

# Rhodesia-So What?

ONE OF THE STOCK headlines for FREEDOM is (or was) 'Phoney (Blank) —Crisis'. One is rather tempted to insert the word 'Rhodesia' in the blank these days. But one can speculate that so precariously are events balanced and so preponderantly able are armaments to shift that balance that one hesitates to point out that it is another mere crying of 'Wolf'.

However, the Rhodesian situation has all the elements of a created event adroitly stage managed by Harold Wilson and Ian Smith for their own purposes. Mr. Wilson has proved how much more patriotic and loyal to the Commonwealth he is than the right-wing of the Conservative Party. Mr. Ian Smith has demonstrated how tough he is. Lord Salisbury has demonstrated how he is looking after the interests of the City and Mr. Edward Heath has demonstrated how reasonable and 'with-it' he is. Everybody seems to be satisfied except the people of Rhodesia who will have to labour in the tobacco fields and the copper mines regardless of whether they are in a Commonwealth, a Kingdom, an Independent Republic or a People's Republic.

It is held that under independence by Mr. Smith's party the natives would be oppressed. In some strange way it is felt that Dominion status prevents discrimination, apartheid and exploitation. The sure of the Great White Queen would be sufficient to protect the natives who would survive to bless her name and that of the Great White Chief from the London School of Economics.

It will be remembered that the onset of apartheid in South Africa preceded their withdrawal (or expulsion) from the Commonwealth. Apartheid, when it came, came slowly, step by step, and neither the British nor the African politicians, nor the Cape Coloured, saw fit to unitedly question any step taken. In the same way, Smith, Welensky and Co. have ruled and will rule in Rhodesia, inside or outside the Commonwealth.

As to the intent to apply sanctions, this would seem to be a mere pious hope. Grey-headed cynics among us will remember the empty threat of League of Nations sanctions against Italy in her war against Abyssinia. Whatever the sanction proposed, there was (and no doubt will be) some saving clause, some commercial contract that, in the way commercial contracts have, overrides the ideals of international law, commonwealth preservation, or mere humanity.

Trade may follow the flag but Mr. George Brown seems determined to follow trade and a keen business man like Lord Brown, now in charge at the Board of Trade, will not be balked from selling to Rhodesia by such puny considerations as our failure to buy from them, even should such a thing as

sanctions occur.

Smith, and Welensky who preceded him, are too experienced politicians, and the stakes are too high for them to take the risk of threatening something they cannot perform. The African political leaders, waiting in the wings, surely do not believe that they can rouse 'their' people to revolt by pointing out the irrevocable loss that seceding from the Commonwealth would mean to them. After all the Boston tea party was not held for the benefit of the Red Indians.

Winston Churchill once declared that 'he had not come into office to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire'. History proved him wrong and Harold Wilson cannot prevent this happening even under Socialism.

JACK ROBINSON.

# Mobs Do Not Riot in Wolverhampton

SOME YEARS AGO FREEDOM published an article entitled 'A million children not murdered today' (*Freedom* 57, 1964, Vol. 21, 1971). This attempted to put into proportion the situation in regards to the incidence of sex and violent criminal acts in society. This I think it did, and this article attempts to follow suit about racialism. We have read the 'other side' both in the Press and more recently in the letters and articles in our paper.

First of all I feel I must state that this is a subjective but factual article written about the situation as it is in Wolverhampton, whether it is similar in other parts of the country I don't know. I hope it is, and I hope it is/will be better in time all over.

Just as mutual aid exists side by side with the rat race so integration exists with racialism. For my purpose I will divide these into two which, for lack of a better phrase, I will call conscious and unconscious integration.

To take the latter first, this is individualistic, usually unorganised and there for all to see (mostly it appears, by rabid racialists of both sides). I write of intermarriage and the resultant families, love affairs, school, work and gang alliances, deep friendships of like-minded people and neighbourliness. On the conscious organised side we have the Wolverhampton Racial Harmony Committee, which consists of members of all the organisations imaginable, from the Roman Catholic Church down to the Communist Party of GB.

This committee recently issued a statement condemning the role played by the Press and TV during the racial disturbances here. Two Labour Councilors, Reg Dorsett and Jim Woodward, have won a battle with both racist petitioners and the town planning sub-committee in their fight to open a multi-racial club in some derelict school buildings. The Methodist, Seventh Day Adventist and Congregationalist churches in the town centre are multi-racial and the council employ an Indian and West Indian as immigrant liaison officers whose job it is to advise immigrants on many of their problems.

In this article I have stuck strictly to the verifiable facts, and these I believe show that despite all the many obstacles to integration it still goes on, not as fast as anarchists would like, but still it goes on, organised or not. The conventional press sensationalise the negative aspects of immigration problems, and the 'left' press have a tendency to neglect the positive aspects I have outlined. I hope that I have managed to remedy both extreme positions and bring about a sense of proportion on racialism. J.L.

# Revolt Against Power Politics!

THOUSANDS RALLIED against the war in Vietnam all over the world. There were demonstrations last weekend in Japan, South America, Holland, Italy, Germany, Sweden, Dublin, London, Glasgow and at 73 cities in the United States.

This is a tremendous achievement for the student organisers in Berkeley, California whose own effort brought 10,000 people out. Jerry Rubin at Berkeley said in a speech that he is gratified by the response. On Fifth Avenue again 10,000 people marched despite the taunts of jingoists. The Washington correspondent of *The Times* says that the Johnson administration is now worried. Thousands of Londoners also took part in demonstrations organised by the BCPV and the Committee of 100.

The concerted action started with the YCND rally at the Mahatma Gandhi Hall where Bertrand Russell tore up his Labour Party membership card in protest against the war. Other speakers included Cecil Balandine and George Clarke. There was a capacity audience. Warbey, MP, who was scheduled to speak when the crunch came, did not and walked into political wilderness or a waiting cabinet post.

## SUPPORT THIS ACTION

The Anarchist movement is being called upon to support these points:

1. The campaign must continue.
2. We must protest against this police state within the state.
3. A Defence Committee must be formed at once.
4. LAG/2's next Sunday meeting is open to these discussions.
5. A 'Demonstrate Against War or Pay Up' Fund must be started as this is going to be a long campaign.

# OUR LEADERS MUST BE ACTORS

ANARCHISTS IF they read the more irritating trivia of the daily press at all—namely the gossip columns, must do so with a mixture of amusement and boredom. One would not expect Charles Greville to say anything very original or pointed about our lop-sided social order, so his statement in the *Daily Mail* (issue of 12.10.65), that our leading politicians are first-rate actors every bit as much as politicians, putting on a carefully contrived face for every occasion and situation, helps to dispel the myth which some people still hold dear, that there is a shred of sincerity in anything the capitalist spokesmen do, either by motive or gesture.

