

I entered Parliament with what I thought to be the lowest possible opinion of the average member, I came out with one still lower.
JOHN STUART MILL

Why VOTE? It Gets You NOWHERE!

British Army to the Rescue

OF OBOTE,
KENYATTA,
NYERERE

THE recent mutinies in Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya, which seemed to be sparked off by the successful *coup d'etat* in Zan-zibar, have been used by the die-hards and reactionaries in this country as an argument to prove that "independence was granted too soon"; that the Africans are not "ripe" for democracy, and so on. These arguments—if one can call them such—can be easily answered and Colin Legum did so last Sunday in the *Observer* when he pointed out in an interesting article on "Africa: what's gone wrong?" that:

What is happening in Africa today was not only foreseeable but foretold. The sudden ending of firm colonial rule over an entire continent could lead only to an era of turbulence—even if there were no ideological world struggle playing around Africa's shores.

It was never a part of the case for ending colonialism that this would automatically lead to the emergence of peaceful, stable and parliamentary societies, the long history of Europe itself, not to mention Latin America, was there to discourage such facile optimism.

The case for ending colonialism was twofold: "that alien rule was morally indefensible and that it had become increasingly unpractical and unrewarding". While governments are much more influenced by the latter than the former, one cannot deny that the "moral" case has played a part—even if for the wrong reasons, such as the cold war, and with an eye on the long-term trade advantages that might be won.

No, the mutinies cannot be seen as the consequences of the premature granting of independence. Indeed, had it not been forthcoming we should now be reading of revolts against the colonial powers, compared with which, the recent mutinies in the armed forces of these four new nations would appear as incidents of no consequence. Instead of a few thousand British troops being offered the opportunity of relieving the boredom of barrack life with a bit of the "real stuff", and without too many risks, tens of thousands of troops would still be engaged in real earnest. Are memories so short that we have forgotten the bloody campaign in Kenya?

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ACCORDING to press reports the mutinies were over rates of pay and promotion (the top jobs in the army are held by white mercenaries, and so long as they remain there is little chance of rapid advancement among the African officer class).

John Hatch, in the *New Statesman* (Jan. 31) suggests that the Tanganyikan soldier acted as "an armed trade unionist" but, in our opinion he contradicts himself when he points out that this new scale of pay, which even before it was doubled last week, was three times the average national wage, will take him still further away from the ordinary citizen". Trade unionism in its origins sought to defend and further the interests of the common man, whereas historically the army is the instrument of the ruling class, and the enemy of the common man. The fact that Obote in Uganda, Kenyatta and Nyerere in Kenya and Tanganyika respectively relied on the army and not the people for

their authority clearly indicates the authoritarian mentality of these leaders, and we can only applaud when they are hoist by their own petard. And that they now rely on the presence of British troops—in Mr. Hatch's words—"to safeguard their power to govern" may well place them in an "unfortunate position" if you are concerned with their authority and power, but as anarchists we consider that the more "unfortunate", the more untenable, is the position of these leaders the greater is the possibility that the people of Africa will learn in the long run that only they themselves can provide the solutions to their day to day problems.

NYERERE & Co. are not fools; nor are they "saints". If one sees them not as "supermen", but as ordinary human beings, who trade on the ignorance and gullibility of their fellow men in the same way as slick salesmen do, we can put the politician in proper perspective, and realise that he is as fallible as other human beings. If Nyerere had imagination as well as being "a man of peace" he would surely have realised when Tanganyika became an independent nation that his power would be more secure by having no army at all than a symbolic army which though not strong enough to engage in war could easily challenge his government's authority! It is now reported that Nyerere is disbanding his mutinous army and setting about building a new one. Does he not understand that if he enjoys popular support he should either arm the people or seek to disarm everybody, and that if he feels he has a mission to "save" the people in spite of themselves then at this stage the British armed forces will be more "loyal" than any national army he might succeed in forming.

Continued on page 3

FORMATION OF LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS

Last Friday, January 31st, a meeting was held to put the London Federation of Anarchists on a more organized footing. Up until then the L.F.A. consisted of the former London Anarchist Group with representatives from other London groups and off-centre meetings and also individual activists who did not come into the other categories. At first the meetings were quite large, but recently attendance had dropped considerably and there was no real liaison between groups. Various comrades became dissatisfied with the structure of the L.F.A. and so this meeting was called.

About 60 people attended the meeting, which was on an individual basis, though naturally many belonged to groups. The L.A.G. put forward a list of suggestions to form a basis for discussion. It was decided that it was undesirable to take votes on any issue unless it proved unavoidable. Each point was discussed until there was general agree-

ment, although at the beginning certain comrades from Ealing and Acton expressed their opposition to the formation of a Federation and after putting their point of view, retired to another room.

The following points were agreed: The Federation shall be on a basis of groups but that individuals may come along, although over a period it was suggested that they be asked to join a group of the Federation.

All groups in the Federation that are formed or that will be formed in the future shall be autonomous and shall decide their own course of action whether other groups agree or not.

Membership of a group shall be based on whatever that particular group decides, but that groups be urged to exercise discretion as to whom they accepted.

The Federation shall have a secretary to receive correspondence and convene meetings.

There should be unanimous agreement between groups as to who is the Federation Secretary.

Special meetings can be called only if at least two groups think it necessary.

It was suggested that the L.F.A. be financed by a donation of 6d. per member, per group, per month (perhaps).

A provisional secretary was agreed upon until the first meeting of the L.F.A. to which each group was invited to send two delegates. The following groups agreed to send delegates:

- ENFIELD ANARCHIST GROUP,
- IBERIAN FEDERATION OF LIBERTARIAN YOUTH,
- LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP,
- NOTTING HILL ANARCHIST GROUP,
- WOOLWICH ANARCHIST GROUP.

