



# Who will Slay the Jabberwock?

## APPEAL TO ARCHITECTS

## BLACKLIST DOW?

**DOW CHEMICALS** are a well-known US company. They are well-known because they are high up the profits list of American firms, and because these profits come from sales of napalm and other chemicals, which are dropped on people in Vietnam.

Throughout 1967, the anti-Vietnam War radicals in the United States have attempted to prevent this firm functioning by calling on Dow's workers to strike; and themselves picketing the gates and blocking the supplies coming in and out.

**DOW CHEMICALS** have a subsidiary firm in Britain. Among other products they make building materials. Their representatives operate in most parts of Britain.

In Britain, in 1967, there were seven cases, known to us, of architects refusing to have anything to do with this firm. **DOW**, of course, weren't told the reason. **The architects acted as individuals, not for their firm.** No doubt their bosses wouldn't have approved.

### ACTION NOW

The time for other architects to repeat the actions of their fellows has come. **Prevent DOW quoting for jobs and don't nominate them as suppliers.** Make it as hot for them as they make it for Vietnamese peasants.

Published by several Architects, active against the Vietnam War in London, Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Leicester, Newcastle, Portsmouth, Cardiff, Glasgow and Edinburgh.

### INDUSTRIAL ACTION

We feel that action such as we are advocating is important, since it by-passes the built-in stabilisers in parliamentary democracy, which prevent constitutional protest from being effective. We say this from experience; having been involved with the ARCHITECTS (the first professional workers) CND GROUP, and having been among the many architects who took part in the Committee of 100 sit-downs.

**Industrial action**, when used to win better wages and working conditions is distasteful to employers. **Industrial action**, when it is used for political ends, is absolute poison to the employers and the ruling establishment. In the continuous struggle over the centuries, between working people and the employers, there have been regular occurrences of industrial action for political ends. Manual workers, tradesmen, labourers, artisans—have all proved how effective it can be. In 1962, a gang of London Dockers refused to handle a cargo from Woomera to the AWRE at Aldermaston.

**WORKERS IN THE 'PROFESSIONS' ALSO HAVE POWER. THEY SHOULD USE IT. THIS IS YOUR CHANCE. PASS THIS LEAFLET ROUND. RE-PRINT IT. BOYCOTT DOW CHEMICALS.**

*'Twas brillig,<sup>1</sup> and the slithy toves<sup>2</sup> Did gyre and gimble in the wabe;<sup>3</sup> All mimsy<sup>4</sup> were the borogoves<sup>5</sup> And the mome raths<sup>6</sup> outgrabe.<sup>7</sup>*  
—Lewis Carroll.

**THE PRESENT** economic swindle perpetrated by the Labour Government will come as no surprise to readers of FREEDOM. We forecast this to happen at the time of the last election when we asserted that the Labour Government will have to do the work of the Tories in order to stay in power with the backing of big business. But it has come as a painful surprise to readers of *Tribune*, who are only now beginning to understand this.

Now they say: 'The truth is that *nothing* a Labour Government does, short of the open and blatant abandonment of every Socialist priority, will create confidence among currency speculators!'

*The Times* today is much more blunt. Mr. David Wood, their political correspondent, in his article 'Mr. Wilson will state the Tory case', says that it is falling to Mr. Wilson 'to re-establish the validity of Tory policies and Tory economies'.

Yet the political rôle of 'champion of the Left' was offered to Mr. Wilson only two weeks ago by no less a person than Jennie Lee, widow of Aneurin Bevan.

She wrote in her New Year message to her constituency (*Tribune*, 5.1.68): 'Now is the moment, therefore, when we must see to it that not just the Prime Minister, but every one of our leaders who has the wisdom and courage to avoid the pitfalls that destroyed us in 1931 and again in 1951, has our steady

(<sup>1</sup>) Britain (<sup>2</sup>) politicians (<sup>3</sup>) parliament (<sup>4</sup> and <sup>5</sup>) eager moneylenders (<sup>6</sup> and <sup>7</sup>) newspapers screaming

fast support'.

It is pathetic to watch how the Labour Left is trying to extricate themselves from an impossible position. Now they have produced a 'New Economic Strategy for Labour' which has no political base whatsoever. Their ideas are a mere modification of Wilson's policy, a Welfare State within the confines of Capitalism. They are crying in the wilderness of their own creation. Because of their own political manoeuvrings their following is now minimal.

It is no use for them to belatedly assert that Great Britain is still one of the richest countries in the world. This is so. But the real wealth is not shared equally.

It is time that our Socialist friends realised that there is no parliamentary solution available to them. There can be no socialism in a Warfare State. The Government's (any government's) policies are dictated to and controlled by the requirements of the City.



Parliamentary politics is a dead-end for Socialists. Nothing less than a total revolution can bring about the change that they desire.

The group round *Tribune* should realise this, they should cut their party ties and pour their energies into helping along this revolution.

But can it be hoped that they will ever learn? Although Michael Foot describes himself as a libertarian Socialist, can you see him take his vorpal sword in his hand and slay the Jabberwock? Most unlikely. He would fall asleep by the Tumtum tree.

Yet all those M.P.s and Ministers who group around *Tribune* must know by now how hopeless it is to fight the system from within. Nothing short of revolutionary action will stop the slide towards a Tory Government.

The present Government's economic measures (as we said last week) will continue to increase the division in wealth. The Labour Party will split right down the middle and there will be a Coalition Government in the 'national interest'.

Wages are controlled, prices spiral upwards. Hard-earned wages are not enough for the necessities of life. Rents, rates, food prices soar. Old people sit in cold rooms wrapped in blankets. Wealthy country indeed!

The time for action is now. If Jennie Lee and her friends are really for social change they should speak out now, even if it means revealing all that they know. No use just hinting at 'economic strangleholds' and what happened to Nye Bevan in 1951.

Or are they afraid of the revolution, as they are afraid of the Official Secrets Act?

JOHN RETY.

## DESERTERS

**BUM, PLANT, SCHIZO OR JOKER,** 'Barry Flower', with the Midlands accent, was no US deserter. The press researched where Peter Cadogan *et alia* with the will to believe couldn't.

Nonetheless big ifs were posed. Would the Home Secretary have granted political asylum to an American deserter with a claim by birth to British nationality—as did the Swedish government recently to four American-born Americans who deserted from Vietnam?

Sweden of course knows not NATO, SEATO and a Visiting Forces Act, veils for US military colonialism.

Further, what can you personally offer someone whose crime is defying the state's violence (be he deserter, saboteur or bailjumper), whose need is shelter and escape from this country? There are over 300 US draft-dodgers in Britain, not to mention deserters, and though draft evasion is a non-extraditable offence, you can be sure the US Embassy and the English authorities will co-operate in more devious ways.

The BF non-event had one positive outcome. It prompted the first showing of a 30-minute filmed interview with an American deserter during his three months underground in this country. A graduate in politics and economics, he wants his case to be seen and heard. He would like to be able to return to the States where he now risks thirteen years in gaol. He was fortunate over here in missing the established peace organizations. The English producer, Marc Kalin, is apolitical and simply titled his film: 'My name is Philip... I'm classified as a deserter from the US Army'. Quotes from the film: 'World order doesn't mean the American way of life everywhere.'... 'Those still striving for acceptance without self-knowledge go along with the system that's set up.'