Compared to Ramsey Mac's day, today's political leaders have television to contend with—and they turn it into a decided advantage. The FREEDOM editorial of October 9 gave readers a summary of our leaders wily and less endearing traits, though I think I ought to point out one particular mannerism which they omitted to mention—that of the furrowed brow accompanied by the 'look of concern'. The undoubted champion of this ploy is none other than Harold Wilson, who has brought this particular facial trick into play exclusively for television one assumes. The studio lights blazed away, the furrow grew deeper—so deep in fact, I thought it would be possible to run a tractor along it.

Whether they are sufficiently convincing actors or not, all politicians, by their combined efforts down the years, have made sure of acting in a third-rate play—though never of course to their own disadvantage. The scenery is defective, but will not fall on their heads, while crocodile tears shouldn't make their make-up run, especially where television appearances are concerned, and whilst some actors dislike playing in farces, the Westminster Players jostle each other for the leading roles; they

More than 1,500 people attended at the Trafalgar Square rally on Saturday where speakers from all sections of the peace movement were reinforced by Sid Senior, General Secretary of National Union of Post Workers and Joe Thomas of NATSOPA. There were many London Anarchists in the demonstrations, amongst them the newly formed West Ham Anarchist Group. A supporting march from the Festival Hall included Joan Baez who sang and spoke a few words. Among the poets taking part in the supporting rally was Pete Brown, Mike Horowitz, Tom McGrath and Adrian Mitchell who read his poem, 'Tell me lies about Vietnam'.

More than 2,000 marchers converged on the United States Embassy on Saturday night. Some carried banners saying, 'Who loses in Vietnam — always the people'. One section chanted 'Who's Wilson?—Johnson's Poodle'. This crowd dispersed quietly leaving the all-night vigilers behind who were constantly molested by the police.

When about midnight the Young Communists' torch-light procession arrived on Saturday, the police went berserk and beat the little boys and girls up. This was awful to watch and both West Central and King Street should account for this. Typical that the *Daily Worker* forgot Monday morning to protest against police brutality and blithely said that marchers joined the all night vigils, limping on crutches and with broken ribs, no doubt. Comrade journalist, must you lie to save the skin of a King Street bureaucrat?

The climax of these days of peace activity was to have been a Public Assembly in Grosvenor Square but this was arbitrarily stopped by the police. Altogether 78 demonstrators

were arrested. Monday morning those that appeared in front of Mr. Leo Gradwell are having difficulty as the cases are being remanded and Mr. Gradwell set fantastic sums for bail. As we go to press 17 comrades are still in jail.

In conclusion, I wish to quote a poem by Dennis Gould, 'The War Game'. It takes its reference from a passage by H. G. Wells.

J.R.

## THE WAR GAME

*'We are in revolt against this game of Power Politics which seeks to monopolize all this world for the triumphs of such poor fools as these leaders we have examined. We are not concerned in their infernal wars. We are in open and plain rebellion against them.'*

H. G. WELLS, 1939.

(From 'The honour and dignity of the free mind')

## THE WAR GAME

for those who use nonviolent resistance and those who just refuse to wear uniforms and kill  
Another game in Vietnam's towns  
For men in khaki uniform  
Another game with napalms frowns  
For men poor and uninformed  
Another country conscripts her young  
Without choice or democracy  
Her name is known to immigrants  
Australia 'land of the free'  
Another man blames Chinese plots  
For socialist ideals raw  
But who stops to think one sides  
Bullets bold are braver than the law?  
And who now believes 'law' to be justice  
After Eichmann, Christ and Evans  
That Evans who died on Christie's rope  
For policemen, lawyers, judges:  
christian heavens.

And you like me may have served the queen

In khaki or in law  
Whilst now we sit down on another scene  
Civilians jailed, fined, sacked

and more . . .  
For not playing the game: war,  
dennis gould.

# ANARCHY 56

# Woman

DORA RUSSELL  
HARRIET UNWIN  
EMMA GOLDMAN

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THE YEARS HAVE not dealt kindly  
with the memory of George Bernard  
Shaw. To the young he is old hat, and  
square, to the older libertarians his ideas  
are tarnished with Fabianism, Stalinist  
propensities and the outpourings of an  
insufferable dotage.

It was then with some delight that  
one revisited the Periclean stream of the  
1911 Shaw at the Mermaid unmodified  
as he was then by the life force,  
monarchism, or the Soviet system and  
see the purity and sparkle of wit which  
is the gift of Shaw and, they would  
have us believe, the Irish to the world.

*Fanny's First Play* is encumbered, as  
*The Taming of the Shrew* can be, with  
the cumbersome device of a play within  
a play, in this lapse we witness one of  
the signs of the coming weakness of the  
'clever-clever' Shaw but in even this  
device we are made to swallow a propa-  
ganda point of the play.

The opening is the drawing-room of  
Count O'Powda who is putting on a  
play by his daughter Fanny, a student  
at Cambridge. He has lured the leading  
critics of the day to see the play and  
has concealed from them the identity of  
the author. This scene is one of the  
most tiresome, containing as it does,  
shafts of satire at critics who now few

ONE MAY HALF listen a thousand  
times to a pop folk song or a negro  
spiritual, musing awhile at the pleasant-  
ness of its rhythm and the naivety of its lyrics,  
then forget it within the hour. But comes  
an occasion of isolation, when the cold  
wind whips the banners and the police  
outnumber those who protest, then from  
the packed and ragged ranks comes a  
voice singing a song of defiance. It is  
caught up by other voices and one is no  
longer in isolation but part of the van-  
guard united by the battle songs that  
mocked and defied authority in a dozen  
countries and a hundred towns.

True it is not an appeal to reasoned  
judgement or rational discussion yet, for  
good or ill, there comes a moment when  
the song, the poem, and the painting  
becomes an emotional gauntlet transcending  
its technical incompetencies as it  
marshals the half-realized questions of  
the questing heart. It is that emotional  
involvement of the artist with his  
creation that differentiates between the  
majesty of a crudely painted canvas by  
Ben Shahn and the brilliant and easily  
forgettable advertisement in the Town's  
plush magazines, for one is the crude  
heart-catching slogan demanding your  
attention and the other the brilliant cali-  
graphy pointing the way to the GENTS.

And here is the work of Brett Whiteley  
at the Marlborough, at 17 Old Bond  
Street, W.1. An inferior synthesis of  
the work of Bacon and Rauschenberg yet  
Whiteley uses the founding work of  
these two men to produce 14 paintings  
that have the amoral hammerblows of an  
18th century jail broadsheet. From 1945  
on John Reginald Christie murdered seven  
or eight women and for that he and the  
near-mental defective Evans were killed  
off by the State. It is accepted by many  
that Evans was innocent of causing any  
death, but you cannot punish the State  
for it is a 100,000 headed and can  
write out its own pardons, so that all  
that the officially innocent dead can  
ask is that they be allowed the social  
status of a grave outside the prison  
walls.

