

The Housing Snake Pit

THE WELL-KNOWN psychiatric principle of jerking the patient into conformity by shock treatment has not been overlooked by the Milner-Holland Committee. In its Report on London housing it does not miss out on the snake pit. Every newspaper has managed to give sensational headlines to the case reported of a landlord putting live snakes in the bath in order to persuade his tenant to leave. But, however the stories of mice and dead rats and holes bored in ceilings and lavatories put out of order may horrify, the fact remains that what is wrong with London's housing is something more than just bad landlords. None of them would go to such trouble to evict tenants if there were not a queue of people waiting for rooms in the slums. No tenants would tolerate such conditions if they could just walk out and go elsewhere.

The private landlord—lord of no land whatsoever—is expected to solve London's housing problem, which has been evaded by continual administrations. And of course he cannot do it. The small man cannot make money out of property by letting rooms at reasonable rents, unless he purchased it a very long time ago. The 'good landlady'—the old-fashioned type of landlady, with all her faults, and sometimes she was not much more than a badly-paid servant—is disappearing in London because only if she owns a very old house, long since paid for, or rents one at a pre-war figure, can she make ends meet. Those who have a house in which there are controlled tenants find that they cannot meet their commitments, and that it is only by getting rid of controlled tenants that they can do so. When, however, the small man is obliged to enter the property market solely in order to get a room or two for his own family (and this is the case with immigrant families who find this the only way of housing themselves), the estate agencies and finance companies bleed them to such an extent that they must in turn squeeze their uncontrolled tenants, or frighten off their controlled tenants.

The ground landlords, the people who are doing well out of the slum housing, and the finance companies, escape censure. The spotlight is turned on the immigrant, especially coloured, landlord on whom they put the screws, and who is in turn obliged to put the screws on to somebody else. The Milner-Holland Report gives a shock to those who did not know how bad slum conditions can be, or that slum dwelling is in fact one of the most expensive forms of housing. The immigrant house purchaser, faced with demands from the housing estates and agencies that make every inch of cracked floor almost as valuable as carpeted space at the London Hilton, is unable to see the justice of allowing an elderly tenant in one room to stay on at a pre-1914 rent—and if he can see it, he cannot afford to act on it.

The councils are unable to handle the problem of rehousing the tenant, but talk of legal protections which can never be secure when the will to cooperate is lacking. Laws do not regulate human conduct. There is little comfort in being told that one cannot be legally evicted, when one is 80 years old and somebody is determined to make life unpleasant until you go.

The solution is so desperately simple that it is clear that the legal minds do not want to see it; they prefer to shock the public with stories of bad landlords, so that they come to assume that landlordism is good if the landlord is good. Housing ought to be withdrawn from the realms of private profit, and at the very least, basic housing requirements should here and now be regarded as essential. No doubt it will require a considerable change in social values and a revolution in society before all housing becomes freed from the profit motive. But at the very least, the basic needs of families—a couple of rooms and a lavatory—ought not to be at the chance that somebody in difficulties with paying off a mortgage can let out a room or two, or in acquiring a slum house has acquired a tenancy. Councils actually have sufficient powers, and usually sufficient capital, to ensure this, and their failure to do so is entirely an administrative failure, admittedly aggravated in a city like London which is draining the population of the entire country.

But the worst of the problem is that the social conscience is not roused, and stories of bad landlords only rouse indignation with bad landlords and not with the entire story of neglect. Going along a main shopping street, three miles long, I counted over 200 empty dwelling places, being the two and sometimes three floors over shops which were no longer used as dwelling places for the shopkeeper (most were now combines) and could not spare a separate door which would enable the upstairs to be used, for fear of detracting from the display window space. This is usually unnoticed, or, if seen, unremarked upon. Yet is it not a far greater scandal in the present housing crisis than one landlord, out of all London, putting snakes in the bath to scare off his tenant?

A.M.

APOLOGY

We wish to apologise to the editors of the magazine '65' of Bristol University for not showing that the article in last week's 'Freedom', 'The Three Tuns Affair', had been taken from their paper. This was done through an oversight and not through design.

Eds.

Did Anyone Ever Ask Them?

THE WORDS 'SELMA, Alabama' must bring a feeling of weariness and despair to President Johnson of America. For the racial violence that has gone on over the past week has made the name of the United States mud all over the world, and the Russians and Chinese must be rubbing their hands as they count up the points scored (propagandawise) in the cold war.

We are told that the American people are angry and indignant at the police brutality in Selma. President Johnson has made a very moving speech to Congress finishing it with the words of the freedom hymn 'We shall overcome', and one wonders what all these well meaning liberals were doing during the 100 years that has passed since the 'Great Civil War' to end slavery was fought.

This climax of demonstrations and marches which have led to clubbings, beatings and killings (for at least one man has died) has been built up over the year by groups of Civil Rights field workers, some of whom have lost their lives in the struggle for equality. For this is what the struggle is about. It is said to be for 'the vote' it's true, but the vote is only a symbol of equality. It is a struggle between people who want all men to be equal in the sense that because a man was born with a brown skin it does not mean that he should go through life treated like a dog (and a badly treated dog at that), and those who want the old conditions to remain.

The negroes have attempted to win this basic human right by non-violent resistance, and I feel that

they have chosen the right way. For in the end they must shame the Southern whites into submitting to their just demands. It is asking for almost super-human self control but I think that it will bring victory sooner, with less loss of life and a more lasting victory too.

It seems a terrible price to pay for someone else's crime and I do not believe in non-violence (or violence for that matter) as a principle, but it seems the only way. Violence will only lead to much more bloodshed and hatred, and this is what must be ended if they are really to succeed. Also non-violence eliminates the government from the argument in a way that violence would not.

NO GOVERNMENT REALLY CARES

Nobody in government circles gave a damn about the rights of slaves till John Brown gave his life for them. 'John Brown's Body' became 'The battle hymn of the Republic' but it was the government who hanged him. No one in government circles gave a damn about civil rights till the campaign was started that has gone on down through the Montgomery bus boycott, the freedom riders, the Washington to Cuba marchers, the man who was shot in the back for carrying singlehanded through the south a sign which said 'Black and White, Eat at Joe's', the sit-ins, the three civil rights workers who were murdered last year, the NAACP leader who was killed and numerous other cases of heroism by ordinary people.