If you were wined by seeing 'Far from Vietnam' (Paris Pullman Cinema), contact the distributors of Marc Kalin's film: Aquarius Films, 12 John Princes Street, London, W.1.

G.G.

## Dud Dollars Docked

**LAST WEEK**, eight months after their arrest on a preposterous charge of forgery, Charles Radcliffe and Terry Chandler were tried by jury in a makeshift Old Bailey courtroom. Space for the public to watch this foolery was limited to six chairs.

Pronouncement of the trial was that of the judge, Mr. Commissioner Raeburn: 'Behind what you did was a desire for publicity for your cause and a desire to be made a martyr but you are not going to be made a martyr by me.' Both defendants, along with Melvyn Estrin the day after, were found guilty on a possession charge ('without reasonable authority or excuse'); the charge of printing the bills was dropped. Charles and Melvyn got one year's conditional discharge, Terry three years the same.

Terry Chandler admitted possession of the bills but maintained in defending himself that the 'words, figures, marks, lines and devices' related only to a legitimate political purpose, the creation of a leaflet. His solicitors, Birnberg & Co., showed umpteen examples of dollars reproduced for commercial purposes. Had every business checked its advertising copy with the Home Office—one might have asked anywhere but in court.

The prosecution, with perfect seriousness, gave examples of who might reasonably possess such reproductions: The postman who unknowingly delivered an envelope containing them, the policeman who took them away for examination and the father who photographed a dollar

bill to show his baby son what American money looked like. The Judge silenced Terry's chief witness, Kathy Farr, as she proceeded to tell the court that solicitors advice had been obtained before the Committee of 100 made the original order for a printing. In his summing up Mr. Raeburn exceeded his powers, more or less instructing the jury to disregard the defendant's argument.

The original request to prosecute appears to have come from America (present at the first hearing last May an American forgeries' expert from Paris). The slogan on the back of the dollars, 'Is this worth all the murder and slaughter in Vietnam', must have cut to the quick, but the big worry was probably not subversion of the citizenry but of the currency itself. In 1945 the SS dumped millions of fake pound notes into an Austrian lake, a last ditch weapon Hitler mysteriously never used.

The dollars issued by Pirate Press were jokeshop reading matter. Movement activists distributed them readily because, even more than badges with shock value such as 'Kill a Commie for Christ' (that too nearly ended in the courts), these dollars got past people's defences, few of the public refused them and the point was economically made.

This prosecution was nothing but an attempt to prevent free communication at street level of truths that cause a blood-clot in the Establishment's sloppy, fat, warming-pan heart.

SKUNK.

## Genuine Dollars Welcomed for 'I'm Backing Freedom' Campaign

## ALL ROADS LEAD TO ANARCHISM

**THEY STARTED OUT** from '... the army—which is enough to make an anarchist of anyone'; a gaol—for not being in the army; a potato-picking scheme (possibly an alternative to both the former?); and the Labour Party/ILP, and from these different starting points and experiences, they told Richard Boston (*Far from the Barricades*, BBC Radio 3, Wednesday, January 10, 1968), they arrived at anarchism.

Just about all the varieties of anarchism were described in bright and clear outlines by the participants and presented sympathetically with the minimum projection by the interviewer in a beautifully edited composition which fitted together many facets of anarchism.

Colin Ward declared himself for anarcho-communism.

Nicolas Walter, despite having been 'in a sense an anarchist before he was born' by heritage of an anarchist grandfather, chose the term 'libertarian socialist' to describe his kind of anarchism but put forward the most clear-cut examples of direct action and sovereign self-direction.

Bill Christopher spoke for the anti-parliamentarian anarcho-syndicalists, as did Peter Turner, who said first of all he is an anarchist, and thinks that syndicalism is the anarchist application to the organization of industry.

George Melly, who declined to call himself anarchist, asserted with fine zest the essential core of personal freedom which makes anarchism the human-centred philosophy it is.

The Stirnerite-Conscious-Egoists were spoken for in the inimitable accents of Donald Roomo.

The three other contributors were Paul Goodman, Jack Robinson and Irene Roomo.

Richard Boston commented that the differences in these various streams of anarchist thought were mainly differences of method, quoted briefly from Kropotkin's definition in the 11th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, with which he thought most anarchists would agree, and then put side by side the anarcho-communist position held by Colin Ward, whose anarchism is 'a social philosophy... [wherein] the principle of authority is replaced by voluntary co-operation. I believe in a de-centralised society', and the other extreme, the Stirnerite: 'The anarchist thinks that society is there for the benefit of the individual... [who] does not owe anything to society at all; society is the creation of individuals and for their benefit. From that the rest of it follows'.

The ultimate aim being a society of sovereign individuals, how did one set about achieving it? The means being propaganda (a) of the deed but principally (b) of the word and that mostly the printed word and this, apart from the SWF monthly *Direct Action*, mainly the publications of Freedom Press, we got a free and valuable plug for *FREEDOM* and *Anarchy* and the discussion apparently (an appearance no doubt revealing the 'art that conceals art' in the editing of the tapes) proceeded naturally from one to another of the subjects treated in *Anarchy*.

Housing, for instance, Colin Ward was amazed that there has not been mass squatting in empty office blocks, and he

Continued on page 3

# books?

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IT WAS INDEED the age of frivolity and reason when those who whiled away the gilded hours, hired the skilled craftsmen of Europe to dress and bed them, or paint them in their plump and splendid magnificence as with hand on sash and sword they posed in the silver-etched imitations of the crude armours of their brutish forebears.

Too long removed from the bloody heroics of war, and as absentee landlords, even within their own acres, they played out the gentle running down of their society. They hired the painters of the day as they hired their wigmakers, and for the coin they were faithfully served and in the wine rooms and in the clubs the lawyers and the expanding bourgeois unknowingly and unwittingly argued out their stations of the cross in the pantheon of twentieth century revolution.

As they would die in their articulate ones for their political groupings, so other men would die in batches of hundreds to the indictments of those pastoral titles to be defiled or defamed by the pedants of the revolutionary right or left as the power of the moment so decreed. And the eighteenth-century Courts of France swung away the minutes in tatted swags, and the pamphleteers and the discussion groups rapped their wine glasses upon the tables demanding that they should be heard, while history, grey, amoral and indifferent, willingly entered their names as the gravediggers of their own graves, for they were to be the advance guard of all those murdered for a principle by the twentieth-century firing squads.

And the craftsmen painters of the French eighteenth century painted their old and new masters with a tradesman's indifference to anything but the price.

Here at Burlington House in Piccadilly the Royal Academy of Arts are holding this major winter exhibition of France in the eighteenth century, and all those responsible are to be congratulated on everything appertaining to it except the price of admission, which is far too high for the average pocket—10s. (5s. Sunday mornings).

Denys Sutton, in his competent introduction within the catalogue, argues

# Around the Galleries

that our attitude to the arts of this period became conditioned 40 years ago by the fact that we were obsessed by social problems and that we, the great grey British Public, believed that there was something rather immoral in admiring such a seemingly frivolous form of art.

He is of course wrong, for the Puritans have always acted as the public spokesmen for our expected public image, but any man of sense or sensitivity who judges a work of art on its social, moral or political content is a self-proclaimed fool.