Here is Whiteley's comedy of errors  
with its cast of Christie, Rita, Cathleen

# Fanny's First Offence

have heard of. Shaw has almost sur-  
vived them all, and this somehow con-  
tains a lesson for *Private Eye*. Satire  
directed at persons is transient but satire  
at institutions is lasting. The value of  
*Fanny's First Play* for us today lies in  
the reflections on police behaviour and  
on the effects of imprisonment.

Margaret, the girl who has been im-  
prisoned for hitting a policeman, says,  
'I'm not hardened, mother. But I can't  
talk nonsense about it. You see, it's all  
real to me. I've suffered it. I've been  
shoved and bullied, I've had my arm  
twisted. I've been made to scream with  
pain in other ways. I've been flung into  
a filthy cell with a lot of other poor  
wretches as if I were a sack of coals  
being emptied into a cellar. And the  
only difference between me and the  
others was that I hit back.' How often

# Round the Galleries

Hectorina and Mrs. Christie. Here is a  
chair and a glass jar of Friar's Balsam,  
that the women inhaled, and here is a  
rubber tube and a dirty tea cup. And  
here on the walls are the canvases with  
their crude colouring spider held within  
a web of heavy lines twisting and turning  
in the bleak and empty world of a Bacon  
canvas. Built into the canvases are the  
Rauschenberg ploys of actual objects,  
but now they succeed in their purpose,  
for the slashed and brutalized body within  
canvas number 22 carries a crown of an  
ancient photograph, a dirty cup and a  
roll of rubber tubing neatly arrayed  
with its other six objects. Over the  
painted intertwining bodies of Christie  
and Hectorina McLennan is built into  
the canvas an object like unto a pink and  
overlong shillalah of a Victorian police-  
man's Victorian truncheon or...

This is an exhibition that blatantly  
plays down to the emotions in the same  
fashion as Mamma Church demands, yet  
it is also a requiem for the dead, for one  
can feel no anger for this slaughtered  
cast, only sorrow. The slum that pro-  
vided the backcloth for this tragedy is  
still there, the house is still on weekly  
rental, the Special Police, within whose  
ranks Christie served, still direct traffic  
as part of their social contribution to  
the State, but the hangman has retired  
and Evans lies in his solitary grave while  
the sleek men of the Establishment run  
their fingers over their polished desks and  
wait for normality and the tea trolley.

But there is Corot at the National  
Gallery to smooth the puckered brow.  
Here is a man at rest within himself,  
who loved the Romantic past, the land-  
scapes of Claude and the sentimental and  
pictorial world of provincial France. A  
craftsman in love not with the act of

have we heard this non-romantic view  
of the police given today after demon-  
strations? Many thought it was some-  
thing new, but Shaw had heard it all  
before from suffragettes and victims of  
Trafalgar Square's 'Bloody Sunday'.

And on prison. The strange *camaraderie*  
that grows between those who  
have been 'in' that sets them apart from  
those that haven't, the realization that  
nothing is quite the same again. Margaret's  
father exclaims, as fathers  
are apt to do, 'My daughter in Holloway  
Gaol!' and Margaret replies, 'All the  
women in Holloway are somebody's  
daughters. Really father, you must make  
up your mind to it. If you had sat  
in that cell for fourteen days making up  
your mind to it, you would understand  
that I'm not in the humour to be gaped  
at while you're persuading yourself that  
it can't be real. These things really do  
happen to real people every day; and  
you read about them in the papers and  
think it's all right. Well, they've  
happened to me; that's all.'

This will be enough to show that  
*Fanny's First Play* despite the dragging  
opening is worth seeing. A younger  
(and better) Shaw gave the following  
advice to the young in his preface.  
'Nowadays we do not seem to know that

painting but with what the brush could  
illuminate. He created an unsophisticated  
world that demands nothing from the  
viewer, for Corot would not become  
emotionally involved with his subject  
matter. His creatures, be they Christ or  
peasant girl, always face the spectator  
with the same slight passive smile. His  
blue skies came from the canvases of  
Filippino Lippi, the space from Canaletto  
and the trees and fields from Claude and  
he played with them and created work of  
interest mainly for the dealer's money  
markets. The National Gallery have  
done him a disservice by flanking two of  
his paintings, outside the entrance to the  
exhibition, with P. de Champaigne's  
*Vision of Joseph* and *Cardinal Richelieu*  
for these magnificent canvases dwarf the  
Frenchman but Corot died rich, contented  
and honoured, so what the hell.

And once again the Arts Council  
strikes, but this time at the Tate Gallery  
with an exhibition of the paintings and  
drawings of the late Max Beckmann.  
Here is a man fashioned by his time.  
Working within that bitter decade that  
followed the First World War, his brush  
followed the current fashions of his  
German associates. But he lacked Grosz's  
feeling for the Teutonic grotesque and  
Ernst's love of the macabre, for almost  
without exception the faces of his subjects  
are passive and emotionless. Their  
impact arises from the sense of claustrophobia  
that his crowded canvases engender,  
and his weakness is his drawing, his  
strength in his use of dead patches of  
colour.

Without anger or happiness Beckmann  
offers not a stage, but a crowded shop  
window of indifferent wares to an indif-  
ferent audience, with but one single  
exception and this is his *Great Death  
Scene, 1906* wherein death is shown as  
something vile and stupid, a thing not  
of acceptance but rejection. The gaunt  
pre-concentration camp body and the  
keening women within the bleak Berlin  
room show death for the stupid mockery  
it is, and the greatest tragedy is that with  
the completion of this canvas died a fine  
German painter, speaking with a universal  
tongue, leaving in his place another Arts  
Council hack. ARTHUR MOYSE.

there is any test of conduct except  
morality; and the result is that the young  
had better have their souls awakened  
by disgrace, capture by the police, and  
a month's hard labour, than drift along  
from their cradles to the graves doing  
what other people do for no other reason  
than other people do it. . . . Is it any  
wonder that I am driven to offer to young  
people in our suburbs the desperate  
advice: Do something that will get you  
into trouble?' This is vintage Shaw as  
the devil's advocate. Go along and see  
it at the Mermaid Theatre.

JACK ROBINSON.

## EUROPEAN YOUTH CONFERENCE?

THE EXTERIOR delegation of the  
Iberian Federation of Libertarian  
Youth has contacted the Anarchist  
Federation with suggestions for a Euro-  
pean Youth Conference. The idea was  
proposed by the Italian Federation of  
Anarchist Youth, who suggest that it  
should take place at Carrara at the end  
of this month, immediately preceding the  
congress of the Italian Anarchist  
Federation.

The object of the meeting would be  
to carry on, in a more constructive form,  
the co-ordinating work which has been  
developing at the Libertarian Summer  
Camps, but restricting attendance to  
active militants. The French comrades  
have agreed to take part, and the Dutch  
groups have been contacted. Any groups  
or individuals from the British movement  
who would like to take part should write  
to Frank Hirshfield, 4 Albert Street,  
London, N.W.1 for further information.

