

# Victory to National LIBERAL Front?

IT IS A good idea to read 'The Political Programme of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam', as it helps one to know what one is supporting or attacking, as the case may be. One might even change one's mind after reading it.

The Front was founded in 1960 and since then it claims that it has 'achieved a broad unity of the various sections of the people, the political parties, organisations, nationalities, religious communities and patriotic personalities' with the view of fighting together for 'national salvation', whatever that may mean.

The first section of the programme, headed 'Unite the Entire People, Fight the US Aggressors, Save the Country' is based on Vietnamese patriotism. All the reactionary words are there: 'traitors', 'nation', 'compatriots', 'our country', 'the Fatherland', words that have and are being used to justify many a slaughter—slaughter of the ordinary people who find, when they have defeated the 'enemy', that they still have the bosses on their backs, and that their sacrifice is soon forgotten when the war is over. It is patriotism that hides the true conflict between slave and master, between employee and boss; it is patriotism which is used by all ruling classes to help them stay in power when they come into conflict with another group of rulers. It is patriotism which grows, after victory, into nationalism and imperialism, oppressing other groups, who then use their patriotism to fight against the new oppressors. And so it goes on. War after war after war. The only struggle which will end war is that which is against patriotism, authority and government. The oppressed have no fatherland. —'The South Vietnam Front for Liberation is working resolutely for the unity of all social strata and classes, all nationalities, all political parties, all organisations, all religious communities, all patriotic personalities, all individuals, and all patriotic tendencies, in order to struggle together against the US imperialists and their lackeys, wrest back our sacred national rights and build up the country.'

And after victory, what? Will the new government be satisfied with its power? Once the US armies are ousted will other external enemies take their place? France, USA and Italy had their 'national revolutions', yet they became imperialists. Who are the imperialists in eastern Europe?

—'Only when real independence is achieved can we have peace.'

Is there peace in China, the Yemen, India, Nigeria and the Sudan? Is there peace in Indonesia? Are Israel and the Arab states at peace? But perhaps these states aren't independent because they are tied economically to others. But no state can be self-supporting economically,

so no state can achieve 'real independence'; therefore peace is impossible as long as states exist.

The programme then goes on to state the domestic policy of the NLF.

—'To confiscate the property of the US imperialists and their cruel agents, and turn it into state property.'

As anarchists, we are opposed to state property, as the state itself is an employer. Like many modern employers it will often improve physical working conditions, not out of humanitarian reasons, but in order to increase production, rejecting the workers when it does not need them (i.e. the miners today in the UK). In spheres where property is state-owned the workers still have to fight the employer-state, by the usual methods. State-ownership will not solve the problem of alienation or give the workers a say in the way the factories are run. Many Marxists are now turning away from nationalisation to workers' control, a position that anarchists have always held.

—'To guarantee to workers and employees the right to take part in the management of enterprises.'

Here again we have the liberal sham of workers participation. Who will have the ultimate power, the workers or the management? We can guess on which side the weight of the state will be brought to bear.

—'The state will encourage capitalists in industry and trade to help develop industry, small industry and handicrafts.'

Quite an interesting mixture: state control, workers' participation and private

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## Another Forgery Charge

FOLLOWING the raid on Freedom Press and at Stuart Christie's home for 'explosives', the Director of Public Prosecutions has started proceedings against Stuart—under the Forgery Act of 1913!

He was summonsed as follows: 'For that you on the 27th February, 1968 at ..... had in your possession 4,000 pieces of paper upon which had been printed words, marks and devices peculiar to and used on banknotes of one dollar of the United States of America contrary to section 9 (E) of the Forgery Act, 1913, and have to appear before the Magistrate's Court at Bishops Road, Highgate, N.6, on Wednesday, 1st of May.'

These are of course the same type of propaganda leaflets that Terry Chandler and others were charged with having in their possession. Terry Chandler was conditionally discharged on this score and is in the process of appealing against the sentence.

As the courts haven't found time as yet to deal with Terry's appeal, for which he applied in January, this new prosecution against Stuart Christie can only be described as petty, vindictive and vexatious.

The deliberate choice of May 1 by the police for the commencement of the proceedings suggests that the police want to divert comrades from the May 1 demonstration to attend Stuart's trial.

The Libertarian Defence Committee will be reconvened at the earliest opportunity to help Stuart fight his case.

Letters and telegrams of protest should be sent to the Home Secretary.

R.

# Protest—A Right & A Necessity



IT IS EASY to see why the British are a nation of dog-lovers. Dogs are easily tamed, servile domestic pets, kept on a lead of a length determined by their masters, faithful, loyal, sentimental (or at least their masters can be sentimental about their faithfulness and loyalty). They are grateful for being fed, housed and de-loused, they will mourn pitifully on their master's grave, they will guard his property, they will fight for him, work for him, rounding up his sheep, hunting his enemies and bringing back the victims of his gun; they will bark (even at people in uniform) but not bite—especially the hand that feeds them. If a dog does bite, it would be allowed just one bite, and then, if it transgresses again, be painlessly destroyed according to due process of law. The dog is the perfect British citizen.

It is said that dog-owners grow to look like their pets, but in a nation of dog-lovers this is not enough. We have to live like dogs. We have to be grateful for the draughty kennel and the plate of scraps; grateful for the opportunity to bring our master's slippers to his warm fireside; grateful for being allowed to bark (but not to bite); grateful above all for the length of our lead.

The myth of British freedom revolves precisely around the point and the fact that British citizens do not strain against the lead. When they do, everyone falls over in surprise and confusion reigns. Even more alarm is raised when John Bull's bulldog starts to bark in his own interests instead of John Bull's—and when he starts to bite, then, oh then, flabby hands reach out for the humane killer.

Freedom in Britain is really very like the nuclear deterrent. It must be held by the Government on our behalf, but it must never be used. We are told it is there, and every now and again we are asked to fight and die to defend it, but we must not ask to see it, feel it, taste it, savour its flavour, for of course freedom is very heady wine, and is after all the most dangerous weapon in the world. This is why the Government will not let us have it.

In a 'democratic' country like this, there is never any real examination of the nature of freedom. Channels exist for the expression of dissent, and this is held to be freedom enough. You can write letters to your MP, and if you are terribly lucky, he may ask a question in the House; you can write a letter to the Press, and if you are terribly lucky it may get printed; you can hold a meeting, and if you are terribly lucky a few hundred people may come to it; you can organise a

march, and the police will march alongside you with their batons down their trousers; we can run to the fullest extent of our leads—and be pulled up sharp, choking, while our strangled barks are drowned by the howling of countless faithful hound-dogs baying at the moon.

