

'All these man-made institutions only get in the way of real life and have nothing to do with it. It's the police man in our minds that stops us all from being ourselves and letting other people be themselves.'

J. C. POWYS
(A Glastonbury Romance)

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Marching on Washington

THE Freedom March of the American negroes in Washington on Wednesday, August 28th, was treated sympathetically by the British press, presumably on the grounds that it was a long way away and was unlikely to inspire any similar feelings of rebelliousness nearer home.

Many commentators have remarked on the extent to which the declaration of the emancipation of the slaves has fallen short of realisation, but none have explicitly pointed this out as an example of the futility of political channels for achieving anything worthwhile in terms of human freedom and social justice.

It is indeed, depressing to think not only of the non-fulfilment of the emancipation act, but of the fate of the Declaration of Independence. The United States came into existence as a result of a colonial rebellion, dedicated to the ideals of freedom and equality for all men, that the power of the Federal government would be limited and contested, it would never be allowed powers of taxation or the maintenance of a standing army that might put too much power into the hands of authority against the people.

The way in which that revolution has gone astray, so that the government it set up has developed into one of the world's most powerful

and authoritarian, and at the same time has cajoled and lulled its subjects into apathetic support by manipulation of material well-being and status, and the threat of the enemy without, is surely a tragedy and a lesson to "reformers" and revolutionaries alike, of at least as much importance as the degeneration of the Russian and modern African revolutions, but pointing the same lesson—never let power slip out of the hands of the people into those of politicians and governments.

The march itself obviously has its dissensions, parallel to those of the anti-H-bomb movement in Britain, and the *Sunday Citizen's* New York correspondent headlines her article with the phrase, familiar to anyone who has debated Aldermaston, "Was it too much of a picnic?" No doubt there are many American politicians who have recognised the potential strength of the negro movement (a Negro political party has already been formed), and would like to harness the latent energy into safe channels where it can be tapped at will by power-hungry politicians. The fact that

the mass demonstration was organised at the seat of governmental power, away from the luncheon counters, housing estates and building sites where the determined efforts of the direct actionists were achieving more in a few years than decades of political "pressure" had done, has a sinister portent.

However, the most interesting aspect of the march, like that of any movement for freedom in any part of the world is its relevance to our own lives and activities. Naturally, comparisons spring to mind between the Freedom March and the nuclear disarmament movement's activities, but these are discounted for instance by the *Guardian's* leader writer who presumably approves of the former and disapproves of the latter, on the grounds that racial discrimination is an emotional question, while nuclear disarmament is one to be decided by intellectual arguments.

What is so typical about the *Guardian's* line of argument is the assumption that social problems can be parcelled out into the emotional and the intellectual, and

discussed quite separately. Throw in a few "moral questions" in the editorials and middle-class living on page 4 and the *Guardian's* view of life is secure in its orderly compartments.

In reality, all these problems involve a complex of interpenetrating emotional and intellectual aspects, and above all the harsh facts of economics and political power. The negroes would never have been subjected to exploitation had it not been in the interests of the Southern planters and the Northern industrialists that they should be, and the way in which the cause of school and University desegregation has been tossed about between Federal and State authorities in the last few years has been but a reflection of power struggles among the politicians at the top.

What has changed however, is that the passive acceptance of this particular aspect of oppression, based openly on colour, has at last been discarded by greater numbers of negroes than ever before. Despite the fact that they have been subjected to education designed to

teach them to accept their lot passively, and grown up into a world where to demand freedom and equality is to ask for trouble, they have emotionally taken the step of rebellion, inspired to a large extent by the example and propaganda of an active, conscious minority.

The difference between this movement and the nuclear disarmament movement does not lie as the *Guardian* suggests in the distinction between emotion and intellect, but in the fact that the dividing line is so clearly drawn by the very fact of colour differences, that the injustice of racial discrimination is obvious to everyone who thinks about it.

The salient feature of politics, the greatest obstacle to social change is that the majority of people do not consciously and constructively oppose the system under which they live. Even if they grumble about low wages and taxes, housing conditions and hours of work, only a small proportion have the conviction that things could be otherwise. The majority, of all classes, trades and nationalities remain convinced

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AS was to be expected, the building trade union leaders have compromised and accepted a settlement in the dispute with the employers. This settlement gives craftsmen 4d. this November, 3d. in November 1964, and 2½d. in November, 1965. The corresponding increases for labourers are 2d., 2d., and 1d. respectively. Together with these paltry increases is the introduction of a 41-hour week in November next year. As there is no mention of a corresponding pay increase to make up this hour, men working the basic week will have the pay increases cancelled out by the 41-hour week. Added to this is a plan to be drawn up later of a non-contributory sick scheme.

The Builders' Settlement: Opposition Growing

For the building worker who has any faith in his trade union leaders, this settlement represents the biggest sell-out in the history of the industry's trade union movement. The extent of this compromise is still a staggering one to me and I have no illusions about the union leaders. As far as the wages side of this settlement goes, this accepted amount is only 4d. more for craftsmen and no improvement for labourers,

than the last offer made by the employers prior to the strike action.

