

Built-in Luddism

SINCE THE GREAT Power Failure in New York (FREEDOM, 20.11.65), there have been other and more disastrous examples of the vulnerability of the modern megalopolis, although the New York Transport Strike could probably be ranked under one of the insurance company's ingenious classifications 'An Act of God, or the King's enemies'.

Last week in Birmingham we had an example of the built-in Luddism which seems to be part of modern technology. There have been stories too, of sections of the railway developing faults leading to derailments. The automatic mechanism for tracking faults in the permanent way seems, in the latter case, to have failed.

The Birmingham gas failure which occurred at the peak (or depths) of a cold spell threw an incalculable number of factories out of action. 'Incalculable' is the right word for it seemed to depend on which newspaper one read as to what was the precise number. In any case Her Majesty's Opposition believe that they have here a stick, or a piece of gas-piping, to beat the government, and will raise the matter in the House. (Why sheer bad luck or technical incompetence, whichever name you choose to call it, should be determinable by vote is another matter.)

To revert to an organ which has been referred to before in these columns, The *Financial Times* leader (22.1.66) 'Break-downs', discussed these failures and said: 'The truth is that a society which prides itself on technological change has to live with the risk of being technologically let down. As the pace of change accelerates and there is more machinery to fail, the risks of breakdown somewhere must increase. What is more significant is that the consequences of failure multiply as well, so that a small fault has far-reaching effects.'

There are those of us in the anarchist movement who have an ill-concealed admiration for those dispossessed weavers in the early days of the English Industrial Revolution, who went about breaking frames and pulling boiler-plugs, in order to halt the technology which was menacing their livelihood. They, it must be assumed, failed and their name, 'The Luddites', has gone down into history as an obscure footnote or a convenient epithet. Recent happenings however seem to have justified them. Indeed, it seems that modern technology provides a built-in do-it-yourself Luddite with every machine.

It was a boast of the Industrial Revolution that it had made man a master of his environment, but the complexity and subsequent delicacy of machinery has made man a prey to the slightest variation in temperature or drift of a snowflake. The *Financial Times* points out, 'It is not only complexity but also mobility that makes us so vulnerable. Cold weather or rail strikes can be paralyzing because life depends so much on rapid transport'.

'The problem', says the *Financial Times* later, 'is that once the machines take over, the older methods of doing things are often discarded entirely so that we cannot fall back on them when need arises'.

The *FT* goes on to mention the failure of mass-production methods when a strike interferes with the 'flow' system of production. The *FT*, with its acute awareness of financial limitations, says that it needs infinite resources to cater for infinite possibilities. The rarities of snow-storms and the cost of snow-ploughs, plus the parsimoniousness of municipalities, makes it improbable that every British town should have a snow-plough handy when a blizzard hits. That

commercial firms should have duplicate machines is a commercial impossibility and would negate the profit motive—which is the whole motive of the industrial revolution—not to save work, as some would have us think. The Electricity Boards have only catered for crisis with 17% installations over capacity; the margin for error is slight and the Gas Board's margin, especially in the Midlands area, seems even slighter.

The *FT* recounts, with satisfaction, the experience of the Coal Board that frequent regular servicing of apparatus was of no avail in averting breakdowns, for it was found that breakdowns occurred with the same frequency, regardless of whether there was servicing or not. So, on economic grounds, servicing was discarded, the consequent savings going towards the cost of repairs. One hopes that the safety of the miner was not at risk in this process and that the findings were not a mere rationalization of economics.

However, in all this one hears the ghost of Ned Lud chuckling in the wings, or is it simply the rustling of the cash nexus? JACK ROBINSON.

REPORT FROM READING GROUP Sunday, January 16

WE WRITE to the local press informing them of our intention to give out 'Do-it-yourself Schooling' leaflets to pupils of Stoneham Comprehensive the following afternoon, giving at the same time a brief account of our views on education.

Monday, January 17

At 4 p.m. we duly give out the leaflets. Headmaster, on his way home, complains to copper who arrives at about 4.10 p.m. Copper: You're causing an obstruction. We move inside the school gates.

Copper: You're still causing an obstruction.

Huw Price: Not on private property we're not.

Copper: You're trespassing then.

Jim Ross: That's a civil offence, and damage has to be done anyway.

Copper: They'll find some, don't you worry, they'll find some.

No arrests — since we had finished giving out the leaflet we went away and rang up press to tell them what had happened and that we intended to go to Kendrick School for Girls the next day.

Tuesday, January 18

Evening Post announces our intention to go to Kendrick School. London *Evening News* quotes headmistress as

THE PRIDE OF the Commonwealth has taken a tumble. Nigeria was the show piece of democracy, an example to aspiring independent African States. Just below the surface was the all familiar picture we know so well, inequality, political chicanery, and corruption.

In the Northern Nigerian elections of November, 1956, the Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC) was returned with an increased majority, having first arrested supporters of the main opposition party. It was reported they were arrested on the orders of the District Head who was himself a candidate in the elections. Evidently there was a rule disqualifying from elections persons serving terms of imprisonment. That's one way of cutting down the opposition. In 1959 the NPC failed to get a majority in the Federal Assembly, so like all politicians, ways and means had to be found. An alliance was sought and achieved with another mob, the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC). This coalition ruled for about five years then the divorce came, just before the Federal elections in 1964 after independence in 1960. The NPC could not hope to win the Federal election alone so the 1956 tactics were used again, arrest and murder of the opposition. Having weakened the opposition, the NPC then proceeded to merge with the Nigerian Nation Democratic Party (NNDP), which was, in fact, a right-wing breakaway from the Action Group of the Western Region. NPC was again in business as the majority party and continued

with its dictatorship.

This political fun and games were not peculiar to the NPC of the Northern Region, the Western Region politicians played the same game, Chief Samuel Laloke Akintola fiddled the elections. He was sacked by the Governor from the Premiership on the grounds he no longer commanded majority support in Parliament. After a lot of toing and froing Akintola founded a new party and got back as Premier as the head of the United Peoples' Party. You can't teach these boys a thing about political fiddling.

In 1957 ten Federal Ministers of Nigeria voted to build ten ministerial houses costing £30,000 each, while in Lagos maternity hospitals, women were commonly placed two in a bed and must normally leave within 12 hours of delivery.

The Prime Minister of the Federation receives £5,000, ten departmental Ministers, £3,000. The three regional Premiers receive £4,000 each. Politics in Nigeria is a paying game, provided you are on the right side. If you are not, it can be a very brief career.

Where do the Nigerian workers fit in this macabre fiddle? They don't! In 1964, 800,000 came out in a general strike against government delay in publishing a commission's report for increased wages, but were paid for the duration of the strike which lasted 13 days.

Obviously the set up in Nigeria stinks and one can be fairly sure that the military coup will not put matters right. Heads have rolled, but the body politic has many more.

The British Press have worked overtime with the whitewash brush in their endeavour to maintain the prestige of the deposed Nigerian leaders.

This blow up in Nigeria has Britain worried, there are vast British investments in the newly exploited Nigerian oil fields, which are growing into some of the most productive in the world. Providing the oil is safe, who cares who rules. Politicians and chiefs are always for sale, the Nigerian people pay the price and the whole sordid merry-go-round continues to grind on.

Every excuse under the sun is being made as a reason for the breakdown. To quote the *Financial Times* editorial (17.1.66), 'It is still soon enough after Nigeria's independence to say that here is yet another case of a decolonisation that has been mismanaged by Britain. Mr. Ian Smith and his supporters will have a point if they ask whether the present British Government is any better qualified to set up a stable African regime in Rhodesia, than their predecessors were in Nigeria'.

The real point is, leaders and governments, black or white, will always betray the people, African leaders who may have suffered under colonial rule are no exception. It's purely a matter of time and opportunity. The difference between African or European governments is simply a question of method and degree, the net result for Joe Soap is the same, whether in Africa, Russia, America, China or Britain.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

READING, WRITING & POLICEMEN

knowing her 'young ladies' too well to be worried. This, however, does not stop her calling the law shop.

