turned out to be a right two-timing bastard); in the Fifties, it was Godot, he didn't even make the scene. We didn't even dig Godot.

Now we're waiting for "Cowboy". This is the theme of the first part of Jack Gelber's play "The Connection" now, with very little alteration, made into a tight claustrophobic film.

The film is a film within a film, a documentary film maker and his assistant are in the squalid room rented by Leach, with a group of dope addicts (including a jazz quartet) waiting for Cowboy to turn up with "the fix", i.e., the dose of a narcotic—heroin, sufficient to set them up for the day. Very little happens in the film, as the cameraman keeps saying, "that's the way it is. That's the way it really is." It is an anti-cinema movie in the Brechtian-Beckett anti-theatre tradition.

The angle of vision changes from seeing it through the big camera, to the hand camera, to the eye of the beholder. The actors non-actingly address the audience, the camera-man and the producer.

The moral of this amoral film is that we're all drugged with something, "the people who walk the streets, the people who work every day, the people who worry so much about the next dollar, the next new coat, the chlorophyll addicts, the aspirin addicts, the vitamin addicts, those people are hooked worse than me." So says Sam and Solly replies, "They are. Man, they sure are."

You happen to have a vice that is illegal.

Although I am sure he would hate to be found in such company, T. S. Eliot once said:

In a world full of fugitives Those going in the opposite direction Will be accused of escaping (Or words to that effect).

Solly speaks "We are waiting. We have waited before. The connection is coming. He is always coming. But so is education, for example. The man who will whisper the truth in your ear. Or the one who will shout it out among the people . . ."

When Cowboy arrives he has brought a Salvationist with him for camouflage. (Man, somebody's going to have a ball with this film. Dig that symbolism!) He goes on giving the "beats" their shot. Leach (dig it?) demands more, he finally gets an overdose and passes out to be revived by Cowboy.

Writers in FREEDOM have touched on the self-defeating effects of anti-narcotics traffic. There is some discussion of this in the film. One of the characters asks

The Image, my dear, the image!

A declaration signed by the principals of 16 such schools says that they feel obliged to present at this critical stage of educational history "an image of the teacher which is more reliable in its features than the public image which has been disfigured and shattered by recent events."

"We believe firmly that teaching is a vocation and that militant action over remuneration is, or should be, repugnant to a man or woman following it. We, together with some half of the profession, are profoundly unhappy over the recent tempestuous methods of protest adopted by numbers of our colleagues and angry at the Government's intransigence which contributed so much to this sorry state of affairs. Like all our colleagues we feel a deep dissatisfaction about the whole approach to teachers' remuneration. . . ."

The real image of the teacher in the public mind, they believe, should be that of a man or woman who would in all normal circumstances share such views. —Times.

How pompous can you get! Teaching is a "vocation" and militant action over remuneration is "repugnant". Presumably those who grow the food, those who cook it and those who transport it to the schools for the children who will eat it in between listening to the pearls of wisdom falling from the lips of these superior beings, these are just sordid workers who live to make money, filthy lucre. No wonder they resort to "militant action". What can you expect. That is their public image. But ours,

my dear, is a vocation. I'm only a headmaster for what I can do to make the dear little ones better citizens, not for the money. What's that—did I refuse to accept a headmaster's salary on principle? Of course not! Do you realise all the extra responsibilities that go with the Head's job? Yes, I realise that, but if your's is a vocation you should be glad to have more responsibilities? I do, but are you aware that the image of the Headmaster in the public mind is of a successful person; and how can you show them you are successful if you don't earn at least £1,300 a year including 10 weeks' holiday with pay? But I thought you were talking about teaching as a vocation? I was, but damn it man, we've got to live haven't we? Quite, and that's why I couldn't understand why you and your colleagues were so opposed to militant action. Do you think it beneath your dignity? Well, to be quite frank with you my friend, I do; and what's more I think the government should treat us as a special case. After all the whole future of the country depends on us. What the government wants is more scientists, more shorthand typists and good, solid, God-fearing, law-abiding citizens. And apart from a few scallywags who get caught up in these sit-down demonstrations—and we expel them, and no nonsense—we are turning out the kind of product the government, industry and the nation needs. Don't we deserve the recognition of a grateful nation?

we say and that we are not a crowd of hoodlums, or plain mad-cases. THEN the sceptics will understand why direct action is so much more effective than political action of the orthodox kind. And this breakthrough to the people through the blanket of mass media and ignorance, is taking place.

But I have some quests for the Editors. I am not coming as a lost sheep for guidance from above, but I do need help from the few people I trust who have experience of the revolutionary situations we may well be approaching. In the North one finds a far less militant atmosphere than is apparent in London. It is all very well talking about decentralisation but the tradition is practically dead, how can one awaken a desire for local autonomy? How can the campaign against nuclear weapons be connected to a full-scale libertarian programme that is realistic and practical. And lastly, is an organised libertarian movement—if possible—desirable? Hull, Nov. 26. J.W.

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meetings to be held at The Two Brewers, 40 Monmouth Street, WC2 (Leicester Square Tube) Sundays at 7.30 p.m.

DEC 3 Laurens Otters on: The Purpose of Civil Disobedience

DEC 10 'S.F.' on: Illusion and Reality

DEC 17 Gramophone Recital by John Pilgrim on: Sex and Folk-Music

Hyde Park Meeting

Every Sunday at 3.30 (if fine)

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1st Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at Jack and Mary Stevenson's, 6 Stainton Road, Enfield, Middx.

Last Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. at Dorothy Barasi's, 45 Twyford Avenue, Fortis Green, N.2.

1st Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. at Colin Ward's, 33 Ellerby Street, Fulham, S.W.6.

3rd Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald Room's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.

Last Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Laurens and Celia Otter's, 57 Ladbroke Road, W.11.

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