The frustration that this engenders is precisely why we are now seeing a change in the nature of social protest. In fact, what we are beginning to see emerge in this country for the first time for many, many years is social protest, instead of polite political dissent. The great marches organised by CND in its heyday were stage-managed by politically orientated leaders concerned to put pressure on the Government of the day who hoped that with a change of governing party, a change of policy with regard to nuclear weapons would follow.

We—the anarchists—knew that this was merely part of the democratic myth, and although we parti-



icipated in those marches—indeed on the first, original march (the one that went to Aldermaston) there was almost a predominance of anarchists—it was in a spirit of protest against the State's possession of genocidal weapons. We did not hope that a change of government would bring about a change of heart.

We knew then, and more and more people are coming to the same conclusion now, that the fight against the Bomb was really a fight against the State. Only States have the resources to make horror weapons, only States have the means to brain-wash thoughtless citizens to accept the economic hardships and political double-think that go with them, only States have political power, to defend which H-bombs appear to be necessary, only States have the requisite ruthlessness even to think of using them.

The disillusionment which has led to the decay of CND was, therefore, predictable. As soon as a change of government revealed that there would be no change in nuclear

policy, because the State does not change with a change of government, the heart went out of the respectable leaders of CND.

They had not thought out the implications of what they were about. No more do the solid citizens of Britain think out the implications of the 'freedom' they pretend to enjoy.

Freedom is in part the ability to live out our lives without the threat of nuclear war. It is also the ability to live every day with responsibility and dignity in every small thing that makes up our lives. It is not only the right to a say in how we die; even more, it is the right to a say in how we live.

This means that wherever we work, in school, college, factory, hospital, in the home, on the roads or in the sky, we shall have a say about the conditions under which we work. It means that, whether we be seven or seventy, black or white, male or female, we shall have a say in the running of our lives, in the decisions that affect us and in the quality of our living. It means that people are not subjugated to economic systems or authoritarian structures.

It is because we think there is now a groping—to put it no higher—towards this kind of radical concept, that we say there is now emerging a change in social protest. For example, the fact that students are beginning to demand a say in the running of their affairs indicates a demand for responsibility beyond the implications of protest on temporary issues. We naturally associate ourselves with students' protests on Vietnam (where these call for an end to the slaughter and not merely a bloody victory for the other side!) but of more lasting significance is the demand for student power. For this is the equivalent in university life of workers' control in the factory, and it is not until the people at the bench and at the desk are in control of their own lives that the State can be defeated and the threat of war removed for ever.

As far as methods are concerned, it is clear that the 'proper channels' exist only to restrict protest within the realms of polite dissent. If what you want is simply to tell someone in power to do something other than what he is doing now, then the 'proper channels' will suffice. But if what you want is to get all people in power off your back then they are useless, and other techniques have to be evolved. The full range of revolutionary techniques need not occupy us here, for in Britain at least we are only at the beginning

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# Sicily After The Earthquake

ONE MONTH after the earthquake in Sicily we can draw up a balance-sheet. More corpses have been dragged from the ruins and more have died because of sickness, pneumonia, meningitis, etc.

There have been many political councils at the communal, regional and state level to consider the situation. Trade union leaders, members of parliament, government officials, have all studied the situation. Meetings, assemblies, conventions and strikes have characterized this period, a period of waiting on the part of the population still exposed to cold and all the civil and hygienic inconveniences of life in tents and sheds.

But the measures taken up to now are insufficient to meet the immense damage done by the earthquake. In Trappese alone, the damage amounts to 153 milliards lire, but we know that in many other provinces cracks in buildings and schools have caused them to be declared unusable. There are grave problems concerning the poorer quarters and schools. In Palermo, a city comparatively remote from the main centre of the earthquake, four working class districts have been affected, so that many houses have been evacuated.

People have occupied new dwelling blocks recently completed, even though not yet fitted with heating and water supply. Meanwhile, the authorities have denounced this 'invasion' of other people's property. Perhaps these folk

## Report from Comrades in Earthquake Zone

Dear Comrade,  
 Here is a letter just received. I am well. None of the comrades are dead; in the village, 21.

Life in the tent cities is hard. The Navy has erected excellent tents but each holds 21 people, who live promiscuously and because of this everyone sleeps in their clothes. Imagine the faces of modest people! Everyone coughs, periodically on fine days, madly on wet days.

It's a life that tears your hearts, while the government officials continue to cackle as the last insult to the misery.

As regards clothing supplies, there's waste. Our comrades cannot be traced, nobody knows where they are. I am here, Giovanni Mjono and Pietro Truglio are 4 kilometres away, Salvatore Biondo and Natale Lombardo are only 3 kilometres, while Gaetano Giaramito has emigrated.

Nothing known about the others.

Very best wishes,  
 Luigi Li Causi, at S. Ninfa,  
 tr.: j.w.s.  
 (From *Agitazione dell sud*, Palermo, February, 1968.)

from the 'ghettos' of Palermo don't know that some time ago six milliards had been allocated to finish these blocks, a law passed and plans drawn up, but the local authority had taken no action. The mystery is cleared up when you remember that the local authority tends to favour private enterprise housing, especially certain entrepreneurs, rather than public housing projects.

And the schools? To date the elementary schools don't function, they await the attention of the civil engineers. Middle schools have been opened in private houses with small rooms and narrow, or even winding staircases. One can imagine the danger to the schoolchildren if the earthquake shocks begin again. It's noteworthy that the inter-students' council has proposed the requisitioning of some barracks and other large buildings. Today's youth have the more intelligent approach!

From all this it will be seen that the situation is grave, and there's not much hope of it getting better. Evidently, the Central Government, the regional autho-

rities and the banks are not disposed to be generous. The old anti-South policy of the government continues in all its tragic nature. All that remains is popular initiative, the only way of defending one's right to live. Recently there has been a general strike in all the centres of the Island, and, for the first time, the three big trade unions have been united. All the same, we must admit that this strike has had all the defects of an official initiative, coming from above.

There have been many fine speeches, but no energetic protests. Once again it has been shown how well the unions are integrated in the neo-capitalist system and are no longer interested in the welfare of the workers. The earthquake has been another event which has shown somewhat better how the state machine, and authority in general, functions. One has seen how it complicates problems, and is incapable of simplifying them even in a time of emergency.