What has moved the U.S. Government, is trouble. Direct action taken by ordinary people (though their courage has shown them to be extraordinary people), who believe in something and are fighting for it as hard as they can.

The Southern gentry, led by smoothies like Wallace with his talk of obeying the President and cretins like Sheriff Jim Clarke and his billy swinging goons, are running a little short on excuses just now I feel.

NOT THE COMMUNISTS AGAIN?

A forty-year-old 'Southern belle' told a reporter, 'No nigras wanted to vote till Doctor King came along. I think King is here to promote communism'. But surely no one ever asked or even cared what the 'nigras' wanted before they took matters into their own hands.

One wonders if people who are as purposely blind as these can ever change their attitude, certainly it will not happen overnight. It is quite fantastic how a society can say, 'Cain't give nigras a vote. Why, main, they cain't even write'. And yet at the same time make sure that they never get the chance to learn. Sure there's segregation in the north but negro jokes like 'I just come up from North Carolina'—'Well, boy, welcome to the United States', or 'The next number will be "Carry me back to old Virginny"'—and that's the only way they'd ever get me back too', show that there is a difference that is very real. The law may be changed, but it won't change the hearts of the crackers*. This can only be done by years of hard work. They will overcome, but only if they do it themselves. The Government and Congress will forget them as soon as the violence is out of the papers.

JACK STEVENSON.

*Nickname for southern whites.

Individuals Against War

A GROUP of people last Thursday staged a daring demonstration inside the American Embassy in protest against the war in Viet-nam. The demonstrators entered the Embassy at 4.30 p.m. and promptly chained themselves to railings and door-handles. When the staff noticed what had happened, they called the police. Hacksaws and screwdrivers that were needed to detach the demonstrators were provided by British workmen doing repairs in the Embassy, who did, however, refuse to do the actual work. The officials who were not used to hacksaws fumbled away as demonstrators wriggled. This gave time for some of the press to arrive. News of the demonstration spread throughout the Embassy and pretty typists milled around while harassed officials tried to clear the area.

One by one the demonstrators were cut off and carried out by the police. Eight of them staged a sit-down on the pavement outside and were arrested and taken to West End Central police station, where they were charged with

'wilfully contravening the Commissioner's regulations'. This was specially brought in by the police in order to discourage demonstrations outside the American Embassy. At Marlborough Street Court, the following day, speech after speech by the defendants emphasised the guilt of the state; questioned the validity of the Commissioner's regulations and affirmed their determination to break any law that they consider unjust. Of course Mr. Robey, the magistrate (described by one of the policemen as 'a man with a heart of gold'), was not concerned with ethical arguments and proceeded to administer the 'law of the land'. He found all the defendants 'guilty' and imposed fines of £2 each plus 1 guinea costs and in one case 3 guineas costs.

Reports of the demonstration appeared in six newspapers, also on TV and radio. The group intends to act again. Complete security and good comradeship characterised this attempt by a small group of individuals to affect the destiny of the world and their own.

JOHN RETY.

This is the leaflet which was distributed at the demonstration

AN INJUSTICE TO ONE IS INJUSTICE TO ALL

WHY ARE OUR FRIENDS TAKING THIS DRASTIC ACTION OF CHAINING THEMSELVES INSIDE THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY?

Because, appalled by the mounting atrocities of the war in Vietnam, and realising that the Vietnamese people of their own age were born into war and have never known the security of peace, they feel that individual action must be taken now.

We distrust the governments of this world, who have collectively allowed the war in Vietnam to drag on for twenty years. Despite International Conferences, the establishment of an International Control Commission and an American promise of military non-intervention, the

death-roll mounts.

Despite the fact that the American Government must know that they have no hope of a victory in Vietnam, they have intensified their bombings in the immoral hope that they can strengthen their negotiating position by murdering yet more people.

We are ashamed to live in a world where the burning of children with napalm bombs is accepted as a rational solution to any problem, whereas those who oppose such actions are considered cranks.

This state of affairs will only be remedied when you as individuals accept your individual, moral responsibility to your fellow-men everywhere.

YOU ARE NOT POWERLESS TO AFFECT YOUR WORLD.

WHEN PEOPLE DEMAND JUSTICE, JUSTICE WILL COME.

Who's Milking the Public?

FARMERS GENERALLY in England do a lot of grumbling but are not really a militant group, particularly the smaller farmer who generally works long hours for not such a large income. Milk production remains an exacting task for the small farmer and costs generally have been rising. Productivity has been increased by technical advances, but the margin has fallen, compared with the industrial rewards, both for the agricultural worker and small farmer for long hours and a seven-day-a-week job.

The difference between what the consumer pays and what the primary producer receives continues to grow and in the last increase in price has resulted in the consumer paying 4d. per gallon more while the producer only receives 1d. Whether one agrees with Merrick's motives or not we must agree that governmental controls are generally ineffective in production control. It seems that a number of farmers are considering direct action 'French Style' as opposed to the usual methods of negotiation advocated by NFU. The NFU is generally effectively controlled by the larger farmers whose interests are not the same as the smaller ones and are opposed to direct action.

The monetary system is full of irrationalities, particularly when determining relative values of work, and only in a society where food becomes an article of nutrition instead of a commodity, will the primary producer have his real worth satisfied.

It is good to see that the farmers are employing direct action. Perhaps it will lead to a more comprehensive view of society and undermine the conservatism that affects this section of the community.

ALAN ALBON.

ANARCHY 49

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THE CHALLONER CASE

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Conference Report

ONE YEAR after the creation of the current Anarchist Federation of Britain at the Bristol Conference, the constituent groups and members met to discuss the situation and efficacy of the federation. The Ronnie Scott Club was just about the right size, and even when at the peak 120 people were there it was not uncomfortable. The seating arrangements were ideal, the only real fault being the reticence on the part of some comrades to use the microphones as sometimes it was difficult to hear what was being said.

It is intended to produce a report of the conference containing the papers read and all the main points of discussion.

The provisional agenda was amended considerably, owing to the fact that many comrades could only attend for a limited period and items overlapped and were inter-related with other points, which led to a certain amount of digression and confusion.

A chairman and minutes secretary were selected and John Rety opened with a report on what the AFB had done and what had happened to it since the Bristol Conference. He felt that the Federation had not fulfilled its function. Ted Kavanagh pointed out that this was not so much the fault of the secretariat as of the movement which had created a body and expected to be led or directed by it. Tom Jackson felt that as National Co-ordinating Secretary, he had been hampered in his job by the fact that he was rarely in London, but he also felt that the Federation had been wrongly set up.

