

Arm the Police? NEVER!

The reactionary elements in this country are beginning their last ditch bid to stop the law on capital punishment being changed. In the *Daily Mirror* of the 14th January were enormous banner headlines 'WE WANT GUNS WARNING BY 8,000 PCs.' 'New no hanging protest.' The article then went on to say that 'The 8,000 members of the Scottish police federation are to demand that the country's policemen should be armed if the "No Hanging" Bill becomes law'.

I don't really believe that the police want to be armed, certainly not those who can think a little anyway. One only has to look across the Atlantic Ocean to see the folly of this line of thought. At the moment most of the section of the community known as the 'criminal classes' do not carry, or would not even dream of carrying, firearms, but if the police did, then they would be more or less forced to, or go out of business. Looking at other countries, where the police are armed, we can see that it's not a deterrent to the criminal, but is perhaps quite the opposite.

The police in this country are not, and never have been armed, but if they WERE given weapons, you can be absolutely sure that they would keep them. For as we have seen in the armaments industry this week, it's easy to start a trend but not so easy to reverse it.

We were told in the article, that many policemen are against having weapons, probably for the very human and sensible reason that it would, far from making their job safer, in fact increase the chance of their being shot.

BLACKMAIL

This is of course the latest attempt by the guardians of the law to blackmail the public. The police, quite obviously recruited from the authoritarian section of the community, are dead against 'being lenient' with those who break the law.

The public is divided on this issue. Some folk still living in the dark ages seem to get great pleasure out of the thought of some poor bastard trembling for weeks, or even months in jail, and then being taken out in the early morning and having his neck broken (if he's lucky) in the most barbarous way. It's true, the person has committed a barbarous act himself (or herself), but this still does not vindicate the guilt of those who kill by decree.

Must Good Guys Always Lose?
asks

ANARCHY 48

in discussing

LORD OF THE FLIES

and the case of Mr. Duane
of Risinghill School

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Safe Seat Collapses

SOCIALISM IS NO farther away than before as a result of Mr. Gordon Walker's election defeat in Leyton, but the results of events like this are a lesson in just how far away it really is.

In various ways, the Leyton by-election and its candidate were a caricature of the corruptions of politics. In theory, elections are held to give people a chance to choose members of the House of Commons, but if they fail to choose someone who Mr. Wilson wants, there is usually a way of getting round it. In this case it meant dismissing someone who the voters of Leyton did seem to like, rightly or wrongly, by using the anachronism of the House of Lords which socialists at one time intended to sweep away. Ironically, the centre of attraction, Gordon Walker, who had lost one seat already as a result of the anti-coloured prejudices of the people of Smethwick, has a record which typifies a politician's progress. A member of the left wing Socialist League before the war, and author of a Marxist analysis of capitalism for the N.C.L.C., he was responsible after the war, as a successful commonwealth relations minister, for the Seretse Khama affair.

In this case, the trickery didn't work, leaving Wilson with a problem and giving the world's press something to speculate on for a few days. In other words, despite what politicians say about having a mandate to govern, despite Wilson's claim that the people had turned towards his weak brand of 'socialism', it only took a cold day, a bit of racist hate propaganda, an unpopular candidate, and a few failures of the government to give a reasonably 'safe' seat to the Tories. That is how deeply the people are committed to the Wilson government and the party and ideas

behind it. And that in turn measures the success of the 'practical, realistic' approach to socialism, the approach that believes that it is just a matter of parliamentary manoeuvres, of getting leaders into power.

If only a fraction of the energy that is put into elections, inner party disputes, keeping up the party image in Westminster, etc., were devoted to education and propaganda for socialism, to explaining the nature of capitalist society and the ways it could be transformed, we would be much better off, irrespective of whether Labour had a parliamentary majority or not.

Yet it is precisely because if

this approach were adopted, there would be no jobs, high salaries, or power for the so-called leaders of socialism that they are anxious to prevent independent action by workers to change social relations by direct methods, and insist that these compromises and betrayals are unavoidable.

The Labour Party's fiasco at Leyton, showing how superficial the alleged results of decades of collaboration have proved, should make us all realise how urgent the need for real socialist education is, and convince us that it can only be achieved by those of us who are completely free from party ties.

P.H.

WAR HERO DIES IN BED

WHEN A PERSON dies there is reason enough for sadness, but when Sir Winston Churchill dies many anarchists are entitled to feel free to harden all considerations of sentiment as regards this old reactionary war hero.

Churchill was always a man of the ruling class, his attitudes were those to which the middle class aspire and his abilities placed him in a position of prowess in the sphere of power politics. He was anti-working class, he was an imperialist and he was a man who blossomed in war—in the business of killing and death.

How many of those whom he sent to their early graves were treated with such adulation as the old man who dies at ninety years of age in his bed? When the bourgeoisie dry their tears will they feel concern for those dying in Asia and Africa, who are denied food because of the needs of the capitalist system Churchill fought so hard to preserve?

The mawkish treatment given to Sir Winston in his final days by the mass media became tedious and sickening as one saw only their worship for an imagined, illusory God—not the grief of those stricken with genuine loss. As a result the spectacle became a morbid, grotesque ritual.

I did not pray for Sir Winston Churchill as the Archbishop of Canter-

bury did, nor did I send a note of sympathy like Dr. Verwoerd or Dr. Nkrumah. Neither did this writer stand in the rain waiting for announcements of his worsening condition. I only felt depressed because so much artificial human sympathy was being drained into an almost religious reverence for a man whose values typify the wrongness of the Statist conception of society.