This three year tie-up will bring the differential between craftsmen and labourers up to 1/- per hour. This can only serve to divide workers and also create a source of cheap labour for the employers to use when operating the less skilled new methods of construction.

The response to the call for strike action far exceeded the expectation of

the trade unions. Not only were the selected sites coming out, but other sites which were not on the Building Trades Operative list, were joining in. With this magnificent response, the building trade union leaders were taken by surprise. All week workers were clamouring to take part in the stoppage, with union leaders trying all the time to contain and control the dispute. There is no doubt they were frightened it would get out of hand and go beyond their control.

Mr. Woodcock, general secretary of the Trades Union Council, didn't waste much time in making conciliatory moves. After having no luck with the Ministry of Labour, Mr. Woodcock arranged a meeting with the head of one of the big five building firms, Mr. Laing. Soon after, the strike was called off, followed by the lifting of the overtime and bonus ban and talks between the top brass of the unions and the employers.

Another thing which has developed from these talks is that in the future, wage increases might be adjusted, not by the cost of living index every February as at present, but by "movements in national productivity." (My italics). Although this is only a possibility at the moment, it points to the influence of the National Economic Development Council (Neddy), whose function is not only to plan and recommend rates of expansion, but also to give advice on the "guiding light" on incomes to Nicky. With top union bureaucrats and employers such as Mr. Woodcock and Mr. Laing numbered among the members of "Neddy", it is easy to see that the interests of the working man are of no consequence. To use an old-fashioned phrase, it stinks of "class collaboration".

With the three year tie ups becoming a familiar part of agreements, workers are being increasingly saddled with a policy of wage freeze. There is some opposition to this from the so-called left wing union leaders. Mr. Cousins and Mr. Hill are two of them, but Mr. Cousins is in favour of wage freeze when there is a government with a

Socialist policy, so there will be even more opposition to workers' pay demands under a future Labour government.

The influential employers' paper, the *Financial Times*, has praised the unions for their roles of "national decision-making" on Neddy. This capitalist paper calls for more centralisation of union power which would add strength to the T.U.C.'s authority. Concerning the union and its financial affairs, it says that "there is little future in staffing trade unions with officers earning less than the men they are supposed to represent; any realistic plan to put drive into the unions must therefore start by raising union salary levels and by raising union dues." These recommendations of rises are without a doubt endorsed by union leaders. In fact we are always being told that in the building industry, we get our unions on the cheap. Now trade unionism has become big business in itself. Our leaders look no different from the employers in their well-fitting suits and chauffeur-driven cars. Increased dues would not be used to fight for the interests of the working man, but to increase the union leaders' luxury and power.

We have been told by various political groupings of the left, that we will have to change our leaders, but what good will this do? There is many an old militant now enjoying power and prestige in highly paid union jobs. Harry Weaver, General Secretary of the National Building Trades Operatives, and a member of the building unions committee that accepted the settlement, was, before the war, a militant shop steward who helped to organise unofficial action to back workers demands.

Our interests are not served by the Harry Weavers, Woodcocks, Cousins and Carrons of this world, but only by strength and solidarity of the rank and file. All organisation must be firmly rooted in the hands of the ordinary members. At the moment, in opposition to the builders agreement, rank and

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The Executions in Spain

(From a correspondent)

FURTHER information is now available concerning the murder of our comrades Granados and Delgado. The official Spanish government handout states that on the 31st July, two days after bomb incidents in Madrid, Delgado and Granados were picked up by the police outside the Royal Palace for molesting two young Polish girls. It is likely that two 'terrorists' who, according to the police, had every reason to be lying low should, within 48 hours of allegedly perpetrating bomb incidents, be caught fooling about outside the Royal Palace itself with the whole police force looking for them?

Anyway, the police, having arrested them, searched their rooms and discovered a sizeable and unused arsenal whereupon the two young men were charged with the bomb incidents of the 29th July. From that moment there was complete silence. The comrades were tried behind locked doors and no foreign observers, journalists, or witnesses for the defence were allowed.

At 10 o'clock on Saturday, 17th August, it was announced that the two had been executed in secret at dawn that morning, i.e. 17 days after their arrest two innocent men were garrotted.

If the comrades were guilty of the incidents of the 29th July why did the government not profit from the occasion

to organize a show-trial at which the victims of the incidents were present? Why was the trial in secret and the executions so hurriedly carried out? What was the prosecution trying to hide?

The C.I.L. (Iberian Liberation Council) issued a statement in which they accepted responsibility for the incidents of the 29th July, and declared "Joaquin Delgado and Francisco Granados are completely innocent of the events of the 29th July." The incidents for which the two men were executed were committed by people whom they did not even know. Even under terrible torture the two men were unable to reveal any names, for they knew none.

Granados and Delgado were part of a team whose sole intention was to assassinate the Caudillo. The attempt was to have been outside the old Royal Palace, where Franco does not live but where he goes to receive letters of credentials from new ambassadors. The details of these ceremonies are known in advance and so it was possible to organise the attempt with the maximum chance of success.