Wynford Hicks then gave a short report on his attendance at the European Conference at Buckeburg last summer. A Provisional European Secretariat has been set up in Frankfurt, but so far he has heard nothing from it. Mary Stevenson said that she had news that the secretariat was finding it impossible to function owing to lack of co-operation

from the supporting groups. Martin Bragg spoke on the progress he had made since taking over as International Secretary and on the production of *Anarchist International*, and read a letter of support and greetings from the French Anarchist Federation.

Albert Meltzer addressed the meeting on the difference between a Federation and a Party, as he felt there was some confusion in the comrades' minds re the organization of a Federation. A letter was read from the Whitney and Oxford University Groups offering to take over the work of the secretariat in the event of the possible dissolution of the Federation for lack of people to do the work. It was eventually decided that each group should have a corresponding secretary or convenor for co-ordination with all the other groups and that there should be a Press Officer (A. Meltzer), for dealing with the press when necessary, a National Secretary (Frank Hirschfeld) for dealing with enquiries re groups and activities in this country and an International Secretary (Martin Bragg) for co-ordination with movements abroad and for production of *Anarchist International* (in conjunction with Birmingham Group).

John Jack presented a paper on the Immigration Problem, with suggestions for action at times of crisis, but it was decided that this was a problem for local groups and individuals to tackle in their own way.

Reports were given by Bronya MacDonald on the work of the St. Stephens Tenants Association, The Tunbridge Wells Group and the Cardiff Group on their support and experiences at local evictions and how Anarchists could best help by showing solidarity with their neighbours in such struggles.

Mike Walsh of Bristol put forward his suggestions for the Easter March. It was decided that each group should make its own decisions but those wishing to march in an Anarchist con-

tingent should meet promptly at 9.30 a.m. of each morning of the march. Mike Walsh would attempt to hire halls for accommodation of Anarchists and Committee of 100 members en route.

No official report had been prepared by the Christie-Carballo Defence Committee, but Mary Stevenson read a personal letter she had received from Stuart Christie asking for food and books and referred to an Article she has seen from the *Scottish Daily Express*, in which Mrs. Christie said that she had heard that £1,000 lawyer's fees were being asked for Stuart's defence at the four-hour trial. No definite confirmation had yet been received, but an immediate collection was made, which realised £10 4s.

The second day opened with a report from the Bristol Group on their organization of fringe events at the Bath Festival (June 9-20). There is to be an art exhibition, poetry readings, jazz groups and folk singing and film evenings for films not previously shown commercially or publicly in this country. A camping site for those wishing to attend will also be available. Further details will appear later.

The idea of a Summer School this year is in abeyance until we have the offer of a camping site. Two comrades have offered to organize one if a site is forthcoming.

A report on Freedom Press was given by Peter Turner and it was pointed out that it was impossible to have a larger FREEDOM until the circulation increased and comrades paid their bills! Readers, writers and sellers meetings would be organized again, whenever and wherever possible.

The various groups attending then gave their reports, some appearing in the current issue of *Anarchist International* were not read out. Unfortunately there is not room to go into details here but we hope they will be published in the report of the conference.

The conference ended in some confusion as some comrades did not seem to be aware of things that had been agreed on the previous day. It is hoped that most of this will be clarified by the minutes.

ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN

Co-ordinating Secretary: Frank Hirschfeld, 4 Albert St., London, N.W.1.

London Anarchist Group

"Lamb and Flag", Rose Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2 (near Garrick and King Streets: Leicester Square tube), 7.45 p.m. All welcome

SUNDAYS

MAR 20 Conference Social (Saturday)
 MAR 28 Bob Coster
 The Rape of the Young Masses.
 APR 4 C. J. Hunt (London Social Credit Group)

Social Credit

APR 11 John Pilgrim
 Working Class Authoritarianism

NOTTING HILL ANARCHIST GROUP.

Secretary N.H.A.G., Flat 3, 5 Colville House, London, W.11. Meetings 2nd and 4th Thursday of each month at above address.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP.

Details of meetings from Peter Neville, 12 South Grove, Erdington, B'ham, 23.
BRISTOL FEDERATION. Regular fortnightly meetings. Details from John Coveney, 1 Richmond Park Road, Clifton, Bristol, 8.

CAMBRIDGE ANARCHIST GROUP.

Contact V. Madge, Newnham College.

DUNDEE GROUP.

Contact Mike Mallet, 20 South George Street, Dundee. Meetings Saturdays 2.30 p.m.

EDINBURGH ANARCHIST GROUP.

Correspondence Secretary: Douglas Truman, 13 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh, 3. Meetings every alternate Monday at above 7.30 p.m.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP.

Correspondence: Joe Embleton, top Left, 11 Baliol Street, Glasgow.

Meetings at Horseshoe Bar, Drury Street, Tuesdays at 8 p.m.

MANCHESTER GROUP.

Fortnightly meetings held. For information contact Alan Barlow, 25a Duffield Road, Irlam o' the Heights, Salford, 6.

MERSEYSIDE FEDERATION.

Enquiries: Vincent Johnson's, 43 Millbank, Liverpool 13.

ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP.

Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks. Next meeting Sunday, February 28, 2.30 p.m. at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316.

Brian and Maureen Richardson.

OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP.

Contact H. G. Mellor, Merton College, Oxford.

SOUTH WALES.

Irregular meetings held. Enquire Peter H. Morgan, 15 Pursfield Place, Roath, Cardiff.

PROPOSED GROUPS

EDGWARE-ELSTREE and District.

Planning discussion meetings and activities. Contact Colin Seal, 8 Oakwood Drive, Edgware or Anthony Frewin, 31 Burghley Avenue, Boreham Wood.

THANET.

For information contact Peter Davey, 14 Fitzmary Avenue, Westbrook, Margate, Kent.

NOTTINGHAM.

Anyone interested contact Peter Bowden, Flat 2, 11 Rectory Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham.

SOUTH BEDS., NORTH HERTS., HITCHIN, LETCHWORTH, BIGGLESWADE, BEDFORD.

Anyone interested forming a group contact Peter and Maureen Ford, 102 Stotfold Road, Arlesey, Beds.

SURREY.