Anarchists believe in co-operation and in its corollary: peace. Churchill stood for its opposite: competition with its corollary of war. Anarchists consider that mankind is one, Churchill saw society divided into privileged and under-privileged. Anarchists work for a free society where the State no longer exists, Churchill fought for the maintenance of the Statist, capitalist world of hierarchy and inequality.

Anarchists have killed men like Churchill and men like Churchill have killed anarchists. We are not of the same ilk but as many powerful people have realised on their death beds—and as ordinary people sometimes comprehend—men are very much the same in death. There is an equality in Churchill's death that did not enter into his life. For anarchists however, this is not enough. Men like Churchill must remain equal throughout their lives.

J.W.

OUR POCKET FUEHRER

LAST WEEK in a hall in Leyton during an election meeting a thunder-flash was thrown from the crowd onto the platform, and a man was set on by those assembled, knocked to the floor and punched and kicked.

Shouts of 'Kill him! Kill him!' rang out from all sides. Colin Jordan was in the news again, and duly next morning there was his picture staring up at us out of all the papers, face covered in blood, defiant, and pleased because he had gained the publicity he sought.

This poor little rabbit, trying desperately hard to be a big man, with his raised arm and shout of 'Heil Hitler' can best be described in the words of his wife and staunch follower, Françoise Jordan, 'He is a middle-class nobody'. She described him thus during one of her tantrums.

Jordan, who sees himself as the 'New Fuehrer' is a pitiful figure if looked at calmly and coldly. A pathetic little man holding ideas that are self-destructive, trying to prove that he is a virile member of a master race, though the fact that he lived with his dear old mum till recently points to the contrary. (Who knows perhaps his trouble stems from the fact that the arm is all

he can raise.)

The only position that he serves in the world of today is to show that the 'left' in politics needs hate figures just as much as the 'right'. Why don't they leave him alone. It would certainly be the cruelest thing they could do, and no one feels like being kind to him anyway.

To all those left wingers who are looking for fascists under the bed, I would say, it's not the silly little men who dress up in breeches and jackboots and strut around playing at soldiers that you should be watching. Fascism of that kind will never come here. It's the men in the smart suits who say: 'We of the Conservative Party have nothing against these coloured people, but we realise that this is a problem that can only be solved by limiting the amount of them coming here.' These folk will of course use the loonies such as Jordan and Fontaine to leaflet for them at election time (as in Smethwick), but the *English** will never show themselves as fascists. For after all if this happened some of those shares in Africa that are giving such grand dividends would go down the drain.

*Those born to rule.

J.S.

REASONS

When looking at this society one can really see where the trouble lies, regarding crime, when one considers the trouble over the libertarian ideas of a schoolmaster in London. What is lacking in our society is affection. A feeling of love and tenderness. 'Can't understand why they do it.' 'They come from a good home.' 'What is a good home? Is it a home where the carpet is swept every day with the very latest vacuum cleaner? Is it a respectable home where dad works day and night on overtime to get the money to buy 'things' for his kids, but forgets that they want a dad who loves them, and who will stand by them? Is it a home where dad and mum watch telly, and tell the kids to shut up when they come to them with childish problems?'

BUT THIS ISN'T THE CURE

Many children turn to crime and 'rebel' because they feel that nobody cares about them, and in most cases nobody does. What happens in our wonderful 'British Way of Life' is that stricter measures are called for, which starts the ball in motion so that it rolls, from remand home to borstal—from borstal to prison (perhaps many times, in spite of the deterring effect it's supposed to have)—from prison to the gallows. But this is NOT because the police are not armed. And we must see that they remain unarmed, NO MATTER HOW MUCH THEY TRY TO BLACKMAIL US.

JACK STEVENSON.

A Tale of Two Tenants

By our Housing Critic

All our do-gooder friends can join us in a denunciation of 'Rachmanism', which does not imply a condemnation of landlordism but leaves us with the cosy feeling that all that is wrong is its exploitation by foreign crooks. Leaving aside the equally valid argument that we can supply our own indigenous crooks who have nothing to learn from foreign competitors, I would like to compare the experiences of two friends of mine, one who had a foreign crook as a landlord (he was undoubtedly foreign; and he was convicted at the Old Bailey) and the other who had as landlord an eminently respectable, honest, old-established English family firm (and none of this is meant sardonically).

The second friend lived in Hampstead long before it became smart; he even did more than his bit to make it bohemian. He lived in a house built by this respectable old family firm (grandfather of the present head) over 150 years ago at a cost of (I suppose) some £200. For thirty years he was paying £200 a year, which at first they were pleased to have, but which after the war became irksome, and they sadly thought how much money they were losing. With the Rent Act they were liberated, and he was given a three years' lease at £600 per annum. This was normal, honest practice. He was the dishonest one (he signed the new

lease knowing full well he could not afford it, but where was he to put his large family?). He struggled through, however (managing to miss out on the last quarter, as it was payable in arrear, since they evicted him at the end of the three years willy-nilly). They wanted the house to sell. And they got £15,000 for it. A respectable way of making a capital gain, non-taxable and certainly not fraudulent. Who needs to defraud when the law is tailor-made for you to make money that way? His experience of the good landlords drifted on to his becoming a bad tenant (after 30 years as a good one)—he went to a high priced flat that he had to abandon because he could not afford to keep it up, finally breaking up the family and coming to the one-room furnished level.