On the other hand, a profoundly significant example has been set by Citizens' Committees. These, such as Lorenzo Bar-

bera's Study Centre at Partanna and elsewhere, have been formed to take immediate decisions and to take all measures needed to deal with the suffering caused by the earthquake. Meanwhile, the Italian Communist Party, like other official organisms, has not acted as it should. One would have expected some steps of a social nature, or experiments in communal living from these communist administrators, but they attempted nothing revolutionary.

But something of this nature has been attempted by the friends of Dolci, Lorenzo Barbera and others, who have been denounced for calling unauthorized meetings. In short, this earthquake has caused great fear, but we have also felt with our own hands the coldness of this monster they call the State, and it has confirmed our own ideas. We can only hope that these shocks will affect our fellow citizens and that our people will awaken from the profound lethargy into which they had fallen.

There is a saying 'Strike the iron when it's hot'. Indeed, this is the moment for Sicily to arise and to think of its future before it is too late; it's time for Sicily to regain its ancient courage and the indomitable pride of long ago.

tr.: j.w.s.  
 (From *Agitazione dell sud*, Palermo, February, 1968.)

## Around the Galleries

less journey around his aesthetic ratwheel has, at this moment in time, raised him to the summit of his talentless exercises in boredom as an art form. It is a simple formula for success demanding only the courage, the energy and the ability to publicise oneself, a stage, and an avant garde audience desperately seeking to find the meaning of the hole in the centre of the circle.

Andy Warhol lapped onto these shores as a creature of public note with his film *The Chelsea Girls*, and it was the hour's long deliberate banality of the film that had the Town's culture hawks trembling in the aisles, for Warhol asks no more of the machine than that it will run on and on for the sheer repetition in the end deadens all critical faculties leaving only an unanchored mind to absorb without conscious effort the constant flow of repeating forms.

In his film *Sleep* Warhol filmed a man for six hours simply sleeping with one reel turning in a continuous loop, while *Eat* had a man just eating and eating. It is not the films that the audience should examine but themselves and to ask the simple question of why they lack the courage not to sit and face a blank wall for, philistines that they are, they demand that for their money every picture must tell a story.

The Rowan Gallery has now climbed into the act with a display of Warhol's silk screen oil on canvases of his *Most*

*Wanted Men* series produced by the hired help in 1963. I say hired help deliberately for this series of silk screenings of photographs of men taken from the files of the New York police owes little to Warhol beyond the fact that he chose the photographs to be duplicated for, to quote a dedicated admirer of Warhol, *the silk screens are made from photographs taken by somebody else, and the screening is often done by somebody else in Warhol's factory.*

I would hold that the word 'factory' makes the whole business a little tasteless for me for it has the overtones of the broiler chicken industry and I object to the elevation of trash into art merely by attributing these Charing Cross Road-type of posters to a public figure in the instant art world. Again, I protest that there is no mention in the Warhol catalogue that these runoffs are the work of good technicians working without acknowledgement.

Let us accept the obvious and overstated point that if you enlarge any hackneyed piece of printed commercial fodder and constantly repeat and repeat that enlarged image the committed commercialness of the original will fade from the mind as new forms, depths and rhythms assert themselves.

It is accepted, for it was never in dispute, but let us also accept the fact that in these instances the only reason that these screenings grace a gallery wall is because Warhol has lent his name to them. When a minor pop group let it be known that their sole contribution to the making of a gramophone record was that it carried their name on the

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## Anarchist Federation of Britain

General enquiries should be sent to the London Federation.

Demonstrate in a great anti-government march and meeting on Wednesday, May 1 (11.45 a.m. Tower Hill)! Offer your help to the London May Day Committee, 29 Love Walk, S.E.5.

**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 LFA.  
 New Meeting Place, Marquis of Granby, Cambridge Circus, Charing Cross Road. Sundays 8 p.m.  
**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.** Contact: 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 Gannip's, 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m.  
 3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald and Irene Rogoos's, now at 13 Savernake Road, London, N.W.3.  
 3rd Friday of each month at Dennis Fen's, 314 St. Paul's Road, Highbury Corner, N.1 (above Roundabout Self-Service).

### 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, Collater Climbing Club. Contact Iain MacDonald, 15 Cotton Street, Aberdeen.  
**BIRMINGHAM LIBERTARIAN AND ANARCHIST GROUP.** All anarchists, syndicalists, individualists, etc., please contact Geoff and Caroline Charlton, 32 Swindon Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham 17 (near Portland Road). Note new address.  
**BOLTON.** Get in touch with Les Smith, 22 Goswold 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 Nick Heath, Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road, Brighton. Poetry readings 8 to 10 Pool Coffee Bar, Pool Valley, Brighton.  
**BRISTOL ANARCHISTS.** Contact Susie Fisher

and Adam Nicholson at 15 The Paragon, Bristol, 8. **FIFE 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 Clowes, 46 Hughton Road Marshalswick, St. Albans, Herts.  
**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.  
**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. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.  
**READING ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Alan Ross, 116 Belmont Road, Reading, Berks.

**ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION**  
 Three-monthly meetings. Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o Keith Nathan, 138 Penny-mead, Harlow, Essex.  
 Group Addresses:  
**BASHLON.** M. Powell, 7 Lingercroft, Basildon, Essex.  
**BISHOPS STORTFORD.** Vic Mount, 'Eastview', Castle Street, Bishops Stortford, Herts.  
**CHELMSFORD.** (Mrs.) Eva Archer, Mill House, Purleigh, Chelmsford, Essex.  
**PURRING.** 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 Store, Harlow.  
**LOUGHTON.** Group c/o Students' Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Borders Lane, Loughton, Essex.  
**MUCH HADHAM.** Leslie Riordan, 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

**NORTH WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION. BUXTON ANARCHIST GROUP.** Secretary: F. A. Gresty, Punchbowl, Manchester Road, Buxton.  
**CHORLEY ANARCHIST GROUP.** Secretary: Keyvin Lynch, 6 Garfield Terrace, Chorley, Lancs.  
**LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST PROPAGANDA GROUP AND 'HIPPI' MOVEMENT.** Gerry Bree, 16 Faulkner Square, Liverpool, 8. Meetings weekly, 'Freedom' Sales—Pier Head, Saturdays, Sundays, Evenings.  
**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.** All correspondence to:—Pete Raymond, 90 Albany Road, Roath.  
**SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact J. Ross, 111 King Edward's Road, Brynmill, Swansea. Weekly meetings. 'Freedom' sales and action projects.