We are at this moment in time passing through one of those periods when large opinion-forming groups are uncommitted to anything but the contemplation of their own painted navels, so that in an age that can pack the doors of Gear in Carnaby Street to buy scarlet-painted Victorian piss-pots, turn the unreadability of *International Times* into a best seller and fill the King's Road on a Saturday with insurance clerks armed only with a waving plastic flower, why should we not accept the higher forms of frivolity from the Court of Louis XV.

Within Burlington House one wanders from room to room, recognising the originals of familiar reproductions and pausing before an unknown painting of an unknown man or woman, and always impressed by the solid and methodical workmanship of the painters. For they painted the Court nobility with the same uninspired technical virtuosity as Van Loo painted Louis XV and Desportes painted a signboard for a silversmith, and this is surely the ultimate irony that, in the grey snow-bound London of 1968, monarch and tradesman now share a common wall.

The painters of that age were men trained to their craft and they provided their patrons with a painted public image that differed little from a well-painted contemporary portrait of a Birmingham mayor yet with this difference that the court painters could garb their plump

and bovine subject matter in all the panoply of royal authority and the gold and scarlet and the flowing ribbons held the eye to the exclusion of the suburban faces.

But all in all the painters of that period were men without a cause in art or in politics and always they turned to the past for inspiration. Be it Thomas de Thomont with his neo-Claude or de Troy with his secular Renaissance studies anticipating the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, they brightened the colours and highlighted the foregrounds and offered a Marquis for a Christ or a Marquise for a Virgin Mary, for it was an age that had run its course and in art, as in politics, it could only act out the final cannibalistic banquet.

Yet in their uninspired honesty the painters of the eighteenth century damned their society. Watteau and Fragonard, Boucher and Robert turned all nature into a glorious backcloth for their gentle royal patrons to act out

their fantasies of shepherds and milkmaids playing in the Courts of Love, and we condemn because of the painter's brush, for even within this exhibition the mighty Jacques Louis David is seen to bend truth to the authority of the moment.

Here on exhibition is one of the great paintings of that period. Given by David to the Convention in 1793, this painting of the assassination of Marat is surely one of the great social documents of our age. Marat lolls in the grey white sheets in the familiar pose of Christ taken down from the cross, while one parchment tinted arm seduces the spectator by holding in isolation all light and shadow in the foreground while in the background over half the canvas is given to a sterile and compelling darkness.

But by the side of this huge painting is the small bust of Marat made by Madame Tussaud at the order of David. And here is the true man, small and frightened with the grin of death on his clenched teeth.

David, why did you not smash this woman's waxen truth when recreating history? ARTHUR MOYSE.

## FILM REVIEW

# Can You Buck the System?

PROBABLY NOT evidence of a new trend, more a kind of coincidence, there are two films going the rounds just now dealing with the difficulty of trying to buck the system.

The immediate environments depicted are very different in these two films; the reactions of the leading characters lead them through wildly differing circumstances, yet their struggle is fundamentally similar.

In *I'll Never Forget What's 'Isname*, Oliver Reed marches through the streets, into his palatial advertising-executive-class office with an axe on his shoulder and proceeds to smash up his desk, and tells bossman Orson Welles he is through. But Oliver is London's top commercial film director and his boss needs him to win a golden award for the best advertising film of the year and refuses to accept his resignation. Nevertheless our hero tries to go back to the innocence of assistant-editing a non-profit-making literary magazine which he worked on at Cambridge, walks out on his wife, dismisses his two or is it three?—mistresses, takes up with a surprisingly innocent Carol White and seeks again the innocence of schooldays through an old-school reunion.

But in vain. He is still embroiled with wife and mistresses, the magazine folds, the affair with Carol White turns—literally—to ashes, and schooldays were not innocent. Even his attempt to thwart his boss by producing a savage parody of an advertising film backfires. Only one small victory is notched up—he does get fired. Only to be snapped up by an identical agency across the road.

Very much like real life, this film. The characters are not well-rounded, black and white, clear; they are blurred and messy, like most of us, wriggling in their own private hells and public traps. The film drags. It has tedium and tension, humour and horror. Quite realistic, really.

CORRESPONDENT.

# Peace Group in Cambodia

ON THURSDAY, JANUARY 4, a group of 25 people left London to fly to Cambodia. This was the main body of the 'Non-Violent Action in Vietnam' team who are attempting to carry protest action against the Vietnam war to the actual areas of conflict. Months of work—seeking volunteers, hammering out policy and practical plans and raising the many thousands of pounds needed to finance the project—preceded the day of departure.

The team's original aim was to go to North Vietnam to share the dangers of the American bombing with the Vietnamese people and to bring medical supplies to civilians injured in the air raids. It did not prove possible, however, to gain permission from the Hanoi government for the whole group; Hanoi has said that they will admit three people. Since the borders of neutral Cambodia are being bombed, and Prince Sihanouk had indicated that he would welcome the team's presence, they decided to fly to

Cambodia and, should it still prove impossible to go to North Vietnam, try to travel out to the border areas.

The group includes comrades Roger Moody and Derek Russell, also Gwynfor Evans, Welsh Nationalist MP; the Reverend Michael Scott, director of the Africa Bureau; Pat Arrowsmith, well-known peace-movement activist; Peggy Smith, 72-year-old Quaker, who initiated the project, and Muriel and Ben Azmier, Canadians who flew to Britain at their own expense to join the team. Vasu Dev, an Indian, and Cecily Hastings, English, a lecturer in theology, flew ahead to Cambodia, arriving on Christmas Day.

The group hope that their presence in Cambodia and Vietnam will help to bring home to the United States Government and its forces that those they are killing are human beings living in their own country who want only peace and a chance to work out their own future.

# Anarchist Federation of Britain

General enquiries should be sent to the London Federation.

**LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS.** c/o Libra House, 256 Pentonville Road, London, N.1. Business meetings first Sunday of the month. For details apply to I.F.A.

**NEW MEETING PLACE.** Marquis of Granby, Cambridge Circus, Charing Cross Road. Sundays 8 p.m.

**JAN. 21: Sid Rawle**  
**The Diggers**

**JAN. 28: Jack Robinson**  
**Chicago Anarchists**

**LEWISHAM.** Contact Mike Malet, 61B Granville Park, Lewisham, London, S.E.13. Phone: 01-852 8879.

**EALING ANARCHIST GROUP.** Get into touch with Ken King, 54 Norwood Road, Southall.

**KING'S CROSS GROUP.** c/o Libra House, 256 Pentonville Road, London, N.1.

**S.W. LONDON LIBERTARIANS.** Meet every Thursday, 7.30 p.m. at 14 Clapham Court, King's Avenue (Acre Lane end), S.W.4.

## OFF-CENTRE LONDON

### DISCUSSION MEETINGS

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

3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald and Irene Roodum's, now at 13 Saverne Road, London, N.W.3.

2nd and 4th Friday of each month, 8 p.m., at Brenda Mercer's and dj Austin's, 80 Crouch Hill, N.8 (Finsbury Park Underground, 212 bus to door).

## REGIONAL FEDERATIONS

### AND GROUPS

**ABERDEEN ANARCHISTS** meet 1st and 3rd Wednesdays of month at M. Dey's, 142 Walker Road, 2nd and 4th Wednesdays at Liz Smith's, 3 Sinclair Road. Correspondence to either address.

**ABERDEEN ANARCHIST FEDERATION (SWF)** local group, Folk Song Workshop and Committee of 100. Contact Iain MacDonald, 15 Cotton Street, Aberdeen.