Ways and Means meeting. Discussion 7.30 p.m. Thursday April 1, 1965. Chris Torrance, 63 North Street, Carshalton, Surrey. (Please ring three times.)

NORTH-WEST ESSEX.

Close to W. Suffolk, S.E. Cambs. and N.E. Herts. Contact Robert Barltrop, The Old Vicarage, Radwinter, near Saffron Walden.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rumbold Rd., S.W.6 (off King's Rd.), 8 p.m.

Last Thursday in month: At George Hayes', 174 McLeod Road, S.E.2.

2nd Friday at Brian Leslie's, 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).

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

3rd Saturday of each month at Sid and Pat Parker's, 2 Orsett Terrace (off Gloucester Terrace), Paddington, W.2, 8 p.m. (Please ring second bell from top.)

KULTUR-or the art of the Theatre

IF YOU WANT AN evening of Culture in a theatre I recommend you hasten to the Aldwych—particularly, if you don't mind while you're imbibing it, alternating between ennui and irritation. You must not object to enduring chronic inarticulation—I believe Brooks-Hall actors are trained to forget, if they ever knew, that their first duty to the playwright and the audience is to make

the words understood; nor must you cavil at posturing in place of feeling, innovation in place of interpretation, nor at 'constructions' in place of sets. Annoyance begins at once, with the difficulty in procuring tickets which are excessively costly and ends only some time after the final curtain as one sits listening to the unrestrained applause and marvelling at the endlessly easy exhumation of the Emperor's New Clothes, for nothing has happened for 2-3 hours but an assault on the playwright and a con game with the audience—and, of course, the difficult acquisition of Culture.

I mention the Aldwych because their plays are the most pretentious failures (several other companies will nearly do) and I strongly urge Peter Brooks & Co. to trot down to the Mermaid Theatre and beg for lessons—for there is theatre as it ought to be: expert, exhilarating,

honest. It is respectful to the playwright and downright flattering to the viewer who is offered the maximum efforts of the players and the skill and talent of the entire company. If this sounds stuffy, I assure you the result is not. It is vastly entertaining.

I have seen, in the last fortnight, this superior repertory company's 'Shoemaker's Holiday' by Thomas Dekker and Pirandello's 'Right you Are!' and they were both great romps. Neither play is an unqualified success; what play ever is? One of the cast, Barbara Mitchell hams a bit, but was better in the Pirandello than the Dekker, however; and the English going Italian—as E. M. Forster took the trouble of writing a novel to explain—is invariably awkward. This production of 'Right you Are!' almost makes the temperamental transition.

The acting in both plays ranges from splendid to adequate, the casting is unusually good or at the least, plausible, the sets, inventive, comic but never preposterous or phony, and what is most impressive, that mystical phenomenon, a spirit of the theatre, which is sometimes found in amateur groups but seldom survives a company of such quality, pervades Mermaid productions. They all seem to enjoy it so. We do too. Another thing, the theatre itself is a joy. The antithesis of artificial 'functionalism' it is designed to combine comfort and beauty—and there is only one other London theatre I like as well—The Lyric, Hammersmith, where unfortunately little seems to happen these days, but where, coincidentally the first English production of Pirandello's 'Right you Are!' took place is 1925.

My enthusiasm might be suspect but I have two corroborators, at least one of whom is generally as negative as I am about the contemporary theatre: an actor and director from the U.S. during a happier period in its theatrical history and the other, a young girl who likes to know what's going on and had no difficulty here in having a thoroughly marvellous time. (One forgets the theatre is meant to be a marvel.)

So hurry on down to the Mermaid. They're carrying on with these two plays and adding The Wakefield Mystery and Sophocles. Tickets are reasonably priced and unfortunately, such is the nature of man, more readily available.

DACHINE RAINER.

Pick of the Paperbacks

FEW OF THE books making a first appearance are of interest and most of the books noted are re-issues.

'A Walk in the Sun' by Harry Brown (Four Square 3/6) is a simply told war-story with little violence and few horrors which conveyed to me a deeper sense of the futility of war than many more pretentious books. 'Two Hours to Darkness' by Anthony Frew (Fontana 3/6) is a nightmarish tale of a nuclear submarine with a mad commander.

Anarchists will be amused by 'Without Love' by Gerald Hanley (Mayflower 3/6). Brilliantly written, it tells of an Irish assassin, sent to Barcelona in 1954 to kill a former anarchist militant who is about to publish his memoirs. Mr. Hanley's anarchists are like Dostoyevskian fanatics and are far removed from the idealistic Spanish libertarians of real life. All this is a pity for I found Mr. Hanley's earlier novel 'The Consul at Sunset' one of the best studies of power realities I have ever read.

Poetry books which are available again include 'Mexico City Blues' and 'Pull My Daisy' both by Kerouac (15/- and 10/6); 'Six Non-lectures' and 'Fifty Poems' by E. E. Cummings (10/- and 8/-); and 'Selected Poems' by Brecht (14/6). All these are TABS imports.

Finally two good books of SF short stories. 'The Mile Long Spaceship' by Kate Wilhelm (T & P 3/6) and 'Reach for Tomorrow' by Arthur C. Clarke (T & P 3/6). In the latter collection, the erudite Professor Clarke makes a boob that addicts should spot. See if you can.

(All books obtainable through Freedom Press.)

PRESS FUND

FINANCIAL STATEMENT
 WEEK 11, MARCH 20, 1965:

Expenses: 11 weeks at £70 £770
 Income: Sales and Subs.: £814

SURPLUS £44

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Education for Freedom

THE MEANING OF education is the drawing out from the individual of his or her potential for living in harmony with society. This does not mean that what is commonly understood by the word 'education' has no place, but it does mean that the individual who recognises the need for co-operation with his fellow men, for understanding, for every-day adjustments, is in the true sense of the word educated, more so than the mathematical genius who is incapable of adjusting his personal life harmoniously.

The anarchist sees education existing as a force to tear down the fabric of authoritarian society. Education to the anarchist means the propagating of awareness and nothing more. There exists for the anarchist no rigid school of thought to which all must submit. The 'laws' of mathematics are secondary to the 'laws' governing happiness and freedom.