My other friend, living in Islington, was fortunate enough to have a crooked landlord. He had lived in the landlord's house about forty years, long before the crook acquired it and when the Rent Act came he should have upped his rent, in what had sunk lower and lower in the social scale from being a respectable artisan's dwelling to being a house in a slum, from £2 to £4. The landlord had other fish to fry. He wanted, for reasons of his own, to acquire public money quickly. He issued prospectuses to show what desirable properties he had. He therefore granted his tenants 100% mortgages, on what was then a grossly over-rated valuation, allowing repayments of £4 per week. My friend now owns his own house having finished paying for it. The property however has in the meantime become extremely valuable—far above the dishonest valuation—and if he should

Continued on page 3

Books!

NEW BOOKS

The Accused: Seven East Germans on Trial E. Von Hornstein 25/-
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The Giant Tibor Dery 22/6
The Working Novelist V. S. Pritchett 21/-

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The Reader Over Your Shoulder Rober Graves 10/6
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Jealousy A. Robbes-Grillet 4/6
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England in 20th Century—1914-63 David Thomson 5/-

The work of Proudhon, who died 100 years ago, has a unique place in anarchism. Although, as the article below points out, he can be regarded as the father of syndicalism, he is not usually thought of in terms of the revolutionary anarcho-syndicalist movement which was later expressed in the Spanish C.N.T., the American I.W.W., and the S.A.C. in Sweden, and in the propaganda groups which advocate those ideas today. Nor was he an individualist anarchist in the sense in which that term is generally used, since he had a deep concern for the way in which social life should be organised so as to make individual freedom a reality. He is dismissed, rather briefly, by Berkman in *The A.B.C. of Anarchism*, but perhaps Rocker is more perceptive in *Anarcho-Syndicalism* when he writes:

Proudhon was completely rooted in the intellectual and social life of his period, and these inspired his attitude upon every question he dealt with. Therefore he is not to be judged, as he has been even by many of his later followers, by his special practical proposals, which were born of the needs of the hour. Among the numerous Socialist thinkers of his time he was the one who understood most profoundly the cause of social maladjustment, and possessed besides, the greatest breadth of vision. He was the outspoken opponent of all systems, and saw in social evolution the eternal urge to new and higher forms of intellectual and social life, and it was his conviction that this evolution could not be bound by any definite abstract formulas.

It may well be that in these days, those of us who feel attached to the ideas of anarchist revolution via the libertarian industrial unions have to admit that some of the specific proposals of that tradition have also been rendered irrelevant by the increase in material living standards and the development of the Welfare State, and only the basic spirit and ideas can be regarded as still being fully valid, and we should be more receptive to the basic ideas expressed by Proudhon. Should we for instance be persuading advocates of community living and housing associations, and the factories in which a certain measure of workers' control exists (see *Anarchy??*) to attempt some kind of non-capitalist economic co-operation?

Apart from these small scale efforts, it is undeniable that Proudhon's approach, of trying to understand the real nature of concepts such as Property and Justice is badly needed today. Precisely who does own a nationalised industry? Why can judges dig up 14th century laws to suppress the Committee of 100, and interpret the Official Secrets Act in a way contrary to the intention expressed when it was put through Parliament? In matters like

P. J. Proudhon

1809-1865

these the broad anarchist tradition of uninhibited inquiry can provide answers, and it is interesting to note that one of the first books to appear in the revival of interest in anarchism during the last few years portrayed Proudhon in a favourable light compared to Marx. (J. Hampden-Jackson's *Marx, Proudhon and European Socialism*.)

To give readers a brief summary of Proudhon's life and work, we publish below a translation of the editorial of the January issue of *Le Monde Libertaire*.

P.H.

APOSTLE OF FEDERALISM, CO-OPERATION & MUTUALISM

The time will come, after certain ideas have been clarified, when the world of labour will recognise the 19th century as the century of Proudhon.

Born at Besançon in 1809, dying on January 17, 1865, Joseph Proudhon burst into social affairs in 1840 with a work 'What is Property?', of which scarcely anything is remembered except the celebrated reply which the financier Laffitte flung into the face of the self-enriching financial bourgeoisie 'Property is Theft'. Standing apart from official socialism, represented then by Louis Blanc and Pierre Leroux, and later by Blanqui and Karl Marx, Proudhon broke away from the parliamentary social democracy of his time and urged the workers' movements towards an autonomous position with respect to the then powerful socialist politicians.

For 25 years the philosophical and economic work of the writer explored every field of human endeavour. *The Organisation of Credit*, in 1848, led to the People's Bank, which was a failure, but he had already raised such questions as the abolition of capitalist profit, interest-free credit, and the suppression of metallic money and discount. In 1843 he published *The Creation of Order Among Humanity*, followed shortly by *Economic Contradictions* which appeared in 1846 when he represented for Marx 'The proletariat become conscious of itself'. (*The Holy Family*.) But Marx wanted to get rid of Karl Grün, and

said so to Proudhon in a letter. Proudhon replied angrily, and the breach between the two men had already appeared. Marx with his typical good faith changed what he had called 'the scientific works' of Proudhon into 'petit-bourgeois writings', the breach being consummated with the appearance of *The Philosophy of Poverty*. After several years of silence there came *On Justice in the Revolution and in the Church*, 1858, *The Principle of Federalism, War and Peace* and finally *The Political Capabilities of the Working Class* which became the text book of the French section of the First International.