**ANARCHISTS, syndicalists, individualists, etc.,** please contact Geoff and Caroline Charlton, top flat, 8 Lightwoods Hill, Smethwick, Warley, Wores. 25 mins. from Birmingham City Centre. No. 9 bus.

**BOLTON.** Get in touch with Les Smith, 22 Grosvenor Street, Bolton, Lancs.

**BOURNEMOUTH AND EAST DORSET ANARCHISTS.** Please contact John McCain, 14 Milton Road, Bournemouth (B'm'th 22279) or Tim Deane, Juliet, West Moors, Wimborne, Dorset (Ferndown 3588).

**BRIGHTON.** Get in touch with 79 Coleman Street, Brighton, 7. Poetry readings every Tuesday in Archway 187 on the Seafrost.

Admission is free and all poets welcome. 8.30 p.m. onwards.

**BRK LIBERTARIANS.** Contact Bob and Una Turnbull, 39 Stratheden Park, Stratheden Hospital, by Cupar, Fife.

**GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP ONE.** Correspondence to Robert Lynn, 2b Saracen Head Lane, Glasgow, C.1.

**HERTS.** Contact either Stuart Mitchell at South View, Potters Heath Lane, Potters Heath, Welwyn, Herts OR Jeff Cloves, 46 Hughendon Road Marshalswick, St. Albans, Herts.

Sunday, January 25, 8 p.m. at South View, Potters Heath, Welwyn. Meeting: John Retty; 'Short history of Freedom Press'.

**IPSWICH ANARCHISTS.** Contact Neil Dean, 74 Cemetery Road, Ipswich, Suffolk.

**KILBURN, LONDON.** Contact Andrew Dewar, 16 Kilburn House, Malvern Place, London, N.W.6. Meetings 8 p.m. every Tuesday.

**LEICESTER PROJECT.** Peace/Libertarian action and debate. Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. at 1 The Crescent, King Street, Leicester.

**LSE ANARCHIST GROUP.** c/o Student Union, London School of Economics, Houghton Street, W.C.2.

**NORTH SOMERSET ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Roy Emery, 3 Abbey Street, Bath, or Geoffrey Barfoot, 71 St. Thomas Street, Wells.

**NOTTING HILL.** Please get in touch with John Bennett and Marilyn Paddy, Flat 4, 88 Clarendon Road, London, W.11. Tel.: 727 9745. Meetings every Monday at 7 p.m.

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

**OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Simon Martin, Oriel College, Oxford.

**READING ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Alan Ross, 116 Belmont Road, Reading, Berks.

**SHEFFIELD UNIVERSITY GROUP.** Contact Robin Lovell c/o Students' Union, Sheffield

## ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION

Serviced by a newsletter and three-monthly meetings. Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o Keith Nathan, 138 Pennymead, Harlow, Essex. Group Addresses:—

**BASILDON.** M. Powell, 7 Lingerot, Basildon, Essex.

**BISHOPS STORTFORD.** Vic Mount, 'Eastview', Castle Street, Bishops Stortford, Herts.

**CHELMSFORD.** (Mrs.) Eva Archer, Mill House, Purleigh, Chelmsford, Essex.

**EPPING.** John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping, Essex.

**HARLOW.** John Deards, 184 Carter's Mead, Harlow, and/or Geoff Hardy, 6 Redricks Lane, Harlow, Essex. Monthly meetings in 'The Essex Skipper', The Stow, Harlow.

**LOUGHTON.** Group c/o Students' Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Borders Lane, Loughton, Essex.

**MUCH HADHAM.** Leslie Rodan, High Street, Much Hadham, Herts.

**NORTH EAST ESSEX.** Peter Newell, 'Maybush', Maypole Road, Tiptree, Essex. Group meets first Monday in each month, 7.15 p.m. at 91 Brook Road, Tolleshunt Knights, Tiptree, Essex.

## NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

Regional Secretary: Alistair Rattray, 35a Devonshire Road, Chorley.

**NORTH WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION.** BUXTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: F. A. Gresty, Punchbowl, Manchester Road, Buxton.

**CHORLEY ANARCHIST GROUP.** Secretary: Alistair T. Rattray, 35a Devonshire Road, Chorley.

**LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST PROPAGANDA GROUP AND 'HIPPI' MOVEMENT.** Gerry Bree, 16 Faulkner Square, Liverpool, 8. Meetings weekly. 'Freedom' Sales—Pier Head, Saturdays, Sundays, Evenings. Next meeting: January 20, 16 Faulkner Square.

**MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP.** Secretary: Dave Poulson, 9 Boland Street, Fallowfield, Manchester, 14.

**MERSEYSIDE ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Pete Sacker, 22 Sandon Street, Liverpool. Meetings: First Thursday of month, 8 p.m.

## SOUTH WALES ANARCHIST FEDERATION

**CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP, SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP.** All correspondence to: Julian Ross, 111 King Edwards Road, Brynmill, Swansea. Weekly meetings. Freedom sales and action projects.

## PROPOSED GROUPS

**EDINBURGH** anarchists contact Konrad Borowski, 13 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh 3. Tel.: WAVE 7459.

**TAUNTON LIBERTARIANS.** Contact Jill and John Driver, 59 Beadon Road, Taunton, Somerset. Meetings alternate Friday evenings.

## ABROAD

**AUSTRALIA.** Federation of Australian Anarchists, P.O. Box A 389, Sydney South. Public meetings every Sunday in the Domain, 2 p.m. and Mondays, 72 Oxford Street, Paddington, Sydney, 8 p.m.

**DANISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION.** Gothersgade, 27, Viborg, Denmark.

**VANCOUVER, B.C., CANADA.** Anyone interested in forming anarchist and/or direct action peace group contact Derek A. James, 1844 Grand Boulevard, North Vancouver, B.C., Canada. Tel.: 987-2693.

**USA: VERMONT.** New Hampshire Anarchist Group. Meets weekly—discussion, individual action. Contact Ed Strauss at RFD 2, Woodstock, Vermont 05091, USA.

**SWEDEN.** Stockholm Anarchist Federation. Contact Nadir, Box 19104, Stockholm 19, Sweden.

**SWEDEN:** Libertad, Allmänna Vägen 6, Gothenburg V.

**CANADA:** Winnipeg. Anybody interested in Direct action/anarchy contact G. J. Nasir, 606 Matheson Avenue, Winnipeg, 17, Manitoba.

**BELGIUM: LIEGE.** Provos, c/o Jacques Charlier, 11 Avenue de la Laiterie, Sclessin-Liege, Belgium.

**EAST AFRICA.** George Matthews would like to make contact. Secondary school teacher from UK. PO Box 90, Kakamega, Kenya.

**USA.** James W. Cain, Secretary, Insurgency Anarchist Association, 323 Fourth Street, Cloquet, Minnesota 55720, USA.

**GROUP (TREASON).** Australian Anarchist, c/o Melbourne University Union or Paddy Evans, c/o the same.

# Study of the Labour Movement

Hammersmith Reprints of Scarce Documents No. 3: *The Labour Party Foundation Conference and Annual Conference Reports 1900-1905* (The Hammersmith Bookshop, 1967).