What use, we ask ourselves, is the educational process as it exists in most countries today? To the functioning of present day society? Of every benefit of course. The indoctrination of young minds to accept the authoritarian pattern of school life, for example, is nothing more or less than giving a foretaste to the children of their adult lives. The school curriculum is divided quite clearly into two separate parts—the first years of a child's life (when it is too young to comprehend the mechanics of 'academic' education) are gainfully used by the authorities to teach him his place in society, and in this the school curriculum is more important than the actual subjects being taught. The subjects he then learns, show him how to adapt to society. Thus as a child he is given to understand his place, which in a vast majority of cases is the place of a "scrubber", eternally looking for a way to sell his little bit of school knowledge in exchange for a hire-purchase existence.

The education of freedom is what the anarchist seeks to supplant the present system with. By this is meant quite simply that the values of this society are not only cockeyed and wasteful, but oppressive.

Education of course never ceases, we all learn something every day, by our relationships with others, by our physical contacts with objects, through pain and happiness—all experiences add up to our total personalities. . . . Yet look at us . . . look at the potential wasted in developing war-machines, products of capitalist technological education if you like—but who and what are the

people or automatons involved . . . ? The millions and millions of wasted brains and the great reservoirs of human endeavour, the lives wasted away clipping bus tickets, performing meaningless paper rituals behind desks, in the armies of the world, in the parliaments of the world, in the prisons, poor houses, poverty-stricken peasant communities. . . .

Human resources are utterly wasted by this society—and the 11-20 years 'education' which is given to us is powerless generally to cope with the problems of disease and poverty because the basic condition is missing. No state, no government dares to teach of the basic condition, that of freedom, dignity, peace, for all are anathema to governments.

Anarchists are not interested in running prisons for young minds and bodies, in order that the state may function efficiently, that wars may be won or lost, or that property may be held by some for their exclusive use.

To the anarchist happiness for the child or adult is more important, for that can only come from a happy adult environment.

The imposition of adult values on young minds is the same in effect as coercion, especially when considering in general the unhealthy attitudes that many adults have themselves been brought up to accept. There are in these days many children brought up in terror. The fear may not necessarily be physical, but the struggle on the part of the parents to keep up with the rat race, and the family tensions born of these struggles, reflect on the child.

Totalitarianism is doubly totalitarian to the child, who in order to understand the workings of adult society, and cope with his own social relationships, is all too often surrounded by intellectual and physical inadequacies, not of his own making but beyond his control. And here is the crux of the question for anarchists. The adults of the world have no control of their own education, well-being, minds, and in fact lives. Control of the things in life are in the hands of a few, our brains and muscles are manipulated in the interests of a few. Our childhood serves as a selecting ground where little Tommy is sorted and segregated, by school reports, army reports, bosses' reports, state reports *ad infinitum*. We are taught to read and count, not because reading and counting are in themselves qualities of virtue, but because modern money-making methods demand a literate working class. A hundred years ago, the technology not being so advanced, it could be run by a relatively few literates.

Let us understand freedom and then the understanding of this state of affairs will fall into place. Let us desire no war and then the need to teach about war is gone. If we feel we must teach each other, let it be by example rather than by coercion, for in the final analysis the substitute foods we nourish our bodies with, the substitutes we nourish our souls with, the substitute ideas we nourish our minds with, are harmful to our true well-being. There must be something better for the baby in the pram than to possibly survive illness, probably war, in order ultimately to be allowed an 'existence' in industry and the eventual squalor of the scrap heap, or possibly the achievement of the exalted position of King Rat.

'We Shall Overcome'-a folksong that won the President's Endorsement

—The Times

'SPEARHEAD', PAPER of the Greater Britain movement suggests (or seems to suggest), that the remains of the late William Joyce follow those of Casement back to Ireland, they claim he was 'a passionate British patriot'. Mr. Kruschew put in a public appearance to vote in Moscow municipal elections. He is reported to have said 'How come you are trusting me and letting me vote without identification?' The girl at the polling-station said 'We always trust you, Nikita Sergeevitch' to which Nikita Sergeevitch allegedly replied, 'You used to be stricter in the past.' Mihajlo Mihaljlov, a Yugoslav who wrote an article in *Delo*, a Belgrade literary magazine critical of the Soviet Union, stating that Russia had been the first country to organize political death-camps and organize genocide, was sentenced to imprisonment. . . .

DR. V. L. ALLEN, the Leeds University lecturer is starting a hunger-strike against the frequent adjournments of his appeal in Nigeria against a 12-month sentence for sedition. He states that the adjournments are 'a miscarriage of justice' as they could continue until he completed his sentence. Prisoners in Ghana gaol have smuggled out a letter to Mr. Harold Wilson, begging help for those imprisoned for no other crime than political opposition to the 'clear neo-Communist ideas of President Nkrumah and his associates'. The smuggled document lists torture and ill-treatment being meted out to detainees, who although convicted of no crimes, have been imprisoned for up to seven years and alleges that Dr. J. B. Danquah 'obviously died as a result of the "exercise" which he endured for 13 months and, as reported by certain warders, in chains'. . . .

JOAN BRYDEN, WHO was released from a Spanish prison and returned to this country was snatched from reunion with

her parents by the representatives of a Sunday newspaper. Her mother said 'We don't know where she has gone. I'm furious'. . . .

FULHAM YOUNG SOCIALISTS were praised by the local agent for 'moderation and good sense' at a time when some YS members throughout the country were embarrassing the Labour Party by causing strife and friction. *The New Statesman* also aimed at moderation in its leader starting off 'For an independent journal of the Left the existence of a Labour Government poses delicate problems of tactics and conscience. There can be no question of our support for the general aims of Mr. Wilson's administration' . . . and later 'But equally it (*The New Statesman*) has a duty to subject the government to a continuous process of constructive criticism. Power does not necessarily corrupt, but it is liable to produce abrupt changes in perspective among the men who exercise it. Up to a point, this is not only right but inevitable. In a parliamentary democracy, it is the job of an opposition to oppose, and of a government to govern; the change from one role to another must be accompanied by a readjustment to the administrative facts of life. The greatest shock which faces a politician on assuming power is to discover its limitations. This is a lesson all Labour's ministers have had to learn'. *The New Statesman* concludes 'Today, as in 1940, the spirit of Dunkirk must begin in Downing Street.' Mr. Hugh Jenkins, Labour MP for Putney, speaking at a London conference organized by the Co-operative Society and CND said 'Many of us would like to see Michael Foot taken into the Cabinet and given responsibility in this field commensurate with his great knowledge and ability'. *The Evening Standard* omits to mention

which field but Mr. Aubrey Jones, a Conservative MP, has been made chairman of the Prices and Incomes Board. *The Sunday Mirror* labelled Conservatives, who criticized this, as 'unpatriotic'. . . .