An ardent journalist and vigorous polemicist, he contributed to numerous workers' periodicals, and in particular to *L'Atelier* and *L'Opinion publique*. It was in *Le Peuple* that he put forward the formula which deserves to be learned throughout the libertarian movement: 'Anarchy is the condition of existence of modern societies, just as hierarchy was the condition in primitive societies.'

Proudhon, like life, is movement. He opens all doors, and all the doors open onto freedom. They are made use of in developing from revolt to the free organisation of work, independently of the political circuit. It is true that his work is mixed. It contains much that belongs to his century, that is rejected by history, but it also contains all the research which for 100 years has guided the syndicalist movement of which Proudhon is incontestably the father. For Proudhon, who rejects the abstract man of Marx, the dynamics of life itself with all their contradictions, are realities which cannot be tied down in formulae, and for which he rejects all dogmatism, affirming in *Confessions of a Revolutionary* that 'Whoever lays his hand on me is a usurper and a tyrant, and I declare myself his enemy'. Towards the end of his life, while Proudhon affirmed his confidence in the capacity of the working class, he retained a critical attitude towards it. That capacity had to be developed by education. For him, 'the government of the factory' counted as education, and it was this union of work and education which restored the significance to labour.

Proudhon, who was the apostle of federalism, co-operation and mutualism,

never claimed an ideological empire, and those who have learned from him, who built the First International, who made the Commune, and who subsequently created the trade union movement in France, have interpreted and continue to interpret his ideas freely.

Proudhon has been dead for 100 years. His work belongs to the workers who can draw from it, at each crossroads of their revolutionary path, lessons which will help them in their journey to 'The City of the Sun'.

(From *Le Monde Libertaire*, January, 1965)

ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN

Cor-ordinating Secretary: Tom Jackson, 10 Gilbert Place, London, W.C.1.

London Anarchist Group

"Lamb and Flag", Rose Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2 (near Garrick and King Streets; Leicester Square tube), 7.45 p.m.

SUNDAYS

JAN 31 Maurice Goldman
Happiness through sex.

FEB 7 London Anarchist Group
Future activities?

FEB 14 Bob Coster
Subject to be announced.

FEB 21 Philip Holgate
The World's Anarchist Press.

All welcome

NOTTING HILL ANARCHIST GROUP.

Secretary N.H.A.G., Flat 3, 5 Colville House, London, W.11. Meetings 2nd and 4th Thursday of each month at above address.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

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

DUNDEE GROUP. Contact Mike Mallet, 20 South George Street, Dundee. Meetings Saturdays 12.30 p.m.

EDINBURGH ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence Secretary: Douglas Truman, 13 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh, 3. Meetings every alternate Monday at above 7.30 p.m.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence: Joe Embleton, Thrush Villa, Commonhead, Airdrie, Lanarks. Meetings at Horseshoe Bar, Drury Street, Tuesdays at 8 p.m.

MANCHESTER GROUP. Contact Graham Leigh, 5 Mere Close, Sale, Cheshire.

MERSEYSIDE FEDERATION. Enquiries: Vincent Johnson's, 43 Millbank, Liverpool 13.

ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks. Next meeting Sunday, January 17, 2 p.m. at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.

SOUTH WALES. Irregular meetings held. Enquire Peter Raymond, 300 Whitechurch Road, Gabalfa, Cardiff.

VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA, CANADA. Monthly Forum—Last Sunday of each month. Enquiries to Bill Fletcher, 104 West 11th Avenue, Vancouver.

CANADA: S.I.A. (Solidarité Internationale Antitotalitaire) Canadian Section. Anyone interested please write Jan Weryho, Montreal, Station B, P.B. 1145 or phone Montreal 845-2671.

PROPOSED GROUPS

EDGWARE-ELSTREE and District. Planning discussion meetings and activities. Contact Colin Seal, 8 Oakwood Drive, Edgware or Anthony Frewin, 31 Burghley Avenue, Boreham Wood.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

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

Last Thursday in month: At George Hayes', 174 McLeod Road, S.E.2.

2nd Friday at Brian Leslie's, 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).

3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald & Irene Room's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.

An Afternoon of British Rubbish

ALL ART is but a gesture. A mark of approval or dissent upon the age, the time, the place or the society that spawned us. Drain off the emotional content and we are left with a frameful of rubbish or a skilled and beautiful work of craftsmanship. But too often the gesture becomes a cult and in the end an object of high toned barter between the Bond Street jackals and the conservative middle class. For the gesture to succeed it must annoy, outrage or disgust for if it only amuses then it has failed. Two such exhibitions should be examined as examples of the death and birth of an idea.

Gimpel Fils of 50 South Molton Street, W.1, have mounted a major exhibition of the work of Marcel Duchamp and never was such minor talent stretched across so many years, so many catalogues and so many cheque books. Pride of place among this collection of charming trivia is Bicycle Wheel created in 1913 as Duchamp's 'first Assisted Ready-made' and 'this establishes the first major incident of wholly non-art elements paradoxically challenging the esthetic frame of reference'. Yet slice aside all the drivel that has been written around Duchamp and you will be left with dealers of international reputations and vested interests hawking an upturned bicycle wheel fastened by its fork onto the top of a four legged stool. Walk through the gallery and one can stand in silent homage before the urinal that Duchamp, to his credit, tried to enter into the 1917 exhibition of the Society of Independent Artists under the name of R. Mutt. It was rejected by the avant garde of New York and now nearly fifty years later this piss basin is deified in a London gallery as one of its stations of the cross in its four year official European pilgrimage. I applaud Duchamp's 1913 and 1917 gestures for they succeeded in shocking

and annoying the conservative intelligencia and the flat-headed philistines but like Duchamp's urinal they are now empty of content and all that is left is a bicycle wheel screwed to a stool and an ancient piss basin both of only slight historical importance.