Delgado and Granados were to have played only a modest role in this attempt: they were responsible for bringing the arms into Spain and reconnoitering the area where the attempt was to have taken place. They were then to have handed the arms to contacts,

It is not known how the men were discovered—whether they were shadowed from the border, or whether they were denounced by a police spy working in the organisation.

It appears that the police did not wish to publicise the fact that an attempt was to be made on Franco's life for fear that it might give ideas to other clandestine organisations. Also they would not like to create a state of alarm among the ruling classes and remind them that the disappearance of Franco would create a political void. But at the same time the regime wants to give a warning to any who would dare to conspire against its leader.

The garrotting of Granados and Delgado was meant to serve as an example of what the Franco police would do to other militants if caught. Radio Madrid, when referring to demonstrations and protests outside Spain said, "The frogs are still croaking, but we will do it again".

To justify the executions the comrades were held responsible for the incidents of the 29th of July. Whilst in reality protecting Franco the police have given the impression of avenging the unfortunate victims of the passport office incident. (The bomb at the passport office was designed to explode after the office was closed, but due to a fault in the timing mechanism the bomb exploded earlier—the C.I.L., while accepting responsibility, states that neither Granados or Delgado had anything to do with this incident).

AFRICAN BACKGROUND

"THE POLITICS OF PARTNERSHIP"
by Patrick Keatley (Penguin African
Library, 7s. 6d.).

THIS is a worthwhile, useful and interesting book. As its title indicates the book concerns the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and it is worthwhile because it presents 500 pages of well-reasoned argument with a sound factual basis; it is useful for this documentation which means that one can refer to *The Politics of Partnership* when questioning some issue. Lastly, it is interesting for the historical perspective current controversies are given.

After an introductory chapter: "The Last Great Chance", in which Keatley states the dilemma: "How are we, as brothers, to live together?" He looks at the origins of what he calls "the impasse" where the "political masters hold supreme political, financial and military power; the slaves outnumber them 26 to 1." It thus is readily apparent that brotherhood is absent in Rhodesia, and that added to the dilemma of brothers living together is the acute embarrassment of one being white and the other black.

It is the Colonial Era that provides Keatley with his more rewarding material, because the early years of European incursions into Central Africa are filled with life and action both noble and savage—with most of the savagery coming from the nobles and most of the nobility coming from the "savages". We trace back into this Era the names and traditions of the Marquess of Salisbury, Cecil Rhodes, Lobengula, Livingstone and Queen Victoria. Victoria described the psychopath Rhodes as a "tremendous strong man" who "hoped in time to see the English rule extend from the Cape to Egypt".

Throughout the book Keatley emphasises the dual tradition of the white man in Central Africa, on the one hand we have the tradition of imperialism personi-

fied by Rhodes, backed more or less by Lord Salisbury and later by Churchill and Oliver Lyttelton (now Lord Chandos) and ended by Lennox-Boyd, and on the other hand we have David Livingstone, the Church of Scotland and many missionaries of several sects, backed more or less by the Moffat family and later by Guy Clutton-Brock, Sir Stewart Gore-Brown and Colin Morris and ended by Terence Ranger.

I find myself entangled in these traditions, my family is close to Victoria—Richard Westall once taught her art after he had painted the portrait of Lord Byron—but although my great grandfather's brother shows the two faces I find within myself, my own attraction towards Livingstone (if we may use this as a rough analogy for Byron) is more predominant. Yet, within me, I feel a great pull for the arrogant, cruel, settlers of East and Central Africa. Keatley describes them as "The New Bourbons", and I know them to be unpleasant people in the main, yet I have always held that given a need for a hierarchy aristocracy is the best form of hierarchy.

Being in a privileged minority is satisfying, and to attempt to maintain such privileges is—if I may use the word—natural. Those who deny this are deluding themselves. Yet in Central and Southern Africa the African people have to end the settlers' privileges if they wish to maintain their dignity.

It is this final matter that Keatley deals with in his excellent chapter on "The Politics of Privilege". The results are seen in bare statistics: more than 50% of the African families in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, are more than 50% below the 'poverty datum line'. In Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia, it was calculated that £14 11s. 0d. a month would keep African couples with three children above the poverty datum line; in fact, the actual average monthly income for an African family of five members is £8 8s. 10d. An observer from the Institute of Race Relations remarks:—"There is really no room to doubt that from one-fifth to two-fifths of urban Africans in the Rhodesias are not earning enough to keep their families; and of those with two children or more, the majority are undernourished and underclothed".

As for wages, the 1962 figure in Britain of the average annual income of British wage-earners came to £780,

the black Rhodesian gets one-tenth of this, the white Rhodesian gets 50% more. Land in Southern Rhodesia for 200,000 white people, and three million black is divided at a *per capita* ratio of 15:1 in favour of the former. What is more, this is the best land.

The story of the imposition and maintenance of settler rule is a bloody, lying and evil tale. The heroes are usually black, the cowards usually the white men spouting 'hot air'. Jameson, for instance, is accused of poisoning Lobengula and his people with smallpox before he begins his deceitful and already unequal war with the Matabele. It seems, germ warfare has quite a history.

