

'The only human relations that have value are those that are rooted in mutual freedom.'  
BERTRAND RUSSELL

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**THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.**

## BACK TO MARHAM!

THE Committee of 100 demonstration which began on 11th May, 1963 has not yet ended, so this report is only an introduction.

The Marham demonstration was organised by the East Anglian Committee of 100 as a sort of sequel to the Honington demonstration last October. On that occasion, we went to plough up an RAF V-bomber base and bring the land back into cultivation; on this occasion, we went to auction an RAF V-bomber base and claim its contents for scrap. The same part-symbolic, part-satirical, part-serious intention lay behind both demonstrations.

We arrived at Swaffham, a small town in west Norfolk about 80 miles north of London, at about 2.0 on Saturday afternoon. The auction of RAF Marham was held in the recreation ground by Ken Browning, a member of the East Anglian Committee. We made bids for the base, item by item, and paid a few shillings or a few pounds for each lot. The proceeds of the auction went to famine relief, and we went to claim our purchases.

We travelled by coach and car to the village of Marham, passing the base on the way. The Valiant bombers and Bloodhound missiles were clearly visible. The police sabotaged our assembly at Marham by diverting our vehicles, and the East Anglian Committee failed to give us any clear initiative. But we formed up somehow, and walked round through the village and up a hill to the houses where the RAF personnel and their families live. A large number of RSG pamphlets were distributed to anyone who would take them.

When we got to the RAF houses we broke up into several groups and made our own way towards the base itself. There were hundreds of civil police and airmen of all ranks both inside and outside the base, but it is such a huge area that they couldn't possibly defend

it properly. They had put up some barbed wire near the main gate, and dozens of notices warning us that the base was a prohibited area under the Official Secrets Act.

The direct action began at about 4.0, when about three hundred people tried to enter RAF Marham to reclaim it for peaceful purposes prejudicial to the safety and interests of the Warfare State. We crossed the low plain wire boundary fence, and walked slowly towards the Valiant bombers at the end of the runway. For the first time in the history of the Committee of 100, we were entering a military base—what we had failed to do at Wethersfield, and Greenham Common, and Honington.

A few larks rose up into the sky and sang their heads off. A few RAF officers ran about with loud-hailers and shouted their heads off. We walked on until we were all stopped by the RAF. There were about a hundred people up to about two hundred yards inside the base. We stood there or sat there and waited until they decided what to do with us.

After about half an hour, more airmen were brought up to deal with us. There were some dogs, but they weren't used at all. If they had been used, we had aniseed buns for them. The airmen dragged or carried us back to the fence and dropped or threw us over. When we had all been forced back out of the base without any arrests being made, we spread for about a quarter of a mile along the fence. A few of us managed to get back over it in various places at various times, but we were soon heavily outnumbered.

By 5.30 we had clearly been checked, and we began to move back to the RAF houses. The last dozen people who got over the fence were arrested and taken away in a furniture van. We held a meeting by the wire, and at about 6.0 we decided to leave. We walked

back past the main gate, which was heavily guarded, had a short token sit-down, and then went on down the hill to our coaches in the village.

We had thought of paying a visit to the court on the way home. But by the time we reached our coaches we were told that the dozen who had been arrested had been charged under the Official Secrets Act, so our visit turned out to be a very angry one. They had set up a temporary magistrates' court in a school at Shouldham, a village about three miles west of Marham, and the prisoners were being held in a barn across the road. About two hundred of us occupied the road, arguing about what to do, trying to get our comrades released on bail, and stopping the police taking them away. The authorities were as unpleasant and unco-operative as they could be, and there was nearly a real riot on several occasions. The East Anglian Committee again failed to give us any clear initiative, and we began to drift away as the coaches had to leave.

Later on in the evening, more than fifty people decided to return to the base that night. They travelled by coach round to the side of the base, and walked up an almost undefended path towards the main runway. When they had entered the base without resistance, they spread out across the runway and walked up it for several hundred yards. At about 10.0 they were finally brought to a

halt by the RAF, and they sat down right on the runway for more than an hour.