A few minutes walk to the Marlborough Gallery at 17 Bond Street, W.1, is an exhibition of 'sculptures' by Bruce Lacey. The *New Statesman* has described Lacey as 'the notorious comper of An Evening of British Rubbish' and the exhibition as tasteless and it is a measure of Lacey's success that he has created a montage of our age from its commercial droppings. He has removed the wrapping and the rhetoric from our society and exposed its plastic heart. The evils that we accept as a necessary way of life is stripped of its soft skin of public delusion and offered to us in this collection of primitive and brutal images for Lacey is in the tradition of Bunyon in that his childlike innocence will not allow him to compromise with evil and the strength of these gestures lie in their uncompromising rejection of any sophisticated ideological shadings.

As works of beauty or of lasting merit they are valueless for they are protests created from the indispensable accessories of this moment and this age and, while the monied members of the Town that strut these galleries will find space for a Duchamp or a Paolozzi art-toy, one cannot conceive a Lacey 'sculpture' gracing the house of gracious living. Reduced to the analysis of print Lacey's work would appear naive or banal. His 'Politician' (originally meant to be called *Conservative*) blows out hot air when one inserts a penny. His 'Mother' is a 'love machine' of five celluloid dolls suspended in a metal frame. A hairless shop window dummy is fixed head down to the side of the frame and, from the mouths

of all, gurgling transparent tubes seep their filched secretion into a waiting churn. 'Boy, oh boy, am I living' is an ensemble of the surgical artifacts of all that is brightest and best in an age that has exchanged syphilis for cancer, while 'I'm not chicken' stands ready to spew forth its Purple Hearts from a conventional slot machine backed by an inhuman debris of manufactured gut and bladder, while a man and woman lie with their child womb dead within a space capsule. Beneath their cheese cloth the broken bodies stink of death and the grey green excrement (fun from the fun-fun shop) remove it from the pulpy world of science fiction.

Some five years ago the Whitechapel Art Gallery staged a mammoth 'This is Tomorrow' glimpse into the past and the Smithsons who were at that time acting as unpaid lance-jacks for the Institute of Contemporary Arts praetorian guard offered for their party piece a small room. The effort was hardly worthy of note were it not that the Smithsons have gone to a greater glory by knocking up a new shack for the *Economist*.

Now Lacey has shown them what they should have done. One enters Lacey's room through the opening in a huge unpainted packing case and here is the small room crawling with its sense of sickness and despair. Framed on one wall is the Hiroshima outline of a man based, Lacey claims, on a personal experience with conventional explosive. The decaying wall paper and the crude and tatty decorations of our commercial culture cry of our age and its indignities. Here is the mirror of our time, for so many of us a heartsick visual pamphlet of protest. Stripped of his moral indignation Bruce Lacey would be a clown but one cannot laugh in the face of the prophet or deny the truth of his mad laughter.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

The Man and the Hour

IT IS SAID that when sheep are being persuaded to enter the slaughterhouse a goat is employed to lead them into the appropriate pens. The goat is then released in order to prepare for the reception of the next batch of sheep. Mankind has known many such goats and in the same way that man is the only animal which calculates its welfare in terms of its parasites, man is the only candidate for the slaughterhouse who passes a vote of thanks to the goat.

Mankind has had many such goats—or leaders. Whenever a desperate situation occurs; a war, a failure of political parties, economic distress, the situation gives an opportunity for someone to take over. More often than not, they are 'goats'—not ordinary men in the sense usually proclaimed nor supermen but men, who some accident of birth, some physical handicap or some failure to adjust has made them 'outsiders'. These men have been waiting in the wings, as their biographers usually note, 'for the hour to find the man'.

THE HOUR OF DESTINY

More often than not, they are sheer opportunists and all too often 'the man' finds 'the hour' when the situation is so desperate that either no one but an absolute idiot would take on the job or so desperate that everyone has forgotten what an absolute rogue they are entrusting their lives to.

Who but a fanatic could snatch victory from the jaws of defeat? Who but an idiot would fail to see the complexities and difficulties of a situation? It is a quality of the monomaniac to fix his eyes upon one goal, only forgetful of the consequences it brings in its train when achieved. It is also this same quality of single-mindedness which creates the illusion of 'greatness' with all its attendant narrowness of vision, simplification of issues and sheer bigotry and obstinacy. Later interpretations in the light of success will discern these as virtues; interpretations in the light of failure will see them for what they are.

THE INSANITY OF LEADERS

A certain insanity is necessary in leaders for power, enjoyable as it is, is only a substitute for other enjoyments in life. It is no coincidence that many leaders have been sick men (in retrospect even this is seen as a virtue—'struggled against all odds', 'worn out in the service of his country') but it can be found that a failure to appreciate other pleasures is very often a reason for the choice of a political career. This often manifests itself in an over-compensatory drive to prove virility or even, normality.

Physically healthy or not, it is very often a consciousness of psychological

inferiority that drives men on to power. A consciousness of being an 'outsider' is very common to all great men, a sense of alienation (often in actuality), is a quality which autobiographies claim puts them apart from other men—or boys. It is surprising how many leaders of nations were actually by birth or parentage non-nationals, or of divided loyalty, to the nations they led. This has often served to accentuate their patriotism, a nebulous thing at best, for 'the grass is always greener on the other side of the fence'—and a fatherland that is only a stepfatherland is more likely to engender enthusiasm than the reality.