### STUDENT GROUPS

**EAST ANGLIA UNIVERSITY GROUP** (Anarchists and Peace). Contact Dave King, 17 Havelock Road, Norwich.  
**LSE ANARCHIST GROUP.** c/o Student Union, London School of Economics, Houghton Street, W.C.2.  
**OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Steve Watts, Trinity College.  
**SHEFFIELD UNIVERSITY GROUP.** Contact Robin Lovell c/o Students' Union, Sheffield.  
**SOUTHWARK COLLEGE** (New Libertarian Front). Contact Dave Biggs, Room T/7.  
**SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHISTS.** To launch LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY GROUP. Contact us at the Bookstall in the Students Union Entrance Foyer every Friday lunchtime. May 3, 7.30. Students Union — Cartoon Archetypal Slogan Theatre, Dennis Gould and the Sound Structure Quintet, Brian Patten and Adrian Mitchell.  
 the group, an open discussion on Anarchism at the University, Falmer, nr. Brighton, Friday evening, March 1. All welcome. Contact Francis Jarman, 16 Charlotte Street, Brighton BN2 1AG.

### LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

Meetings—discussions—activities. Contact Peter Ford, 36 Devonshire Road, Mill Hill, London, N.W.7.

### PROPOSED GROUPS

**EDINBURGH** anarchists contact Konrad Borowski, 13 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh 3.

Tel.: WAV 7459.  
**TAUNTON LIBERTARIANS.** Contact Jill and John Driver, 59 Beadon Road, Taunton, Somerset. Meetings alternate Friday evenings.  
**CROYDON, NORWOOD, BECKENHAM.** Anarchists, Syndicalists, Libertarian or Pacifist Socialists to form Croydon, Norwood, Beckenham Libertarian Group. Contact Jim Radford or Laurens Otter, 35 Natal Road, Thornton Heath.  
**ELTHAM** (Libertarian/Peace Action). Contact Terry Little, 83 Gregory Crescent, S.E.9.  
**EDGWARE PEACE ACTION GROUP.** Contact Melvyn Estrin, 84 Edgwarebury Lane, Edgware, Middx.  
**FINCH'S (PORTOBELLO ROAD) ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact: Pamela Pearce, 385 Latimer Road, W.10. Meetings every Saturday 1 p.m. at Finch's.  
**LANCASTER AND MORECAMBE ANARCHISTS.** Interested in forming a small but dedicated group? Contact: Terry Ann Higgins and Phil Woodhead, 6 Beecham Street Central, Morecambe.  
**EAST LONDON.** Contact Ron Bailey, 128 Hainault Road, Leytonstone, London, E.11. LEY 8059.

### 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.  
**TORONTO ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact R. Campbell, 219 Torvork Drive, Weston, Ontario, Canada. Weekly meetings.  
**BELGIUM. LEGE. FROVOS.** c/o Jacques Charlier, 11 Avenue de la Laiterie, Sclessins-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.  
**MELBOURNE.** Get in touch with Bob Hopkins, 34 Dorritt Street, Carlton, Victoria 3053, Australia. Public meetings at Yarra Bank, Melbourne.



# VIOLENCE OR NON-VIOLENCE?

IN THE RECENT Hollywood film on the colour-bar problem *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* the negro cook in the white progressive household is disgruntled by the fact that a negro has so far got above himself as to come to dinner and when the negro's fiancée tells her that other guests are coming and says 'Guess who?' the cook understandably ironically replies 'Martin Luther King'. As a tribute to the late Martin Luther King, or merely to be tactful Columbia pictures have now expunged this line from the sound-track. This, along with the New York stock-market's halt in trading for one minute's silence may rank as the most inappropriate tribute to one who was doubtless one of the most admirable figures of our time.

Among other delicate tributes was a statement by Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy. 'I weep for you and your children. When will America learn that to live by the sword is to die by the sword.' It will be remembered that Mrs. Kennedy's late husband who died in similar circumstances to Martin Luther King was initially responsible for accelerating America's intervention in Vietnam.

But to my mind the most hypocritical intervention was that of Stokely Carmichael who according to the London *Times* urged Negroes to arm themselves with guns and take to the streets in retaliation for the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King. According to Carmichael at one time, Dr. King was an 'Uncle Tom'. This seems to be the Black Power swear-word for anyone who disagrees with them in aims or methods. Logically if one was to work out the identity of the assassin of Dr. King on the 'most likely person' theory the answer would seem to be Stokely Carmichael! However, the identity of the assassin would seem to be one of the things, judging by the efforts of the Memphis police, that we shall never know.

## AROUND THE GALLERIES

Continued from page 2  
record sleeve, and that the actual performance was the work of unnamed professional musicians, there was an audible cry of protest from involved minorities for when an audience has this information forced down its throat it is forced to make a simple test of its own powers of judgement and appreciation as to whether they like it as an object in its own right and is it a work of art and on both these tests I would reject these 'Warhol' silk screenings out of hand.

Others may think differently, for when I entered the gallery there were at least six men standing in isolated attitudes of varying degrees of intensity, each man before a blown-up photograph of an unnamed New York alleged criminal, and when I left the gallery those six men were still frozen in their rabbit pose before this high-priced rhubarb. Slim and bearded and with an air of neat poverty, they stood silent within this monastic gallery with no man moving, sunk deep in the agony and the glory of this moment—or maybe they just work for the gallery. ARTHUR MOYSE.

## LETTER

### A Nice Gesture

Dear Comrades,  
Regarding the Greek Demo, April 21, 1968. Wouldn't it be a nice gesture if someone were to present Melina Mercouri with the Glasgow Greek Consulate plaque—with the proviso she returned it when Greece was Free!  
WAT TYLER, S.A.W.