The Spanish comrades also give en-  
couraging news about the campaign to  
free the comrades from France and  
England who have been arrested and  
imprisoned while in Spain. Two French  
anarchists have already been released  
by the Spanish government, and some  
of the lawyers in Madrid have expressed  
the opinion that campaigns abroad have  
enormously facilitated their task.

## Mutual Aid Wanted!

### THE PLAGUE IN BLACKBURN

AN OUTBREAK of the 'distortions of  
ingrown virginity' appears to have  
struck Blackburn concomitant with the  
delayed visit of Princess Margaret and  
the prosecution of Dave Cunliffe of  
Screeches Publications. Please help to  
stave off the spread of this emotional  
plague with donations to Golden Con-  
volvulus Defence and Aid Fund, 11  
Clematis Street, Blackburn, Lancs.

### TONY SMYTHE

Tony Smythe is now home, but he  
has still to pay hospital fees of over  
£300. A fund has been set up to help  
and donations should be made out to  
*Tony Smythe Fund* and sent to:

Howard Cheney,  
Aylemore Farm,  
Shipton-on-Stour,  
Warwicks.

## Anarchist Federation of Britain

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

### London Anarchist Group 1&2

'Lamb and Flag', Rose Street, off Garrick  
Street, London, W.C.2. (Leicester Square  
tube) 7.45 p.m. All welcome.  
Sundays.

OCT 24 LAG/2

Business Meeting: Vietnam

OCT 31 Social (in aid of Spanish and  
Portuguese Political Prisoners' Fund)

NOV 7 George Melly

Censorship

NOV 14 Philip Sansom

Just Talking

NOV 21 Axel Ney-Hoch

Join the Police Force!

Public Meetings every Sunday Hyde Park  
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Last Thursday in month: At George  
Hayes', 174 McLeod Road, S.E.2.

2nd Friday at Brian Leslie's, 242 Ames-  
bury 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.

First and third Tuesday of every month  
at 8 p.m. Arthur Uloth's, 30 Arundel  
Gardens, W.11. (Top bell.)

THE LONDON INDIVIDUALIST  
ANARCHIST GROUP meets the second  
Sunday of each month at 10 Churton  
Street, Victoria, S.W.1 (off Vauxhall  
Bridge Road) at 8 p.m.

### REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

BEXLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Cor-  
respondence to Paul Wildish, 2 Cumbrian  
Avenue, Barnhurst, Kent.

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP.  
Details of meetings from Peter Noville,  
12 South Grove, Erdington, B'ham, 23.

BORDER FEDERATION OF ANAR-  
CHISTS. Correspondence: John Stark,  
39 Scott Street, Galashiels.

BRISTOL FEDERATION. Enquiries to  
Ian Vine, 3 Freeland Place, Hotwells,  
Bristol, 8.

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. Con-  
tact Mike Crowley, 36 Whitaker Road,  
Tremorfa, Cardiff.

DUNDEE GROUP contacts: (1) Bob  
and Una Turnbull, 44 Peddie Street,  
Dundee. Saturday meetings to continue

at Peddie Street, 2.30 p.m. (2) Sheila  
Whittaker, 64 Polepark Road, Dundee.

### GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP.

Correspondence to Robert Lynn, 2b  
Saracen Head Lane, Glasgow, C.1.

Freedom and Anarchy Distributor, Joe  
Embleton, 11 Balliol Street, Glasgow, C.3.  
Meetings at Horseshoe Bar, Drury Street,  
Tuesdays at 8 p.m.

### MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP.

Contact: Graham Leigh (tel.: PYR 2433),  
5 Mere Close, Sale. Meetings: alternate  
Tuesdays, 8 p.m. at the Lord Nelson,  
Chapel Street, Manchester and socially:  
week-ends at the Rising Sun, Albert  
Square, Manchester.

ILFORD LIBERTARIANS. Regular  
meetings and direct action contact 212  
Vicarage Road, Leyton, E.10.

MERSEYSIDE FEDERATION.  
Enquiries: Barbara Renshaw, 4 Clarence  
Road, Devonshire Park, Birkenhead,  
Cheshire.

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

OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP. Con-  
tact H. G. Mellor, Merton College,  
Oxford.

SURREY ANARCHISTS are invited to  
meetings on the first Thursday of every  
month at Chris Torrance's (63 North  
Street, Carshalton, Surrey—please ring  
three times) and on the 3rd Thursday of  
every month at M. Dykes, 8 Court Drive,  
Sutton, Surrey. Both meetings 7.30 p.m.

### SOUTHALL ANARCHIST GROUP.

Get in touch with Roger Sandell, 58  
Burns Avenue, Southall, Middlesex.

### WEST HAM ANARCHISTS.

Contact  
Mr. Karl Taylor, 98 Clova Road, Forest  
Gate, London, E.7. Meetings on Wednes-  
days.

### PROPOSED GROUPS

CORNWALL ANARCHIST GROUP.  
Interested? Please write Derek Toman,  
46 Weeth Lane, Camborne, Cornwall.

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

NORTHOLT ANARCHISTS. Projected  
formation of group contact Jim Huggon,  
173 Kingshill Avenue, Northolt, Middle-  
sex or Miss Joan McLean, 6 Epsom Close,  
Northolt Park, Middlesex.

SUNDERLAND (Co. Durham). Pro-  
posed Anarchist Discussion Group. (Syn-  
dicalists welcome) at Geoff. Edwards,  
'Side House', St. George's Terrace, Roker,  
Sunderland, Co. Durham.

LEEDS LIBERTARIAN ALLIANCE.  
Anybody interested please contact Roy  
and Frankie Todd at 15 Clarendon Place,  
Leeds, 2. Telephone 24282.

### ABROAD

NEW ZEALAND. Auckland Anarchist  
Group. Public Meetings every Sunday  
in Myers Park at 2 p.m.

# TORN CARDS ON THE TABLE

A SLIGHTLY malevolent smirk crossed the wrinkled features of Earl Russell last week when, utterly disillusioned by the Labour Party's Vietnam policy, he terminated 51 years of party membership by publicly tearing up his party card. At the same time he called for 'a new party more like that for which Keir Hardie struggled' and as the 93-year-old philosopher and Nobel Prize winner finished speaking 'Vietnam Rebel', Labour MP Mr. William Warbey, emotionally upset by Earl Russell's destruction of a scrap of paper, stalked from the room.

It bodes ill for the future of Earl Russell's hoped-for party if the attitude of 'left-wing rebel' Warbey should prove to be typical of the disillusioned radicals Earl Russell would like to attract. To Warbey, as to all supporters of impersonal organisations, political or not, emotional attachment to label, symbol, myth and abstract cause is, together with career and ambition, consciously or unconsciously the prime aim. Even if a new party were formed of saints it would in time end up as the present Labour Party, for the realities of power lead inevitably to compromise and expediency. And one would think there was already in existence sufficient Trotskyist sects and sub-sects to cater for the sort of 'need' Earl Russell pointed to.