THE TIMES WROTE of Americans 'It may be that, heated by the contest, they do not perceive how much they have lost and are losing; but whether they judge rightly or not, they have at any rate come to the conclusion that the time for yielding has not arrived. As a proof of the tenacity of purpose which prevails in the Southern councils, it may be mentioned that the arming of the negroes is once more proposed, and has been apparently resolved on. . . . At all events this new policy can only hasten that destruction of negro slavery which will be the chief social result of the war. The words of President Lincoln may soon be realized that 'the cause of the conflict may cease even before conflict itself shall cease'. This, of course was from *The Times*, March 17, 1865, and reprinted last week. . . .

THE BATTLE OF Waterloo was refought at the Duke of York barracks in Chelsea with 3,000 toy soldiers. Casualties are decided by an umpire. Fortune in the battle are decided by dice which represent chance, fate or just plain muddle. The war-game was introduced in a book by H. G. Wells. In Vietnam 45 children and three adults died in earnest when South Vietnamese Air Force planes bombed a village flying the Communist Vietcong flag. Villagers carrying coffins tried to march in a demonstration to Da Nang, five miles away, where the Americans are based. The villagers were turned back, according to *The Guardian* by South Vietnamese troops. Jean-Paul Sartre cancelled his series of lectures in the US as a protest against American action in Vietnam. . . .

THE UNITED NATIONS Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East conference raised the North Vietnam flag at a ceremony in error for the South Vietnam flag.

ION QUIXOTE.

LETTER

Sociology of Freedom

Dear Editors,

It is interesting to discover in AWU's letter (January 9) an elegant argument based on the doctrine of stages of social development.

If I understand AWU correctly he says that new developments in technology have caused a reversion to 'earlier' and therefore more cruel stages of society. It follows thus that automation will produce a still worse condition. This arises because men are not 'sensible' (sic), by which I take it that he means that they do not make rational use of their new tools.

I will not quarrel with AWU's conclusion that technology is neutral and can be no saviour, but I shall certainly challenge the means by which he reaches it.

To begin with, the argument based on stages of society is spurious because it oversimplifies—if such a system were accepted then, because technology is held to be the determinant, it would be non-reversible. The wars and oppressions of AWU's Stage 5, would not be those of his Stage 3, nor could they validly be held to resemble them; they would be the inevitable result of conditions proper to Stage 5, themselves derived from earlier stages.

Again the argument that 'reversion' or 'cycles of development' take place for the totality of human society can be dis-

proved by reference to the heterogeneity of societies contemporary with one another but not widely different in technology, the acephalous and encephalous societies of Africa for instance, so thoroughly described by British social anthropologists.

Now, I apologise to AWU if he feels that I am using academic pedantry to undermine his position. This is not so. All I wish to persuade him, and fellow Anarchists, of, is that arguments based on false analogy get us nowhere.

The fact is that no one at the moment, knows what the social effects of automation are likely to be, but it is clearly up to Anarchists to figure out appropriate ways of using this innovation—ways that is, that place the dignity and inviolability of the individual first. It is quite certain that neither states, nor capitalist institutions will do this.

May I be forgiven then, my naivete if I suppose that Anarchists are such because they value their independence, that they therefore are attempting to develop a sociology of freedom not a propaganda, which leads inexorably to the dull preachments (in this country) of those true believers who write for 'The People's Voice'.

Fraternally,
Auckland, N.Z. R.S.O.

To March or Not to March?

Sirs,

I agree with some of what IAS has to say about Duff's Easter Orgy, but many of us in Glasgow feel that the following reasons will justify our being on the March.

To the press and the public this is the annual 'ban the bomb' demonstration, not a demonstration to support UNO or ICY, and they expect to see a large turn-out. If the numbers are small then the papers have an excuse to crucify the whole movement not just Labourite pro-UNO reformists. No detailed explanation will be given, saying that the libertarians were not on the March because they objected to the 'line'.

The Easter demo. is the one time in the year when we in Scotland, and indeed people from all regions, can get together and meet our friends from the other areas. It is a great morale-booster and the comradeship over the three days can be extremely pleasant.

Most important of all, we must bear in mind that the Communist Party cum Peace Committee are organising in their usual way (directives and orders from

the hierarchy to the rank and file) to get as big a turn-out of their members as possible. Nothing would be worse than the Communist numbers overwhelming the March and making it look like a CP front. It would suit the CP but for the rest of us it is the 'kiss of death'. Remembering our past experiences and John R.'s letter in *FREEDOM* on 27 February regarding CP take-overs of demonstrations, we feel this is probably the most important reason for a libertarian turn-out.

Since it is more than likely there will be 'radical action' after the Trafalgar Square crap, we must bear in mind the great potential a large gathering full of libertarian militants can give to such an action.

Lastly, Anarchists, Syndicalists, Solidarists and ILPers have a lot of propaganda to put over and the Easter March is as good a place as any to do it.

GEORGE WILLIAMSON.

Glasgow.
We have also received letters from Bill Jamieson (Edinburgh) and Roger Sandell (Southall) to the same effect.

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Pay or be Paid

SEVEN UNIONS ARE involved in the three week old dispute with British United Airways. The dispute is an endeavour to bring wages in line with the comparable job rates paid by State air lines.

On March 8, T&GWU gave official recognition to the dispute, in which 30 of their members were directly involved. The Association of Supervisory Staffs Executives and Technicians (ASSET) were already backing the dispute. At this stage BUA were getting their planes away with 'scab labour', senior engineers checked the planes and others did the unskilled work. T&GWU tanker drivers did not cross the picket line and lorries carrying heavy and diesel oil were turned back at the gates. BOAC supervisors and technical workers levied themselves £1 a head to support the strike.

By March 15 the strike had spread to the Channel Islands where BUA engineers at Jersey Airport decided to 'black' all aircraft flying in and out of Gatwick including those based on Jersey.

On March 17 after five hours of

discussion with BUA under the auspices of the Ministry of Labour, the talks virtually broke down. BUA would only talk about pay and conditions and not the withdrawal of the dismissal notices.