ON THE EVE of its recent conference at Scarborough, the Labour Party, with due pomp and ceremony, was laid to rest in an unhallowed grave on the beach. From all accounts, it was a dismal affair: the mourners—members of the Committee of 100—were few and stonily dry-eyed; and, despite their efforts, the thousands of delegates, doppel-gangers all, persisted in holding their annual talk-in as though nothing had happened. Those who found such a 'funeral' depressing may find some comfort in reflecting on the birth and infancy of what they now see as a living corpse. If so, the volume under review may be recommended. For here we have the official record of the infant from the moment of parturition to the point when it is beginning to flex its muscles and frolic around.

The reprint—one of a new series which includes the near-anarchist classic of Thomas Hodgskin, *Labour Defended Against the Claims of Capital* (1825)—is a sign of the growing importance of the new academic industry: the study of Labour and Socialist Movements. All serious workers in this field will welcome the reprinting of essential documents which are not readily available in most libraries. For the general reader, however, perhaps the main interest will lie in the volume's evocation of the flavour and ethos of the Labour Party's early years. The contrast between the sombre Victorian-styled documents reprinted here and the glossy PR productions of the modern Go-Go Labour Party is startling. And, as Henry Pelling points out in his foreword, from these reports 'the reader can judge for himself how far the strength and weaknesses of four Labour Governments in Britain can be traced back to these early days'.

For the first years of its life, the Labour Party, it may be recalled, made no pretence of being a socialist party. It was not until the adoption of its 1918 constitution, including the famous Clause Four, that socialism was accepted as the official party doctrine. Until then, as its original name—the Labour Representation Committee—suggests, its declared purpose was simply to get more Labour candidates elected to Parliament and the local authorities. The formation of the LRC in 1900 was the successful outcome of a piece of ILP strategy. Having failed to become a mass party themselves, despite the deliberate choice of the less offensive word 'Labour' in place of 'Socialist', the ILP set about wooing the Trade Unions. The foundation conference, which passed largely unnoticed in the Press, was the implementation of an ILP-inspired resolution passed at the 1899 TUC. What emerged was a federal body composed of interested Trade Unions, the Fabian Society, the Social Democratic Federation, and, of course, the ILP itself. (Co-operative Societies were also invited but, true to form, refused to co-operate: from which decision stems their present awkward, if not anomalous, position in Labour politics.)

Having achieved their immediate objective, the ILP leaders played it cool, while making sure that one of their own—Ramsay MacDonald—was elected

secretary. Unlike the SDF, which tried to impose its own 'true Marxism' on the new party and promptly quit in disgust when it failed, the ILP saw the next task as one of wooing the Trade Union majority away from their traditional allegiance to and alliance with Liberalism. This task proved difficult enough, as may be judged from the fact that one of the new party's first chairmen, R. Bell of the Railwaymen, flouted discipline by supporting the Liberal rather than the LRC candidate at a by-election. The ILP also found it necessary to resist the demand of those who wanted to make the LRC a purely Trade Union party—a demand designed to eliminate the socialist elements suspected of being adventurers and men on the make.

As might be expected, much of the debate at these early conferences represents a search for identity. Constitutional matters loomed large in the discussions. Few real policy issues are raised. Socialist-inspired resolutions calling for complete public ownership are summarily rejected or summarily passed—the effect of either

outcome being the same. The one issue seen to be of vital importance is the Taff Vale judgment of 1901—a legal decision undermining the accepted position of the Trade Unions. It was this decision, more than anything else, which 'made' the Labour Party. The determination to reverse it—achieved in the Trades Disputes Act of 1906—rallied Trade Union officials behind the new party.

Above all, what is most striking about the infant Labour Party is its ineffable moderation. Its leaders see themselves as hard-headed, practical men, full of commonsense, their feet planted squarely on the ground. They are conscious of being leaders of a class that is underprivileged and exploited. They are shocked when one of their fellows—John Burns—displays an obvious ambition to emancipate the working class, one by one, beginning with himself, declaring (one of the few gems in the volume) 'he was getting tired of working-class boots, working-class trains, working-class houses, and working-class margarine . . . the time had come when

they should not be prisoners to class prejudice. . . . They can't swallow that. They are proud of their class—after all, hadn't they been elected its leaders? What they want for themselves and for the men and women they lead is a place in the sun, a share in what Carlyle once called 'the national palaver', a little more of whatever happens to be going. And they think they can get that by playing the political game as Parnell and the Irish Nationalists had once played it—asserting their independence of the two great national parties but, at the same time, craftily doing a deal with the Liberals to avoid too many three-cornered contests.

Good men, most of them; honest, solid, and true. What they lacked was vision and imagination: the capacity to conceive of a world constructed on wholly different principles. They would have been incapable of comprehending the cry of a William Blake: 'More, more is the cry of a tormented soul. Less than all cannot satisfy man!'

They are all dead now, these founding fathers. They and their successors have got their little bit more. . . . One wonders if their spirits hovered around the 'funeral' at Scarborough and, if so, what they made of it all. I suspect they simply stared—baffled, uncomprehending.

G.N.O.

## LETTER

## KEEP YOUR ROBOTS, DR. LEACH

Dear Editors,

I do not share the enthusiasm of your columnist, Wynford Hicks, for this year's Reith Lectures. While some of Dr. Leach's negative criticisms of the contemporary system were true and well said, his proposed alternatives fill me with dread. Even more terrifying is the fact that a humanistic, intelligent and highly educated man like Dr. Leach should not see the logical consequences of his own proposals.

One of Dr. Leach's proposals is as follows: It is a desirable and necessary thing that education should be geared to producing a class of social and scientific administrators who would be superbly efficient, contemptuous of the past and heedless of all moral and ethical criteria and thus be quite at home in the dynamic, expanding, highly organised world of modern science and technology.

Even supposing education could produce such a creature, what would he be

like? I suggest he would be a power maniac. Anarchists agree that power tends to corrupt and absolute power tends to corrupt absolutely. They agree that this applies to generals and politicians; why will it not apply also to Dr. Leach's proposed administrator who will have tremendous power?

Secondly, I suggest that they will be worse power maniacs than those of the past. A Stalin could only go so far in sabotaging the ideals of 1917, the Russian people would not have accepted it beyond a certain point. A reactionary, Christian cleric can only pervert the gospels to a certain degree. A military dictator must to some extent heed the military code of the troops that buttress him.

But Dr. Leach's proposed administrator has eschewed all ideals, gospels, codes, etc. There are no holds barred with him. What then does motivate his decisions and actions? Why should he act in one way rather than another? I suggest that the only factors motivating his actions would be the state of his digestion or whether he had had a satisfactory bunk up the night before (assuming that such bloodless creatures have

sexual urges).

This revolting thing would be the end product of the proposals of the idealistic humanist, Dr. Leach.

Call me reactionary, but if I am to be ground down then I would sooner it was done by some old-fashioned Hitler or Stalin who has human characteristics, however perverted, than by one of Dr. Leach's disgusting, fascist robots.

JEFF ROBINSON.

## End of London C of 100

LAST SUNDAY'S self-dissolution of the London Committee of 100 by 18 votes to six was a logical step in view of:

(a) The lack of money to initiate action and the millstone of heavy debt.

(b) The lack of working agreement as to the organization's purpose and priorities. The weekly 'working group' meeting was a misnomer, considering its original function as a delegate meeting for local groups in the London area to report on and co-ordinate activity. Such groups are now non-existent under Committee auspices and the Wednesday meetings had degenerated into factional discussion feuds which more and more people avoided.