Keatley's final section is devoted to the Decisions to be made in Rhodesia. The issue of the Rhodesian Army is rightly underlined as is the Churchillian decision to give virtual independence to the settlers of Southern Rhodesia in 1923—indeed for outspoken segregationists. The chapter "Contending Pressures" should not be missed, it is vital and full of meat. The machinations of the sinister Rhodesian and Katanga lobbies are well documented and make particularly grim reading. Lord Salisbury—bearing the Cecil name of long service to royalty—is seen as the king-pin of both lobbies. Lords Home, Chandos, Clitheroe, Selbourne and Coleraine, together with the late Lord Robins can be linked to a strong Tory pressure group of 100 MPs. One must also include Moral Re-Armament. One reads of the "seven-man delegation from Katanga" which "arrived in London under the sponsorship of four backbench Tory MPs with powerful connexions in the City, and under the blessing of the Moral (sic) Re-Armament Movement". MPs in this sordid band include Fell, Biggs-Davison, Paul Williams and, no doubt, Sir Gerald Nabarro.

This chapter ends: "It would take a book in itself to trace the full extent of the financial network behind the Rhodesia and Katanga Lobbies, but the British South Africa Company with its annual income from mineral royalties of £10 million is, it would seem, deeply enmeshed." If any anarchist is wondering just where the enemy lies—the Rhodesia-Katanga lobbies supply the answer.

Patrick Keatley finally argues for massive intervention by the British Government in Central Africa, especially Southern Rhodesia: "Britain," he comments, "must have a Lincoln in Downing Street." Yet I should have thought an educationist like Godwin in Salisbury is a more vital need.

J.W.

BRISTOL DEMONSTRATION

(From a Bristol Correspondent)

On Saturday, August 17th, five supporters of the Bristol Federation protested at the Spanish Vice-Consulate in Queens Square at the execution of Comrades Delgado and Granada, due to take place that morning, for their supposed parts in recent bomb throwings.

At 10.30 a.m. we phoned the local paper, and walked in. The Vice-Consul was at lunch, back at 10.45 a.m. We talked to the reporter over a cup of tea, then returned. Francisco Jorro himself opened the door of his grubby little office, and asked if we had an appointment. We said no, and stepped inside. He said he would not consider our protest unless we made an appointment: he was busy with two prosperous looking businessmen. We refused to leave, he phoned the police.

Then followed several minutes of futile argument and threats, during which he unsuccessfully attempted to get his friends to agree that we had used "violence" in entering uninvited! It

also transpired that he knew nothing of the proposed executions. He said he could not accept a verbal protest, so we wrote one out on the spot. This he refused to take.

The police, in the form of three of the peaked cap variety arrived and told us that we were trespassing! They then dragged and pushed us outside and gave us a pep talk on constitutional action. On being told to disperse we refused, saying we would not go until our protest was accepted. The inspector, who was a friendly chap, went in to ask if Senor Jorro would receive us on appointment. He came back to say that he would receive the protest at 12 o'clock, and we moved away, leaving the police with our names and addresses.

At midday Digger Walsh returned to hand in a written protest. By this time our Spanish comrades were dead. . . .

The invasion received front page coverage in the local paper, marred only by a totally fictitious quote, which provided me with an excuse for a letter in which I further explained our position.

Empirical Philosopher

"STUDIES IN EMPIRICAL PHILOSOPHY" by John Anderson. Angus and Robertson, 42s.

JOHN ANDERSON, former Challis Professor of Philosophy at the University of Sydney, is of interest to anarchists as one of the main influences on the ideas of the 'Sydney Libertarians', whose advocacy of 'permanent protest' and criticism of the 'solidarist myth' periodically stir up hornet's nests among the more traditionalist comrades. Unfortunately, this first book of his writings is not very helpful in giving any detailed account of his views on social change. Most of it consists of highly specialist and sometimes abstruse essays on philosophical problems which I, for one, found beyond my understanding.

The one essay that does bear directly on the question of freedom and authority is 'The Servile State', a review of the book of the same title by Hilaire Belloc. In this essay, Anderson outlines his belief in conflict as the guarantee of freedom. For him, any society in which conflict is at an end would be thoroughly servile:

"The doctrine of history as struggle is at once the liberal and the scientific

part of Marxism; the doctrine of Socialism as something to be established ('classless society') is its servile part. The point is not merely the drabness that might result from attempts to eliminate social struggles, but the impossibility of eliminating them—and, therewith, the loss of independence and vigour that can result from the spreading of the belief that they can be eliminated."

Anderson views freedom not as some utopian ideal, but as one of the interests struggling within present society. To abandon the struggle, whether by conforming or by hoping to create a tranquil social order, is to support servility and oppose freedom:

"For the measure of freedom in any community is the extent of opposition to the ruling order, of criticism of the ruling ideas; and belief in established freedom, or in State-guaranteed 'benefits', is a mark of the abandonment of liberty. The servile State is the unopposed State."