## DOWN AGAIN!!

### FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Estimated Expenses:	
14 weeks at £90:	£1,260
Income: Sales and Subs.:	£957
DEFICIT: £303	
Knockholt: B.R. 16/-; Newcastle-upon-Tyne: C.M. 5/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; San Francisco: Proceeds Festa Bay Area Group: £40; St. Cloud, Minn.: M.A. £12/8/4; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; Hong Kong: M.S. 18/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Vancouver: D.W. 8/9; London, S.W.12: M.N. £4/9/-; Wimborne: T.D. 1/-; Londonderry: I.B. 5/-; Chessington: J.M. 10/-; Leeds: D.S. 1/-.	
TOTAL:	£60 16 1
Previously Acknowledged:	£155 10 6
1968 Total to Date:	£216 6 7
Balance B/F Deficit:	£303 0 0
TOTAL DEFICIT:	£86 13 5

\*Denotes Regular Contributor.

The assassination seems on the face of it to be highly illogical, if indeed Dr. King was, as he seemed to be, the only restraining influence between the black population and the more violent advocates of Black Power—whatever that means—it was folly to remove him. The demonstration which he had appeared at in support of the dustman's strike was a flop because some marchers used their banner poles to smash shop-windows and the police retorted with tear gas. If, as many suspected Martin Luther King's movement was declining, to assassinate him was supererogatory.

But is non-violence a flop? Joan Baez, the folk-singer who runs, of all things, a school for non-violence, said, 'There's only one thing that's a bigger flop than non-violence. That's violence.' Any student of history, or of the Grosvenor Square demonstration can witness to this fact. The elimination of Martin Luther King does not invalidate the justice of his cause. Violence may eliminate people but not ideas.

Martin Luther King was by his activities far more anarchistic than many of the advocates of violence for violence is in itself authoritarian by nature. King tells in *Why We Can't Wait* of a cook in Montgomery who, during the bus boy-

cott was asked by her white employers if she supported the terrible things the negroes were doing, boycotting buses and demanding jobs. 'Oh, no ma'am,' she replied, 'I won't have anything to do with that boycott thing. I am just going to stay away from the buses as long as that trouble is going on.' Theorists of revolution (both violent and non-violent) may expend pages, and Martin Luther King is no exception, on their theories of revolution but ultimately it is the individual acting often instinctively, on his own feelings, common-sense or merely human solidarity, who works out the 'line'. As it says, somewhere or another, 'Do the works and you shall know the doctrine'. King himself once said, quoting Gandhi, I believe, 'There go my people. I am their leader therefore I must follow them'.

King had enough humility and humour to know that his 'leadership' such as it was, was entirely dependent upon the people who stayed off the buses in Montgomery, went to the lunch-counter sit-ins at Greensboro and claimed their rights at Selma. Martin Luther King developed his ideas from Thoreau and he wrote in a letter from Birmingham (Alabama) jail, 'We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor: it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly I have yet to engage in a direct-action campaign that was "well-timed" in the view of those

who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation.' Does this sound like the language of an 'Uncle Tom'?

It is possible that the white establishment is quite aware as to who is their real enemy. In the same way that the police understand physical violence—it is the tradition they have been reared in and they are fully prepared for it, they are not afraid of loud mouth bully boys like Stokely Carmichael because they know that ultimately, providing their own men remain loyal, they can outgun and outman any physical demonstration of Black Power. Black Power, like White Power rests in the hands and feet of black and white. Voting with their feet the Montgomery negroes won the bus boycott. Voting with the ballot box for even the most loquacious advocate of Black Power will not bring freedom but a new kind of slavery with black masters.

It was significant that Martin Luther King's last action was for the dustmen of Memphis—the most despised and rejected of professions. Despised and rejected by the great American labour unions King tried to get their claim heard. He may have failed, and all his successes may have been minor ones but from their emineces he has enabled an oppressed people to see what was possible—based on their own efforts. King is dead—long live the people!

JACK ROBINSON.

## LETTER

us you are against us' but put foreign occupation troops in Britain violently supporting a repressive regime and anarchists would be the first to engage in a guerrilla struggle against them. What would we do to the people who betrayed our comrades? Surely this is the key to understanding the NLF whom thousands of 'the people' support. To cut off supplies from China (as the letter to the chargé d'affaires suggests) would bring about the sort of outcry anarchists made about Russia cutting off supplies to Spain.

Anarchists have got to realise that when the war does end (however it takes place) the people are going to be governed by a state for many years to come. Their analysis must be made with this in mind.

Chorley, Lancs. ALISTAIR RATTRAY.

## NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR HANOI

Our 'Neither Washington nor Hanoi' editorial has brought in many letters from readers, both for and against what we wrote. The letters we publish in this issue have put the points of view most clearly. We are, however, publishing in our next issue further letters on which we feel we should comment. We have to acknowledge letters from Douglas Kepper, Jim Radford, Terry Liddle and others, which space does not allow us to print.

EDITORS.

## WASHINGTON OR HANOI?

Dear Comrades,

Many anarchists seem to find themselves in an insoluble dilemma in interpreting the politics of the Vietnam war. Whilst abhorring the American violence to the people of Vietnam they also deplore the behaviour of NLF guerrillas in executing civilians in the liberated areas (12,000 we are informed by Western sources).

However the alternatives offered for consideration by such groups as the ones which recently handed a letter to the Chinese chargé d'affaires (FREEDOM, 23.3.68) are naive if not positively foolish in the context of this war. If the NLF were to stop fighting in Vietnam so that people would cease to be killed, do these anarchists really think the war would end? The Americans and their fascist puppet government would bring about a reign of terror similar to if not worse than that of Diem. It would also be likely that the Americans would be pressured to press home their victory, by defeating North Vietnam. The Americans have shown that they are quite willing to kill, wholesale, civilians in both North and South Vietnam.

Although it is time to say that 'the State is your enemy' it is politically naive to pretend that some states are less preferable to live in than others. The position of South African native workers is far far worse than that of workers in Britain. There is more freedom of speech and

action for the individual in Britain than e.g. in Greece. The situation may change but at present this is true. It is possible to compare regimes and say that although I would voluntarily choose no state, some are less repressive than others. For all the criticism that can be made of the regimes in countries like China and North Vietnam their regimes were born out of revolutionary liberation struggles. Whilst many ghastly mistakes have been made and will be made, the people of these countries are looking for revolutionary answers to their problems. The classless society is becoming a viable proposition in China, a thing which all of us are working for.

I find it disturbing when anarchists apparently take this liberal sitting on the fence line. The only answer they can possibly get from the NLF or its supporters is the same answer the Black Power advocates have given to the white liberals who won't go far enough in their support for the struggle for liberation of the American Negroes.