(c) The failure to involve new energies and people on any scale, hardly a surprise in view of (a) and (b).

The London Committee's organizing part in last November's successful Polaris demonstration proved there is still occasion and enthusiasm for non-violent direct action and civil disobedience. But its organisation need not any longer be the speciality of a single body.

G. GLADSTONE.

## New Ideas Plus Action

FRENCH COMRADES WHO have broken away from the Paris Anarchist Federation now say they do not exist; i.e. they meet but there is no organisation, no party officials, no temporary chairman, no official literature, no resolutions passed, no members or non-members.

At their meeting-place at the Spanish CNT HQ, French comrades were publicly exchanging 'phone numbers and addresses, but without any formal meeting procedure. About 50 comrades attended; including some beat Italians.

The 'organisation' appears to have similarities with the Italian 'Gruppi d'Iniziativa Anarchica' formed earlier this year in similar revolt against the Anarchist Federation there.

Spanish CNT comrades meeting every evening in the same building take no part in this French group.

Very good reading-room plus social facilities are available every day, noon to 8 p.m. near metro Oberkampf.

Paris appears full of Anarchists at week-ends, when groups of comrades sell *le Libertaire* at the various city gates, including very bourgeois areas such as Porte d'Orléans.

In the Midi (Nice area) there have been two recent bomb attempts against the munitions supply-line to South Vietnam: a goods train carrying such munitions was in one instance partly destroyed, a contact-bomb being fixed with fuse—attached to a tap in the driver's cab, the dynamite placed round edges of windows on the train. Most of this freight-train was destroyed but no one was injured.

A. MAXWELL.

## FIFTH COLUMN

### MISSING

FIRST AN APOLOGY. The first part of my column last week, which consisted of comment on and quotes from a piece by T. E. Uttley of the *Sunday Telegraph*, did not include any quote marks. I only hope that more discriminating readers were able to distinguish my own words from those of Mr. Uttley.

### PARTICULARLY USEFUL

THE section which follows is more parasitic even than usual. I quote from a reprint of a review of a book. The book is *Air War: Vietnam* by Frank Harvey (Bantam, 5s.). The review by Robert Crichton appeared in the *New York Review of Books* and was reprinted last week by *New Society*.

The quotes are from the book:

So it was fortunate that young pilots could get their first taste of combat under the direction of a forward air controller over a flat country in bright sunshine where nobody was shooting back with high-powered ack-ack. He learns how it feels to drop bombs on human beings and watch huts go up in a boil of orange flame when his aluminium napalm tanks tumble into them. He gets hardened to pressing the fire button and cutting people down like little cloth dummies, as they sprint frantically under him. He gets his sword bloodied for the rougher things to come.

Napalm, or jellied gasoline, comes in aluminium tanks with fuses of white phosphorous. When it hits and ignites, the burning napalm splatters around the area, consuming everything burnable that it strikes. Napalm is considered particularly useful for destroying heavily dug-in gun emplacements since it deluges a large area with rolling fire, and rushes, burning, down into narrow openings. You might spend a long time and a lot of high-powered bombs trying to get a direct hit on a gun pit that, if you were, using napalm, you could wipe out in one pass. Napalm also is said to be effective against troops hiding in caves and tunnels since it suddenly pulls all the oxygen out of the tunnel by its enormous gulp of combustion, and suffocating anyone inside.

According to the review the book is 'the most complete record so far of what American airmen are actually doing to the people of Vietnam'.

It is likely to be an understatement since Frank Harvey was sent to Vietnam by the Pentagon and *Flying*, an aviation magazine.

### PECULIARLY CONCERNED

MEN go grey-faced when the sack comes. A dirty dustbin shade of grey, of men who feel themselves to be rubbish.

Very often they have shivering attacks. I saw men in Brough and around sitting in their homes struggling to control arms and legs and heads shivering in the bitterest cold a man's soul can know.

I feel so helplessly angry. We've had this over us for weeks and weeks, knowing 400 were going to be sacked but not knowing if Jimmy would be among them. Not knowing whether to write after other jobs or not.

It's been like being condemned without knowing if we would be reprieved.

We'll have to leave—there's no work in Hull. But it's Jimmy I'm worried about at the moment. To put a man out of work is surely the wickedest thing you can do to him.

Extracts from a newspaper feature last Saturday. The *Morning Star*, the *Sun*, the *Daily Mirror*? Wrong: the *Daily Express*. Since when has the *Express* espoused the cause of the working class against their bosses?

Merrick Winn, the writer of the article, explains:

I went to Hull, not to describe the material effects of being thrown out of work because the Government doesn't want to sell Buccaneer aircraft to South Africa.

I wanted to know what the sack does to the man, his body, mind, and soul.

The body, mind and soul of a man sacked from a factory which makes military airplanes is more precious to the board of Beaverbrook newspapers than the bodies, minds and souls of the men they sack from time to time.

WYNFORD HICKS.

## I'm Backing Freedom

### MOVING FUND

Target is £500.  
Received to date—£312 13s. 10d.

### PREMISES FUND

Target is £1,000 per year.  
Pledges received to date—£359 18s.  
Pledges honoured to date—£187 13s.

## All Roads Lead to Anarchism

Continued from page 1  
cited the taking over of abandoned army camps after World War II,\* and the \*See *Anarchy* 23, Freedom Press, 2/- (30 cents).

King Hill Hostel activity, as successful examples of direct action.

This led to direct action against war and the state's preparations for war, and to Nicolas Walter's account of his participation in the 'Spies for Peace' uncovering of the RSGs, and also his more recent public protest against the British Labour Government's position in the Vietnam war, which cost him two months in prison.

'War is the Health of the State', and, as Jack Robinson said: to speak of a healthy state is like talking about a healthy cancer. The anarchist doesn't want a healthy state, he wants a healthy society.

The next speaker, on war and violence, was Paul Goodman, who distinguished between spontaneous individual violence in certain circumstances, and organised violence in any. When people are under a terrible oppression as, say, the negroes in the United States or the Parisians during Hitler's occupation of Paris, it seems inevitable they are going to blow up and fight back. That seemed to him like a force of nature and you can do nothing about a law of nature. On the kind of violence used by partisans, for instance, he thought it brutalises people but it is human and he didn't think a moral judgement could be made on it. But the killing in organised warfare, which is not your own anger pouring out, turns you into a thing, because violence involves too much of you to do it at somebody else's direction.

Irene Rooum also disapproved of governments because they wage war; she didn't want to die and didn't want her children to die or be involved in killing—people they have never met. . . .

Within the remainder of this packed 45 minutes the discussion managed to cover utopianism and the practicability of attaining or working towards anarchy (it seemed to George Melly that, with thousands of people who haven't enough to eat, diseases as yet unchecked, while energies and resources were used in putting enormous quantities of metal up in space, the argument against anarchism that it is an impractical idealism was un-

proven; and on the positive side the example of workers' control in Yugoslavia was enthusiastically introduced by Paul Goodman); the growing cynicism among voters; the turning aside on the part of the young, and concluded with pointers to the degree of liberalisation in education, and in personal and sexual freedom that has already taken place in the last 20 years.