The comrades from Ealing felt that they did not constitute a group, but would like to be kept informed of Federation activities.

STEEL STRIKE ENDS

The strikers at the Steel Company of Wales have now decided to return to work after being out for 41 days. This decision was taken by the members of the Amalgamated Engineering Union on Saturday, when they accepted their union's "peace formula", which had been agreed to by the management.

The first point of this "peace formula" is an immediate return to work. This means a start on Sunday for the craftsmen, who go in to prepare the plant for production which should be in full swing by the end of the week. The second point is the setting up of a committee consisting of one A.E.U. representative, one from the Company and one industrialist from a similar industry. All three are to be mutually acceptable.

This committee will "examine the work of the S.C.O.W.'s craftsmen in relation to the firm's productivity, profitability and the skill and responsibility of craftsmen having regard to the massive technological changes in this industry, and report." This report, which is to be made within three months, will then be used as the basis for negotiations. When a settlement of the pay claim is reached, it will be back-dated to the resumption of work.

What can the A.E.U. strikers expect to get out of this arrangement? Not very much I should think! This committee is just a face saver, both for the employers and the unions, and they both have made their little concessions. The Company, however, has avoided acknowledging that "anomalies exist in the craftsmen's pay." The Committee of three must also take into account the S.C.O.W.'s "profitability and productivity", and the other industrialist is hardly going to be sympathetic to A.E.U. members. The Company originally wanted a member of the process workers' union to be in the committee but this was turned down by the A.E.U. However, provision has been made to have a representative of the process workers to give evidence.

Other craft unions at the S.C.O.W. have already put in pay claims, and no doubt any settlement to which this working committee agrees will be used to settle these other claims.

This strike was obviously becoming an embarrassment to the A.E.U. executive. For one thing, it was showing up the complete lack of unity between the different unions. All through the dispute there has been conflict not only between the A.E.U. and the process

workers' union, which is the Iron and Transport and General Workers Union.

The intervention last week-end of Mr. Wilson, the Labour Party's leader has helped to push the A.E.U. into making a settlement. Mr. Wilson's call for a court of inquiry into the dispute is an echo of the suggestion made by the Minister of Labour, Mr. Godber. The Labour Party leader didn't mention the General Election, but this no doubt was in his mind. One top trade union official said, "They have put him (Wilson) on the spot at Port Talbot. This labour trouble just before an election really causes difficulties."

Another thing was that the strike could spread, for there is dissatisfaction among the craftsmen throughout the steel industry. A delegate conference of shop stewards from steel plants has already called for a "complete withdrawal of labour" if claims are not met on February 11th when National negotiations take place between the A.E.U., other craft unions and the Iron and Steel Trades Employers Federation of which S.C.O.W. is not a member. The shop stewards also thought that all craft unions should support this withdrawal.

One of the fears that were voiced at the outset of the dispute in the national

press, was the threat to the supply of steel to the motor industry. Motor firms were quick to place orders elsewhere, especially in Holland. The strike had no effect on car production, but just before the A.E.U. "peace formula" was agreed upon, the rally clerks in London's West India and Millwall Docks threatened to "black" any imports of steel which they thought were destined for companies which normally ordered from the S.C.O.W. There had also been calls for solidarity action from A.E.U. members at other steel plants.

All these developments led to the A.E.U. compromise, for if they had led to an extension of the dispute, the A.E.U. executive would really have been worried. The dispute would have then been out of their control and would have been in the hands of the rank and file. Even at Port Talbot, with the rivalries and jealousies between unions, there has been no real bitterness between the different union members affected by the strike.

These are the lessons of this dispute. There has been basic solidarity among the rank and file even though they are split up into different unions, but there has been only hostility among the leaders of these unions. On this basis there could be no unity, only a weakening of any solidarity that exists in the struggle against the employers. Only united action can win claims, but this can only be built up on a rank and file basis where common interests exist.

P.T.

NEW BAPTIST HOSPITAL IN ALABAMA STARTS OFF WITH SEGREGATION

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT IN GADSDEN, ALABAMA)

On Sunday, September 29, 1963, a new Hill Burton Baptist Memorial Hospital staged its opening for the citizens of Gadsden, Alabama.

We, the Negro Community of Gadsden, were astonished at the bigotry of this new hospital. In a place where the staff of Doctors and Nurses are supposed to have taken an oath to save lives regardless of Race, Creed, or Colour, we found segregation and discrimination. This new Baptist Hospital is a laugh at what happens in a world of scientific advancement, where men have learned that humans suffer, that humans have diseases, that humans die of ailments, regardless of his skin colour. And yet in spite of this knowledge the new Baptist Hospital is operating on a Segregated

and discriminatory basis. The new multi-million dollar hospital which has an accommodation of two-hundred (200) beds provides:

- (1) Twenty-five beds—Separated and set aside for Negro Adults including one ward with two (2) beds for Pediatric Care.
- (2) Two entrances—One for Whites, one for Non-whites.
- (3) Signs—Coloured—White.

We, the citizens of Gadsden, will not subject ourselves, Children, Wives, and Husbands to such an outrageous form of racial discrimination, without raising a loud cry of protest, and are aware of the fact the hospital is seeking full accreditation by the American Hospital Association. We feel that under the present conditions, accreditation should not be granted.

ANARCHY 36: IS ON THE POLICE

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WHY VOTE? IT GETS YOU NOWHERE!

THE exact date of the General Election, to be held this year, is not yet known, but it is a foregone conclusion that the Government will pick the time that is most favourable for their purpose.