We arrive at Kendrick at 3.45 p.m.; half a dozen pressmen there, pregnant with cameras.

PC Walter Chandler arrives at 4 p.m. After warnings about obstruction he arrests Huw, Jim and me.

While waiting to be charged at the nick an inspector holds forth about this 'being a free country (!!!) so that the citizen's right to pass freely must not be hindered'. For all I know he believed that, too.

Wednesday, January 19

Court appearance. JP has gammy hand, reminiscent of Dr. No. We make the case last an hour. We, and our defence witness all affirm—JPs give each other knowing looks—and we prove ourselves not guilty of obstruction, whereupon the JPs find the case to be proved and fine us £2 each. National press represented.

In an interview with the *Evening Post* afterwards we say we will not be intimidated and intend to continue the cam-

paign—this is duly published in the first edition with a report on the case.

Later we leaflet the Abbey School for Girls, 150 yards from Kendrick, without any prior disclosures or press.

Everything goes fine. No coppers who 'chance by' and no arrests.

We tell the *Evening Post*.

Thursday, January 20

Evening Post report starts, 'Five hours after being fined £2 for obstruction Jim Ross was back at leafletting yesterday afternoon...'

End of story so far.

Comments

Press coverage in *Evening Post* not at all bad—lead story on Tuesday, front page again on Wednesday (with photos) and page two on Thursday.

Finger wagging has not yet started. Some signs of leaflet being taken seriously. We have sent letters to the schools we have leafletted asking, quite amicably, if we could come and join in a discussion on the topics raised by the leaflet. No replies yet. Headmistress of Kendrick said, 'I hope one of the teachers organises a discussion', to which

our reply, published in the *Post*, was 'Fine, only we hope the girls organise it'.

We intend to keep up this extension of the Ilford campaign and would ask all other groups to consider doing the same—after all this was possibly the only thing of interest that came out of last year's conference.

In the meantime we need to contact old and contemporary Etonians* — we consider Windsor to be in our 'parish'. We want suggestions as to the content of a specific public schools' leaflet and details of how exactly to distribute them—they don't come out at 4 p.m. like at most schools.

MIKE BLOOM.

P.S. There is a possibility that at next Tuesday's Students' Union meeting (25th) a motion will be put deploring police action in suppressing the communication of ideas by charging three men, including a member of the Union with obstruction. Even if nothing comes of this, the Press coverage has made it clear why we pulled in.

*The address is: St. Patrick's Hall, Northcourt Avenue, Reading, Berks.

Teenagers are more Sexy

LAST JULY the government-sponsored Central Council for Health Education published a report on teenage sexuality. It was costly (42s.) and was the result of interviews with nearly 2,000 boys and girls from 15 to 19 years old and had taken three years to materialise.

We were not impressed. Some of the 'findings' were so obvious that in presenting them as 'findings' the investigators gave themselves away as being quite out of touch with what they were supposed to be investigating, and made them sound quite fatuous. We went on to say, among other things: 'We cannot help wondering, of course, about the veracity with which the Council's questions were answered by the teenagers interview.' (*Is Teenage Sex a Problem?*) —FREEDOM, 31.7.65.)

We were taken to task in our correspondence columns the very next week, for our sour attitude to a valuable piece of work by social scientists, by a comrade who is studying social science at a university. We accepted his criticism as gracefully as we could and waited. Now our patience has been rewarded.

In the *Sun* for January 10, 1966, there is a small piece on page 1 headed: 'TEENAGE SEX SURVEY WRONG'. It went on to tell us:

Sex experience among teenagers was probably 50 per cent. higher than the figures given in a massive survey report, it was claimed last night.

Mr. Peter Massie, one of three experts who produced the controversial Schofield Report on young people's sex behaviour, said that conclusions were reached too hurriedly.

The report was published in July after a three-year survey. Mr. Massie said: 'I now know we should have taken far more time over the final analysis and published results. Because of the timing over publication we rushed it at the end.'

'It is probable we underestimated by 50 per cent. the amount of sexual experience among young people.'

The Nuffield Foundation spent £32,000 on the survey.

Mr. Massie, who had earlier addressed the Birmingham conference of the University Humanist Federation, said: 'We were wrong to accept some interviewers' figures.'

'Boys boast and girls cover up. Some interviewers got far higher figures among girls than we eventually used.'

'I am sure the better interviewers, who could get girls talking, got the correct, higher figures, while those whose figures we accepted were not so good at getting the facts.'

'Undoubtedly our figures were an underestimate. It is far more likely that up to 20 per cent. of girls have sex experience.'

Mr. Massie said there was no question of the report being amended, but said there will probably be a follow-up survey next year.

He added: 'The next survey will be much more vigorous. It will follow our

Continued on page 4

PN in Trouble

THIS WEEK'S *Peace News*, to be published on Friday, carries an unprecedented front-page appeal for funds. Falling income from subsidiary supporting enterprises has put the paper in financial difficulties, and its board of directors and staff are appealing for £10,000 by the end of March, to allow time for development plans to go ahead.

The appeal states: 'The situation is now so acute that the continued existence of *Peace News* is in question'.

Peace News is the only weekly paper published in Britain serving the international peace movement. Founded in 1936, it is independent of any organisation. It seeks to further the ideas and practice of nonviolent action as a way of working out political and international disputes and effecting social change, and it carries a wide range of news, comment and feature articles.

'In a sense the future is no longer in our hands,' says the appeal. 'It is in the hands of those who share our ideas and ambitions, and those who would feel a sense of loss if one more independent paper were to disappear.'

books?

We can supply any book in print

NEW BOOKS

- Snapshots and Towards a New Novel A. Robes-Grillet 30/-
- Last Exit to Brooklyn H. Selby 30/-
- About the House W. H. Auden 15/-
- The Comedians Graham Greene 21/-
- But Will it Sell? M. Mannes 25/-
- A Patriot for Me John Osborne 13/6

REPRINTS AND CHEAP EDITIONS

- Sociology and Philosophy L. T. Hobhouse 45/-
- The Age of Automation Sir L. Bagrit 5/6
- Must the Bomb Spread? Leonard Beaton 4/-
- Here to Stay John Hersey 6/-
- Peer Gynt: a Dramatic Poem Henrik Ibsen 5/-
- Brendan Behan's Island: an Irish Sketch-Book David Karp 4/-
- Paths of Glory Humphrey Cobb 3/6

SECONDHAND

- Middletown in Transition, Robert S. and Helen Merrell Lynd 10/-; The Proper Study of Mankind, Stuart Chase 7/6; Homosexuality, Clifford Allen 6/-; China and the Nations (1927), Wong Ching-Wai 7/6; Economics of Road Transport (1925), K. G. Fenelon 8/6; A History of Anglo-Soviet Relations (1942), W. P. and Zelda K. Coates 6/-; Engels on Capital, 3/6; The Soviet Spy System, John Baker White 4/6; The General Strike, Julian Symonds 6/-; Bolshevism (1919), John Spargo 7/6; Materialism Re-stated, Chapman Cohen 3/6; The Cold War and the Income Tax: a Protest, Edmund Wilson 6/-; Gandhi and the Indian Problem (1932), Lt. Col. E. G. Hart 3/-; I Was a German, Ernest Toller 6/6; Man's Worldly Goods, Leo Huberman 4/-;

Freedom Bookshop

(Open 2 p.m.—5.30 p.m. daily; 10 a.m.—1 p.m. Thursdays; 10 a.m.—5 p.m. Saturdays.)

17a MAXWELL ROAD FULHAM SW6 Tel: REN 3738

FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

- SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM'
- Vol 2 1952: Postscript to Posterity
- Vol 3 1953: Colonialism on Trial
- Vol 4 1954: Living on a Volcano
- Vol 5 1955: The Immoral Moralists
- Vol 6 1956: Oil and Troubled Waters
- Vol 7 1957: Year One—Sputnik Era
- Vol 8 1958: Socialism in a Wheelchair
- Vol 9 1959: Print, Press & Public
- Vol 10 1960: The Tragedy of Africa
- Vol 11 1961: The People in the Street
- Vol 12 1962: Pilkington v. Beeching
- Vol 13 1963: Forces of Law and Order

Each volume: paper 7/6 cloth 10/6 The paper edition of the Selections is available to readers of FREEDOM at 5/6 post free.