Meanwhile, in Vietnam, Operation Gooksmash (search and kill) continues and caught between the brainwashed guns of Genghis Khan the Second in Peking and the hired guns of the dollar and power worshippers of America the Vietnam peasantry suffers. Up to a few months ago the Vietnam war was headlines everywhere but that was because it was feared that it would spread. But now that there seems every chance that the slaughter will be confined to Vietnam, nobody is the least bit interested except for a few humanists and pacifists,

the Hampstead phoney poets and intellectual 'folk'-singers exploiting the emotional atmosphere for cash and mental onanism and the bleating double-thinkers of the Communist Party. In such a situation the martyrdom of a peasantry and the general extermination of 'gooks' and 'wogs' is something that can go on apace, with absolute impunity unless, that is, they happen to be shrill nationalist politicians with friends in *New Statesman* type circles.

Faced with such a state of affairs there comes the urge to simply cry that nothing can be done. This is the idea that because one cannot do everything, one need not or should not do what one can. This an anarchist, communist or syndicalist, whose sights are set on nothing less than universal anarchy, will object to, as a letter in last week's *FREEDOM* showed. The one man revolution of the hermit, tramp, beat, dope addict, neurotic or suicide failing to see that, pathetic and destructive as such revolts often are, they are the essential actions of people who want a way out now and can't wait for some theoretical future.

Similarly there are individualists who say that nothing can be done in any context larger than one's own life. I refer to those individualists who adopt their stance for logical reasons, and not to the self-styled 'egoists', who talk as though it is big and tough to show indifference to the suffering of others, although I suspect that, like most people who theoretically scorn all ethics, they would walk five miles rather than leave a three-penny debt unpaid and in no circumstances could they bring themselves to hurt a fly. (Really ruthless people don't advertise the fact or make a philosophy out of it.) The former type of individualist, i.e. the logical, non-egoistic type, may be right in thinking that either original sin or the monsters from the id have got the human race in an iron grip and that only one-man revolts are possible, but he overlooks the fact that, in the context of an international event like the Vietnam war, it is not impossible to send a postal order to War on Want or one of the other relief agencies trying to alleviate the suffering of the Vietnam peasantry and this will do more good than any 'new party' of Earl Russell or anyone else. N.B.

# 'World Now Aware of Vietnamese Situation, says Rusk'—US Information Service

MR. HAROLD WILSON in an interview with Ian Waller in the *Sunday Telegraph*, speaking of the Conservative Party Conference, said 'Fair's fair. We had our conference. They are entitled to theirs. Indeed, in the last few days I tried to stop news coming out of departments so as to give them a fair run.' The sporting spirit was underlined by Mr. Wilson paying a loyal constitutional visit to Balmoral and being more Commonwealth minded over Rhodesia than Lord Salisbury. Mr. Enoch Powell was positively Left-wing in his desire to cut down commitments East of Suez. In Aden Mr. Wilson continued to show the flag. A correspondent in the *Sun* wrote, 'It was one of my main regrets when I turned to Labour that I had to give up my membership of the Young Conservatives'. This was a tribute to the rich social life of the Young Conservatives which is unmarred by the unseemly concern with politics which disfigures the activities of the Young Socialists. In a small second-page item in the same paper it was duly noted that Bertrand Russell had publicly quit the Labour Party and the 'rebel' Mr. Warbey had quit the platform. . . .

A STORMY MEETING at Westminster deplored the adoption of an Old Etonian as prospective Conservative candidate for Westminster. The candidate, a director of Coutts' Bank and Rolls Royce, had, it was said, 'the wrong image' for the new look Conservative Party. The *Sunday Mirror*, in a non-narcissistic mood, asks 'Why don't the politicians tell the image-makers to go to hell? Sincerity is good enough for the British public'. . . .

MR. EDWARD HEATH, interviewed in the *Daily Mail* by Ann Scott-James, said, 'I want people to be able to earn money, and to save it, which means lower taxation—that's the only instrument. And I don't think people should feel guilty about success. Making money is respectable.' Speaking of the Conference, he said, 'I'm not going to be photographed in funny suits. Nor even holding out the Tory Document at arm's length for all to see. I'll do

what is natural and nothing artificial.' Mr. Heath vigorously rang the chairman's bell at the end of the Tory Party Conference. Lord Brown, director of several engineering companies, joined the Government as Minister of State for the Board of Trade. Mr. Greville Jones, a former Liberal candidate, has applied to join the Labour Party. He is a partner with Mr. Jeremy Thorpe, Liberal MP for North Devon, in a firm called External Development Services. . . .

POLICE WITH RIOT STICKS and tear-gas sealed off the University of Brasilia, Brazil, after the rector suspended classes. He said the university had been transformed into a 'centre of agitation and anarchy'. A Brazilian police-chief was jailed accused of shooting dead a man who would not let him into a football match without paying. . . .

OBJECTORS to the war in Vietnam are said to be increasing in the US. On the other hand in North Vietnam (according to the *National Guardian*) 2.5 million volunteers have signed up to fight in South Vietnam if called upon to do so by the NLF. Ralph Di Gia, administrative secretary of the War Resisters' League said, 'My first word of advice to a kid who's against the war in Vietnam but doesn't know how to avoid the draft is to stop listening to his friends [or parents—J.Q.]. The chances are that they don't know any more about the situation than he does. He should seek expert guidance, and do it quickly, because once he's received his order for induction he has lost his case.' In the United States, any objector should contact the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors at 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19103, or War Resisters' League at 5 Beekman Street, New York, 38, New York. In Britain, uniformed men who find themselves objectors should contact the Continuing Committee of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors at 5-7 Langley Lane, Infield,

Crawley, Sussex; or those in other countries should get in touch with the War Resisters' International, Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex. In the US, a handbook of advice is available from both addresses but meanwhile one may sign on the classification questionnaire a clause, 'By reason of religious training and belief I am conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form and for this reason hereby request that the local board furnish me with a special form for Conscientious Objectors (SSS form 150). It is suggested that non-pacifist objectors should strike out the words 'in any form'. It has also been held by the Supreme Court that non-belief in a Supreme Being is no bar to conscientious objection. A final word of advice to objectors on filling up forms is, 'Answer fully, but concisely state what you do believe not what you don't believe. This is a key question. Note whether your opposition is to participation in all wars'. . . .

JOHN WILCOCK in the *Greenwich Village Voice* (NY) comments on the Judge's remarks on sentencing David Mitchell, a 22-year-old objector, to 18 months imprisonment for refusing to be drafted to Vietnam. The Judge said, 'Fortunately his views appear not to have cut any ice whatsoever in this country, or in this community.' John Wilcock says, 'If the judge is correct, and not merely the presumptuous fool that he sounds, there is less hope for this country and this community than I had thought.' Dr. Erwin Stengel, Professor of Psychiatry at the University of Sheffield, told a symposium on suicide at Washington that demonstrators who stage sit-down demonstrations in Whitehall or at the White House are really expressing the death-wish. 'The only difference between them and the Buddhist monk who burns himself to death is in the degree of self-destructive impulses and the level of their manifestation.'