At times of war there is always a breakdown in human dignity. Brutality becomes a quality which is fostered in men. However, being a revolutionary I reject the pacifists solution because it is no solution, particularly in the face of the genocide the Americans are meting out.

At times like this in Vietnam the slogan is bound to be 'If you're not with

Continued from page 1

enterprise. But if you are running a national liberation front, you want everyone on your side.

—To enforce freedom of enterprise for the benefit of the nation.'

Surely no comment is necessary here. —To give due consideration to the interests of small traders and shopkeepers.'

It is obvious that the small retailers are as much parasites on society as the big bosses. They are not even satisfied with the profits they make, but try to rob us by giving us short change, light weight, etc. If there is any class where the profit motive permeates throughout all social relationships it is this petit bourgeois class. The communists criticised the anarchists for sequestering the property of small traders during the Spanish Civil War. This is part of the anarchist philosophy. After an anarchist revolution all goods are stored in distribution centres and distributed to people according to their needs. We wish to abolish the profit motive, which is the source of so much misery.

—The state will negotiate the purchase of land from landlords who possess land upward of a certain amount varying with the situation in each locality . . . the recipients will receive the land free of charge . . . land rent reduction will be carried out.'

The ancestors of the landlords and the present-day landlords robbed the peasantry of their land. Why should the peasants have to pay to get it back? They should confiscate it. To say that they will acquire it free of charge is nonsense. They will have to pay for it in taxes, as we have had to pay, and are paying for the nationalisation of the railways, coal mines, etc. Rent reduction is not enough. The system of rent should be abolished. Each peasant should be able to own as much land as he can cultivate without hiring anyone. Co-operatives and communes can be formed,

## Victory to National LIBERAL Front?

if desired. —To entrust the lands belonging to absentee landlords to peasants for cultivation. . . Adequate steps will be taken in this matter at a later stage in consideration of the political attitude of each landlord.'

So, after the NLF victory, if the landlord's political record is passable he will be able to collect rent again. (It is worth noting here that reactionaries have collaborated with the Communists in Eastern Europe and China, when they saw that the Communists were going to win; they have stayed in power because they had the experience of running the state and industry; this sort of activity is not a monopoly of the US.) It is this sort of neglect of the peasants' interests which caused the peasant uprisings against Ho Chi Minh's government in 1956.

—To respect the legitimate right to ownership of land by the churches, pagodas and holy sees and religious sects.'

Henry VIII proceeds to roll over in his grave, to say nothing of the Spanish revolutionaries.

—To settle disputes between employers and employees through negotiations between the two sides and mediation by the national democratic administration.'

It must be obvious now that this party is not a socialist party in any sense of the word. And this is the party that Communists, Trotskyists and Maoists en-thuse about. (How Maoists can attack Russian revisionism and yet support enthusiastically the NLF is beyond one's power of reasoning. But never mind,

that's politics.) As for governmental mediation in industrial disputes, we have seen how that works in Britain.

Most people outside Vietnam see the war as a struggle between two solid blocs: Saigon-US and Hanoi-NLF, with everyone on one side or the other. In reality this is not so. The mass uprisings that the NLF expected in Saigon and Hue during their spring offensive did not occur. Perhaps the people there had read the NLF programme!

And all is not well in North Vietnam. The activities of some people there have been such that the government has had to introduce the death penalty for activities detrimental to the war effort. A Hanoi newspaper has also complained of increasing banditry in remote and coastal areas. Perhaps these are merely robbers (strange to find them in a people's state), perhaps not. One remembers that 'bandit' was often used by communists to describe spontaneous revolts by people opposed to both capitalists and communists. It was used extensively by the Bolsheviks to describe the Russian anarchists. At least, there are some active malcontents in North Vietnam.

We see the NLF as a rising bourgeoisie superimposing itself on an authentic popular uprising. It may well be that there are armed bands and villages resisting the US and Saigon troops, who do not belong to the NLF. This could be one reason why so many cease-fire agreements have been broken, apparently by NLF troops. It could also explain why the following passage appears in the NLF programme:

'It (the NLF) proposes that any force which for one reason or another, does not adhere to its ranks, act jointly against the common enemy—the US aggressors and their lackeys.'

This is our position. We will struggle against US imperialism, but we will do this for the workers and peasants, not

## Chaos or Community?

THE MURDER of Martin Luther King was shocking but not surprising. The riots which have followed it have been neither. One famous man methodically destroyed has more impact than 20 or 100 unknown ones killed in confusion.

In death King recaptured what he was losing to Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown: the allegiance of the urban Negro. But the allegiance was to the man as leader/hero not to his ideas. The blood of the martyr will be the seed not of King's church but of the heresy of Black Power.

There will be more riots. They will be in spite of the concessions that the white establishment will make — and partly because of them. As the machinery of government and the law is used to discourage racism instead of imposing it, the demands of Negroes will escalate. A poor man thrown a crumb from the rich man's table is likely to ask for more.

King's non-violence was made obsolete by its early success. As buses, lunch counters, elections were desegregated, Negroes, particularly in the northern states, began to believe that something could be done about the real issues—jobs, housing, poverty. But the walls of white power did not come tumbling down at a blast from King's trumpet.

And it is significant that King never directed his non-violent assault at the walls. He pleaded instead that his people be allowed to enter the city.

In his latest book *Chaos or Community* (Hodder and Stoughton) he wrote:

*The American racial revolution has been a revolution to 'get in' rather than to overthrow. We want a share in the American economy, the housing market, the educational system and social opportunities.*

King linked the moderation of his political principles with non-violence:

*This goal itself indicates that a social change in America must be non-violent. If one is in search of a better job, it does not help to burn down the factory. . .*

Martin Luther King is mourned not only by Negroes but by white liberals who had a natural sympathy with his philosophy. Moderation and non-violence involved no traumatic intellectual change—and did not threaten life and property.

Martin Luther King is bitterly mourned by the advocates of Black Power: his murder is a battle cry; his funeral rites riots of revenge.

King himself saw very clearly the absurdity of the violent response:

*One of the greatest paradoxes of the Black Power movement is that it talks unceasingly about not imitating the values of white society, but in advocating violence it is imitating the worst, the most brutal and the most uncivilised value of American life.*

It is unfortunate that political moderation, Christian love and non-violence on the one hand and extremism, Black Power and violence on the other are seen as the two alternatives. It is also unfortunate that few Negroes—and few whites—have succeeded in relating the Negro struggle to the rest of American society.