VERNON RICHARDS

Malatesta: His Life and Ideas cloth 21/-; paper 10/6.

E. MALATESTA

Anarchy Paper 1/-

PROUDHON

What is Property? cloth 42/-

ALEXANDER BERKMAN

ABC of Anarchism paper 2/6

HERBERT READ

Poetry & Anarchism paper 2/6

ALEX COMFORT

Delinquency 6d.

PAUL ELTZBACHER

Anarchism (Seven Exponents of the Anarchist Philosophy) cloth 21/-

RUDOLF ROCKER

Nationalism and Culture cloth 21/-

CHARLES MARTIN

Towards a Free Society 2/6

JOHN HEWETSON

Ill-Health, Poverty and the State cloth 2/6 paper 1/-

VOLINE

Nineteen-Seventeen (The Russian Revolution Betrayed) cloth 12/6 The Unknown Revolution (Kronstadt 1921, Ukraine 1918-21) cloth 12/6

E. A. GUTKIND

The Expanding Environment (illustrated) boards 8/6

GEORGE BARRETT

The First Person (Selections) 2/6

THIS is the first time, to my knowledge, that I will be writing about something that I do not understand and that I enjoyed. Usually, if I'm baffled I'm cross. I tend to believe that the artist has not sorted himself out and is communicating his muddle to me.

I can't very well think that with *Serjeant Musgrave's Dance* for several reasons. Having seen *Left-Handed Liberty* (see *FREEDOM*, July 17, 24 & 31, 1965) I know John Arden to be an extraordinary playwright who creates more than merely plausible characters, but living people, in varying degrees of complexity. Through them he manufactures viable situations in plays which, for social commentary and theatrical excitement, are second to none in the English theatre at the present time. Further, he writes with great clarity on his intentions and attitude towards his work. He is neither haphazard, facile nor confused. And yet, the most lucid

Love without Understanding

part of the evening at the Royal Court for me was that time I spent in reading his very agreeable comments—on commitment, characterization, sex and censorship—in the programme notes.

However, I was reluctant to consider that I was either particularly dense or since I am so great an admirer of Mr. Arden's work—perverse. The reviews of *Musgrave* having been double-think and not in the least helpful, I discussed the play with the first three people I found who had seen it; among these was the man who accompanied me to the theatre and who has been an actor and director for more than half a century. The reaction was the same: we all loved the

play but there were many imponderables. Bill Hicks was murdered in a colonial outpost on his way to the opera. Why? And by whom? And the bigger questions: why did this bring on, if it did, *Serjeant Musgrave's* religious mania and cause, if it did, him and three soldiers to desert? Why did he carry Hicks' skeleton in a box back to the village where Hicks had 'wronged' Annie? What did he want to do there? Machine gun the population in a kind of mad, Malthusian progression of violence? And what did he expect to accomplish? By showing the horror of war, a cessation of warfare? Then why, at the last moment did he want to recruit the men of the town?

Why was one of the three deserting soldiers killed by his comrade? Was it part of *Musgrave's* plan or was it an accident? Did the soldiers hold ideologies differing from *Musgrave's* and were they, except at intervals, swept along—as I was—by his compelling mania?

This is an anti-war play. Of that I am certain. Not a propaganda play, except by indirection, as becomes a work of art. And *Musgrave*, whatever problems remain to be cleared up, is an impressive play. One need only total

up the debacle at the end in what must surely be the most thrilling last scene on the London stage—the Skeleton flying on the mast alongside the Union Jack, Annie hauling it down, to cradle in her lap this skeleton of the man who gave her a malformed baby, also dead; maniacal *Musgrave*, his machine gun trained on the townsfolk gathered in the market square, and by extension, since it is literally pointing at us, the audience; and in the corner of the square, the triumvirate of bureaucrats—the mayor, the parson and the constable—quaking with terror, then overjoyed at their rescue by the Dragoons. So the *Dance of Death* continues with its inhuman, tragic waste!

And the bargeman, with his ideas? A more wily Gravedigger, his wisdom corrupted by cynicism. And the pub owner, a woman who has begun to feel love or compassion or at least interest in the *Serjeant*, all wasted. Or am I being sentimental? *Musgrave* is such a fascinating man, I found myself being swept along in his mad logic. Perhaps this is a feminine response?

Anyway, these are all people destroyed by a warfaring society. As in Shakespeare's tragedies (I use the comparison

Continued on page 3

ROUND THE GALLERIES

THE GAUGUIN and the Pont-Aven Group exhibition at the Tate Gallery can be accepted as a major artistic event of our time, for Paul Gauguin is the key figure of much or most of twentieth century commercial visual culture. The original intention was to show the influence of Gauguin and his group on the Nabis and to explore the Symbolist and Art Nouveau aspects of the work of the 1890's, but when the borrowed paintings began to flow in, Denys Sutton, the organiser, rightly decided to confine the exhibition to the works of Gauguin and those who came under his influence in Brittany.

In 1886 Gauguin decided, for domestic and financial reasons, to live at Pont-Aven and Le Pouldu and it was here that he came under the strong influence of Bernard.

Bernard's story is one of those small and heartsick tragedies of the human story, in that he became the springboard from which a greater figure leaped to glory and this man, who possessed so much talent and so little genius, becomes but a footnote for the art pedants. Bernard with Anquetin had worked out their theory of Cloisonnism or Synthetism and now they had to wait for the unknown master to breathe life into it.

Synonymous with the literary movement of Symbolism, begun in 1886 with Rimbaud's *Illuminations*, they also aimed at the complete rejection of naturalist representation and in 1889 Gauguin and his friends were happy to accept the title when they held an exhibition during that year.

A bus ride across the Town is the Bonnard exhibition at Burlington House, where one can view the emasculated remains of Gauguin's strength, for Bonnard, Vuillard and Maillol owed Bernard a debt in that, when they formed their Nabis (Hebrew for Prophet) Group, they took Gauguin's advice to paint in pure flat colours but, with their literary associations, they were still tied to what they considered important subject matter. Sutton in his catalogue introduction dismisses the subject of Gauguin's debt to Bernard and in the fullness of the years it is probably of little import as to who devised and put into action the theory and the practice of Cloisonnisme, for like so many contemporary art battles it is a war of spittle and ink.

The theory, for what it is worth, is that the painter encloses flat areas of paint within a thickly painted dark outline and it is said that the painter, whose work is not included in this current exhibition, Louis Anquetin, was inspired to attempt this form of painting by observing the stained glass door in his father's house. So let every Bond Street hunkster go down on his knees before entering his bank in homage for the

unknown craftsman who designed that door.

Emile Bernard was an indifferent painter yet he was truly a man of his time. Completely unselfish, he was among the first to proclaim the work of Cézanne and Redon and, with a complete indifference to his own advancement, he proclaimed the work of an unknown painter, Van Gogh. A poet, a writer, an editor and a sculptor, he carried the banner for greater artists than himself, yet they proved, in the field of human relationships, to be unworthy of his efforts. And such a man was Paul Gauguin.

Born in Paris in 1848, this tall, swarthy, handsome man dominated or attempted to dominate each group or each individual that he came into contact with. Cry genius and let the romantics attempt to excuse the broken lives and the bullied associates, for Gauguin in his fisherman's jersey and slanted beret could not only inspire physical fear but did not hesitate to use his tongue as a poisoned dart. Sutton mentions Gauguin's *pas de femmes* period and of how he referred to a plump mistress of a plump painter as his 'slop bucket' and one feels that one prefers the paintings to the man, but the piss of the bitch-goddess of success sanctifies all human errors. Yet despite Gauguin's human imperfections one must accept that here is a man whose paintings are a major influence around the lives of all of us.