JON QUIXOTE.

# Plea for a Disunited Front

RECENTLY A QUESTION was asked at a Secular Society meeting, addressed by an anarchist, as to whether one of the obstacles to mankind achieving freedom was the wide diversity of views, and whether it was because of this it was necessary to set up rigid authoritarian societies in order that men would not quarrel and destroy each other. Furthermore, in view of this, was it not necessary for all progressive peoples to join together, forget their differences and work together for peace and freedom.

Secular Society question was 'it is because mankind is so diverse in activities, interests and opinions that freedom is necessary. Were mankind united in its activities, interests and opinions a free society would not be desired, in fact a totalitarian ant, or bee society would be there in the making'.

The most common example of the diversity of human activity is in the nature of man's work but this diversity is not only observable in the varieties of work which men may do but in the variety, and the function of work within the life of the individual man. A man may, when he leaves his workplace indulge in no work whatsoever, he may on the other hand, 'work' strenuously or unstrenuously at play or hobbies, or work for his voluntary interests, or take part in domestic work. In this simple example we see the complex nature of man, not all kinds of work are the same. He may figuratively be 'a different man' at the bench, on the football field, at the dog track, on a committee or washing-up. Man is pluralistic and diversified by nature and so is his society.

Anarchism is the consideration of man in all his aspects. According to our interests we can examine or appeal to man in all those aspects. Syndicalism is the examination of man, primarily as a worker. Things being what they are, it is concerned with wages and conditions and, ultimately, with control of the job. But this is only part of a man's life, some would say a great part, and some would say too much. However, what happens

to a syndicalist when he leaves the factory? Is he a frustrated lover? A father? A repressed citizen? A suppressed artist?

Those who do not see anarcho-syndicalism as the be-all and end-all of anarchist activity have a point. There are some who would not go near a private employer (or even work itself), and there are those who reject the industrial system, and there are those that feel that the struggles of workers to raise their wages from £16 to £16 10s. a week possess only academic interest to one who has never needed (or got) more than £10 a week. Who is to say that this limits their anarchist usefulness or interest?

There are also those who have no time for compost growing, cinema verite, 'obscene' poetry collections, Sibelius, Spanish refugees, CARD, CND, town-planning, The Peckham Experiment, TVA, Free radio, Wilhelm Reich, Max

Stirner, NCCL, A. S. Neill but, somewhere along the line, all these ideas, persons, organisations, activities impinge upon the anarchist image. In the same way that a cross-hatching of straight lines can be drawn to produce a circle, anarchism is in the still centre of all those manifold straight lines. To limit the definition of anarchism to any one activity is to break that circle.

This is not a plea for tolerance. Tolerance is a much misused word. In many cases it merely means indifference or even a contempt for powerlessness, and there are things that no one should tolerate, for example, racial hatred and cruelty. 'Tolerance' has another and more precise meaning in the engineering sense, referring to the amount of stress a construction will take. In this sense an anarchist group should be able to tolerate a great deal of divergence and its very flexibility should assist it to take strains which would wreck a more rigid

structure.

One of the other cliches about tolerance is that 'to understand all is to forgive all'. One may understand why Comrade X is so obsessed with syndicalism and the class-struggle, or why Comrade Y is so 'sent' with folk-music and Wilhelm Reich, but forgiving is not in our department. As Spinoza said (or words to that effect), 'You can understand a horse being a horse, but nevertheless he still remains a horse'. So Comrade X is a dead-loss as far as sexual psychology is concerned and Comrade Y is always absent from the picket line.

Surely what must be done, and what must be done if a free society is to be free, that Comrades X and Y must go their own sweet ways—as they will do anyhow—and express their anarchism in the way that suits them best.

There is a unity in the essentials of anarchism, let us have diversity in the non-essentials. JACK ROBINSON.

## LETTERS

### HALLELUJAH!

Dear Editors, I HAVE no strong feelings on the subject of 'bums', so I suppose J.C. of Bristol (*FREEDOM*, 16.10.65) will classify me as one of those who, while not shaming him in company, will 'tolerate' bums nevertheless. To me, however, anarchism can neither be tolerance nor intolerance—both ate the reverse sides of the coin, as Emerson put it. (Tolerance is liberalism, not anarchism.) You are not 'tolerant' because you 'allow' or 'see no objection to allowing' Scotsmen to live in Great Britain!—if you assume that you are tolerant because you allow or see no objection to allowing immigrants, for instance, this implies that you regard yourself as having rights which they have not; in other words, you equally accept the nation-state with the 'intolerant'. In the case of the Scotsmen, you accept their rights, as you must; in the case of the immigrant, the possession of rights implicit in the nation-state enables you to be (as you see it) easy with your power or not, as you think fit. Anarchism aims to abolish power, not go easy with it.

As I do not see I have any power over 'bums', I have no reason for toleration or intolerance. I cannot agree, however, that they make no contribution to the State. The myth that the State supports anybody is one that anarchists at least must expose. Most workers are like J.C., I admit, in resenting the layabouts that they see at the corner, while not one-tenth as indignant at those who flash past

in a Jag. My resentments are solely against the upper-class 'bums'. According to bourgeois economics, taxation enables the rich to support the poor!—but this is nonsense. The contributions levied by the State are to reduce your consumption, and if J.C. gets less in his pay packet, his production of—say—bicycles has not been miraculously turned into heroin for the beats on the NAB! And even the bourgeois economist would grant that their consumption of beer and cigarettes would yield a taxable return at least equivalent to their subsistence from the NAB; more, their popularisation of drugs may yet yield a highly profitable capitalist industry which, once the moralising is got out of the way, the State will be as happy to tax as cigarettes!

This is in no way a defence of the 'beats' (they might regard it as an attack). I understand J.C.'s meaning. Whilst as an economic liability, the case against them is overstated, they can be a liability on an anarchist movement simply because it is a minority and if they turned up at our meetings, we would be classified with them. My experience of the anarchist movement is pretty considerable but I have not met personally more than half-a-dozen beats in all. I think J.C. confuses anarchism with a wider field, anti-nuclearism. He is wrong in assuming that the grass is greener the other side of the fence: alas, not only the 'British contingent' of the so-named 'anarchist international' faces this problem in one form or another. His very use of the American word 'bum' acknowledges that the IWW, a workers' organisation

by definition, faced this problem—'hallo-lujah!' Even his Spanish reference reveals an illusion—the problem also existed there (see novels by Baroja, Ibañez and Sender), but the main point is, of course, that where you have mass unemployment few people willingly become layabouts. This was the British experience, too. In the thirties, most of us 'working anarchists' were unemployed (the first to go) but we rarely encountered many who preferred it that way, and did not see that we were 'living on the state without bearing our share of the burden'; we felt we had too much a share of the burden, and fought against it. The 'beats' may not be opting out of the capitalist system, as J.C. says, but at least out of the Welfare State, or at any rate, giving its tail a twist. The socialites do not even do that.