Unless you are a student of philosophy it is hardly worth buying this book for the sake of one or two essays, but it is worth borrowing from the public library to read—at least—the essay on the "Servile State". S.P.

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Around the Galleries in the off season . . .

HERE is the season of the year when the dealers turn their galleries over to their underpaid assistants and with a final checking of the safe-door, leave with the loot and the family for the outside world to sit in the sun and compare notes with their associates in the rag trade and the retail costume jewellery business. For the rich dealer it is an expense account visit to their colonial branches where the sun shines warm and the beaches are marked 'private' but for the small fry it is the fiddled cultural exchange programme visit to America aided either by the art schools, the American Embassy or our home-brewed cultural committees dependent on the dealer's influence. For these are the fruits of our commercial culture in that, while the clerk or the labourer are called upon to pay every halfpenny of the cost (and above) for his short holiday for himself, his family and his landlord he will also have to, directly and indirectly, subsidise a well-heeled strata of his society in their yearly jaunting.

He is aware of and should rightly despite the political riff-raff scrounging free handouts from foreign State organizations but this version of doss-house politics operates in the field of commercial art and the recipients are invariably those who have already entered the danegeld on their tax returns for governments and their cultural commissars, be it of the east or of the west, only throw their stinking meat to the converted.

In every city there are men and women who are unable to afford the high costs of their materials for painting, who are unable to afford the cost of firing their clay in a rented kiln and who are debarred by poverty from entering their work in the various exhibitions. They are the good second and third rate practitioners of their craft who will never be able to work on a large scale, never turn their soft clay to stone and never make

contact with an audience wider than their immediate family circle for the charity of the art world is reserved strictly for those who have arrived, socially if not aesthetically, for while men and women literally go hungry in an attempt to obtain the materials of their craft the employed pedants, the gallery hucksters and the established and contracted creep like poor relations through the overseas cultural network with an occasional note for appearance sake and a fulsome letter of thanks to a cynical official and their fellow backscratcher who made their unnecessary journey possible.

And for every protest in principle there is someone willing to make the point and none it would appear more so than the current exhibition at the gallery at 19 Upper Grosvenor Street, W.1. The gilt-edged invitation card promising refreshments at 11.30 in the morning, the large and expensive gallery lying between Park Lane and the American Embassy, the promised work of Peter de Francia, Joseph Herman, Roland Jarvis, Anthony Wishaw and his wife and the title 'Contemporary Image '63' to syphon our emotions into a receptive channel. And after the free issue of Moselle to the culture scouts what were we left with but three rooms of paintings that would find themselves hard-pressed to find space in a side street gallery. In vain we, that is we who bothered to look at the paintings, tried to fathom out the reason for this display of so much third-rate work and when we enquired we were passed from one smiling and expensively dressed official to another.

They smiled and talked and said nothing and we drank of the free champagne and wondered mutinously among each other why so many faces from the platforms of past left-wing meetings floated among the crowd, who was paying for this expensive gallery, why

were so many well-dressed apologists on hand, who paid for the costly glossy illustrated catalogue and who "Michael Millman Associates" the "principle artist" was and finally why de Francia, pop artist for the Communist Party, Herman and Wishaw should have been called upon to carry with their own lightweight work Millman's sad daubs. For despite Millman's name dropping of President Kennedy's lips in the press handout and the tootsie touching with the late Pope John, these paintings by Michael Millman are in my opinion completely worthless.

Painted in garish tones completely alien to the northern hemisphere, sickly in sentiment and with a synthetic emotional outlook they attempt to make their impact by playing on the partisan sympathies of the audience. His theme is the misery of the Berlin wall but admirable motives cannot condone bad painting and at their bad best these paintings are but the stuff churned out by every propagandist hack to lie away power's corruption.

There is misery and it is fitting that men should proclaim it, for the humble and the meek need a spokesman but it supersedes political barriers and when an artist places his easel firmly in one camp he no longer speaks for his fellow men but only for those who provide him with space to cry credence for their cause. But Millman, according to the press handout, produced this junk for the edification of the American public and it will probably find an audience if not a market in that kaleidoscopic society. In the foreword to his catalogue Millman has written that "In England there are very few painters of Contemporary Image who, while suffering the pathos of their society, dare to express in their art the integrity and the moral conflict of our everyday life." Not only would we violently disagree with these flyblown sentiments, for there

is no lack of those who are willing to protest only a lack of talent, but offer the opinion that Michael Millman and his six associates can be included among those who have failed us for their badly-fashioned but expensively housed protests are as valueless as the windy rhetoric of yesterday's leader writer's column. Platitudes pleading a biased and distorted tort.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

Saturday in Hampstead

FREEDOM & ANARCHY
Sales Promotion Scheme

Comrades living in the region of Hampstead are urgently required to assist in the distribution of a duplicated leaflet promoting FREEDOM and ANARCHY. Points of distribution are as follows:—EVERYMAN CINEMA Queue (last house), CENTRAL LIBRARY, Arkwright Road, KEATS GROVE Public Library, Suitable Coffee Bars & Public Houses, e.g. Prompt Corner, The Cruel Sea, The Cruel Sea.