The civil police were brought up to warn them individually, and then arrested them all. They were taken to Shouldham, and 56 more people were charged under the Official Secrets Act by the time the courts rose. A few more were charged with obstruction or assault for their activity outside the court. All those charged under the Official Secrets Act were remanded to appear at Downham Market, a small town about fifteen miles west of Swaffham, on Thursday, 16th May. Most of them were given very high bail with very high sureties as well, and a few of them refused or were refused bail.

The situation is critical. The Committee of 100 has been in this position twice before—at the time of the Trafalgar Square demonstration in September 1961, and at the time of the Wethersfield demonstration in December 1961. On the first occasion the Committee of 100 rightly went ahead with the demonstration; but on the second occasion the Committee of 100 wrongly refused to go back to Wethersfield after the trial of the Six. This time it is not six—it is 68 who face the risk of several years' imprisonment. The East Anglian Committee has done all it can be expected to do. The London Committee will probably be returning to Marham and re-entering the base in the immediate future. This could be the biggest challenge to the Warfare State since the end of the last war.

It is up to us. Now is the time for every anarchist and every pacifist and every unilateralist to decide where he stands. When we asked the airmen who had prohibited Marham, they said: "We did." When we are asked who has refused to accept this prohibition, let us say: "We do." The demonstration which began on 11th May, 1963, has not yet ended. . . . N.W.

### INDUSTRIAL NOTEBOOK

## Strike Off. What Next.?

Once again an official strike has been called off and this time (and it is not the first), it is the turn of the National Union of Railwaymen.

The terms of the settlement are as follows:—

1. The Board accepts the principle that a man who transfers to a lower grade will keep his old pay rate indefinitely, instead of for only five years.
2. It agrees to allow men who transfer travelling facilities for an unlimited period instead of five years.
3. Lodging allowances for men working a long way from home are to be raised. The union has asked for the present rate of £3. 10s. per week to be increased to £5, and believes it may be offered a compromise of about £4. 10s.
4. Men who want to keep their old homes and travel a distance each day to the new job are to receive half the lodging allowance for an indefinite period, instead of only five years.

This has been the sum total gained by the leadership of the N.U.R., a mere "coffin club" arrangement. Mr. Green, the Union's General Secretary, thinks that he has achieved this settlement because of the strike threat and he seems pleased with it.

The Railway Board must be having a good laugh at such an easy settlement. The N.U.R. has more or less agreed that any industrial action is out as far as the line closures are concerned. This will be left to Wilson & Co. in the political arena at Westminster. This also means that as far as the Railway Board is concerned, the N.U.R. is willing to

accept sackings. These have been estimated at 2,000 during the peak year ending September next year.

Mr. Green has said, "The improvement in resettlement arrangements will encourage more men to move to rail jobs away from home and will therefore reduce the number of dismissals. However, we must face it that some will not be able to move or will not want to."

Yes Mr. Green, what about these men? They are in a union for their own protection and for job security. These closures will also mean less jobs as stated in the L.F.A. and S.W.F. leaflet—"Marple's claims that redundancy will not be so great due to the natural wastage, retirements, etc. Even if this is true, on his own figures there will be thousands fewer jobs available when the 'plan' has eventually been implemented." In this the leadership has failed miserably.

What has happened to the campaign against line closures which the N.U.R. was conducting long before Beeching made his report. With assets of £6 million a lot more could have been done to make the public aware of what these line closures will mean not only to the railwaymen but also to themselves. The railwaymen called for strike action to prevent closures and sackings, but as usual time was wasted and enthusiasm waned. While the rank and file rely on their leaders, their lot seems to be strike threats and betrayals.

What can be done now? It is up to the railwaymen themselves, for nothing but betrayal can be expected from official trade union organisations and the Labour Party. These last two only act as stabilisers for the capitalist system and its ruling class and their role is to channel off any real militancy to harmless ends.

The rank and file railwaymen will have to take action if they are to beat the "Beeching Plan". A number of varying methods can be used, each valid in different conditions and circumstances. There are the work-to-rule, refusal to take fares and the taking over of the unprofitable lines by the railwaymen as advocated in FREEDOM's editorial last week.