I hope J.C. doesn't think I regard him as entirely wrong—in saying he will 'break away from the anarchist scene', he probably is right since if his experience is what he says he is on the wrong scene. Whatever group happens to be around at such-and-such a time or place is not the only conceivable one or of semi-apostolic descent, and no organisation can be infallible and libertarian at the same time; the cut-and-come-again policy is one I can personally recommend. London A.M.

### Love Thy Capitalist!

Jafsie (some nut) writing in *FREEDOM* says we shouldn't hate the capitalists. I've heard everything now. London, E.C.1 A. McCARTHY.

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# Transport House to the Rescue!

**B**RISTOL DOCKERS are still standing firm despite the efforts of the T & GWU National Docks Officer, Tim O'Leary, to get them back. He addressed a mass meeting of dockers and informed them that if they would go back to work he would start negotiations on a new agreement for handling packaged timber. Regarding the original issue which started the dispute (rate for unloading packaged timber on the Gloucester City), Tim O'Leary said the rate had already been agreed for that job, and negotiations could not be resumed. The dockers' reply to this was to walk out of the meeting.

As was stated on the back page of last week's **Freedom**, there is a vast difference in negotiating the rate for the job in an office, by people not

doing the actual job, and negotiating with people who do the actual job.

Obviously the union negotiations vastly underrated the job, plus the fact that the management kidded them that their members could earn £20 a week out of the job. According to reports, available earnings were as much as £4 and £5 less than the mythical £20.

Bristol docks officials are due to report the situation to top T & GWU officials on Monday (18.10.65). The dispute has been on for 17 days now, that in itself proves that the agreement negotiated must have been a right 'stitch up'. The rank and file have and must keep the initiative, maybe union officials will consult the men on the job in future before pricing a job.

## THE YORKSHIRE SMELL

**W**ILLIAM DENBY and Sons were praised for their strike breaking activities when they reported to their shareholders. Denby & Sons were involved in an industrial dispute for 17 months and won the day.

The Chairman, Mr. Wright, and the directors were thanked for the stand they took. One shareholder who had his country (pocket) at heart declared, 'If more industry did what Mr. Wright and his colleagues have done I think Britain could get on its feet'. Another shareholder stated he thought the time had come to make strikes illegal.

Since the dispute the company has employed non-union labour. It also claims to have a waiting list of prospective employees.

The dispute at Denby & Sons stank to high heaven as the strikers know to their cost and the trade union movement knows to its shame.

## UNEMPLOYMENT WANTED

**S**IR ERIC MENSFORTH, Chairman of Westland Aircraft and of Firth Brown Tools, has stated that some unemployment was needed to secure the aims of the five-year-plan.

Sir Eric wants the economic whip, to fetch the workers into line. He is quoted as saying, 'An incomes policy able to withstand bullying will have to be sincerely sought, but, at the same time we are not in Utopia and with human nature what it often is there will have to be the sanction of unemployment—I hope small but enough to make a good job something to strive for'.

At least Mensforth states whilst others think it, but nevertheless, the hole in his head must be fairly large to allow so much wind to blow through.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

## FIRST TRICK TO GEORGE BROWN

**G**EORGE BROWN has kidded the three railwaymen's unions to accept the British Rail package deal. Earlier this month the unions turned the offer down flat and decided to put the whole issue before the Railway Staff National Tribunal. The unions were hoping that on the basis of the Guillebrand procedure, they would get a bigger increase than offered and an earlier implementation of the 40-hour week. The Guillebrand procedure linked railway pay on the basis of 12 other industries. On the comparison railwaymen are about 10% behind other workers.

Brown's proposal is for the unions to argue their case for the better offer

before the Prices and Incomes Board. Strange as it may seem the British Rail offer is in line with the Government 3½% wage freeze.

Brown has stepped in where angels have never dared to tread, intervening in wage bargaining procedure before the settlement.

For a major union to allow government intervention is suicidal, not only for them but for everyone else. When Brown tried to interfere with the print unions, their reply was 'mind your own business' and this should be the policy of every union, unless they want the Government to run the union.

## Left in, Right in, Both Out

**I**NDONESIA the land of plenty in terms of the materialistic world, gold, silver, oil, coal, rubber and quinine. Once a rice surplus area now imports 150,000 tons of rice a year thanks to power invested in leaders, no wonder the Dutch were reluctant to leave till 1945.

Indonesia is reported to have the largest Communist Party in the world not in power. It claims to have between

2,500,000 and 3,000,000 members. Ideologically they support the Russians because Russia supplies the arms.

Power is spelt with a capital 'P' in Indonesia and to date that Power is invested in President Sukarno. After crushing a Communist take-over bid in 1948 Sukarno has never really looked back until now.

At the tail end of September Indonesia hit the headlines 'Sukarno had come a cropper'. Lt. Colonel Utang, commander of Sukarno's bodyguard, had taken over with a 45 member revolutionary council. Sukarno was in protective custody. The suggested reason for the coup was to prevent an attempted coup by right wing Generals allegedly supported by CIA. A day or so later the news came out that the left-wing plot had been crushed and forces loyal to Sukarno had regained control. Confusion followed confusion and at the end of it all it appears that Sukarno has still come out on top but maybe only just, six violently anti-communist army leaders were killed in the attempted coup.

At the moment Sukarno keeps the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and the Indonesian army under General Nasution, from tearing at each other's throats, because along side the PKI the army is a major political force. How long Sukarno can play the 'third man in the ring' is anyone's guess, this could depend on outside influences. Anti-communist agitation is being whipped up by Moslem students chanting pro-American slogans. They seek revenge for the killing of the six army leaders.

The President is the big 'I am', he wants to be the leader of the Afro-Asian world whereas in fact he has less influence outside Indonesia than Noddy.

Indonesia is another classic example of a stamping ground for power politics. The PKI did not openly support the attempted left wing (?) coup. Sukarno is at the moment sorting out some of the PKI leadership, at the same time as Russia is sending Sukarno their best wishes.

The power seekers are having a ball but what about the ordinary people, who suffer through the whims and fancies of power seeking politicians. They, as usual, have no say, no chance, and yet we are still proud of this wonderful world we live in.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

## PRESS FUND - A GOOD WEEK!

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## Factories for Peace

Dear Sir,  
On Saturday, November 13, in Birmingham, we will be holding a Factories for Peace and Peace Action Centres, etc., day school, the discussions being led by Tom McAlpine and other speakers. The purpose of the school will be to bring together as many people as possible who are interested in the formation of more of these projects throughout the country.