POWER CORRUPTS

The drive for power is very often a sign of a neurosis but the achievement of power often leads to a psychosis and the great men of our history have often been psychopaths hiding their madness in the collective insanities towards which they urge 'their' people.

In an insane society the most lunatic will rise to the top with ease, as he never questions the sanity of his goal.

It is no longer physically possible or necessary for a leader to actually lead his troops into warfare. Technology and specialization have left the function of leaders to a more passive role as inspirer and orator but nevertheless the element of magic is still there, and a collective hypnosis demands a skilful hypnotist.

THE MINOR VIRTUES

Often it is brought into question whether the leaders of the world are courageous, intelligent or sincere. There can be no doubt that many of them are in possession of these minor virtues which, in the situations created by these leaders are more dangerous than the minor vices which possess their followers.

Courage is placed by Plato in the last degree of virtues. Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, the airman says that courage 'is a concoction of feelings that are not so very admirable. A touch of anger, a spice of vanity, a lot of obstinacy and a tawdry "sporting" thrill'. The average intelligence quotient in the dock at Nuremberg was one of the highest. The sincerity of leaders to views that are completely mistaken and disastrous is quite common. Occasions have arisen in history where cowardice, laziness and scepticism have done more for the human race than all the courageous, intelligent and sincere leaders.

Leaders seem only to be a necessity in situations where other leaders have got 'their people' into messes. The power of the people rests in their own hands. The only pity is that it is not in their heads.

JACK ROBINSON.

'Jeanette Sings at her Own Funeral' - Daily Express

THE POLITICAL DEATH was announced of Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker, the Foreign Secretary non-M.P. Ex-President Eisenhower, ex-President Truman, Chief Justice Earl Warren, ex-Vice-President Richard Nixon all regretted their inability to be present at the Forest Lawn, Hollywood funeral of Jeanette MacDonald, film star. Among those who actually carried the coffin were Barry Goldwater, late Presidential candidate and General Lauris Norstad late of Nato. Two hours before the service the crowd of sightseers and mourners numbered 500 and the roads round the cemetery were jammed with cars. Among the wreaths was a massive cross of white roses marked simply 'Ike and Mamie'. A record of Jeanette MacDonald herself singing 'Ave Maria' was played, followed by 'Ah Sweet Mystery of Life'.

LORD WILLIS IN THE House of Lords said there was a pop song which made him sick, written by a teenage singer called 'Twinkle' which went 'We had a quarrel/I was untrue the night he died/ He rode into the night/accelerated his

LETTERS

'Is Money Really Necessary?'

FROM THE SUBLIME...

Dear Sir,

A test carried out among building foremen and managers asked the following question: If you had to lose three and could only keep two of these five, which would you keep?

1. A third of your income.
2. Your house.
3. To love someone.
4. To be loved.
5. Your left hand.

Almost all selected 3 and 4. It's not so far off as you think, Jack Stevenson!

HANS LOBSTEIN.

P.S. Can you answer another question for me? Why is it that so many pacifists, including myself, are personally so aggressive?

TO THE RIDICULOUS

I enjoyed Jack Stevenson's 'Is Money Really Necessary?' (FREEDOM, January 9). Splendid! I'm sending you a copy of Ruskin's 'Unto This Last'; some radio parts; a photograph of Lord Roberts and a pair of secondhand army boots, size 9, for my next subscription renewal. Will this be O.K.?

Sincerely,

KEN BOUSTRED.

If Comrade Boustred would send us a new addressograph, a heater for the bookshop or even a roll of corrugated cardboard we could dispense with cash for his subscription which expires on March 13!

J.R.

Work yourself out of a job!

Continued on page 4
payments deficit. Productivity means we either work harder and produce more for the same amount of money, or get less. Well why do we work at all? Not to increase the national income or reduce the balance of payments deficit that's certain.

PRODUCTIVITY ABOVE ALL ELSE

Paul Chambers wants ICI to increase productivity. Okay, since the output increased last year, in spite of increased wages, could not new techniques be intro-

duced to reduce costs and still give employment to the staff? No, it seems as though, the choice is between reducing staff and not reducing staff, and new techniques are not considered, except in relation to reducing prices and increasing profits. What will happen if staff is reduced? As many of ICI's factories run on the continuous process system all that will happen will be that there will be more dials to watch, for those left. But what of the safety factor? Many plants were constructed on the assumption

that sufficient numbers of men would be employed to manually operate the safety valves, in times of emergency. In such an emergency how many men will it take to shut down the plant, has Paul Chambers taken note of that?

ICI is doing very well, and the staff work hard, Chambers admits this. They have increased productivity, and will apparently continue to do so. They have done their best for the firm, the industry, and the national economy. They now reap their reward, the sack, or at best redeployment, perhaps at another factory in another part of the country. Is this enough? Is this a justifiable reason for Paul Chambers, and the Labour Government, to say, 'co-operate with us and produce more'. True in his article he says he is not against wage increases, who wouldn't be with a wage freeze in the offing, besides who would dare demand higher wages if it meant the sack, higher productivity or not? However, what I cannot understand is the man's apparent stupidity. Does he really think we are mugs, that we will over-produce ourselves out of our jobs. Apparently he does. And I would suggest that whatever else this capitalist is, he is not stupid. He knows us only too well. He dangles the carrot, I am not against higher wages, provided you play ball with me. Some may suffer, not you personally, but someone somewhere, but conditions are fair, no one will really suffer, and we shall accept it won't we.