This sounds O.K. on paper or just as a wish, but something more must be done. These methods of struggle and ideas of workers' control should be made known amongst the railwaymen. How about it comrades?

P.T.

LAST week's *Observer* contained a review by Harold Nicholson of Herbert Read's recently published autobiographical book, in the course of which the reviewer expressed his surprise that such a gentle person should support an idea which to most people means violence and insecurity.

The implication of that is that the state of society contrary to anarchy, that where government prevails, is distinguished by security and the absence of violence. How true this supposition is, is shown by a glance at the first few pages of *The Observer* itself.

In Birmingham, Alabama, the city and state governments have been employing their police forces to carry out violent attacks on negro demonstrators, who were using illegal, non-violent means in an attempt to win the most elementary freedoms which in this part of the country, the largest, richest, and most powerful of the "free world" have been denied to them for centuries, with the sanction and support of law and government.

Another long article is the last of a series on the situation in South Africa. There, the legal government, which came into being, it should be remembered in the course of a struggle against British imperialism, is committed to a policy of complete, conscious exploitation of the majority of the population in the interests of the minority which it represents. The minority in this case is armed to the teeth and maintains large military and police forces equipped with arms supplied by co-operative governments in other states. Facing this might the Africans, who for decades have supported the idea of non-violent resistance, to be rewarded by persecution, banings, and imprisonment, are finally being driven to the last resort of terrorist violence.

To some people it was the kind of government that was wrong, and the people's democracies of Eastern Europe were a step forward. In Czechoslovakia a new purge has begun in which Stalinist party leaders, who themselves conducted purges resulting in scores of deaths and the imprisonment of thousands, are being arrested and face jail

### STOP PRESS

## Back on Saturday!

AS WE GO to Press, we learn that the return to Marham has been arranged for THIS SATURDAY (18th). All possible support must be given to ensure a mass entry. Meet at Marham Village 1 pm SATURDAY! See 'Mutual Aid Wanted'—page 3.

## The Violence of Governments

in turn. A fortnight ago a report appeared about the Rumanian government's persecution of a minority group merely because their language and culture is Hungarian.

If it were merely the power-bloc line up that perverted government from its otherwise beneficial aims, the neutral countries might show up to advantage. However the Indian government which took power in the course of a largely non-violent liberation struggle, is planning on intense war against the Nagas, who have been resisting the Indian government's attempts to force its benefits on them. In Iraq and Syria, persecution of opposition supporters of the former regime of Kassem, and of Nasser is continuing, over a thousand people having been summarily shot in a few weeks in Iraq. Kassem was supposed to be pro-Communist, while Nasser and the Baath party which now rules Syria and Iraq are called socialist!

The world's attention has also been drawn again to the regimes of police terror in Haiti and Greece, which appear to be continuing to expand.

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# ANARCHY 27

NOW ON SALE, IS ON YOUTH

ANARCHY is Published by Freedom Press at 1/6 on the last Saturday of every month.



## There is a tide in the affairs of men

**T**HE growing interest in anarchist ideas which has been manifest during the past two years, not only in this country but in most other countries with which it is possible to maintain contact, should be, and indeed for many of us, is, a source of encouragement and an incitement to redouble our activities as anarchist propagandists.

Everything is relative, we know that; and readers need have no fear that "success" will go to our heads,

### The need for propagandists

**W**E must confess to a feeling of impatience with those anarchist writers who are ever putting forward complicated political and philosophical explanations as to "why anarchism progresses so slowly" and completely ignore the much more obvious and "simplest" arguments (1) that the anarchist movement (to its credit surely?) has always been a *financially* poor movement compared with the minority Left in general (the Kropotkins, Bakunins and Malatestas gave away their inheritances as a matter of principle, and while we think it was a tactical mistake to give it to the poor peasants—for the same reason as advanced by old man Ford: that if he distributed his private fortune among all his workers their lot would remain unchanged—rather than to propaganda, who will deny that there is no comparison between the impact made on people and ideas by this revolutionary trio and the protestations of our latter-day "millionaire-socialists": the Bernsteins, Samuels and Strauss' who dream of the socialist utopia, but in the meantime live off the fat of the land!). (2) Equally important is the fact that anarchists do not belong to the self-sacrificing do-gooding species of humanity (that is in the, now generally understood, masochistic sense of the word). This "do-it-yourself" anarchism, this living—this by example— anarchism is, to our minds, vital both for the people concerned as well as for the ideas they propagate. Unlike George Woodcock (not the TUC GW, but our ex-editorial colleague and author of the forthcoming Penguin