When the painting world had, as it always will, finally ground to a halt and lay in the long, drawn-out death of ill-digested and revomited styles, Bernard and Gauguin and their small group went back, as we all must do (be it politics or culture), to first principles. They swept the canvas clean of the accepted clutter left by dead hands and began again as in the beginning, with hard brutal outlines and flat raw colours.

Their fault, and it is a major fault, was in the thinness of their paint and their penny-pinching brush strokes that gave their fragmented canvases the appearance of veneered coloured wood so that the weakest of their works looks like the pretty wooden patterns on the lids of cheap cigarette boxes while their rejection of naturalist representation dehumanised their canvases and left coloured patterns to cloak the queuing heart.

It is Gauguin's glory as an artist that, despite himself and the acceptance of primeval first principles within his canvas, he transcended his limitations to hymn the glory and the wonder of man, for among the gaunt and rock strewn coast of Pont-Aven he learned to plant and harvest the seeds that flowered beneath the alien sun of Tahiti.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

AFB: Conference Proposal

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, propose that the next Annual Conference of the ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN be held in Birmingham on the weekend of Saturday, 2 and Sunday, 3 April, 1966.

We propose the following as a Provisional Agenda and request groups considering themselves in the Federation to produce alternative suggestions and circulate these prior to the conference. If any group disagrees with the above proposals we suggest it notify the Federation through the columns of *FREEDOM* or by circular. It is, however, high time the Conference was held, and unless suitable alternative suggestions appear, we shall go ahead.

We suggest that on this occasion groups send properly briefed delegates and not unbriefed individuals, and attempts be made to find areas of unanimity or working alternatives for action.

If it is agreed premises will be booked and a social arranged. Would those

seeking accommodation please notify names and numbers to either Peter Neville, Martin Bragg, or Eric Harrison as soon as convenient.

In order to facilitate the work of the Conference, it is tactfully suggested that those comrades who hold such strong ideological positions that they cannot work within the Federation, do not, on this occasion, attend the Conference, as armchair activists tend to waste conference time.

- Signed by:
- PETER NEVILLE, Retiring Correspondence Secretary, BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP.
- ERIC HARRISON, Correspondence Secretary, COVENTRY ANARCHIST GROUP.
- ROBERT BLAKEMAN, Correspondence Secretary, STOKE LIBERTARIANS.

For addresses see Groups list.

PROVISIONAL AGENDA

Drafted by Peter Neville

PART A—ACTION

- (1) Easter March, 1966.
- (2) Action in the event of an Election, General and Local, with attitudes to groups such as Radical Alliance, Commonwealth, ILP, and so on.
- (3) Immigration Control Action and ways of combating racialism.
- (4) Peace Action Centres.
- (5) Factories For Peace.
- (6) Action for peace in Vietnam, and other troubled areas.
- (7) Support for International Action (e.g. USA, Spain, Portugal, etc.).
- (8) Action to be taken in the event of the re-introduction of Conscription and also in the event of mobilisation over issues such as Vietnam.
- (9) Community Action and Community Services—Statutory and Voluntary—including Housing, Urban Re-Development, Education, Provision of services and so on.
- (10) Industrial Action, feasibility of Workers' Control, attitude to day by day industrial action (i.e. Bread and Butter Issues).
- (11) Anarchist Prisoners.
- (12) Technical Aids for Action (including printing and publishing methods).

PART B—ADMINISTRATION

- (1) Description and meaning of an Anarchist Federation.
- (2) Report of the Secretariat appointed by the Conference of 1965.
- (3) Report on the activities and sales of anarchist publications.
- (4) Relations with other groups (including ILP, Commonwealth, Solidarity, CND, Socialist Action, Committee of 100, CARD, CNT, Immigrant Representative Bodies, etc.).
- (5) Proposals for the next conference and whether or not periodic meetings (similar to the National Committee of 100 National Committee Meetings) should be held to discuss action, and

familiarise comrades with each other and other ideas.

- (6) Projects For Fund Raising.
- (7) Any other business.
- (8) Selection of a Secretariat (if considered necessary).

PART C—THEORY

- (1) Meaning and Purposes of Anarchism, including what comrades consider is non-anarchistic in word or act.
- (2) Methods of Action, including the use of correct and incorrect techniques and attitudes to non-violence. Consideration of use of violence as a tactical method in different contexts. Consideration of the use of sabotage or damage to property.
- (3) Responsibility of the individual and group, both to each other and to society at large. Consideration of what (see para. 1) is considered responsible action.
- (4) Anarchism and the family, including the bringing up of children, re-examination of ideas and ideals.
- (5) Anarchism and Censorship.
- (6) Anarchism and Drugs (addictive and non-addictive).
- (7) Political Education. Methods of education to be utilised to educate anarchists, both in what anarchism is, and what it is not. Suggested methods of group organisations. Types of action and legal technicalities. Suggestions as to how comrades may conduct research into social problems in order to provide better blueprints for Political and Community Action. Methods of Publicity. Methods of provocation of citizens to take collective action in times of need (there are many King Hills). Discussion on how to distribute learned skills and experience to other comrades to maximise their social and political efficiency. How to do this: evening classes, seminars, correspondence courses, book lists, week-end schools.

Anarchist Federation of Britain

Co-ordinating Secretary: Frank Hirschfeld, 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.

JAN. 30 'Jafsis'

In Defence of 'Mucky' Stories

FEB. 7 Discussion

'Shall We March with Peggy?'

FEB. 14 Albert Meltzer

'War and Peace'

FEB. 21 Cedric Fautrelotry

Permanent Protest

Public Meetings every Sunday Hyde Park, 3 p.m.

Correspondence to David Boughton, 10 Gilbert Place, W.C.1.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

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

Last Thursday in month at George Hayes', 174

McLeod Road, S.E.2.

3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald

and Irene Room's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss

Cottage, N.W.3.

4th Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at David

Bell's, 19 Aberdeen Road, Highbury, N.3.

LEWISHAM. Meeting at 61B Granville Park,

Lewisham, Thursday February 3, 7.30 p.m.

Subject: What Scope for Anarchism in SE

London?

WANDSWORTH LIBERTARIANS. Correspondence

to Tony Cadman, 116 Tilehurst Road,

Earlsfield, London, S.W.19.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

ABERDEEN GROUP. Meets at the Adelphi

2.30 p.m. every Sunday. Correspondence to

I. R. Mitchell, 137 Faulds Gate, Aberdeen.

ABLESEY GROUP (N. Herts., S. Beds.). Meetings

on first Friday of month. Correspondence to

Peter and Maureen Ford, 102 Stotford Road,

Arlesey, Beds.

BEXLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence

to Paul Wildish, 2 Cumbrian Avenue, Barnehurst,

Kent.

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Con-

venor: Peter Neville. Correspondence Secretary:

Martin Bragg, 25 Fitz Roy Avenue, Harborne,

Birmingham, 15 (BEARWOOD 1504) Sales: Gordon

Causier, 27 Upper Gungate, Tamworth, Staffs.

(Tamworth 4562). Regular Meetings.

BRISTOL FEDERATION. Enquiries to Ian

Vine, 3 Freeland place, Hotwells, Bristol, 8.

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Mike

Gowley, 36 Whitaker Road, Tremorfa, Cardiff.

COVENTRY ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence

Secretary: Eric Harrison, 9 Hermitage

Road, Wyken, Coventry.

DUNDEE GROUP contacts: (1) Bob and Una

Turnbull, 44 Peddie Street, Dundee. Meetings at

44 Peddie Street, Dundee, every Saturday at

3 p.m. (2) Sheila Whittaker, 64 Polepark Road,

Dundee.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP ONE. Correspondence

to Robert Lynn, 2b Saracen Head

Lane, Glasgow, C.1.

MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact:

Mike Mitchell, 1 Bakewell Road, Droyliden.