During the period prior to the election, the voting public will be bombarded by the party candidates, who are after votes. This is the only time that we are asked to take an active interest in political and social affairs. We are called upon to make our choice of government and once we have made it, the decisions affecting our lives are made for us. Often they are made, as in the case of the present Government, by a government that has not received an overall majority of the total votes cast in the country, even though it may have a clear majority of seats in the House of Commons.

What is the choice we have between the two main parties, Labour and Conservative? Over the years any differences in principles and policies they had, have disappeared and now they only vary on matters of details. The Labour Party wants to nationalise the steel industry. The Conservatives want an independent nuclear deterrent, while the Labour Party prefers to rely on an American one. On all points of policy there is very little diversity.

The main thing that both parties want, and therefore have in common, is to run the present system of capitalism more efficiently. Little adjustments here, a smoothing of the rough edges there, but basically it is a society where the majority are exploited by the minority,

who intend to keep it so. It is a society that is based on class privilege and inequality.

JUST FIGURE-HEADS

We live in a so-called "democracy" and this is the way it works. The Government in power appoints Members of Parliament to be Ministers of the different departments. These are all important jobs which involve making decisions which affect the lives of everyone in the country. One would think, and rightly so, that to take on these jobs the Ministers would need specialised knowledge in their own particular field. But this is not the case, for only a short while ago we had Mr. Godber taking over the job of Minister of War from Mr. Profumo. Then, following Home's promotion to the leadership of the Tory Party, we have Godber taking on the job of Minister of Labour. So, within the space of a few weeks, he switches from the head of the Department of Destruction to the head of the Department of Construction.

However, what it really boils down to is the fact that the Ministers are only figure-heads who answer, or rather dodge, questions in the House of Com-

mons. The people who really make the decisions, which the Ministers accept, are the Permanent Under-Secretaries, who are at the heads of the various departments. These men never come up for election, they are always there and they are not answerable to the electorate. We may elect a new Government, but these people remain. IS THIS GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE?

So now we come to the difference between the Government and the State. It is these permanent, unelected persons who are the State and it is the State that runs and controls our lives. Of course these are not the only persons who make decisions and are not elected by the people. There are other branches of the State apparatus such as the heads of the Police, the armed forces and the Judiciary, and so the State remains intact no matter what particular Party forms the Government.

This is why Anarchists believe that it is a waste of time to vote at the General Election. Nothing really changes. We are still ruled, decisions affecting our lives are still made for us. In fact, even though we are considered old enough and sensible enough to have the

vote, we are treated like little children who do not know what is good for them.

DO-IT-YOURSELF

Anarchists are opposed to authority. We do not like taking orders or being pushed around and surely any self-respecting person feels the same. We want to replace the Government, the State and Authority with voluntary co-operation. It is no good asking those who rule to do things for you, you have to do them for yourselves. The whole history of government has been one of broken promises, with the vast majority of us still having to work long hours and without any say in the things that affect us.

Even under the rule of the State, co-operation still exists amongst people. Anarchist groups throughout the country are based on voluntary co-operation and there are other organisations working on the same lines. There are Tenants' Associations which are trying to improve housing conditions, Shop Stewards' Committees and unofficial rank and file movements in industry which are fighting for increases in pay and better working conditions. Then we have groups who are assisting old-age pensioners who have already done their part for the com-

munity and who are now too old to work and consequently the State does not want to know about them. All these organisations are run and controlled by the members themselves, people who give up their time voluntarily.

A more recent example has been the Anti-bomb movement, especially the Committee of 100 which, over the last few years, has resisted the State in its war preparations. Anarchists have played a major part in these activities and, in so doing, have often been sent to prison.

THE FREE SOCIETY

All of these are the types of organisations in which Anarchists work because the ordinary person participates in the day-to-day running of them. They can be extended now, by the efforts of all of us, until they involve millions of people throughout the whole of the country. Only then will we be able to free ourselves from any restriction by money, profit motives, frustrating interferences or dictatorship in any form. Anarchists are playing their part in all of these voluntary co-operations, for we believe that this is the way to defend and extend the interests of working people.

The power and control which is now in the hands of the State, your boss at work and the "gas-bags" in Westminster could be in the hands of the people, for the ordinary people of all countries produce all wealth and perform all social services. They have no quarrel with the peoples of other countries and do not benefit from international conflict, but ignorance and fears are created and played upon by their governments.

The Anarchists call upon the ordinary people of Britain to reject the plausible arguments of vote-touting politicians seeking power over us.

THE LONDON ANTI-ELECTION COMMITTEE.

DO NOT VOTE!

"THE PATRIOT CHIEFS", by Alvin M. Josephy, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 25s.

WHEN the Indo-European hordes entered Europe about two thousand years before the birth of Christ they had no word for boat in their languages, and, although they later became fairly good coastwise sailors, they never reached the level of maritime skill attained by the Polynesians. For about three millenia the Atlantic was a barrier they were unable effectively to cross, whatever stray Irishmen and

Defeat of the Red Men

Norsemen were able to achieve. When they did finally overcome it they poured in waves over the whole of the Americas, and, having murdered or enslaved most of the population, wrote books to prove the righteousness and inevitability of what they had done. Some of the American Indian civilisations, which all drew their inspiration from Asia, were cruel, but others were neither better nor worse than those in most of the rest of the world. Just as the Indo-European overlords in ancient Europe represented the aborigines as gnomes, goblins, witches and "little people", so their descendants wrote about the Indians as if they were monsters of cruelty, and possessed of semi-supernatural power (in tracking down their enemies through the forest for example). Actually the Indians were simply people. Some of them, the most primitive, lived in conditions of almost idyllic simplicity, which inspired Rous-

seau with his concept of The Noble Savage. (Oddly enough the eighteenth century seems to have been more tolerant in its attitude to the ways of life of non-European peoples than either the seventeenth or the nineteenth). The more advanced Indians were less gentle, but they were, for the most part engaged in the universal human task of keeping alive, and trying at the same time to enjoy it as far as possible. Warfare and its horrors, though not universal, was pretty widespread, but then, so it was in Europe.