### Expand our horizons

**T**HE smugness we refer to consists in the belief that it is obvious where the people's interest lies and they have only to look and they will find it. In the first place there is the presumption that the enlightened ones have discovered all they know by their unaided efforts. This attitude depends not on the concept that in the long term "reason will prevail" but that reason is fundamental to human thought, once people start thinking; or when the cobwebs of prejudice have been swept away from human thought. We are not so immodest nor unobservant as to believe that once people start thinking for themselves their thoughts will lead them to anarchist conclusions or that reason—that is logical argument—will determine their actions in the direction we would wish!

Who would deny that a Nehru, a Russell or a Schweitzer, or a Silone have spent a large part of their lives thinking? Have they embraced the anarchist idea as a result? At the other intellectual extreme you have illiterate Spanish peasants who also spent a large part of their lives

and lead us to call for our gallant banner-bearers of Easter Monday, and the people of Britain, to gather in Trafalgar Square next Monday and declare the anarchist revolution! What we are calling for, however, is an intensification of anarchist propaganda activities by all our comrades who declare themselves as something more than simply "philosophical anarchists", so that our ideas and movement may go forward and grow.

history of Anarchism), this writer's experience of fellow anarchists over many years would lead him to describe them not as "millenarians" or dreamers of the "millennium"—words which abound in Woodcock's history and blind his judgment—but as unsentimental, sometimes cynical, sometimes just "tough" realists, impractical, in so far as they do not conform to the values which are today, in the event, surely wrongly, considered to be the passport to happiness and success, but *practical* in that they manage to enjoy life without having to pawn their future to the "persuaders" and the finance companies, and are impervious to the manufactured "crises" which are the stock-in-trade of the organs of mass communications, yet without being apathetic to the real, permanent, crises virtually built-in to our existing society.

Where we would introduce a critical note to this "profile" of "anarchists-I-have-met"—and there are a lot more of them than the denigrators, and even some anarchists, imagine—is of the anarchists as propagandists and proselytizers. To a large extent their virtues as human beings, and practitioners as well as believers (unlike so many authoritarians who alleged to be but are not!) in the freedom of speech, assembly and the written word, inhibit them. They are, in our experience, reluctant, inefficient propagandists partly because of a smug attitude to their "unenlightened" fellow beings. We propose to substantiate these "criticisms" which are made with objectivity as our goal and without rancour.

thinking . . . or at least, dreaming and wanting, the "comunismo libertario" to which the itinerant anarchist propagandists have introduced them by word of mouth, and the promise of work and liberty. In 1936 Franco's military *coup d'état* was resisted and halted by millions of simple, unambitious, uncomplicated (in the Freudian sense, if not for Freud!) for whom utopia was more food and down with the boss. The privileged class plus the Spanish Army and the crack troops and armament of Italy and Germany took two and a half years to physically reduce this "rabble" and so insecure has been its victory that 24 years later the regime cannot relax its "security" measures. What comparable example can we cite of the *thinking élite*? What did they do in 1939? What did they do when Hitler was replaced by the cold war? How long were they prepared to suffer the inconvenience of "sitting in puddles" before they found all kinds of philosophical and other wordy rationalisations to explain why their bottoms were more comfortable in a Club's upholstery?