Meetings alternate Tuesdays, 8 p.m. at the Lord

Nelson, Chapel Street, 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.

NORTH-WEST ESSEX. Meetings on the first

Saturday of each month at 7.30 p.m. at Robert

Barthrop's, The Old Vicarage, Radwinter, near

Saffron Walden. January meeting on the 8th.

ORFINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt,

Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Green-

ways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian

and Maureen Richardson.

OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact H. G.

Mellor, Merton College, Oxford.

READING ANARCHIST GROUP. Meets first

Tuesday of month at Friends' Meeting House,

Church Street (off London Street), 8 p.m. Cor-

respondence: Phillip Lord, 160 Castle Hill,

Reading.

SOUTHALL ANARCHIST GROUP. Get in

touch with Roger Sandell, 58 Burns Avenue,

Southall, Middlesex.

STOKE LIBERTARIANS. Correspondence Secretary:

Bob Blakeman, 52 Weldon Avenue, Weston

Coyne, Stoke-on-Trent.

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). Meetings 7.30 p.m.

WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Contact Mr. Karl

Taylor, 98 Clova Road, Forest Gate, London,

E.7 (MAR 306) Meetings every Wednesday.

(Next meeting February 2.) Jack Robinson on

'Anarchism and Peace'.

PROPOSED GROUPS

GOLDERS GREEN AND HENDON. Anyone

interested get in touch with David McLelland,

54 Litchfield Way, London, N.W.11.

HARLOW. Proposed Group. Get in touch with

Keith Nathan, 12 Shawbridge, Harlow, Essex.

LEICESTER TOWN & GOWN. Get into touch

with P. Gibbon, c/o Students' Union, Leicester

FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE CONFERENCE

THE PROPOSED AGENDA for the next Conference of the Anarchist Federation was accompanied by a request for editorial mention, as 'FREEDOM is now considered to be the organ of the movement'. A staunch critic of FREEDOM admitted recently that without this journal there would be no anarchist movement in this country. He then went on to criticise us at length—but of this we shall say nothing, it is for him to state his own case.

Nevertheless these and many similar comments indicate that FREEDOM is no longer the chief target of abuse by comrades. Is this a tribute to the committee of editors that have taken over the job of editing 15 months ago from one hard-working comrade? Or is it merely that we miss the good sharp teeth of the last editor?

Conscious of this amicable relationship between the movement and FREEDOM we still think it our duty, whilst welcoming the new Conference, to warn comrades and the new organisers to learn from past mistakes.

At Bristol, where the Anarchist Federation was formed, the local group, that was very active at the time, made every effort for the success of the Conference. They catered for everything except human fallibility. By the time, on the second day, that a secretariat was formed and Aims and Principles were agreed on, delegates were packing their bags and important matters were left undiscussed. Last year's Conference was basically the same. An irate and tired

Conference on the Sunday reversed decisions made on the Saturday. So little notice was taken of the second Conference that the comrade entrusted with keeping the minutes has yet to send them out to the groups. This year's hosts who were supposed to be in charge of International Affairs have dropped 'Anarchist International' without informing the movement.

So let us not make impossible demands on the Conference this year. The agenda should be shortened, it seems to have been put together on the principle of 'what else should we discuss'. Are we to ape Parliament and make pronouncements and become experts on such fantastic topics as 'Anarchism and Drugs'. Why not Anarchism and Ice-skating?

Perhaps the best augury for the Conference is the co-operation of the three groups in Birmingham, Stoke and Coventry. They are at the moment working together and learning the advantages of mutual aid. Is it wise to risk upsetting this by inviting such an amorphous body as the National Federation for a splurge of hot air? Were they just to call a Midland District Anarchist Conference, open to delegates from all over the country as observers or advisers, the movement might grow more naturally.

Nevertheless, if comrades wish to hold a National Conference regardless of our alternative suggestion, they should go ahead and we will give them every support.

THE EDITORS.

'Eagles Try to Scare Keeper'—Daily Telegraph

MRS. INDIRA GANDHI (no relation to any other Gandhi of the same name) was elected Prime Minister of India. The French and Nigeria staged 'B movie' versions of the *coup d'état* and the *coup de grace*.

THE VIETNAMESE New Year began, and the Vietnamese truce ended.

MRS. MARY WHITEHOUSE protested about BBC 3 referring to a joke which she had protested about. Compilers of an American state law listing indictable obscenities were threatened with prosecution for obscenity. ATV announced that swear-words would be banned unless they were essential. Maurice Girodias, proprietor of the Olympia Press, has been sentenced to eleven months imprisonment for publishing two 'obscene' books (including one by Aubrey Beardsley). He plans to emigrate to New York. 'France', he said, 'used to be the land of liberty. It isn't now.'

A SUMMONS HAS been issued by the Lord Chamberlain against the English Stage Company, following the production of *Saved* to a club audience. The *Evening Standard* award for the 'Best Play of the Year' was shared between the English Stage Company's production for a club audience *A Patriot for Me* (a story of a homosexual spy) and *The Killing of Sister George* (a comedy about Lesbians). One of the late George Devine's last acts was to write a letter to the *Guardian* backing up a complaint by Edward Bond that our society turns out second-rate dramatists. Mr. Devine (a former director of the Royal Court Theatre) wrote, 'This will remain so as long as English society remains what it is—basically Philistine. It turns out from

its schools and universities year after year thousands of people who can neither see, listen, nor think. How then can they appreciate art, which requires the highest finesse of perception?'

MISS JENNIE LEE, Minister for the Arts, denied that the previous Conservative Government or the present Labour Government had ever said it would help financially towards the building of the South Bank Opera House. Mrs. George Brown, wife of the Minister of Economic Affairs, ceremonially laid part of the keel of an eight million pound guided missile destroyer at Fairfields, Glasgow. Mrs. Myra Franklin of Cardiff was presented with a free ticket to *The Sound of Music*, a film, after her 57th visit. Since then she has been almost three hundred times, she goes twice every week-day and once every Sunday.

THE FURNITURE INDUSTRY Research Association revealed that 'if you take a naked Englishwoman, aged between eighteen and forty, put her in a sitting position, and measure across her seat, the distance will be less than 16 1/2 inches. At least, it should be in ninety-five cases out of one hundred.'

NINE BUNNIES DISCHARGED from the Chicago Playboy Club on the grounds that they have 'lost their playful, cuddly, Bunny look' are seeking legal advice. MR. ANGUS MAUDE lost his post as shadow Colonial Secretary following his criticisms of Conservative policy in the *Spectator* and *Encounter*.

MR. REGINALD MAUDLING, the deputy leader of the Opposition, claimed that, on the issue of Vietnam, Mr. Richard Gott, Radical Alliance candidate in the

Hull North by-election, clearly represented the views of the majority of Labour MPs. The *Daily Worker* told its readers—on the Hull by-election (18.1.66)—'The Communist Party has advised its members and supporters to vote Labour—while using the campaign to urge the maximum unity of the Left to change many of the Government's policies'. Mr. Dick Wade, Communist Party member and general secretary of Hull Trades Council, said as a member of the Communist Party he would have preferred to see a Labour candidate with a more progressive policy, with stronger trade union connections, more in touch with union problems. 'But despite that, I support him in this election in the interests of unity and knowing full well that a Tory Government would act against the deepest and best interests of the working-people.' According to the *New Statesman* Mr. Toby Jessel, the Tory candidate in Hull is a director of a company with asbestos mining interests in South Africa. This, he says, does not imply any approval of apartheid. Indeed, says the *New Statesman* he disapproves, but thinks 'it is absolutely right to provide employment for Africans'. Mr. McNamara, his Labour opponent, is disquieted by the Vietnam war, the *New Statesman* quotes him as saying, 'There seems to be a lot of evidence that the Americans have not been as careful as they might have been.'

A NEW DRUG has been produced which appears to make it possible to do a month's work in a day. While such a drug could enable busy people to increase their output, reports *Nature*, it would also increase the rate of using up energy. Under the illusion that time had been slowed, they might well, in fact, die younger. JON QUIXOTE.