The Patriot Chiefs to some extent helps to right the balance. It tells the story of the Indian resistance to European penetration through the lives of a series of chiefs who were engaged in this struggle. Some things emerge which are probably not well known. The English penetration of North America from its eastern coast during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries went ahead fairly

slowly, and inter-marriage between European and Indian was fairly common, with the result that enormous numbers of Indians were either part English, part Irish or part Scots. They often had British names and some were extremely Europeanised, like Tecumseh. (The French in their colonies intermarried even more). So it could be argued that the Indians were no longer a wholly foreign race, but a semi-European minority like the gypsies, the Jews or the West Indians today. After the defeat of Pontiac a large number of white captives of both sexes, who had become completely Indian in outlook, were forcibly repatriated, against their will. Those who could escaped from the British soldiers and went back to their tribes.

This applied of course to the Eastern side of North America, and did not of course help the Indians, any more than being European and Christian helped the Scottish Highlanders after the '45. Indeed one British general proposed sending blankets infected with small-pox among the Indians. Germ warfare is not new. While the benevolent Benjamin Franklin welcomed the spread of "fire-water" among them, as this would help to speed their disappearance from the scene, and leave the land for the white man. For though the eighteenth century intellectual did not tend to indulge in the racism of the nineteenth century, the men on the spot, who stood to gain from robbing the Indian, would act like Hitlers, without bothering about theory.

The nineteenth century saw a catastrophic speeding up of the European advance in North America. The Indians were clever enough to have built their own cannon, forts, battleships, Maxim guns and all the rest, as the Japanese did at the same time. But they were not numerous enough, and their defeat was "inevitable" to this extent. (However it is not inevitable for human beings to behave like pigs, although they generally do).

The destruction of the Indians wiped out some interesting social experiments, or limited their development. There were pacifist tribes, anarchist tribes, matriarchal tribes, as well as the usual authoritarian kinds of society. In Florida the Seminole nation were the first, and to this day the last, multiracial society in North America. They were part Indian, part Negro and part European. There were also villages of pure Negroes, but all were part of the Seminole people. Most of the Negroes of course were escaped slaves, or their descendants, which is why war was waged upon this tribe. (It still continues. Peace has never been officially declared!).

The communalistic matriarchy of the Iroquois inspired the theories of Morgan, who in turn inspired Engels and Lafargue to develop their ideas about the origin of property and the family. Thus to some extent we* are all Iroquois now. Perhaps, as has often happened before, the conquered will educate their masters!

*That is to say those who derive their social theories from either Marxist or anarchist-communist thinkers. ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

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Private Vices in Public Schools

"The Fourth of June". St. Martin's Theatre.

DAVID BENEDICTUS' novel *The Fourth of June* had some success as a revelation of scandalous goings-on at Eton, so it was perhaps inevitable that so valuable a piece of 'property' should be turned into a stage play. It doesn't quite come off. But then it never does. Novel is novel and play is play and never the twain shall do the same job.

The multi-plane stage and lighting effects serve to make the transition from one scene to another, so easy in the novel and on the screen, easier on the stage but hard on the actors. The cast is very largely juvenile and play with the zest of youth. Ronald Lacey plays the part of a 'Guinea Pig' scholarship boy (reminding us of another play), a part which reminds us of his part in "Chips With Everything".

The play is a study of a power structure, the head is subject to pressure from "the grouse-moor set" (who when frank enough, know that their sons will turn out swines anyhow); the head puts pressure on the housemaster (played with understanding by David Markham), the housemaster exercises a benevolent despotism over the senior boys who terrorise the 'fags' who in their turn are only lulled into a muttering acquiescence by the thralldom of tradition and the knowledge that some day they too can make life hell for fags with calls of 'Bo-o-ey-up'. Scarfe, the 'guinea pig', is between two worlds and gets the worse of both. Tom Phillips, like a parliamentarian goes over to the enemy when the joins 'the Library' and presides over the flogging of Scarfe. He verbalizes his revolt in the same way that the housemaster disinhibited by drink on the fourth of June soliloquises on his fate.

The necessary shorthand of the stage makes some of the characters inconsistent since the full character cannot be

delineated, as in a novel, without drastic revision. Morgan, Ravenscourt and Jill suffer this defect but the players surmount this to the best of their ability.

Eton was (the programme notes) founded by a madman, but in its microcosm it reflects the madness of our time. JACK ROBINSON.

SUBVERSION IN SCHOOLS

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT)
The Times Educational Supplement for Jan. 10 opens a report on a conference of school-magazine editors with a quote from Mr. Melville Hardiment, a schoolteacher and the organizing secretary of the new National Association for School Magazines: "The reason I organized this conference . . . was to teach you about the literature of insurrection. The situation is, you have an official school magazine. So you find some sixth form toady and let him run it. Underground, you get something like"—and he held up a secret magazine flourishing in one school. "It is disgusting and beautiful. And it makes a profit".

The reporter is evidently horrified, as, apparently, was the chairman, Anthony Thwaite of *The Listener*, but Michael Frayn of *The Observer* remarked that a free press at any level is 'always at odds with authority', though he also remarked that " . . . authority can sometimes be right".

Brian Hammond, deputy editor of *The Teacher*, had his doubts about freedom, and about the extent of the dour repression he felt head teachers would have to exercise to justify 'illicit' magazines. The report ends with a quote from some girls at the end of the conference, discussing it: "I thought education was to teach you honesty", one said. "What's so honest about running an illicit newspaper?"