120 DEMONSTRATORS marched through Dover to hold a public meeting near a Regional Seat of Government located in the Castle. When stopped some sat down in the road and others distributed reprints of the Spies for Peace pamphlets. A smaller group scaled the castle walls where police were in their usual repressive position. The *Mirror's* account of fights and of a blonde girl who said she belonged to the London Anarchist movement and who tried to scramble into the moat were totally fictitious. Thousands of negroes (adults and children) were jailed for breaking a city ordinance against parades in Birmingham, Alabama. The democratically unelected police chief Bull Connor is reported as saying, "We ain't gonna segregate no niggers and whites together in this town." White business-men, with experience of a six-week boycott of their stores by coloured, agreed on three points.—Desegregation of downtown stores, including their luncheon counters, rest rooms, etc.; improved employment opportunities for negroes; establishment of a bi-racial commission which will consider a time-table for desegregating public schools, and opening the city's parks, golf courses, and swimming pools to both races. "Bull" Connor said this agreement was the most dishonest face-saving statement that was ever issued. Two bombs were tossed, one into the motel headquarters of the integration movement, and one into the house of Martin Luther King's brother. This sparked off fighting with the police and at the time of going to press President Kennedy has sent Federal troops to bases near Birmingham. Fifty boys from a North Paddington comprehensive school marched to the American Embassy in London to protest about the racial disturbance in Birmingham, Alabama. . . .

## Mutual Aid Wanted

**AS A RESULT** of the action at Marham many of our comrades have been charged under the Official Secrets Act. Many more will no doubt join them this Saturday. Heavy fines must be expected. Money will be needed. Please send more than you can spare to Jack Stephenson, c/o Freedom Press. Let no activist be let down for want of money!

The anarchist case is at the same time universal and uncompromising. Every individual has an inalienable right of access to the means of production, freedom of expression in its broadest sense, but no right to exploit the labour of a fellow being, or seek to coerce others by reason of his superior knowledge. This simple but all-embracing concept which to us anarchists is so basic and so obvious that it is almost a cliché, for millions of people would be a revelation, a *new* ideal, a bolt from the blue to which they could react favourably or unfavourably.

We would be intrigued to carry out a straightforward survey among the "do-it-yourself", individualist school of anarchists to find out how they came to embrace anarchist ideas. It would, we are sure, enlighten them no less than those of us who Sid Parker from his lonely pinnacle referred to (FREEDOM May 4) as the advocates of "a gregarious and indiscriminate communism" (of his two qualifying adjectives we accept the former and reject the latter). Because we have recognised, in retrospect, that the "discoveries" we made in the realm of ideas had been, in fact, suggested, insinuated or simply expressed to us by others, we believe in the value and the importance of communication, and unlike those anarchists who resent having come into this wicked world without their prior consent (a situation they will have to put up with even in an anarchist society, since there seems to be no way round this problem!), we are prepared to accept our parents as they are, grateful of the opportunity they have given us, not only of life but of being able to rebel against them at some stage or other in our development

One has only to read the letters we receives which are not intended for publication from people who



**THE BRISTOL** Bus Company on instructions from its London office which controls the purse-strings, decided on a policy of racial tolerance. The Railway unions decided on guidance from above on a policy of collaboration with Dr. Beeching. Dr. Heenan, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Liverpool denied that Pope John was collaborating with Communists; but Italian communists got one out of four votes probably upon this party line. . . .

It is now thought possible that Greville Wynne, a British business man, sentenced in Moscow to eight years for spying, may be exchanged for a Russian spy, Gordon Lonsdale, sentenced in London to twenty-five years. Mr. Khrushchev received a British trade mission and told them that Russia would buy more British machinery and equipment if Britain would buy more in exchange. . . .

**MR. REGINALD FORSTER** was released from jail to take part in the vital maintenance of a free press. Its vital function this week was the full reporting of the judge's summing-up in the Argyll divorce case. The freedom of the press to fully report these anthropological studies of sex-rites was infringed some years ago. However, a Catholic Socialist judge gave a waiting world the full details in a summing-up that lasted four-and-a-half hours. He said of the Duchess, "There is enough in her own admissions to establish that, by 1960 she was a completely promiscuous woman whose sexual appetite could only be satisfied by a number of men, and whose attitude to the sanctity of marriage was what moderns would call 'enlightened', but in plain language could only be described as wholly immoral."

have been introduced to anarchism for the first time—that is who are receptive to these ideas but who had never heard of or, please note, discovered, anarchism for themselves—to appreciate the positive value of propaganda. And to this end street-and meeting-selling, and the administrative tasks without which not even an anarchist journal could survive, as well as the anarchist presence at meetings and demonstrations, are in fact, the principle means for introducing the general public to our ideas.