White American society is bureaucratic society, is imperialist society, is the warfare state. Its victims are white Americans and foreigners as well as Negroes. It can only be successfully overthrown by the mass of American people, black and white.

The slogans of Black Power and brotherly love, of segregation and integration, of passive, moderate non-violence and mob violence are no way forward. The American revolution needs a synthesis of the anger of Stokely Carmichael and the non-violence of Martin Luther King—with a strong interjection of libertarian ideas.

There is little prospect of this. The immediate probability is that there will be more riots, more meaningless deaths in the general confusion—and few real gains for Negroes and white Americans alike. WYNFORD HICKS.

for the capitalists, landlords and bureaucrats of the NLF. We will not walk through the streets of London carrying the flags of a neo-capitalist party, nor shout the name of the DRV leader like a crowd of teeny-boppers waiting for their latest pop idol. In the final analysis we support the people of Hue and Saigon who have demonstrated against US imperialism, but would not join the NLF when they were in their cities, unorganised though they may be. Neither Washington nor Hanoi! Solidarity with the Vietnamese people! Only the true social revolution can bring peace and freedom. BOB BLAKEMAN.



# Defy the Wage Freeze Laws

THE WAGE FREEZE is a protection racket for the employers. It has been in operation since July 1966 and is now to be extended for at least another eighteen months. Those who own the wealth produced by the labours of some 25 million working men and women will continue to have the full backing of the State and the Law if they refuse to concede what the latest White Paper calls 'increases not in the national interest'. The result is that money which the employers would normally have to pay out in wage increases will stay in the profit account. The rich will get richer with the full protection of the Labour Government.

The latest freeze fixes a ceiling of 3½% increase—but even this miserable sum will only be allowed if the wage claim satisfies certain 'criteria' laid down by the Government. You must be able to demonstrate to the Minister of Labour that you are working harder, producing

more with less men employed (productivity). Only then will you qualify for a 3½% wage increase.

We are threatened with a catastrophic decline in living standards. While wages are to be held down by Government decree, the cost of living is being pushed up by the monetary policy of this same Government. It is a deliberate policy designed to increase the profitability of industry so that it can compete more favourably with its foreign rivals. Devaluation and the Budget were all part of the same policy.

Apart from its cost to the workers in terms of a lowered standard of life, it more or less guarantees that the same policy will be adopted by the governments and employers of other countries. They are all involved in the same cut-throat game. It has all happened before and led to a slump and eventually to the Second World War. Germany and Italy, having reduced their workers to absolute slavery under a Fascist State and still unable to capture foreign markets, decided in 1939 to shoot it out with the chief rivals, the French and the British. The trade war became a shooting war and millions died and suffered as a result. Yet this is the course that the Labour Government has embarked upon. The wage freeze is but the beginning of the process.

There is one thing however for which we must be grateful. This Government has shown us that the State, whoever is in charge of it—Labour or Tory—is simply the protector of the system. When the employers can't handle the workers on their own they can always rely on the State to come to their aid. From now on if you want more

wages, if you want to see your families properly fed and clothed and leading a happy life with some security, you will have to take on the State as well as the employer.

It is my experience that most workers know this only too well and they naturally feel a bit helpless, divided as they are in different industries with different unions and with the old-time working-class solidarity having been practically drummed out of existence by the modern brand of State Socialists and Communists. Every worker would like a showdown with this Government but they have lost confidence in themselves to carry it through. They know from experience that the top brass of the unions is so tied up in the State machine and so divorced from the workers' problems that they are unlikely to get much help from that quarter. Here and there a Trade Union leader will huff and puff and mutter something about the 'sanctity of collective bargaining', here and there a 'Left' MP will threaten the Government with industrial unrest if the wage freeze continues, but it all amounts to so much chat. By and large, even though their position is becoming more and more impossible, the trade union leaders go along with the law—however disastrous it might be for the future of the unions.

Yet, as everyone knows, if the working class refuse to accept these wage freeze laws, if they press on with their wage claims, if they force the employers to pay up and refuse to be intimidated by threats of legal action, THEY MUST WIN. No law can be enforced if millions ignore it. There just aren't enough policemen nor enough prisons to make the wage freeze work if the working class decides to defy it. J.L.

## May Day

MAY DAY is the day of official rejoicing. Summer is nigh, the first day of another month, children traditionally dance around the maypole, newborn lambs come forth into the world of happiness. Lovers walk hand in hand gazing into each other's eyes thinking of nothing, but the new life which they have found within each other. Into this

## Protest—A Right & A Necessity

Continued from page 1

of the struggle. But at least, and at last, we are beginning. The battle of Grosvenor Square may have alarmed some of those sympathetic to the protesters' aims. The riotous receptions recently accorded some Ministers of the Crown undoubtedly alarmed them! And these were only skirmishes.

What recent protests have begun to do is to serve notice on the State that a growing number of people are no longer prepared to accept everything without protest. We can agree that protest is negative and destructive, in the sense that it is merely saying 'No' to authority. The State may not like that, but when the time comes for us to start being constructive and to be able to assert our alternatives, it will like it even less—for that will be the beginning of the social revolution.

In the meantime, we are learning by our protests. They are not only a right—they are a necessity.

P.S.

## Contact Column

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

**Student**, London, urgently seeks worthwhile part-time work—social, or for a radical organisation. Box No. 7.

**Young girl (or mother with one 2-year-old)** offered own room (June-July-August) plus £2 per week in return for presence (half-days and some evenings) in pacifist home (1 child) in Alkmaar, The Netherlands. Weekend return tickets to Amsterdam provided when desired plus return fare to London. Please write: C. K. Clarke, Honthorstlaan 334, Alkmaar, Netherlands.

**Box No. 4**. Your address has been mislaid. Please write or collect mail.

**Girl wants room** with cheap rent in Camden Town, Islington area. Box No. 5.

**N.F.** of Bournemouth (Press Fund, August 19) please contact Bournemouth group.

**Found: 1 pair Spectacles**. Grosvenor Square, April 17. Steel frames, metal bridge, plastic ear pieces. Inscribed 'Hadley 1-1012 Algra'. Reply Box No. 6.