Personal Column

MY FATHER FIGURE IS DEAD

A freudian comrade after analysing one of my dreams, once told me that Jackson Teagarden was probably my father figure. Last week at the age of 58 he died.

"T" as he was affectionately known, was one of the great men of Jazz. He was voted the trombone chair a few years ago in an "all time Jazz greats" poll in the States. His playing has been described as that of a man attempting to do something very difficult at the last possible moment and achieving it with ease and perfection.

The one time he played in London I was on night shift so I never saw him play in person, but from photographs, films that he has been in and from his records one gets the impression of a fantastically relaxed personality who radiated good humour. I'll never forget him in "Birth of the Blues" doing his favourite trick of playing his slide into a glass, or in "Jazz on a Summer's Day" singing "Rockin' Chair" with Louis, standing there relaxed, his trombone hanging from one finger and sounding rather like a sleepy drunken cowboy.

Although I've called him my father figure in a joke, now he's dead I feel a JACK STEVENSON personal loss.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Ian Vine of Bristol asks us to state that he no longer considers himself a member of the Bristol Federation of Anarchists, and has no wish to be "implicated" by any of their future actions and statements until, as he puts it, "some radical change in organisation and opinion takes place within the federation".

WELL, THANKS . . .

DEAR SIR,
Please discontinue my subscription. I do find things of interest in FREEDOM and am generally sympathetic but find it repetitive, a bit abstract and lacking in liveliness, yet the editorials whether I agree or not with them, are well written and "Jon Quixote" is sharp. Actually, it's hard to pinpoint the reasons for dropping the sub. In any case, I'm not less but more interested in the Libertarian movement since taking out the subs.

Sincerely,
London, Jan. 25. B.B.

CNT SPANISH FESTIVAL

Sunday, February 9th at 3 p.m.
Spanish Festival at Mahatma Gandhi Hall, Fitzroy Square. Film "And Now Miguel", Flamenco Group.
Admission: 5/6d. Children 2/6d.
C.N.T. in exile.

BRITISH ARMY TO THE RESCUE

Continued from page 1

WHAT is significant is that none of the would-be and effective rulers of the emergent African nations have succeeded in resisting the tempting fruits of power. In apeing the former colonial rulers they may well show their people that the traditional masters have been ousted, but their people are not so stupid that they cannot see that all they have done is to exchange one set of exploiters for another.

The unrest in the new nations of East Africa is a welcome sign that the new leaders who have come to power on the crest of the wave of African nationalism are not going to have it all their own way, and it is therefore regrettable as well as significant that the Left in this country has not even called for a symbolic protest against the sending of British troops to bolster up the Kenyattas, Nyereres and Obotes. What the Left does not appear to have understood is, to quote Colin Legum, that "you cannot equate freedom from alien rule with political freedom" in Africa however basic the former is to the achievement of the latter. Anarchists lament that so much goodwill and sacrifice by millions of unsophisticated, uncomplicated people has been wasted because a privileged minority have used their opportunities to further their ends at the expense of the people they professed to protect and defend.

Why is it that when faced with a mutinous army the leaders of these three new African States called in the British armed forces rather than their people?

Might the answer be that the people identified themselves with the mutineers and not their new masters? Such a suggestion is not as extravagant as it might appear at first sight if one considers some of the governments' reactions following the mutinies. According to the *Daily Herald's* Commonwealth correspondent, President Nyerere has "swept Tanganyika's trade union leaders into prison because of fears that they were organising a general strike to follow the Army's mutiny". And in Kenya, a *Reuter* report (Jan. 28) quotes the Kenyan Minister of Labour as warning trade unionists that if they abused their freedom their governments would "take it away."

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THESE are the kinds of things that were being said in FREEDOM in 1957:

All friends of African freedom will rejoice in the independence of Ghana, but they must hope for something more than an imported imitation of a European state, trapped in the web of politics. If the hunger for education and the pathetic 'thirst for self-redemption' of the people who swept Nkrumah into power are left unsatisfied, Ghana, which could be a beacon to the whole of Africa, will merely be a warning of the folly and sterility of nationalism.*

In 1959 we were writing of the new "democracy" of Ghana continuing "upon its undemocratic path with the promise of worse to come" and we defended our position (our "pessimism") against the starry-eyed Brockways, Legums *et alia* of the

Left in these words, which we think are worth quoting today as new Ghanas emerge on the African horizon:

A great deal has been said by writers and speakers of many and varied hues to the effect that where a "young democracy" is concerned, if it is to be successful, a certain amount of undemocratic procedure must necessarily be used because "the people" are politically immature. Quite apart from the fact that this idea strikes at the roots of every anarchist, libertarian, liberal, or for that matter, theoretically-democratic principle, it misses out the obvious and shattering corollary, that the politicians are at least as politically immature and, what is more, are in a position to do far more harm.†

And we concluded "But there seems to be very little in the way of Premier Nkrumah becoming the Fuhrer or Duce of Ghana, or whatever the title is to be in Ghana". By 1961 even the Colin Legums and other well-meaning radicals could no longer explain away the dictatorial actions of "His High Dedication" (the title given to Nkrumah by his admirers) as a necessary evil, though, as we pointed out at the time, their criticism of his action in imprisoning without trial fifty members of the Opposition, was expressed "more in sorrow than in anger".‡ Well, as we all know "His High Dedication" has gone from strength to strength. His latest moves have been to legalise one-party rule (by a de Gaulle yes-no referendum) and scrap the last vestiges of an independent judiciary. Now, in 1964, not even Fenner Brockway can hear the name Nkrumah without blushing!