There are periods when the public seems to be more receptive or if you like, less hostile, to radical ideas. These are the moments when the anarchists should intensify their activities as propagandists. We should aim at making our presence felt at all political and other meetings which are concerned with problems in which we have something to contribute. And this is something which we do half-heartedly at present, and thereby miss golden opportunities.

One correspondent in **FREEDOM** suggested recently that the Anarchists, and we assumed that the **FREEDOM** group were included, wanted to keep the movement small and exclusive. This is so far from the truth, and the palpable evidence in our columns, that it hardly seemed necessary to refute the charge. Perhaps this is an occasion to repeat that the function of our journal is to propagate anarchist ideas, to encourage anarchist activity and the growth of anarchist groups throughout the world. While we have no intention of being an open forum for every minority "ism" we do intend to continue to reflect all the aspects of anarchist thought in our columns, certainly until such time as the movement has grown to the point where a need will be felt for other

The Duchess it was claimed by the Duke, kept a diary in which the initials of men with whom she had intercourse were entered. One of her four men friends wrote of her, "I never knew that such a short acquaintance could keep a hot flame burning so high." The Duke phoned his ancestral home to get a bonfire ready for a celebration on the night of the divorce decree. Another of the four men said to the *Mirror*, "If I had anything to say at all, it would be full of four-letter words—and you wouldn't print them." *The Daily Herald* (founded by George Lansbury) says of the Duchess, "She has day dresses worth £200 or £300. After wearing them a few times she sells them. Her gloves are bought in Paris, her shoes hand-made in Florence. She does not knit, is not a great reader, does not watch TV, or drive a car. . . . The Duchess has a tiny appetite, but seldom says no to caviare or buttered shrimps. Her favourite shop—Tiffany's, the New York jewellers. She is not very extravagant with her Christmas presents. And like most women . . . she never, never stops talking. After the case, the Duchess said, "Lawyers are looking into it. I may be appealing."

JON QUIXOTE.

### WORKERS' COURTS IN SWEDEN

(From our Correspondent)

Göteborg, 7/5/63.

The Swedish Trade Union movement have always bamboozled the workers into believing that they are weak because they are not members of a Trade Union. They have more or less persuaded their workers that although they produce the wealth it is not theirs to dispose of. The Swedish Trade Union movement gives its support to the Social Democratic government and frowns on strikes which are "illegal" as being against the "national interest". Workers who don't join the Union are sent to Coventry or sacked from their jobs.

A so-called "workers' court" in Göteborg fined 43 Swedish workers the sum of 8,600 kroner (about 60 Pounds) for taking part in an illegal strike. Strikes outside the official trade union movement are considered against the law. The Trade Union leadership play their "game" according to the rules of the welfare state. The rules are that the economic cake though it is made by the Swedish workers is owned by the employers. H.

anarchist publications, and then perhaps the different anarchist schools of thought will each be able to have their organs of expression. For our part we have been engaged in the publication of an anarchist journal for enough years to have learned that the differences between anarchists are far less important than the ideas they hold in common, and it is perhaps a measure of the success of our journal in keeping alive all these years, that those of us closely connected with it each has his own particular "brand" of anarchism which he expresses without fear of offending the "party line". We have no anarchist "party line", all anarchist ideas are "respectable" so far as we are concerned and it is up to those who hold them to express them. In recent weeks many comrades and sympathisers have contributed to our columns; the resulting product has been a lively **FREEDOM** and a sample, we think of what an anarchist journal should be. Let us now expand our horizons; wherever there are anarchists let there be local groups seeking to relate their ideas to local problems, and thereby providing an *entré* for introducing anarchist ideas to large numbers of people whose thinking has made them receptive, but who without this introduction would remain unaware of our ideas.

Now is a good time to start. With elections in the air, there is a growing political consciousness, which as we know from past experience, lasts only for a limited period—until everybody has safely made his cross on the ballot paper. We must use the occasion to introduce anarchist ideas. And by the participation of all convinced anarchists **FREEDOM** can be the spearhead of such activity. But we must start right now!