There were one or two interesting complexities in some statements. For example, the man who was the only one to introduce into the text the artificiality of the acquisitive society [and the falsity of the need for everyone to work all the time, especially at unpleasant jobs], citing particularly the motor car which is one of the great killers of our time, yet people are impressed with the idea that they are a failure if they don't own one—an idea which is entirely linked with the economic situation where people have to make and sell motor cars and therefore more and more have to be used, was at the same time the one participant who declined to name himself an anarchist because he felt to be an anarchist it was necessary to rid oneself of almost everything except your own body and the clothes you stood in—and he as a man who had a house and a car. . . .

Another interesting note was the assessments of the police and prison systems of the former by the man who had fallen foul of the police without a resultant imprisonment, whose belief that the police were a purely repressive agency this experience had transformed into the 'necessary evil' image—that in present society the police is a crutch, and rather than now say we ought to be rid of the police, he would say that the society that needs a police force is sick; and of the latter by the man who had been 'inside', who knew with total conviction that in order to try and prevent people from harming other people to put them into a room and lock them up was the worst thing that could be done—he could not think of anyone there who would be a worse danger outside than he would be when released after the incarceration.

The programme will be repeated on Radio 3 on Tuesday, January 30, 1968. M.C.

## PRESS FUND

WEEK 2, JANUARY 13, 1968:

Estimated Expenses:

2 weeks at £90:	£180
Income: Sales and Subs.:	£246
SURPLUS:	£66

### PRESS FUND

Graz, Austria: G.A. £1/10/-; London, S.W.6: T.H. 10/-; Manchester: M. & M.S. 10/-; Peterborough: F.W. 2/2; Cardiff: D.H. £1/1/-; Chicago: J.C. £1; London, W.2: F.W. £2/10/-; Canada: A.B. £2/10/-; London, S.E.3: J. & T.C. £2/10/-; Ithaca, N.Y.: X.R. 4/-; Oxford: B.H. 10/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.\* 2/-; J.L.\* 3/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.\* 10/-; Belfast: H.M. 1/6; Welwyn: M. £1; Hartford: D.S. 12/3; British Columbia: E.S. 15/6; Glasgow: A.J. 2/3; New York: N.A. £1.

TOTAL: £17 3 8  
Previously Acknowledged: £19 15 5

1968 Total to Date: £36 19 1  
Balance B/F Surplus: £66 0 0

TOTAL SURPLUS: £102 19 1

\*Denotes Regular Contributor.

# Britain's baffled Brains

THE OLD ARMY saying 'Bullshit Baffles Brains' is certainly very true. Boyd Carpenter put forward the suggestion on television that to help Britain out of her financial difficulties we should work Saturday mornings for nothing. He was prepared to attend the House of Commons on Saturday for nothing, the only snag to that suggestion of course was that he would PRODUCE NOTHING. Which is the exact amount that is produced in Parliament all week every week WHEN they sit.

Arising from Boyd Carpenter's suggestion, five typists decided to work an extra half hour per day for no extra pay and overnight five stars were born. The Bullshit for Britain Campaign had begun. The employers were highly delighted—Robert Maxwell, Labour MP and wealthy publisher, Marks and Spencer, Butlins, Great Universal Stores and last, but by no means least, Lord Thomson grabbed their chances and climbed on the band-

## Contact Column

This column exists for mutual aid. Donations towards cost of typesetting will be welcome.

**Libertarian Teachers' Association.** Meeting to discuss organisation and future activities. All welcome. 7.30 p.m., Thursday, January 25. Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Road, N.1.

**Love and War Poems** by Kenneth Patchen. To be published this month. Advance orders to Dennis Gould, 56 Jackson Avenue, Mickleover, Derby. (2/6d. or 1 dollar).

**Freedom Weekly?** Eight pages every week? If all readers could get one extra subscription—it could be done. You may prefer to sell by the week. We can let you have copies on sale or return.

**Student Anarchism.** New fiery magazine starting beginning of this year. Enquiries from students, as well as articles, welcome. R. Bebb, 103a Camden Road, N.W.1.

**Flats and Houses Cleaned.** Simple redecoration and gardening jobs wanted. A. W. Uloth, 75 Templars Avenue, London, N.W.11.

**Pamphlets.** 'The Origins of the Spanish Revolutionary Movement' (M. Dasher)—2/6; 'Surrealism and Revolution' (anthol.)—2/6; 'Sixteen-Forty-nine, story of Diggers and Levellers'—5/-; Coptic Press, 7 Coptic Street, London, W.C.1.

**Commune.** Money without strings wanted to set up 'acritic' commune in Colchester. Agriculture and light industry. Write to Desmond Jeffery, Burnt Oak, East Bergholt, Colchester.

**International Anarchist Camp 1969.** Proposed to hold it in S.E. England—offers of assistance, suggestions for suitable sites to Jim Huggon, 173 Kingshill Avenue, Northolt, Middlesex.

**'Save Greece Now' Defence Fund.** Donations for Terry, Mike and Del) to Brett Carthey, 8 Vincent Square Mansions, Walcott Street, London, S.W.1. Use Registered Post. Money and letters fail to arrive.

**Malcolm Shepherd.** Please get in touch with John Walker.

**Ian Celnick** please get in touch with J.R. at Freedom Press.

**East Anglia.** If you're near Ipswich, call on us. We stock all Freedom Press publications, and have FREEDOM and Anarchy regularly. Orwell Books, 44 Upper Orwell Street, Ipswich, Suffolk.

**Insurrection.** Essex & East Herts. Newsletter, c/o K. Nathan, 138 Penny-mead, Harlow, Essex.

**Van Wanted.** With or without driver to cover Aldermaston march—literature, speakers' stand, etc. Easter week-end April 11-15. Reply to LFA, Libra House.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

wagon. They know a possible good thing when they see it.

Harold Wilson saw a dream coming true. 'The Leader of my beloved people.' A telegram of congratulations was the done 'thing' and was promptly sent. Wilson realises that in the final analysis the only people who can solve the problems of Britain, or any other country for that matter, are the Joe Soaps, if he can 'con' their co-operation and support (even to their own detriment) he is half-way home.

Usually to arouse patriotism in a country an enemy has to be discovered or invented. As far as Britain was concerned it used to be the French, then it was the Germans, then the Russians. The Chinese would make a good patriotic enemy but they are too far away to be used.

A fresh approach is now being used—'Little Englanders', 'Buy British', in fact a Benevolent Fascism, is an attempt to sidetrack Joe Soap from the real causes of the 'crisis'. 'Crisis' in terms of underpaid workers, shortcomings in the health services (particularly mental health), old age pensioners existing

just above the bread line, and the ever-existing shadow of a third world war.

Under the system of society we live in today, 'half a day extra', 'Buy British' and 'increased productivity' are just so many useless pep pills—a day's dream in exchange for four days' reality.

These crises are not new, we have always had them in one form or another. The attempted solutions have always taken the same basic form, elect fresh leaders each one promising the only solution providing one puts their faith in them.

To date Bullshit continues to Baffle Joe Soap's brains, the only solution is for Joe to take over, therefore all activity must be channelled toward that end. We cannot afford to be misled by the gimmicks of the politicians. All such gimmicks should be placed in their rightful place—the waste-paper basket.

Balls! to Backing Britain. All power to JOE SOAPS Backing THEMSELVES. Britain does not belong to Joe Soap—by act of birth it happens to be his prison.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

## Seamen Redundancy Threat

SEAMEN WILL HAVE to face massive redundancy over the next few years as the trend increases towards fewer and larger ships.