Are there any indications that the leaders of the other "emergent" African States will deal with their problems in a different way. According to Colin Legum "Already, all but five of the 36 independent African States have abandoned any pretence at practising parliamentary democracy". As anarchists this does not unduly disturb us since "parliamentary democracy" is either a contradiction in terms or a sham. What disturbs us is that though more and more people are aware of this they apparently do not see that authoritarian means must lead to authoritarian ends; that universal suffrage is a farce so long as the wealth and means of production are controlled by a privileged minority. Africa will go the way of Western capitalism if the new African *élite* get their way. Even Fenner Brockway had to admit, when he spoke at the London area conference of the Movement for Colonial Freedom, that during the Kenya independence celebrations he had found that Ministers were living in luxury hotels, "and in conditions which separated them from the life of the ordinary people." And this was the situation in Kenya on the eve of independence! Where among the emergent nations of Africa is the exception to this rule? Indeed, where in the civilised world can the defenders of parliamentary democracy point to a nation and truthfully say "Here is true democracy at work?"

*Ghana Democratized (FREEDOM, Jan. 10, 1959. Freedom Reprints, Vol. 9 p.5).

†"When is a Dictator not a Dictator?" (FREEDOM, Oct. 14, 1961; Freedom Reprints, Vol 11, p.166).

TERRY CHANDLER was let out on bail while Judges argued his legal contumaciousness, Fanny Hill defended her virtue for another fortnight, ably aided by Peter Quennell and Marghanita Laski (who said "I think it is generally gay. It made me feel cheerful. It was a jolly book.") A rejected applicant for appeal in a libel case stripped off in the High Court to his shirt, socks and shoes, lay down on a bench and said "I'll stay here until my appeal is heard." He was carried out of the building by six police officers to be taken to Brixton prison, on the judge's orders, to serve a week for contempt. The *Telegraph* comments "(he) is the first man in the History of the High Court to tear his clothes off in protest. In cases in the past dissatisfied litigants have resorted merely to throwing tomatoes and eggs at High Court Judges..." The Law Reform Committee of the Bar Council says that the calibre of juries seems to have improved greatly during the past ten years mainly because of the popularity of television court trial programmes....

THE OTHER Mr. George Woodcock, the TUC General Secretary, according to the *Guardian* Labour correspondent was unconcerned about the House of Lords judgement in *Rookes versus Barnard*—which seems to rule that any person injured by a threat to strike will be able to sue any union member who participated in the threat. Mr. Woodcock said, "we are outlaws." He explained, the trade union movement usually operated outside the law anyway. It did not seek normally to improve its position by seeking amendments to the law; it normally did things itself, and on the whole preferred this. "We have no rights under the law, therefore we have no obligations". There was no law to prevent a person being made to work for twenty-four hours a day for 5/- a week; a trade union could not go to the courts to win recognition from an employer said Mr. Woodcock, who went on, "If any Government seeks to impose obligations upon us, then they must match every obligation with a right. We can't be deprived of our right to strike or have it limited in any way; we will never abandon our rights without a *quid pro quo*". Henry Joseph Kelly Mulligan (33) was sentenced to six months imprisonment for perverting the course of justice by planting equipment in cars and informing the security police to stop



and search the vehicles so that the occupants could be charged with stealing the equipment. The chief security officer for the British Motor Corporation at Bathgate, West Lothian, agreed that Mulligan had given information to the police and that he had got Mulligan a job in the factory where he could be an informer. The Sheriff-Principle said it was an improper method of getting evidence. The BMC said, "We are extremely surprised to hear of this, because it is quite contrary to the usual practice in any BMC factory".

MR. QUINTIN HOGG referring to recent Tory informers said, *vide Guardian*, "I think that those who have published versions of this matter have referred, in stressing such things as a struggle for personal power, have underestimated the extent to which public men are content to serve with and under truster (*sic*) colleagues for the good of their country." Mr. George Brown in a review in the *Spectator* of a book tribute to the late Hugh Gaitskell said, "The clash between himself [Gaitskell] and Bevan at the time of the 1951 Budget was about something much more vital than the issues involved, he told me, 'It was a battle between us for power—he knew it and so did I. And so is this.' "This" was the battle inside the Labour Party over unilateralism and neutralism....

MEMBERS OF the Jewish youth organization staged a demonstration outside a Johannesburg Jewish-controlled hotel where Sir Oswald Mosley was staying during his South African visit. An African father was forbidden permission for six weeks to see his dying six-month-

old son. The father was subject to a banning ordering him to stay out of Johannesburg where his son died. A deputation from the Board of Deputies of British Jews went to the Foreign Office to express concern about the situation of Jews in Russia. Canon Hugh Montefiore, a Jewish Christian, had his invitation to speak at a Jewish inter-university conference withdrawn "under pressure". The Columbia House Hotel, Wellingborough, Northampton, has operated a colour bar since six of its guests walked out when a coloured student booked in two years ago....

A JAMAICAN who spent five years in the Jamaica police force was enrolled as the first coloured special constable in England. The Assistant Chief Constable of Bristol said he was prepared to take on coloured people provided they were suitable. Clinton Derby, a negro, has been nominated to run for President of the United States by the Socialist Workers' Party. Mr. Rowan, a negro, has been appointed to US Government Information Chief in succession to Ed Murrow. A former guard at Auschwitz on trial said that he took the job as an improvement from being a spittoon cleaner. Mr. Billy Graham, the evangelist said he had no intention of running for President, he said, "I would rather be a preacher of the gospel of Jesus Christ than hold any political office in the world."....

CHURCHMEN HAVE set up the London Committee Against Obscenity to make it easier to prosecute the few big businessmen upon whom the pornography trade depends. "One of its problems," says the *Observer* "is to prove that a book his 'tended to deprave and corrupt' a particular person and has been sold to him. Police officers have been ruled 'incorruptible' in this context, and it has been hard to find private people to admit having been corrupted." The chairman of the Leighton Buzzard magistrates said, "A policeman has to have a character quite as good as the Archbishop of Canterbury"....