New Zealand Anarchists' First Conference

THE CONGRESS was held in Auckland for one week commencing December 27. About thirty delegates attended, the largest contingent being from Wellington where it was decided to hold next year's Congress. The benefits in terms of solidarity and a general exchange of views fully justified the Congress alone.

A number of highly instructive papers were delivered which provoked the liveliest discussion and interest. Ken Maddock, a lecturer from the University of Sydney, gave an anarchist critique on Sydney Libertarianism, a school of thought which emphasises sexual freedom, permanent protest and tends to be highly critical of traditional anarchism due to the libertarian emphasis on the pluralist nature of society. The presence of an old Sydney libertarian, Jim Baker, now professor of philosophy at the University of Waikato, gave added interest to this lecture. Maddock disposed of a traditional assumption that no society can exist without rulers by referring to the anthropological fact that both the Nuar of Central Africa and the Landiaks of Borneo were both anarchically organised. He proceeded to deal with libertarian criticisms of anarchism such as Molnar's attack on Bakunin's authoritarianism and the hostility to the moralism of, for example, the Spanish anarchic peasants by demonstrating that solidarist coercion or a primitive moralism need not be necessarily incompatible with anarchism but, rather, part of its growth.

From Canada, Bill Hall, currently lecturing at Wellington University, drew a graphic picture of social ills in modern society and suggested the formation of a series of small groups (about six persons in each) who would comprise a Parallel Society until sufficiently strong to replace the present one. A veteran

of the Spanish Civil War, Werner Droscher (now at Auckland University) graphically spoke of the example which the Spanish anarchists set the world. This was, undoubtedly, the most inspiring and stirring talk of the Congress. The camp organiser, Bill Dwyer, in discussing environment as a factor in interpreting anarchism, drew an analogy with Eliot's 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' to arrive at the conclusion that the full anarchist today is he who has steeped himself in the traditions of the great anarchist philosophers ranging from Stirner to Tolstoy and Kropotkin before finally establishing his own position.

The accounts above, somewhat sketchily given, are intended only to give an idea of what occurred at this Congress. Later at least some of the papers will be sent to magazines such as *Anarchy* in London and the *Red and Black* in Sydney for possible inclusion.

It was determined at this stage that little was to be gained from drawing up a magnificent programme or passing grandiloquent resolutions. Rather, it was felt that starting from this relatively successful first congress steady work would be directed to establishing a paper or journal, encouraging the free schools already in existence and helping the formation of new ones as opportunity arose, encouraging anarchist activity already being carried on in the trade unions and always being willing to participate in protest movements that might weaken the authority of the state or give an opportunity to expression of the anarchist viewpoint.

All the delegates, representative of workers, students and university staff, had benefited from the Congress and could join with Durutti in proclaiming:

'We carry a new world here in our hearts.'

Individualism

Dear Mr. Editor,

I am an individualist, and I am writing to you because a lot of what you published in your paper about individualists is just not true. It is not true for this individualist, and for a lot of others I have known.

I notice that the article is signed by 'Nobodaddy'. Now we all know who 'Nobodaddy' is supposed to be; he is supposed to be God, the Supreme Individualist, the original Big Ego. There are some famous lines of verse that tell us:

'When Klopstock England defied;
Uprose William Blake in his pride;
For old Nobodaddy aloft
Farted and belched and coughed;
Then swore a great oath that made
heaven quake,

And call'd aloud to English Blake.'
It would appear that in farting and belching thus, Nobodaddy is expressing his flatus in FREEDOM (which is a pity), and that he is now literally a de-flated individualist. I have always found that inflated individualists, like myself, are better company than de-flated individualists, who tend to whine and talk nonsense.

I know that it is fashionable to mention *The Ego and His Own* by Max Stirner, in FREEDOM when diatribes against Individualism are written. I find that work, in the only translation I know, a little old fashioned, but any one page of it makes better sense than the whole of poor 'Nobodaddy's' article. Quite obviously, he has not got the most elementary idea of the implications of individualism in social philosophy. It is just silly to set up an Aunt Sally of his own making and declare that, 'To be a true individualist one must be alone in the world'. To declare that the true individualist must kill off all other creatures so that he can then say: 'The world is my oyster' (having killed off all oysters, he will not be able to enjoy them!). To declare that: 'The individualist denies that man is inherently good and that Mutual Aid exists' (try reading our old friend Stirner on the problem of good and evil). His article is full of sheer dogmatic mis-statement and hardly deserves to appear in a journal of ideas.

But to return to myself, the individualist, who is really the main topic of (my) interest. Contrary to what is stated so dogmatically, I do 'bother about the high incidence of bedwetting'. It is a very interesting topic and I once wrote a very interesting dissertation on the subject. (The facts about bedwetting and delinquency are quite different from what 'Nobodaddy' appears to imagine.) Also, I have a son who now wears a beard, and he did not wet his bed after infancy, and he has not yet slit his father's throat. So you see that the writer of the article is wrong, wrong, wrong, all along the line.

Perhaps the best exposition of individualism does indeed occur in the poems of William Blake:

'Nought loves another as itself,
Nor venerates another so,
Nor is it possible to Thought
A greater than itself to know.'

'The Priest sat by and heard this child;
In trembling zeal he seiz'd his hair...
They burn'd him in a holy fire
Where many had been burn'd before.'

This hatred of the individualist, Blake attributes to jealousy, the essential characteristic of 'Nobodaddy', to whom Blake dedicated a poem:

'To Nobodaddy,
'Why art thou silent and invisible,
Father of Jealousy?
Why doth thou hide thyself in clouds
From every searching Eye?'

It is very significant that the writer of that article in FREEDOM should choose for himself as a pen-name the name of 'Nobodaddy'. INDIVIDUALIST.

LETTERS & Controversy

Scottish March

Dear Comrades,

I wrote some time ago, giving the rough details of the Scottish Easter March organised by SYCND.

At the very well attended SYCND meeting in Dundee on Saturday, January 8, the final ideas were hammered out.

Scottish Adult CND have already decided to give their support to the national march and to hold a Scottish march in the autumn. There seems to be little hope of them changing their minds on this and to my point of view this is just a slap in the face to their hundreds of young supporters.

Enquiries are beginning to flow in so I will give you a list of the Dundee decisions.

(1) A fast will be held outside Rosyth Naval Dockyard, lasting from Monday to Saturday morning when the march will leave from nearby Dunfermline. Fasters interested please contact Neil Roy, 23 Deemount Gardens, Aberdeen. There is, it must be emphasised, a risk that the fasters may be arrested by the Dockyard police and/or ill-handled by the sailors. Fasters will also have to provide their own tents and sleeping bags.

(2) The march will leave Dunfermline on the Saturday morning and proceed to Rosyth Dockyard via Pitreavie Castle—this is a major NATO communications centre and also the fallout funk hole for the Naval Top Brass. After a gander at this, the march will proceed to the Forth Road Bridge. Crossing this en masse should be quite an experience, visually and otherwise, it should also produce some useful publicity and literally hundreds of vehicles pass over

this every hour and will see our banners and posters.

(3) The lunch break will be taken at Corstorphine Park, the home of Lt-Gen. Sir George Gordon Lennox and his country residence, RSG Scotland. No doubt marchers will wish to try out their photographic talent, if they can see the thing for bluebottles.

(4) Lunch break and possible unscheduled happenings over, we will proceed into Edinburgh and move, silently, to the War Memorial where wreaths will be laid in memory of those slaughtered by US fascism in Vietnam.

(5) Accommodation will be arranged on a Spartan level, in Edinburgh if required. Contact Sally Mitchison, 6 Dovecot Road, Edinburgh, 12, if you need to be put up. We hope people will keep this to the minimum.

(6) It is hoped to run marches from Edinburgh and Glasgow to Dunfermline and comrades interested in this, with about 2 days spare to take part, should contact Edinburgh Anarchist(s), or Alan Parker, 40 Murano Street, Maryhill, Glasgow.