In addition, and as a follow up to the promotion leaflet, it is intended to sell FREEDOM and ANARCHY outside Hampstead Underground Station every Saturday afternoon from 2—5 p.m. Comrades are urgently required to assist in this venture so that a rota system can be devised. The more people who come forward to assist the fewer times will they be required to donate 3 hours on a Saturday.

If you feel you can help, please contact Malcolm Keith, HAM 6272 any evening between 6.45 p.m. and 8 p.m.

The March on Washington

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 as they have been taught, that despite protests, it is somehow "right" that they should work how and when they are told, live in dismal houses at exorbitant rents, and fight in wars when they are declared by governments. To most people, even the clearest stupidities of governments and politicians do not awake the conscious feeling that it would be worth the effort to get rid of them, and take the power of organising the everyday life of our society into the hands of the ordinary people. There is unfortunately not even much hope that the majority of American negroes, even after having mentally and emotionally emancipated themselves from the acceptance of inferiority as coloured people, will go ahead and refuse to accept inferior status as workers under capitalism, and powerless pawns in the political power game. It seems that far from being dissimilar, there are important parallels between the tasks of the anarchist movement, and the nuclear disarmament movements in this country, and the negro emancipation movement in America, in that the first

step, which has been nowhere near achieved, must be to show and convince people the extent to which the quality of their lives is diminished by the system of capitalism and politics which deprives them of power, and how easy it would be, given the desire, to overthrow it and organise a free, rational society in which equality and brotherhood, the lost ideals, of every revolution, French, American, Russian and Cuban were a reality.

The specifically anarchist contribution to this is to see all these problems — colour discrimination wages and housing, and war preparations as linked up with the central feature of the state, the concentration of power into the hands of a minority, based on economic manipulation, police and military power, propaganda and "education" and the playing off of one social class against another and all against the "threat" of foreign aggression.

It is this that we have to get rid of, and in doing so make sure that the revolution does not throw up another one to take its place.

P.H.

PRESIDENT NGO DINH DIEM imposed martial law in South Vietnam and sent troops to occupy pagodas and drive out the Buddhist monks. Hundreds of monks and nuns were arrested. The South Vietnam ambassador in Washington resigned as a protest. The Foreign Minister shaved his head like a Buddhist monk and resigned from the Government. The President refused to accept his resignation and gave him 'leave of absence to make a pilgrimage. Hundreds of students were arrested and announced that all universities and schools in the Saigon region would be closed until further notice. The elections were postponed and the former Foreign Minister was arrested. London Buddhist Bihar decided to observe September 1st as a day of fasting and remembrance for 'those who gave their lives in the present struggle in South Vietnam'. The meeting passed a resolution asking world leaders "to use their good offices to settle this unhappy and deplorable situation". More than five hundred members of the Doukhoboor sect have pitched tents around Agassiz Prison, British Columbia where 100 of their fellow-religionists have been jailed. Mounted police are on guard to prevent the Doukhoboors, who threaten to fast unto death from storming the prison. . . .

TEN BAILIFFS and fifty policemen evicted George Cobb at 5.20 a.m. from a basement flat in St. Stephen's Gardens, Paddington after a court order for possession had been made. Nine people were arrested accused of obstruction of the police, assault and abusive language. One of the accused alleged he was beaten up by the police. The Cobbs were £2 19s. 9d. in arrear with their £3 a week rent but it was thought that they were being proceeded against because they had complained about the condition of the flat and the landlord wished to let to more profitable tenants. Mrs. Cobb has been squatting on Paddington Town Hall steps to call attention to her case. A Direct Action Group against Rent Racketeering (supported by members of the Committee of 100) has been formed which is, at the moment, investigating the property companies involved in the 'rent racketeering' and investigating the mortgage agreements. Anyone who is interested and can help please write to D.A.G.R.R., Colville House, London, W.11. The Bishop of Southwark said that "Housing conditions in London are a scandal. The situation is an offence against civilization. Thousands live in squalor and other thousands have nowhere to live at all. The present government will not tackle the land speculator, the exploiter and the profiteers. These people batten on the poor while the Government grow fat." He went on to say, "If newspapers spent one-tenth of the space on this problem as they devoted to the Profumo affair, and if public speakers, including the clergy were as ready to condemn the speculators' racket, racketeers and incompetent authorities as they are ready to condemn sexual offenders our voters might be prepared to attack the problem of bad housing with the determination of a war effort." Mr. Peter Howard, speaking at a Moral Rearmament As-



sembly said, "It is one thing to attack the scandal of the slums, it is another for a bishop to drag the church into the political arena. The bishop rightly condemned the condition of housing in which the Rachmans flourish. Will be equally condemn the moral decadence and compromise which the Rachmans exploit in order to become profiteers of the slums?" . . .