A 19-YEAR-OLD Kensington student gassed himself. He was studying for a Civil Service examination and his mother said her adopted son was "a very deep thinker. He would read a lot of books which normal people would not read—history and economics"....

JON QUIXOTE.

Jack Stevenson's Hat

DEAR SIRS,

Jack Stevenson's difficulties with the Eastern Electricity Board over his not taking his hat off in Church whilst reading an electricity meter raises two further pertinent points.

If we are to kow-tow to Christian prejudices in a Christian place of worship and if we are expected to know what these prejudices are as regards mode of dress this implies an education dealing with such points. And important as a parallel is the need for an education that deals with the prejudices of groupings such as Jews and Moslems.

I have personally seen a Christian man exercise "bad manners" by going into a synagogue without a hat and many years ago I was just in time to stop a very unpleasant incident when a British soldier attempted to walk into a mosque with his boots on.

Apart from the above which I suppose is rather pedantic to an anarchist I would suggest that the E.E.B. issues an order of the day that instructs their meter readers to take their clothes off when entering the premises of a naturist club (old-style... nudist colony) to read their meter.

Two years ago I saw the proprietress of such a naturist club severely "dress down" an American serviceman who had put on his vest because he felt cold in the late afternoon sun-down. "Disgusting," she said, "go and take it off this instant."

Harlow, Jan. 21. C.W.M.

II

Friday night Tom Barry dies so the union decides to stop work Monday for the funeral. That's alright by me.

Monday we come off the ships at ten o'clock and the union gives us each a black armband. I put it in my pocket.

The hearse comes along; they're doing a tour of the docks because, as we all know, Tom Barry was a wharfie born and bred.

There's plenty of talk about what a good fellow he was, what a great fellow he was, how he got us the best money we've ever had, we're the best paid

workers in Australia, one time a wharfie couldn't afford a schooner after work. Even the newspapers are writing nice things about Tom Barry.

Well this hearse comes along and there's a mile of Rolls Royces behind it, and as the hearse goes past, the boys take off their caps and bend their heads. Respectful like.

That's O.K. by me, and I'm not the disrespectful type. But I am a bit interested to have a look at all the big nobs in the cars. And I don't take off my cap, and I don't bend my head.

So here we are... the boys from my gang all in a row, three or four deep, and me with my cap on and my head stuck up.

Jesus Christ, you'd think I'd sworn in a bloody bus.

There's all the boys peeping up at me. Looking at me real nasty.

When we're in the pub I find myself sort of isolated, and there's a lot of mumbling, and a few of the boys is getting a bit worked up.

Now I'm a quiet sort of bloke and I don't want trouble, so I think to myself, "Fella, you'd better piss off or there's going to be a blue."

But I'm a bit thirsty too; so I duck into the lounge round the other side of the pub, and I order up the usual schooner of old.

Now in that lounge there's a few of the blokes from the shipowners. You know the sort... all smart clothes and talk about cars and jazz. The office boys. And these blokes are sort of celebrating. And one of them says, "Did you see the kids take off their caps and bend their baldy heads?" And then they're all laughing, real jubilant.

I don't like that sort of company so I finish the schooner and go home.

I tells the missus what happened, real truthful. But she says I should have taken off the cap because Tom Barry was a good bloke and did a lot for the workers. I tell her about the sloppy bastards in the Rolls Royces, and she says they must have been his old mates and other officials. She says everybody knows the fight Tom Barry put up to get money from the shipowners. She

says she's just been reading an article...

When I gets to work on Tuesday a union bloke's got his eye on me from the start. He comes over and says, "Listen here fella, there's a story going around that you didn't take off your hat when the hearse went past."

"That's right."
"Well listen here fella, there's another story going around that you've got the sack."

Christ, you can imagine what it was like telling the missus. I mean, what's an old bloke like me going to do? Get another job? Not bloody likely, not after the union's sacked me.

KENNETH BRASS (Australia).

ANTI-ELECTION COMMITTEE NEWS

We have had quite a good response to our appeal of a fortnight ago, but don't let that deter those of you who were going to send cash and haven't done so yet. We can use all that we can get. Our thanks to all of you that have contributed so far.

We are now completely out of "Guy Fawkes" and "Sheep" posters, but we still have plenty of "Circus" ones. The "Anarchist Alternative" is available, though it is not exactly an anti-election leaflet.

We have several plans for the future. We hope to get a silk-screen into operation in the near future for the production of posters. A new one is being planned and ideas for subsequent ones will be welcome. The "Hazards of Voting for Anyone", which is an anti-election leaflet incorporating questions to ask candidates and canvassers of all parties, is being revised and should be ready shortly. A new anti-election leaflet has been drafted and may be printed instead of duplicated. All details of the new posters and leaflets will be given as soon as they are available.

There is to be a concentrated anti-election effort during February in a S.W. London Borough and offers of help from people who will be willing to distribute leaflets will be welcomed.

All orders, ideas, offers and donations to:— Bill Sticker, 17a, Maxwell Road, London, S.W.6.

Legal Murder?

DEAR COMRADE. Your S. Rhodesian correspondent who appears to be a newcomer to this country is too impressed by the talk of declaring 'unilateral independence.'

The Rhodesia Front government is not in as strong a position as your correspondent suggests. Most of its support came from people who thought that any government would be better than the UFP.

Mr. Nkomo's threats are idle. His followers are more interested in convincing his African Political opponents that they should contribute to PCC funds.

Against this is directed the violence of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act. This removes the last traces of the rule of law and the discretion of a judge is removed.

FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

- SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM' Vol 2 1952: Postscript to Posterity Vol 3 1953: Colonialism on Trial Vol 4 1954: Living on a Volcano

★ LETTERS ★

with intent to defraud the insurance company, and got a short prison sentence. If they had been charged (under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act they too would have received the death sentence.

Cut the Umbilicus!

COMRADES, Your leading article on Macleod's revelations and political umbilical cords, in FREEDOM of the 25th of January was interesting and should be taken further.

The politicians, however, do not concern me over much, for when the source of their nourishment dries up they will wither away, or have to do useful work.

It is probable that the strongest cord is the one that supplies our mental and emotional nourishment, which is why many are unable to escape the trap of political thinking, and the tendency of exclusive living which militates against the application of theories of mutual aid and co-operation.

We have to create a grouping which

meets the requirements of a free society a grouping which meets the requirements of a free society a grouping that is not vulnerable and that will provide the necessary independence, security and social feeling.

Today the cord that attaches the young to this society is suffering some strain we have to show that love and co-operation work better than fear and force.

Much of the practical applications of our ideas are coming from outside the movement, for instance in workers' control in the Factory for Peace, direct action, free schools.

The running of Freedom Press can be counted as an example and in this respect less sniping and more helping would be more in line with anarchist concepts.

Of the blessed trinity, The family, private property, and the state, we have given rather too much attention to private property, and the state, and not enough to the unit of its construction.

Beyond the Fringe

DEAR COMRADES, I appear to have been very successful in demonstrating one aspect of the anarchist movement in Britain, namely the interest and limited support from a fringe of people who are committed to the support of political parties.

Liberals, Labourites, Tories or Commies, etc. stand for, and say that this is a sufficient reason for casting a vote for them.

One can make out a perfectly consistent case for naming any one of the four parties I have mentioned as the party most akin to anarchist ideas. Indeed, their opponents use 'anarchism' in one of its aspects as a stick to beat each and all of these parties.

I do not think that the position is an unhealthy one. The anarchist movement has grown, and it must inevitably embrace a fringe of party supporters who may or may not be weaned eventually from their emotional dependence on the Big Brothers of their childhood.

A correspondent to FREEDOM, who seems a little overwrought, emotionally, suggests that it is effrontery for me to question 'that anarchism has something to do with the "left" in party politics and that it is somehow more "natural" for an anarchist to vote Labour than Tory.'

London, Jan. 29. TONY GIBSON.

INDUSTRIAL NOTES (continued)

that matters and if this is strong, then the demands can be won. No more deals with the shipowners must be tolerated.

For some years now, the seamen have been demanding their own shop-stewards on board ship and now is the time for the rank and file to press for it.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

First Tuesday in each month at 8 p.m. at Jean and Tony Smythe's Ground Floor Flat, 88, Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex.

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

First Thursday of each month, Tom Barnes', Albion Cottage, Fortis Green, N.2. (3rd door past Tudor Hotel).

Freedom weekly

FREEDOM is published 40 times a year, on every Saturday except the first in each month.

Anarchy monthly

ANARCHY (2/3 or 30 cents post free), a 32-page journal of anarchist ideas, is published 12 times a year on the first Saturday of the month.

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PROPOSED BRITISH FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS

Co-ordinating Secretary: J. E. Stevenson, 6 Stainton Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP

"Lamb and Flag", Rose Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2. (nr. Garrick and King Streets: Leicester Square tube), 7.45 p.m. FEB 9 Philip Sansom.

For activities of other London Groupes, see 'Off-Centre' activities below.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

- Cambridge Group Meets Tuesdays (in term), Q5 Queens. Details and information, town and gown, Adrian Cunningham, 3 North Cottages, Trumpington Road, Cambridge.

- BIRMINGHAM AND WEST MIDLANDS Peter Neville, 12 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham, 23.

- EDINBURGH Anne-Marie Fearon, c/o Traverse Theatre Club, James Court, Lawnmarket, Edinburgh.

- NEW MEETING—Stamford Bridge. 3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21, Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m.

SEAMEN TO STRIKE

If no satisfactory offers are forthcoming from the shipowners, strike action will be taken by the seamen as from the 17th February. As seamen have no legal right to strike, they will in fact refuse to re-sign articles when their ships dock in the U.K.

The National Union of Seamen is demanding a "substantial" pay increase, a 42-hour week and longer leave. The shipowners have offered a pay increase of £2 per month on the basic £39. 16 days leave per year for "established" seamen and 14 days for "unestablished" men, an increase in overtime rates of 2d. per hour and a non-contributory pension scheme.

Recently, due to elections, there have been changes made in the national executive of the union. It has been "gingered-up" by militants who played a prominent part in the unofficial strike in August, 1960.

when at any time they have taken action to improve them, they have been attacked (and even jailed—viz. Paddy Neary, 1960), not only by the shipowners but at times, even more so, but their union leaders.

This dispute is no exception. Already the attacks by the employers have started. This week, Sir John Brocklebank, Chairman of the Cunard Steamship Company, has put the blame for this proposed strike on "an extreme Left element" in the executive council of the N.U.S.

Another old line that has been brought up, is the fact that, with overtime payments, high wages are being earned. So what! Men should not have to work overtime at all.

The shipowners and Mr. Hogarth have already been to the Ministry of Labour to have talks with Mr. Godber and there has been a mention of a court of inquiry. It appears that, if Mr. Hogarth had his way, this would be set up, and in fact he was in favour of accepting the shipowners' offer as it stood, but this was turned down by the N.U.S. executive.

In order to ensure that no compromise is agreed to, Mr. Hogarth must be prevented from gaining sole negotiating rights, for he is certain to give in to the shipowners. It is also important not to rely on the executive council, something that the seamen have learnt in the past from bitter experience, and this still applies now, even with the newly elected militants. It is the strength of the organisation at rank and file level