**'De Vrije' Kalender 1968**. 12 drawings by Arthur Moysse. 4/- (post 6d.) from Freedom Press.

**Student Weekend Conference**. April 27/28, Leicester University. (Free accommodation, bring sleeping bags.) Speakers include: Adelstein (LSE), Barnett (Leicester), Griffin (Aston), Harris (York), Jamieson (Manchester), Kidron (Hull), Kuper (LSE), MacIntosh (Leicester), MacIntyre (Essex), Posner (Essex), Straw (Leeds), Williams (Cambridge), plus Mosler (Berlin) and Rankin (Wisconsin). Topic: 'Strategies for Democratization of the Universities'. Enquiries: contact D. Rosenberg, 51 Evington Road, Leicester.

**Room wanted**. Has any comrade a room to let, however small, furnished or unfurnished, at a reasonable distance from Aldgate East? Lillian Wolfe c/o Freedom Press.

**Neither Washington Nor Hanoi**. Stickers (6/- a 100 including postage), Posters (1/6 each including postage). Keith Nathan, 138 Pennymead, Harlow, Essex.

**Free Modern Jazz**. Ladbroke Hotel, Notting Hill, Wednesday evenings.

**Stickers**. 'Danger: Dictatorship. Stay away from Greece in 1968!' Available from Co-ordinating Committee for Campaign Against Tourism to Greece, 60 Tottenham Court Road, W.1. 1/- for a sheet of 20.

**Greece must be free!** Rally—Trafalgar Square, April 21, 2.30 p.m. Speakers include Melina Mercouri.

**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.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

# Freedom

## For Workers' Control

APRIL 13 1968 Vol 29 No 11

## Public Transport and Private Trading

WEEK BY WEEK and month by month the London busmen's negotiating machinery crawls round in its time-consuming circles. The Government, through the mouths of the London Transport Board, simply repeat their demands for higher and higher productivity, while the rank and file watch the original demand for £1 a week on the basic wage dribble away into a request for 10/-, and watch their elected representatives yield to the demands of the transport employer. And the demands are those that were ancient when the Children of Israel were ordered to provide their own straw for brick-making as part of the new Egyptian productivity drive, to produce more in less time and to get a small percentage of the extra profit.

The mood among the busmen is one of bored indifference for we all know that London Transport has only to sit long enough on its hands to win their demands and the only matter that engages the questing mind is just how much of our working conditions will be sold for a small wage increase. Over the years too many good men have stood on the stones rather than sell the working conditions that have been won brutally and painfully by forgotten militants, but the old unity among the busmen has died the death for the greed of overtime payments in a period of manpower shortage has blunted the idealism of many a canteen barricade fighter.

On February 12 the busmen's negotiating committee demanded £1 a week on the basic wage and rejected out of hand any suggestion that increased productivity should be introduced into this wage negotiation, yet 21 days later this same negotiating committee turned a complete somersault by offering the employer a list of working condition sell-outs that range from standing passengers all day to a cut of 5% in the running time of buses.

I know, little comrade, that as a fare-dodging passenger all you ask is to be allowed to board a bus at any time, standing or sitting, and to get to your destination in the shortest possible time, and this is understandable, but in the end both you and the busmen will lose, for overcrowding buses means less buses on the road, the cards for a good minority of busmen, and an increase in the working demands for your fellow workmen for higher productivity in any static industry means that some poor sod will get the sack. I for one am not prepared to make that sacrifice on behalf of a Better Britain. If someone must go without, let it be the T&GW union negotiating committee, the Minister of Labour or the London Transport Board.

In every London bus garage at this very moment is a plea that the busmen shall give some small sum of money to help the busmen now on strike up North and it is the same battle, and the enemy is always united, only we are divided.

But at London's Holloway bus garage over a hundred coloured busmen and women are calling for strike action. One can only wonder why this particular

flame took so long to ignite but it has finally happened and one can only wait and prophesy.

For many years it would appear that London Transport has operated a colour bar in relation to the promotion of coloured busmen up to the rank of inspector. London Transport has always denied this but the fact that there are thousands of coloured busmen and not one coloured bus inspector makes the LT denials sound rather hollow. The fault lies, without any doubt, with London Transport for their system of promotion is one that must reek of nepotism.

A notice will be posted on the public noticeboard that, maybe, five inspectors are needed in a particular district and out of 500 men in a garage about 10 might walk into the garage manager's office for an interview. From that 10, the manager will eliminate the pathetic types and from the few that are left he will pick on one man, or two, to go 'up the road' on his personal recommendation. No competitive examination, just a friendly slap on the shoulder. A garage manager's nephew, a union militant, the man with an uncle at LT headquarters, all these are grist for the promotion mill, and the fault lies with an organization that has allowed it to flourish. Of my simplicity, I could not give a Chinese damn who crawls upwards but one thing we must care about—and that is that the rat wheel is available to all and not just an elite.

Lionel Alleyne is 37 years of age, coloured, and willing to break a gut to become London's first bus inspector. Seven times he has soft-shoed into the manager's office and each time there has been a polite refusal. If London Transport had had the courage or the honesty in the past to state their needs in straight terms, then the flame that has been lit at Holloway garage could never have been ignited, but they have pretended that there is no colour bar in this single and specific job within that large organization and now, at long last, a West Indian is challenging them.

And they will win. Unlike the broad mass of home-brewed workers, the coloured workers at Holloway garage will carry their fight outside the garage and they will seek allies who will support a common cause. They will receive little or no help from their white fellow-workers, for understandable reasons, but they cannot fail to win now for they believe in what they are fighting for. The object for which they are fighting may be small, but the battle is what matters, for when they win they will have smashed down another door that guards the privilege of wealth, race and rank. And when they do, will we walk through with them?

LUMPENPROLETARIAT.

## SACK BRITAIN

REMEMBER that "Back Britain" campaign? Carol Atkinson and fellow secretary Rosalind Petigrew who helped to start the campaign have both been sacked without notice. . . . The firm explained that they were "excess to requirements".

WE GO TO PRESS ON MONDAY. LATEST DATE FOR RECEIPT OF MSS., LETTERS, MEETING NOTICES IS THE MONDAY IN EACH WEEK OF PUBLICATION.

## Calling London Workers!

Demonstrate in a great anti-Government March and Meeting on WEDNESDAY, May 1. Assemble at Tower Hill at 11.45 a.m.

### MOVING FUND

Target is £500.  
Received to date—£376 6s. 6d.

### PREMISES FUND

Target is £1,000 per year.  
Pledges received to date—£397 18s. 0d.  
Pledges honoured to date—£306 12s. 1d.