(7) Please remember that this demo. is being organised on a shoestring (frayed) and money is desperately needed.

May I say that I am now retiring from the movement as from this letter on. Please add into any article that all correspondence for more information on this demo. should be sent to Forbes Browne. Aberdeen IAN SUTHERLAND.

Love Without Understanding

Continued from page 2
advisedly, for there is more evidence of the master's influence here than the grand characterization of the bargee), a small, post tragic finale (echoes of Fortinbras) in which life, or rather death, goes on.

About the acting. It could have been better, but it was good. Musgrave's is a big, demanding part and he played it bravely and well. (I should like Zero Mostel to do it in NY sometime.) The soldiers, Annie, the pub owner, Mrs. Hitchcock had, like Musgrave, their flaws. They didn't always play together, they didn't always listen, accents and hysteria occasionally interfered with articulation—at least to this foreigner. But their assets more than overcame their lapses. The bargee, a most difficult part, was consistently excellent. The three bureaucrats overacted, but I rather liked that. It set them apart from the honesty and realism of the other performances. As the three symbolic witches of society, it gave them a style.

The direction was far from perfect. (One would have to be deaf and pretty silly not to notice that the too loud drumming drowned out at least one major speech.) Also, it may account for some of the questions raised earlier. But on this matter my director friend would have to be writing. I'm content to suggest that anyone who hasn't yet seen *Musgrave* hurry on down. I should like to see it again, and again.

DACHINE RAINER.

MAKE SURE OF YOUR ANARCHIST JOURNALS BY SUBSCRIBING!

Freedom WEEKLY

Price 4d. Every Saturday except the first in each month. (40 issues per year.)

BY POST:
1 year (40 issues) 22s. 6d. (U.S. \$3)
6 months (20 issues) 11s. 6d. (\$1.50)
3 months (10 issues) 6s. (75c.)

SPECIAL RATE FOR 2 COPIES:
1 year (40 issues) 30s. (U.S. \$4.50)
6 months (20 issues) 15s. (\$2.25)

BY AIR MAIL:
1 year (40 issues) 45s. (U.S. \$7)

FREEDOM by AIR MAIL, ANARCHY

Anarchy MONTHLY

Price 2s. (2s. 3d. or 30c. by post)
Appears first Saturday of each month.

BY POST:
1 year (12 issues) 26s. (U.S. \$3.50)

BY AIR MAIL: 1 year 47s. (\$7)
JOINT SUB. FREEDOM/ANARCHY:
1 year 42s. (\$6), 6 months 22s. (\$3)
3 months 11s. 6d. (\$1.50)

2 COPIES OF EACH:
1 year 63s. (\$9), 6 months 31s. 6d. (\$4.50)
by SURFACE: 1 year 65s. (\$9.50)

Cheques, P.O.'s and Money Orders should be made out to FREEDOM PRESS, crossed A/c Payee and addressed to the publishers:

Freedom Press

17a MAXWELL ROAD,
LONDON, S.W.4 Phone: RENews 3736

Feb 14th: Yes or No?

FEBRUARY 13 is the date set for the national rail stoppage, leaving three weeks for deals to be made and faces to be saved.

Mr. Greene, NUR General Secretary has already said, 'We are worried about embarrassing the Government in that we feel they, like us, in view of the Prices and Incomes Board, are worse off now than when they started. All our exercises from 1955 have turned the wheel completely, and we are back to no Guillebaud, no Cameron, and we have had two flipping disputes and two inquiries'. I don't know about the Government being embarrassed, I bet Greene's members are when they try to pay their domestic bills out of their measly wages.

The other two railway unions are playing it cool. The Transport Salaries Staffs Association had accepted the Board's report with reservations; they gained 1½% more than the general run of railway men. ASLEF has not called for strike action but want to have a chat with George Brown. This is the union who some weeks ago when tackled on the question of amalgamation with the NUR, stated that this was not possible as they were a craft union.

It is quite on the cards that this move of ASLEF, wanting to meet Brown, will get both Greene and the Government 'off the hook'. It is expected that Brown, the British Rail Chiefs, Ray Gunter and Barbara Castle will meet the three railway unions as soon as possible.

This meeting will be horse trading pure and simple. Greene has got to gain a morsel, enough to swing his executive off the strike decision, otherwise, he will be left out on a

Contact Column

Vietnam Peace Action. Exploratory Conference, Saturday, January 29, 2.30 p.m. Friends Int. Centre, Byng Place, W.C.1. Fee 5/-. Reconsidering how to make peace in Vietnam.

Individualists. London Individualist Anarchists meet the second Sunday of each month at 10 Churton Street, Victoria, S.W.1 (off Vauxhall Bridge Road) at 7.30 p.m. Next meeting February 13. S. E. Parker: 'Individualism—What it is and what it is not'.

Room to Let. £2 5s. per week. Girl preferred. 31 Ongar Road, S.W.6. See John Pugh.

Pen Pal. Comrade, aged 16, would like a libertarian pen-pal on continent, preferably of similar age. Only English language. Write to J. Walker, Swiss Corner, Whisby, Lincoln.

Help Wanted. To sell FREEDOM. West Ham Anarchists. At Brick Lane (Petticoat Lane). Meet Sunday morning, 11.15 a.m. at Bishopsgate entrance, Liverpool Street Station.

Accommodation. Wanted, libertarian working girl, to join West London (near Marble Arch) mixed community in mid-January. Own sordid room. Rent £2 10s, including electricity and gas. Box 20.

Accommodation. Couple wishing to 'legalise' quite soon; must find accommodation before doing so for selves and 2½-year-old daughter as soon as possible. Cheap rent perhaps in return for some work in house, garden, etc. Town or country; anything, anywhere considered. Please contact Stella A. Fauser, 242 Amesbury Avenue, London, S.W.2.

New Poster
War Waste Want Why?
Politics!

34d. each plus postage. Orders to Bill Sticker, c/o 17a Maxwell Road, London, S.W.6.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

limb by the other two unions. It would not be the first time the NUR has stood out alone.

If the rank and file of all three unions do not fight together, their reward will be a few crumbs, and the day for a showdown pushed just that much further away, with the 11% differential (comparison with outside industry) widening to an ever greater degree.

CINDERELLAS

Such is our sense of priorities in 1966 that the majority of nurses do not receive overtime payments. Much play is made of the point that nursing is a vocation and not a job as such, and therefore, the cash remuneration doesn't matter. This is absolute bilge and anyone with an atom of sense must realise this.

Nurses should not have to worry about OT payments, only in exceptional circumstances. They should be paid a living wage. A standard working week of 42 hours for nurses in National Health Service Hospitals came into force on January 1, but many hospitals cannot yet operate it due to staff shortages.

THE OTHER FREEDOM GROUP

IF YOU MENTION the Freedom Group in Polite Society people usually think you are talking about Mr. Edward Martell and his band of right-wing Tories, a very different collection of people from those who run this paper! I have a suspicion that the enormous length of their mailing list, which they are fond of quoting as a measure of their popular support, is made up of spies like myself, who receive all the latest inside information on their activities at no charge whatsoever, simply for having once written a letter pretending to express interest in this rather sordid organisation. It is quite possible to disclose this information, and even to write articles attacking them, without being removed from this mailing list; which only goes to show how much notice they take of their 'supporters'!

Of late there has been little publicity about the Group's activities, except in its own paper, *The New Daily*. This, as the latest circular reveals, is because they are heavily in debt. They over-spend heavily in their election campaign to unseat Harold Wilson at Huyton last year. Labour MP Mr. Geoffrey Rhodes alleged in the Commons, and later in the *Co-operative News*, that Martell had misappropriated funds during this time and raised money by false pretences. A subsequent libel action resulted in his later withdrawing that statement, but the publicity given to the denial by the mass-media was very poor, and since then the Group has been under a cloud. In fact several solicitors gave details to the press of how loans were not repaid on time to their clients. The current circular laments:

'We have to admit, too, that it is

Teenagers more Sexy

Continued from page 1

work, but will go much deeper into sexual relations in society.'