Also on March 17, Esso tanker men at Gatwick decided to 'black' all BUA flights for 48 hours. This followed a decision by nearly 150 loaders, caterers and drivers to stage a 48 hour token stoppage. A BUA official said, 'We are determined that nothing will ground our aircraft'.

March 19: T&GWU official stated that now the whole dispute was official 'None of our members with fuel companies will work on BUA aircraft'. BUA spokesman: 'Clearly it will be progressively more difficult to operate services now that we have lost our fuel'. Plans are being laid for refuelling overseas. The union is to take action to have BUA aircraft 'black' by tanker drivers at foreign airports.

On March 20, ASSET agreed on a new three year contract with BUA. 'But,' said Mr. Clive Jenkins, their General Secretary, 'The company accepts that although we have reached agreement with it, our members will not be returning to work until BUA, and other unions who are in dispute have also reached agreement.'

On Monday, March 22, the leaders of the seven unions involved are to meet to discuss the situation in the light of the breakdown of the negotiations. Obviously another twist of the screw would close BUA down completely.

This management have tried every trick in the trade to beat the workers. They withdrew from civil aviation agreements to avoid paying the same rates as the public corpora-

tions. Attempted to transfer workers to a subsidiary company Aviation Traders for the same reason. The plot is of course to run cheap flights with cheap labour to beat the State air lines. Quite rightly the workers say, 'not off our backs' and that precisely is the state of the poll.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

Freedom For Workers' Control

MARCH 27 1965 Vol. 26 No. 10

Apprentices to Strike Again

ON MARCH 29, the apprentices will again take strike action to gain their demands for higher wages and better conditions. This strike has been called by the Socialist Labour League (Trotskyist) and is their reply to what they describe as 'the disastrous Stalinist-led November 2 strike'. Although support for the previous strike was disappointing in some places, especially in the South, one could not call it disastrous. These attacks are just sour grapes and one can expect similar statements from the Communist Party in the next few weeks.

Both these political groupings have the strength to organise a national apprentice strike but at the same time they are at one another's throats condemning each other and even going to the lengths of scabbing because they have not organised the show. This sort of thing can only serve to confuse and disillusion the apprentices. No doubt a number of the members of the Young Socialists and the Young Communist League are apprentices and those Y-S members who support the SLL will be active in getting as much support as possible for the forthcoming strike. The thing is though that the strike should be to win the demands of the 'Apprentice Charter' and not be used by either the YCL or the SLL to make their own political capital. Fair enough, the SLL called for a strike and have put a lot

of work into it, but now it is the apprentices themselves who should run and control the strike.

Works committees, elected by the apprentices for the November strike are still functioning and, in some factories, new ones have been started. Through these rank and file committees, the strike can be run by the lads themselves. By all means let the political groupings and the anarchist groups help and assist them, but only the apprentices should say what's what.

UNION AGAINST ANY STRIKE

At the Amalgamated Engineering Union's annual youth conference, the President, Sir William Carron, attacked the proposed strike. He said that outside agencies were organising it. 'There does not exist within the union rule any authority whatsoever for setting up such bodies. Let me go further and say that they must be regarded as in opposition to our democratically-constructed union.'

Of course Carron is hopping mad about any threat to his authority, but did he and his fellow negotiators ever ask the apprentices what they wanted. Carron was told enough times, he knew all about the 'charter' but he just ignored the demands of the rank and file apprentices. So much for 'our democratically constructed union'. One can guess how much notice Carron will take of the democratically arrived at decision of the conference, calling upon the union to oppose wage restraint of any kind under any government.

Recently the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions did secure negotiating rights from the employers for the engineering apprentices. The union regards this as quite a victory and have been trying to secure this for some years, but in actual fact, it just brings the apprentices into the sphere of the union, but without any real say for themselves. The unions still have not gained the 'constitutional

right' of the apprentices to come out on strike, although it has been agreed that they won't be told to do adult work during the strike or be 'locked-out'. What a lot of rubbish this is, for any apprentice knows he is doing adult work anyway, even when there is no industrial dispute, so it makes no difference. As for the 'constitutional right' to strike, they showed last year that they are not the property of the employers and don't give a damn for these so-called rights.

THE 'CHARTER'

This new agreement will be used by the unions as a means to divide the opinions of the apprentices as to whether to take part in the strike of 29 March. They will claim that everything is all right now, but this is far from the case. The original charter of a 35-hour week, four weeks' annual holiday, full wages during sickness and the 60% at 15 to 90% at 20 years of the wages of the adult workers, has still not been gained. The control of negotiations with the employers might be in the hands of the unions, but the actual apprentice still has no say in this matter. Other things which should be considered by the engineering apprentices are shorter terms of apprenticeship, one fully paid day of school release each week, or better still block release for longer periods. Some of these are already enjoyed by apprentices in other trades, those in certain building trades spend three-week spells at school.

These demands are quite justified and will not cost the earth. They give the apprentice a better chance of learning his trade, more money, for after all prices are not reduced for those serving an apprenticeship, and more leisure. Apprentices have already shown that they can organise themselves and take effective action which does hit the profits of the employers. This can be done again, even more effectively than last time. The adult worker can play his part in this by giving financial support, taking action if apprentices are victimised or even joining them on the picket lines. Solidarity of action is the key to win the demands. P.T.

LETTER

Workers' Control?

Dear Editors,

'Workers' control' is bunk. It is high time that libertarians transcended their Marxist hangovers.

Neither politically nor economically has there ever been such a thing as 'the working class'. It is a prop of priest-kingship, a figment of sectarian invention.

And as for 'control' is it not the very thing we are trying to get away from? The trouble, here, began with Marx.

Marx's economics are as golden as his politics are base. 'The historical role of the working class' and 'the dictatorship of the proletariat' are quite without foundation.

People unthinkingly transfer their approval of Marx's economics to his politics. Fatal.

The contradiction is not so difficult to explain. Marx spent all his life studying economics. He intended to give the state the same treatment but never got round to it. He had a great deal to say about current politics: Palmerston, the Eastern Question, the Commune and the First International but nothing of substance about the problems of decision-making, war and violence. And since his own personal character was eliteist (they used to call him 'the schoolmaster') he was constitutionally incapable of grasping the practice of egalitarianism (cf Bertrand Russell and Canon Collins).

The political proof is in the pudding. No man did more to destroy Chartism from within than Marx. The fact that he did it with the very best intentions is beside the point. And when he died he did not leave even a tiny group behind.

Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, for all their brilliance, followed Marx.

Marxism, politically, is a theory of pseudo-classes and their power-political manipulation. It is a theory about achieving a change of masters. Such a theory has value in face of feudalism, absolutism, imperialism and superstition. Thus, Marxism has worked in Russia and China, is thriving in SE Asia, has a big future in Africa, modest prospects in Latin America—and is a failure everywhere in Western Europe.

We have to do better.

The only thing the intelligent wage-earner wants to do in connection with class identity is to get away from it. 'Control' likewise. His concern, like that of anyone else, is freedom.

For twenty years I have listened to people, most of whom have never been inside a workshop, pontificating about 'the workers' in the name of Marx. They are ineffectual bores. This is because they, like Marx, are wrong. The sad thing is that in the absence of any well worked out alternative theory the old rubbish still rubs off on people coming into the movement.

May I, on this subject, commend the best three pages in print? They appear in the current issue of *Anarchy* and are written by Reg Wright.

Cobwebs away!

Yours sincerely,
PETER CADOGAN.
Cambridge.

BOOKING CLERKS SHAKE L.T.

BECAUSE GERRY MANZI was one of the booking clerks planning an unofficial one-day strike against their recent pay award, he was removed from an organisational position by his union, the Transport Salaried Staffs Association. Following this lead, the London Transport Executive decided to sack him on the spot, after 26 years' service. In solidarity with their victimised brother, other clerks decided not to wait for the planned strike of Monday, but to take immediate action.

Both the TSSA and the LTE were in a sticky position because the planned unofficial strike was a direct threat to an agreement already negotiated. This, as is usual, had divided up the transport workers into different sections, giving 9% increase to other grades of staff, but only 4% to the booking clerks. This will give them a basic rate of about £14 per week before deductions.

About 56 underground stations out of a total of 228 were without booking clerks, but the action of this minority was enough to get Gerry Manzi reinstated to his job. Their action did not affect the public and on the whole trains ran without delays. To get the fares, London Transport relied on what it called 'honesty boxes' for the passengers to put their fares in to.

LT LOSE ON TAKINGS

The Solidarity group were quick to get out a leaflet in support of the clerks and asked the passengers to give any money they had to spare to the Strike Committee rather than to London Transport. From what I have gathered, London Transport did lose on the takings and as the leaflet says 'Let the passengers perhaps pay what they think the cattle-ride is worth'.

The clerks withdrawal of labour hit London Transport financially without inconveniencing the public. Bus conductors could surely adopt this type of action as has been pointed out before in FREEDOM. In the case of the booking clerks, support of other tubemen could have really put London Transport in trouble. The strikers could also produce a leaflet to be given out to passengers, putting their case.

To get unity in action, divisions of unions must be overcome. For instance, the ticket collectors belong to the National Union of Railwaymen, the

clerks to the TSSA while the motormen belong to a third one. Organisation at rank and file level can unite all tubemen so that they can gain the same wages, and not be divided one against the other. P.T.

ANARGHO-SYNDICALISM THE WORKERS' NEXT STEP 8

THE MEANS OF STRUGGLE

THE STAY-IN STRIKE has many advantages. In the first place it shows the workers that they are in fact in control already—and it keeps them in control at the point of production. No blacklegs can be brought in to work the machines while the workers are there. No foremen or office staff can attempt to carry on production. When the workers are all outside the factory, the boss can walk up and down the rows of silent machines and say to himself, 'All these are mine.' While the workers are occupying the factory, he's not so sure! And from this situation—of remaining in control but refusing to work for the boss—it is only a step to taking over the plant and working for themselves.

The stay-in, or sit-down, strike has proved very effective in the past. The 1936 wave of strikes in Paris is a well-known example. More recently, however, we had another example nearer home, when Glasgow busmen, in a dispute with the Corporation, ran the buses but refused to take any fares. This is a method Anarchists and Syndicalists have long advocated, of striking at the boss while continuing to serve the public. The ordinary bus-strike only antagonises the public, but by conveying them free, the busmen immediately gain their sympathy! Naturally!

This, and many other forms of staying in control, but fighting the boss, have been and can be developed by conscious workers.

SABOTAGE

This is a word which creates more hysteria than 'anarchy' itself! It has been so tied up with treason in time of war, that even the workers are now afraid to use the term 'sabotage' or to defend its use. But in fact it means nothing more than interference with the smooth running of the boss's business.

Some forms of the strike are, in fact, sabotage. The go-slow, or *ca'canny*, in which workers continue to do the work, but at such a slow pace that it is uneconomic for the boss, is really sabotage. So is the *work-to-rule*, where the workers operate strictly according to the regulations of the company. A good example of the latter was the action of the French

Customs Officers, who staged a work-to-rule at the frontiers, with the result that lines of cars, carts, coaches and lorries, stretched for miles, while the customs men meticulously examined and searched everything and everywhere, as the rules laid down. When, some years ago, French railwaymen tried it, they carefully examined every nut, bolt and rivet on every railway bridge before driving their trains over them—all according to the rules!

This has the double effect of drawing attention to their grievances and making the company's rules look silly—as they usually are!

The usual idea of sabotage, however, is of destruction. But this is not its purpose. Its function, in time of industrial strife, is simply to prevent the use of machinery or services by blackleg labour. If the workers walk out of a factory, there is, as we have just discussed, nothing to stop the scabs from walking in. But if the workers render the machines unworkable, it does not matter if the scabs do walk in. This does not necessarily mean destruction of machinery. Indeed, this should be avoided, for after all, if the workers want to take over the factory, they want it intact, and in running order! But every worker knows his machine well enough to know one or two small pieces of it without which it will not operate.

I don't wish to go further than that at the moment (for obvious reasons!) but I should like to point out that although governments are most ruthless against sabotage against themselves, they are quite prepared to use its most extreme forms when it suits them. What is the bombing of factories and the murder of the workers in them but sabotage of the enemy's war potential? This is considered legitimate in warfare, is something from which revolutionaries recoil, but which States do not hesitate for one moment to perpetrate. In the class war the Anarcho-Syndicalist is anxious to avoid destruction and bloodshed. That is why to-day instead of talking in terms of barricades, we see the social revolution as being effected by industrial action. This finds final expression in the Social General Strike, which we shall discuss next. P.S.

(To be continued)