We feel that there must be many people in the peace movement who have their own ideas for co-operative peace projects, that are practicable, and who would wish to meet like-minded persons with whom they could discuss, and perhaps afterwards participate in, the project that most appeals to them. We also

# Freedom For Workers' Control

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## Turriff's—Now the Next Steps

**T**HE TURRIFF DISPUTE had ended in triumph not only for those who were locked out, but also for all those workers who gave their support, both morally and financially. It is estimated that over £1,000 was raised for those who were locked out.

Last Thursday morning the men formed up for a victorious march back to work. Part of the agreement between the leaders of the National Federation of Building Trade Operatives and Turriffs is that all labour will either be union members or 'willing to join'. Speaking about the return to work, the Federation Steward, John Dawson, said, 'We are going back together determined that no labour-only sub-contractor will break our determination to make this the best job in London'.

The terms of the settlement mean that the Turriff management have really had to climb down and 'eat humble pie'. A couple of weeks ago they were saying that they would only take back men who signed a document stating that they would not take part in any unofficial dispute under penalty of instant dismissal.

This was one dispute which just had to be won. I think those involved and those who gave their support were quick to realise this and it made them all the more determined to win. If it had been lost, it would have been a terrible setback to trade union organisation not only on the Barbican development, but throughout the building industry. But there were other implications in this dispute apart from union organisation on the site. The basic right to strike was involved. It is very important for all employees to remember that under the Contracts of Employment Act this right is threatened. Having signed this contract, when starting with a firm, any stoppages which occur without the due period of notice become a break in employment. This means the employers can sack those who withdraw their labour. This clever bit of legislation was described in **FREEDOM**, Vol. 23, No. 40, as the 'thin end of the wedge', for this is what it is and could be driven in even further in the near future if the Labour Government has its way.

The locked-out men at Turriffs challenged the management over this and only by their determination and the support of other workers they prevented the firm getting away with it. One wonders how many other managements would try this, but are prevented by the strength of the organisation at rank and file level. The Contracts of Employment Act is designed to hamper workers in their struggle for job organisation and the benefits which go with this.

## THE LABOUR-ONLY SUB-CONTRACTOR

Employers can also break trade union organisation on the job by using labour-only sub-contractors. These are being used a great deal now by the main contractors in the building industry. They are, I understand, also being introduced into exhibition work and even engineering trades. They are not parties to any

hope that as a result of these meetings a number of working groups will be set up in various parts of the country, and therefore we would like to hear from any of your readers who have suggestions for projects, in order that we may have the opportunity to discuss as many as are possible. We also would like to hear from people who, though not having any specific ideas of their own, would like to participate in one of the many ventures that are possible.

Yours truly, on behalf of the Coventry Working Group,  
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Wyken, Coventry ERIC HARRISON.

trade union agreements and one of them advertised: 'Unlimited labour available. Men sent anywhere. Our labour—You supervise. Seven day working at no extra cost'. From this, one can see what a boon this is to the main contractors.

Why do men work for this type of firm? Often it is for the extra money they think they are going to get, and if they do at what cost is it? They might get their cards stamped either by the sub-contractor or by the main contractor as is laid down in an agreement made some 18 months ago by the unions and the employers. They might be able to get out of paying tax under PAYE scheme and there might be extra bonus payments, but they are expected to work all hours of the day and night without any of the extra payments under TU agreements.

These sub-contractors vary in size, sometimes employing only a small gang, other times it might be in the region of 800 men. If there are a number of these firms on a job, doing the same work as the men employed by the main contractor, it becomes a nightmare for the stewards trying to organise them into the unions. Often the gangs are switched and sometimes none of the new gang belong to a union. Gangs can be brought in just to do week-end or night work and even used to break a ban on overtime operated by trade unionists.

The use of sub-contractors on jobs is increasing. Of course, many of them are firms in their own right, specialising in certain trades such as electrical work or heating, but more often they are doing the same work as the men employed by the main contractor. In fact the big concerns are becoming mere administrators who sub-let their contracts out.

A spokesman of the NFBTO has said on this problem, 'Everything we know about labour-only sub-contractors proves the need for a public enquiry by the Government'. But what have the unions done to make known the full meaning of the threat these sub-contractors are to job organisation? Isn't it about time a list of these firms was drawn up and published in the union journals? If trade organisation was stronger men would not be so easily snared into working for these sub-contractors. Information and education on this subject has not been forthcoming, so if any building worker can send us the names and information about labour-only sub-contractors, we shall be pleased to print it.

## 'WITCH-HUNT' OF STEWARDS

As I warned last week, the Federation is on a 'witch-hunt' of stewards. The Federation steward on the Laings Barbican job is in trouble because of the strike which arose when 64 men were sacked by the management after withdrawing their labour in sympathy with the Turriff workers. Other attempts to purge can be expected and no doubt stewards, both Federation and otherwise, will be receiving warnings from union executives. The NFBTO already has a list of members to whom it refuses to grant credentials.

How can these attacks be defeated? I think the Turriff dispute has shown a way. Through co-ordination of stewards and militants an organisation can be formed which has the support of the rank and file. The London Joint Sites Committee is proof of this. However, the support needs to be strengthened and extended so that we can build a national rank and file movement in the industry, based on our own elected stewards. This can be used not only against the employers, but also to eventually by-pass the union bureaucrats and gain the demands we want instead of those poor compromises our executives now bring away from the negotiating table. These are the next steps we have to take.

P.T.

## Contact Column

**Meetings.** 13 Prince of Wales Terrace, Kensington, W.8, 7-9 p.m. Thursday, October 14: 'Sexual Freedom for the Young'. Thursday, October 21: 'Community Living in London'. Friday, October 29: 'Forming "intentional" families'.

**Harlow Demo.** For Peace and Disarmament. YCND Assemble 10.30 a.m. Epping Church. 11 a.m. March to Harlow. Re-assemble 2 p.m. Town Hall Square for Public Meeting. Date: Saturday, October 23.

**FML Spanish Lessons** commence Wednesday, October 13 at 6.30 p.m. till 8 p.m. at 159 Ledbury Road, W.11 read).

## New Poster

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3½d. each plus postage. Orders to Bill Sticker, c/o 17a Maxwell Road, London, S.W.6.

**Sex, Anybody?** The Sexual Emancipation Movement promotes personal freedom and rational attitudes to sex, opposes State and other interference. 2/6 (blank p.o.) for details. Box 15.

**Vietnam Posters.** 'Who Loses in Vietnam—Always the People'. 4d. each. 30/- per 100. Orders to Freedom Press.

**Japanese Pen-Friend.** Ex-teacher. Dismissed for political ideas would welcome English correspondent on peace and anti-bomb ideas. Masaki O. Fukuda, Isar Bara, Nakamura-Shi, Kochi-Ken, Japan.

**New Zealand Federation of Anarchists.** First Annual Congress, December 26 to January 6. Enquiries Box 5455, Auckland CI, NZ.

If you wish to make contact let us know.