It's the policy of divide and rule and a nationalised ICI would do the same thing. Solidarity of ICI workers could prevent any redundancies, but this just isn't there. This puts the ICI workers in a very vulnerable position.

PETER NEVILLE.

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motor-bike' the song ended, declared Lord Willis 'Terry please wait at the gates of Heaven for me'.

A COMPUTER has shown that the 14 epistles attributed to St. Paul in the New Testament were in fact written by at least seven different authors. A Russian archaeologist reported finding on a cliff at Fergana, Russian Central Asia, a 7,000-year-old drawing of a figure resembling a spaceman, complete with 'airtight helmet and, on its back, a contraption for flight'. The Universe and Catholic Times commenting on a film about the Carmelites guillotined during the French Revolution and beatified in 1906 writes 'The central character, Sister Blanche, who leaves the convent and rejoins the nuns on the scaffold, should not be venerated as a martyr. She did not exist'.

MGR. PATRICK AHERN, a secretary to Cardinal Spellman says that the exhibition of Pope Paul's tiara will raise a far larger sum for the poor than if it were sold outright. The Universe goes on 'Pope Paul placed his tiara on the altar of St. Peter's as a gift to the poor. The next time it was seen in public was in a New York hotel at a luncheon given by Cardinal Spellman to a new bishop'. 'Pope Paul,' says Mgr. Ahern, 'gave the tiara not to Cardinal Spellman personally, but to all the American people, of whatever religious persuasion, in recognition of their well-known generosity to those in need'.

THE UNITED STATES is to build a new and more powerful long-range missile

called the Poseidon, which seems destined to replace Polaris. It will have twice the payload of Polaris. A Soviet underground nuclear test, according to the United States, released a small amount of radio-active material into the atmosphere and Moscow has been asked for 'a full explanation' since this was at least a technical violation of the 1963 partial nuclear test-ban treaty. The Fukuoka (Japan) weather station reported that it detected almost double the amount of radioactive fallout noted at the time of the first Chinese nuclear explosion in October. The US Defence Dept. announced that 35% of the needs of the US for chromite, a strategic metal, have been supplied by Russia; also 44% of ores of platinum-type metals have been supplied by Russia, the Defence Dept. claims that Russia was cheaper.

THE COURT AWARDED an injunction to restrain the producers of 'Cleopatra' from using a poster which might lead the man-in-the-street to believe that this was the same film as 'Cleopatra'. Mr. Quentin Hogg appeared for the pseudo-Cleo. LPTB refused to take advertisement posters for a play 'You'll Come to Love Your Sperm Test' by John Antrobus at Hampstead Theatre Club.

THE DOGS OF SARK in the Channel Islands mourned the death of Bella the only canine bitch on Sark, who belonged to the Dame of Sark who enforces a law allowing only herself to keep a female dog. There are 60 dogs on the island. JON QUIXOTE.

A Tale of Two Tenants

Continued from page 4

die now, his son could sell the freehold for at least £5,000 or maybe more, since Islington is on the upgrade socially again.

Unfortunately for the foreign crook's financial backers who bought shares in the inflated valuations, he was exposed in good time by a public minded creditor, or newspaper (I forget which) with the result that for the time being he could not pay back on the shares bought. The shareholders screamed foreigner and crook at him with all the outraged fury of a losing punter at a slow horse. Apparently when you gamble on shares you always expect to win though the logic of gambling is somebody must lose. Now that he has served his sentence, and the mortgages have all been paid up even at the dishonest valuations (since the present realistic valuation is so much higher than the old dishonest one, nobody could afford to default), the punters have also been paid up. Why this landlord had to serve a stretch in prison, and the first landlord is considered a respectable member of society, is one of the unresolved problems of capitalism.

Those who complained when the crooked landlord was discovered by the Press to be let out of jail during the week to help in a solicitor's department, might have reflected that it is possible that such a keen financial brain could not but be of more use to the State than by sewing mailbags, and that there was no real reason but the premature discovery of his plans why he should not have been included in the Honours List.

One cannot get away from the fact that, whether he was included on the prison roster or the Honours List, the landlord of my Islington friend was a crook (and yet so far as he was concerned, he

solved not only his housing problem but made his life's work meaningful insofar as he would have something to show for it at the end of his working life, if that is the criterion to be used which our society undoubtedly thinks is so). What we must get home to the people, however, is that the Hampstead landlord should be thought a far bigger crook and the misery he caused far worse. It was not a few punters crying that their dabble in stocks and shares had gone wrong, but eviction from homes. And the cry of 'Rachmanism' and all the solutions of the do-gooders to protect tenants against dishonest landlords are quite useless, when one sees that the so-called 'honest' landlords are the bigger thieves. A.M.

Contact Column

Delinquency, Maladjustment and the Community. Homer Lane Society series of Lectures, Conway Hall, 7.30 p.m. Tuesday, February 12, Mervyn Turner. Tuesday, March 23, Joe Benjamin.

Wanted: Help to sell 'Freedom', 'Resistance', etc. Saturday afternoons 2 p.m.-5 p.m. outside British Home Stores, Cardiff. Cardiff Anarchist Group and Welsh Committee of 100.

Driver/Teacher/Manual Worker needs well paid job. French and German languages besides English. England or elsewhere. Dennis Gould, Borrowdale, Carriage Drive, Frodsham, Cheshire.