IZVESTIA WRITING on the Stephen Ward case says, "His ghost will not leave the British scene. Ward's death prevented the court from passing sentence, but the charge remains—and not only against Ward. For he was merely a cog in the vast machinery of social evil whose glittering facade frenziedly advertises itself in Piccadilly and Mayfair and in the streets of Soho." The *Guardian* reports: "Miss Christine Keeler escaped uninjured when a Minicar in which she was travelling was involved in a collision at Chiswick, London, last night. The car was badly damaged." Mr. E. J. Varley, chief clerk of Gateshead education department was a member of the National and Local Government Officers' Association five man delegation which went to the Soviet Union, he said what struck him forcibly was the orderliness of the Russian people and the absence of hooliganism. "I wish," he said, "Morals were as good in this country." Another member of the delegation, Mr. Hill, suggested that reverence for Lenin appeared to be creating a new religion, not in any supernatural way. Pictures of Lenin were to be seen everywhere and Mr. Hill agreed (with the *Daily Worker*) that the dynamism in Soviet life could spring from this attitude to Lenin. A Mr. Hetherington, who was also in the party, said the delegation found a lack of shipping facilities, queues were long and some consumer goods scarce. The packaging and quality of some commodities were "not too good". Clothes were dear, "I think," said the delegate, "this is because they have concentrated on essentials and the scarcity is something that will rapidly disappear." Mr. Macmillan was out shooting on the moors with a suit made in 1927. The jacket had wide lapels and baggy pockets. The knickerbocker trousers were creased precisely down the middle of the leg. They bagged 235 brace of pheasants. . . .

SCOTLAND YARD detectives swooped hither and thither in their search for

the mail train gang. An arrest of two people in Fulham created a stir. Said one resident: "This business has set everyone in the road talking to each other. Because of it, I have been chatting to two people nearby whom I had previously never said a word to in my life" . . .

NEIGHBOURS IN Southall, Middlesex have signed a petition against coloured immigrants urging the council to prevent coloured people buying houses in the reaa, they suggest the council should purchase them under compulsory purchase powers. The *Evening Standard* calls attention in sub-headings to—'knife fights', 'their babies' (taking up valuable maternity beds). 'Cultures', a committee of inter-racial Friendship has been set up. Its constitution states: "Failure to 'integrate our several cultures will result in eventual disaster'. The *Mirror* quotes the Rev. William Morgan of Southall saying, "Contact . . . should be personal—committees will achieve nothing" . . .

AT SOUTHALL it is the Indians who find the problems. In the United States Mr. Kennedy's problem was dramatized by the March of 200,000 for jobs and freedom in Washington. Mr. Kennedy with commendable economy put forth his prepared message for Labour Day to "accelerate our efforts to achieve equal rights for all our citizens" . . . "These recent months, 100 years after the Emancipation proclamation, have seen the decisive recognition of the major part of our society that all our citizens are entitled to full membership in the national community. The gains of 1963 will never be reversed. They lay a solid foundation for the progress must continue to make in the months and years to come". The national chairman of the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee, Mr. John Lewis, speaking at the meeting after the march, said he could not in good conscience support the President's Civil Rights Bill because it was too little and too late. He claimed the United States was still a place of cheap political leaders who built their careers on immoral compromises and allied themselves with all forms of exploitation. Richard Scott, the *Guardian* correspondent follows his report of this speech with "President Kennedy said tonight that he was impressed with the deep fervour and the quiet dignity of the demonstrators" . . .

MR. HOWARD JENKINS took office on Thursday as the first Negro member of the U.S. National Labour Relations Board. A crowd of about five hundred barred a Negro family from moving into a home in a suburb of Philadelphia. In Milwaukee three demonstrators were taken into custody whilst 'sitting-in' at a courthouse seeking the removal of a member of the Community Social Development Commission who, they say, has shown racial prejudice in Medidian, Mississippi a fight broke out in a 'bus station when negroes returning from the "March on Washington" attempted to use lavatories labelled "Whites only" . . .

JON QUIXOTE.

African Governments

ELSEWHERE in this issue, a letter from Helmut Rüdiger appears, in which he draws attention to the fact that in *FREEDOM* 10/8/63 one of our Swedish correspondents completely misrepresented his views on libertarian attitudes to the new African states and their rulers.

In the column of international news and comments which he edits in *Arbetaren*, and to which our correspondent referred, Rüdiger recently discussed various attitudes to this problem, finishing with what he called "a highly principled anarchist position" taken up in a leading article in *FREEDOM*.

After quoting at some length *FREEDOM*'s remarks, that brave men who had endured lives of hardship in the struggle for freedom, now found themselves holding power over millions of lives, and trying to build up oppressive systems just like the ones they have fought to overthrow, he writes:

"*FREEDOM*'s analysis contains much truth. Syndicalists and libertarian socialists cannot identify themselves with the new power holders merely because they are coloured, or because they have suffered injustices in the past and continue to come up against difficult problems while moving forward to the full self-determination of their peoples (within the framework of the international agreement).

However, the peoples' revolutionary desire for freedom is not the only motivating force in history, as certain theoreticians (of whom Bakunin and Kropotkin were foremost) tried to maintain. This revolutionary desire does not always correspond to the possibility of finding a directly constructive expression for freedom.