'Containerisation'—one of the main threats to their jobs—started on Monday (15.1.68) when the country's first regular service started between Tilbury and Rotterdam. (Containerisation is a method of packing as many cargoes as possible in a standardised form—boxes of the same size—so the handling of them can be mechanised as much as possible. It is also easier to cram much more into the ship.)

But the container service which seamen ought to watch with most concern starts between Tilbury and Australia next year. Nine container ships on this service could, if used to capacity, displace 100 conventional ships.

They could carry up to 80% of the total Australian trade and quite probably displace 47 ships. This service will be run by a consortium of Overseas Containers Ltd. (in which Sir Andrew Crichton has a share) and Associated Container Transportation. This consortium has already offered to pay transportation costs of the containers to Tilbury (which from Glasgow would cost £50 per container) in an effort to capture most of this trade.

This shows the lengths consortiums will go to try and achieve a monopoly or near monopoly. The dangers of monopoly obviously increase with the trend

for fewer and fewer ships run by fewer and fewer consortiums. With the monopoly comes the ability to withdraw offers such as that above and the chance to raise prices.

On the North Atlantic routes the number of ships could be cut by as much as 70%.

The same is happening with oil tankers, which are getting bigger and bigger without needing extra seamen. Capt. A. F. Dickson (Chief Marine Superintendent of Shell International Marine) has said that 200,000 tonners will be common by 1970 and 300,000 tonners are already being built. The total crew will be 32 men and 'substantial reductions in manning are being made' he said, as mobility of labour is achieved.

Mr. C. F. Cufley (Shipping Economist and Consultant) has pointed out how automation can increase tonnages to a huge extent while increases in the total wage bill is minute in proportion. With no increase in the wage bill tonnages can be increased by up to 100,000 tons. And the daily operational and management costs of a 10,000 ton tanker is £250 while for a 500,000 tonner it is only £725 (50 times the tonnage for three times the wages).

So unless seamen stand together and demand work sharing and a drastic reduction in their working period over a year without loss of pay a lot of them are going to be without a job.

M.P.

## Campaign for Camden?

WITH FULL-PAGE advertisements in local papers, and supporting editorials and front-page articles, the latest diversion from real life got off the ground last week in Camden.

The 'Campaign for Camden' describes itself as 'an independent and responsible group of concerned residents' who aim to fool 'the apathetic and fickle' voters into believing that they 'can play a real and worthwhile part in politics'.

This 'non-party' group are to run a campaign to help people 'to realise what is at stake next May—to make them go out and vote'. To vote for the 'dedicated council with ideas and imagination': to vote Labour, 'because no better alternative to the Labour Council exists'.

Who paid for the advertisements? Who thinks people are stupid enough to

believe it is 'not here to help the Labour Party' when they are attempting to do just that?

The advertisement is headed: 'If you think politics stinks and that we are doomed to be led by fools, you clearly don't know anything about your own Borough of Camden'. There are many libertarians in Camden, and Labour Party front organisations should beware of such provocative talk. The campaign is of course doomed from the start, even though it is backed by the Communist Party(!).

Those interested in a counter-campaign for Camden should contact the  
CAMDEN LIBERATION FRONT,  
c/o FREEDOM PRESS  
(C.L.F. badges 1/- from above address)

PADDY O'COGNAC.

# Freedom For Workers' Control

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## ENGINEERS' NEW PAY CLAIM

FOR THE PAST three years the wages, holidays and conditions for shipbuilding and engineering workers have been part of a package deal affecting nearly three million employees. Because the workers affected by this agreement are scattered throughout industry as a whole, these agreements are seen as the linch-pin of the national wage structure.

When the 1964 'package deal' was finally wrapped up, it was welcomed by the Government and employers alike. While awarding only 10/- extra for craftsmen, to be spread over the three years, it gave higher rates for the lower-paid men and brought women's pay very close to that of male labourers. I wrote at the time (FREEDOM, 19.12.64) that the agreement was a wage freeze and was 'part and parcel of the Incomes Policy of the Labour Government, but under a less discredited name'. Mr. Boyd, for the unions, said, 'Our decision indicates our desire to assist the Labour Government in the terrific economic problems facing the nation. The Labour Government said it wants an incomes policy, based on keeping earnings in with rising production, which is one of the main points in the draft agreement.'

During the period of the 'package deal', the increases were frozen and delayed six months, as with other agreements, and Mr. Boyd, because he was in favour of these policies of the Government, lost the election for Presidency of the Amalgamated Engineering Union to Mr. Scanlon.

While the national wage structure for the engineers has been low, £11 per week in some cases, wages are made up (without overtime) by bonus earnings. Mr. Boyd said one thing to the employers and the Government, but when he tried to justify the 1964 agreement to his members, he said it would not affect 'the normal argy-bargy on piece-work prices'. I wrote at the time that it was a good job that it would not.

### 'WAGE DRIFT'

The Prices and Incomes Board's report on pay and conditions in the industry says that nationally agreed rates of pay bear no relation to the pay received by the overwhelming majority of workers. The report states that 'the average earnings for a standard week in engineering lie within the range of 20% to 60% higher than the minimum earning level, depending on the class of worker'.

This is due to the bonus earnings, piece-work rates, etc., negotiated by the shop stewards with the industrial managements and on which most members rely for a reasonable wage packet. They are described as 'wage drift' and this is not the first PIB report in which these types of earnings have been condemned. They do create inequalities in the sense that a well-organised section in a factory could push ahead while another section lagged behind. At one time, employers could pay extra piece-work earnings, but now, due to increased competition, cost structures have to be adhered to. In order to achieve this, employers are introducing a system of measured day work payments whereby each job is timed by the company and a wage rate assessed. This means that the shop stewards can no longer bargain over the rate of pay for a job.

The Executive of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions have decided to press their claim for a 'substantial all-round increase' and are writing to the employers federation for a meeting to hear the reply to their claim. The unions consider that the PIB's report goes outside its terms of reference when it condemns the claim for an all-round increase and should have confined itself

to examining the three-year package deal which is just ending.

The PIB says that only the lower-paid workers should receive increases, together with those tied to productivity deals at local level. However, the Incomes Policy of the Government was supposed to increase the wages of the lower-paid workers, while those of the more fortunate brother stood still. It did not work, because the employers only pay up when they have to and the lower-paid suffer lower wages because the union organisation at national level and, more important, at job level is not strong enough.

### 3½% CEILING

It remains to be seen whether the newly-elected left-winger, Mr. Scanlon, can win this claim for his members and whether industrial action is taken to secure it should the employers and the Government turn it down.

While Mr. Wilson, the Prime Minister, has agreed with the 3½% ceiling of the TUC, the workers facing rising prices and rents feel that the figure is too low, and the employers' organisation, the Confederation of British Industry, thinks it is too high and is seeking a meeting with the Government. I think the employers will be very reluctant to pay up on an all-round increase. The 3½% formula might be a way of saving face all round, but Mr. Jones of the PIB would be against such an increase and no doubt any agreement will be put before his board.

So far, no union has really challenged the Government since the July, 1966, wage freeze. It is doubtful that it will happen now. Instead it will be left to union organisation in factories to put forward and struggle for their own demands. While this is becoming increasingly more difficult, it still remains the only way to defend the wage packet against the ever increasing cost of living.

P.T.

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