Well, there it is, and I am not one of those anarchists who are supposed to be getting tired of saying 'We told you so'. The more we are proved right the more will people be compelled to admit the usefulness of the anarchist analysis and attitude. In this particular case it is not that we were right in 'sneering' at the work of, presumably, sincere social scientists, but that we were prepared to back our own observations and common sense (and anarchist intuitions, if you like) against a pompous official pronouncement which had cost a lot of time and money and come up with something which was obviously wrong in its attitude even if not in its facts. Now even its facts have been admitted to be wrong.

So, once again—we told you so!

P.S.

Wages and conditions for nurses are scandalous, the like would not be tolerated in industry for five minutes. I can imagine an industrial worker doing extra hours per week for nothing.

There is a fantastic fortune made out of patent medicine, it's a fair old racket, and it's about time some of these boys were deprived of their loot, to the advantage of the people who do the nursing. Such a reform could be implemented until we are able to achieve a social health service.

GUESTS OF ICI

Fifty ETU shop stewards were paid average wages by their employer, ICI, to attend a week's course at the ETU college at Esher.

Strange as it may seem the stewards did not discuss strike tactics, compare job conditions, etc., but how to increase the efficiency of ICI.

The lecturers were ICI personnel and the purpose of the course was 'an exercise in communication'. The syllabus included lectures on the need for work study, method study and work measurement under the Trials Agreement signed last October by the unions with whom ICI negotiates. The Agreement attempts to adapt manpower utilisation and payment structure to modern conditions applying in a science-based industry.

This all sounds very 2000 AD, but I always thought shop stewards were elected by the rank and file for the benefit of the rank and file. It appears that ICI believe they have first claim.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

Freedom

For Workers' Control

JANUARY 29 1966 Vol 27 No 4

UNOFFICIAL ORGANISATION IN INDUSTRY

MANY PEOPLE and political groupings who label themselves Socialists are today attacking the Labour Government's proposed anti-strike legislation. They say the solution must be a political one, but their idea of this revolves around the question of leadership. Once again an alternative leadership is being called for and the reasons for this are probably numerous. No doubt, many people, having grown up in a world based on power and leadership, do not believe that things can be run by any other means, while others, who are not so politically innocent, see themselves as this alternative leadership.

If history can teach us anything, it is that it is not only useless but dangerous to give power to leaders. Because of this reliance on leaders, workers have suffered the usual betrayal of 'being sold down the river'. We do not want new leaders, either to put into Parliament or for our trade unions, and so voting for these people is a complete waste of time.

The trade union movement is more than just an organisation with a set of officials who negotiate pay increases with the employers. It is a movement which has a history of hard and bitter struggles and, although it has always had a framework of executive leadership, there has been and still is an undercurrent of unofficial activity which is based on the rank and file. This is nothing new. At times it has been used by some as a stepping stone to a top position, but this 'unofficial' side of the movement should be developed and strengthened.

EACH PLAYING A PART

The basis of this unofficial movement already exists in the structure of job organisation. Shop stewards are only delegates of the men and if they do attempt to become a leadership, they can be replaced at any time by just a meeting of the workers on the job. With this sort of organisation, everyone can be involved, each playing a part with the elected representative being someone who is known, is seen every day and works just the same as everyone else.

The standard of conditions and the level of wages depends upon the strength and the spirit of solidarity existing in the job organisation, together with a consciousness of what this can achieve. It is in the interests of the workers to build such an organisation, not only for monetary gain, but also for actual job control.

Strong job organisation has to be extended to other places, with those who have achieved it helping and assisting those who have not. A recent example of this occurred following the ENV shop stewards' meeting in Manchester when stewards from the better organised Wilelesden and Durham factories agreed to help the weaker Manchester factory. Workers at GEC factories have also refused to handle work which is normally done by 500 men due to be made redundant at the Wembley works. It is this type of link-up which should be extended.

AIMED AT THE RANK AND FILE

Obviously the Government's anti-strike legislation is not aimed at the Trade Unions, as such, but at the unofficial movements within them. Quite rightly, it sees this movement as the real threat to its incomes policy and its general 'modernisation plans'. The problems facing workers are now taking on a more political aspect. They are not just faced with a few sackings in a factory, but with the whole question of what has been called 'over-manning'. A number of large companies are carrying out this 'pruning operation' and an industrial correspondent of the *Financial Times* wrote about this recently, saying: 'At a time when acute labour shortages are still being reported in many parts of the country, moves of this kind are welcomed by the Government'. The Labour Government is illustrating the role of the

State in assisting capitalism. As Malatesta* has written, 'Since economic slavery is a product of political servitude, to eliminate one it is necessary to eliminate the other, even if Marx said otherwise.'

Because the unofficial movement in industry is based at the place of work, it gives those there a role to play. They are conscious of what they can achieve, but this consciousness must not only be concerned with economic issues and job conditions, but must be extended to issues of a political nature, such as the proposed legislation. The trade unions will not combat this legislation, but the unofficial movement of the rank and file can.

As Anarcho-Syndicalists, I think we should work at these levels in our unions, acting within this unofficial movement for our aims and ideals. We have to show that, in order to eliminate the capitalist system, we have also to eliminate the State.

P.T.

*Malatesta by V. Richards (p. 114-115).

FEDERATION STEWARDS DISCIPLINED

THE RECENT SETTLEMENTS concerning wages and hours (in line with the Incomes Policy), in the building industry, once again has shown the need for more sites to be organised. While we are told by Mr. Brown that wages can only rise with increased productivity, this lie is exposed by the settlement. Productivity in the industry went up in 1964 by as much as 11% and while all the major employers have enjoyed increased profits, those who produced this wealth have received only a pittance.

There is still a campaign in progress to rescind this new agreement but the main effort will be made at job level. Here the wages can be pushed up, not by working harder, but by getting more time on the bonus targets, increasing the bonus payments and thereby earning more money.

This can only be done by strong organisation on the job, with the threat of possible action if demands are not met. The employers, for their part, obviously will do their level best to break such organisation. At the moment they are getting the assistance of the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives, the workers own organisation. Because certain sites have taken unofficial action during the Barbican strike and the lobby of union officials on November 25 last, the NFBTO have withdrawn recognition from Federation stewards. On the huge BP job at the Barbican, the Federation told Laings, the employers, that as far as they were concerned there were no Federation stewards on the job. Other Federation stewards on sites in London have received warning notices that if unconstitutional action is taken on their jobs, they can expect their credentials to be removed.

It is interesting to note that the main attack has been directed against a Laings' site. Maurice Laing is head of the Confederation of British Industry and was the employers' representative who signed the Government's Statement of Intent regarding its Incomes Policy. Another Laing is a top man in the building employers' association so it can be seen that Laings, in fact, form a political leadership for the employers.

The attacks illustrate the common interest of employers and unions. While union officials are content to pick up the crumbs from the negotiation table, the real wage increases are made at site level. Because job organisation is strong, the stewards are being disciplined by the union. How much closer can you get to the bosses? P.T.

PRESS FUND

WEEK 3, JANUARY 22, 1966:
Expenses: 3 Weeks at £80: £240
Income: Sales and Subs.: £164
DEFICIT £76

Northolt: Anarchist Group* 3/-; Rugby: C.F. 3/-; New South Wales: G.F. 18/-; Peterborough: F.W.* 3/6; London, S.W.6: J.P. 10/-; Cambridge: C.M. £1 12s.; Oxford: Anon* 5/-; Grantham: G.I. 4/-; Dundee: A.S.L.R. £2 2s.; Derby: J.K. 18/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; County Down: J.T. 10/-; Detroit: Grupo Libertad £8 4s. 5d.; West Ham: Anarchist Group 5/-; Northolt: Anarchist Group* 3/-.

TOTAL: £16 10 11
Previously Acknowledged: £34 8 4
1966 Total to Date: £50 19 3

*Denotes Regular Contributor.