Proudhon regarded authority and freedom as permanent co-existing historical forces. He took the side of freedom, and tried to advocate a maximum of constructive federalism. In the same spirit we can criticise the African regimes without waiting for the new leaders (or their subjects), to bring in libertarian socialism with a wave of the hand."

On the whole, Rüdiger seems to be commending *FREEDOM*'s views to his readers, and it was certainly not the intention of *FREEDOM* to misrepresent that!

It is in fact difficult to see at precisely which point he disagrees with the "highly principled anarchist position" taken by *FREEDOM*, unless it is in the second of the paragraphs quoted above, in which he draws attention to the presence of authoritarian forces as well

as libertarian one's acting in history.

It is however, for precisely this reason, the absence of belief in a beneficial historical force leading the world to freedom, that anarchists have never supported obviously dictatorial movements merely because they represented a struggle against imperialism or foreign occupation, or the overthrow of an obviously corrupt ruling class.

At the same time, anarchists are suspicious of the "peoples' revolutionary desire for freedom" when it turns out to be a desire, understandable enough but not deserving our support, to get rid of the present rulers and put another set in their place, who turn out to be equally tyrannical.

The writer does not see *Arbetaren* sufficiently frequently to comment on its general attitude to colonial affairs. However, to judge from the "libertarian socialist" press in this country, the specific contribution that anarchists need to and must make is precisely to draw attention to the way in which these "new" governments continue the age old tradition of repression in the "liberated states."

It is one of the subjects of disgrace in the European socialist movement that so many of its otherwise sincere adherents have found themselves able to "understand" or even to "explain" when the governments in Russia have murdered and imprisoned first of all reactionaries and bourgeoisie, then political rivals, then revolutionaries who disagreed with, or knew too much about, the internal machinations of the party. It was always in the interests of "the new state surrounded by enemies" or "unity in the face of capitalism", etc.

The same thing is happening today with respect to the new African states. It is very important not to let the anti-colonialist movement be led up the same degrading garden path as the left between the wars, of talking about freedom while giving support to vicious dictatorships. The violence and oppressiveness of Nkrumah, Banda and Nyerere need exposing just as clearly as that of Khrushchev, Kennedy or Macmillan, and the alternative, of the destruction of political power and the free self-organisation of the people putting forward.

It may cause disputes and misunderstandings with people with whom we otherwise value as comrades and work together with, but the old story about the violence of the "revolutionary government" being a step on the road to its eventual withering away has got stale by now!

Rank and File Opposition to Building Settlement

Continued from page 1
 file members are preparing and have already taken action. In Manchester, 200 men on the abbatoir stopped work and marched to the N.F.B.T.O. offices Workers on Merseyside, where all sites were on strike during the week's stoppage, regardless of union instructions, have sent telegrams of protest and are planning action. In Swansea, 200 men downed tools two hours before time and marched through the town to the Federation's offices. Further strikes took place in South Wales. Jobs in London, in-

cluding Downing Street and Paternoster, have sent deputations of protest to the N.F.B.T.O. headquarters

The London Buildings Stewards Committee is organising a demonstration on Wednesday with a march from Charing Cross to Speakers' Corner for a mass meeting. The stewards committee have also issued a leaflet condemning the settlement. In this leaflet, they call on building workers "to stand firm for our three demands; 1/6d. an hour, 40 hour week and no widening of differentials.

Last week 200,000 building workers, many more than were expected, with thousands clamouring to be allowed to, answered the strike call of the unions in support of the claim!"

Some jobs, in disgust of the settlement, have submitted their own claims of 1/6d. and a 40 hour week to their employers. One of these, Sages Shopfitters, already employs exhibition workers who receive these higher rates. In Cardiff, a city councillor, Mr. Edmonds, has publicly stated that the 1/6d. claim has already been included in the estimates for future local contracts.

Action is needed now from the rank and file and job organisation needs strengthening. When strike action is taken, larger pickets will have to be maintained than during the official stoppage, when the majority of strikers stayed at home. Every worker on strike should be involved actively in this dispute. Assistance from workers in other industries is necessary. Action by the rank and file can win our claims from the employers and show the union leaders that the members will not just accept any hand-out that is negotiated for them. The rank and file as dues-paying members must decide what is an acceptable offer and act accordingly.

DONALD ROOM.

P.T.

Footnote to a Personal Story

In my article of 17 August there are brief references to my solicitor which, because of their brevity, are quite unfair to him. I imply, almost, that his contribution to my defence was negligible and any other solicitor would have done the same. This is quite wrong.

I should have mentioned that I was fortunate in my solicitor. He was clearly more interested in the case than his duty to a client would require (in fact he had the idea of scientific evidence

independently of me, though it is unusual to call scientific evidence in such cases). And I confidently dumped on him all the business of finding an expert, selecting and briefing counsel, and organising the defence. In his concern for civil liberties he took the most extraordinary trouble over my case, and I regret that my hastily written article made me seem ungrateful.