Agony Column. Will A.A.G., Melbourne, Australia, send us his ADDRESS? Freedom Press.

Is This a Record? Has anyone any gramophone records to sell? Parker, 2 Orsett Terrace, London, W.2.

Number Six of MINUS ONE, the individualist anarchist review is now ready and can be bought at Freedom Bookshop. Price 4d.

Anarchist International. The above to be produced by Birmingham Group for the AFB. Copy for Conference to Tom Jackson, 10 Gilbert Place, W.C.1. Group and International news to Martin Bragg, 5 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham, 23.

Book tokens. Taken for all books at Freedom Books.

Read 'Resistance'. Monthly Bulletin of Committee of 100. Current issue (February) includes 'Telephone Sabotage' (Part 2) and 'Industrial Action a "Must" by Bill Christopher. Subscription 5/- six months, from 13 Goodwin Street or single copies 6d. from Freedom Books.

Peace in Malaysia Committee (London). International Sub-Committee of the Committee of 100. Emergency meeting, Thursday, February 4, 7.30 p.m. Reception Room, PPU, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

PRESS FUND

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

WEEK 3, JANUARY 23, 1965:

Expenses: 3 weeks at £70: £210

Income: Sales and Subs.: £214

SURPLUS £4

East Molesey: W.M. 10/-; Petersfield: F.W. 4/6; Birmingham: A.L. 10/-; Margate: T.L. 10/-; Sweden: C.F. £1/9/-; S.E.5: J.H. £2/11/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; Woldingham: F.B. 5/-; Missouri: W.K. £1/1/-; Hayes: Anarchist Group* 5/-; Paris: A.E. £5/2/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Ghana: M.C. 18/-; Hailsham: L.S. 2/-; Donaghadee: J.T. £3; London: S.E.P. 2/6; Taunton: C.W. £1; London: M.M. 10/-; Beckenham: A.D. 1/6.

TOTAL £18 16 6

Previously Acknowledged £56 15 11

1965 Total to Date £75 12 5

*Denotes Regular Contributors.

Exhibition Workers Organise

THE AVERAGE PERSON who slowly pushes his or her way round an exhibition hall probably knows very little about the actual preparation and work put into these shows. Nowadays these exhibitions are continually going on, not only in London but in other cities in the country. The range extends from the big "Ideal Homes" Exhibitions, catering for everyone, through to the specialised ones such as advertising, business efficiency and engineering products.

These exhibitions are in actual fact just advertisements on a large scale and from the increasing number of them, they must be very profitable to those who display their goods. It has also become very profitable for the firms who contract for the making and erection of the show stands. So profitable in fact that when 'Labour Research' tried to find out the amount of profit, all channels of investigation were closed and out of the numerous employers in the industry only one was prepared to disclose this information and their profit exceeded £½ million.

With the yearly round of union and employers' negotiations coming up again, the workers who actually produce this wealth, have decided that they want a bigger slice of it this year than hitherto. The failures of recent years, when their own rank and file organisation has been weak and the unions have had a more or less free hand to come to some easy compromise with the

employers, are being recognised. The workers are setting up their own organisation to combat more compromises.

THEIR CLAIMS

During work on the recent boat show, 45 stewards met to discuss the forthcoming negotiations. From this meeting came the formation of a committee with stewards representing workers from different firms, whether they were craftsmen or labourers. This committee has now drawn up a list of demands which it feels should be gained from the employers.

At a meeting at the Hammer-smith Town Hall, these demands were endorsed by quite a large gathering of exhibition workers. These are 10/- an hour for craftsmen, 9/6d. for labourers, three weeks holiday with full pay, a non-contributory sick-pay scheme and redundancy pay. The unions, for their part, are claiming in the now familiar jargon 'a substantial increase in all wages'. What this means in hard cash, they do not say. The unions are also claiming a sick-pay scheme and some changes in travelling and lodging allowances to bring these in line with the building industry's agreement.

From what was said at this meeting, it appears that the exhibition workers are fed-up with previous negotiations when only a few coppers were gained by the unions. This time they felt they should have

a bigger say and if their demands were not granted, then action should be taken. There were a number of speakers in the hall who attacked overtime as the curse of the industry. One worker said that it just wasn't a case of working all day, but from dawn to dawn in their industry.

UNITY NEEDED

But there were those who spoke with some bitterness about previous action taken in the exhibition halls. Labourers felt that they had all too often been let down in the past and their strike of last year was cited as an example. (FREEDOM, April 26, 1964.) Then, it seems, craftsmen fetched and carried building materials as instructed by their unions and so helped to break the strike. The labourers were demanding the same rise as the craftsmen had been awarded. Another man, also speaking from bitter experience, said that in the past stewards in the industry had been victimised for their activities. He, himself, had been forced out of the industry. Full support should be given to anyone attacked in this manner.

This rank and file organisation is a step which is needed if just demands are to be won. As shown in previous negotiations, action is necessary and if it is to be taken this time then any split between craftsmen and labourers must be healed. Not only will the employers use these divisions but also the unions, particularly the craft ones. The labourers' unions are not represented on the National Joint Council for the industry. With the industry 100% trade union, it is as an industry that they must act and not be divided by petty craft interests. If this unity can be achieved, then these demands can be won.

P.T.

Freedom For Workers' Control

JANUARY 30 1965 Vol. 26 No. 4

POLITICOS CALL FOR INDUSTRIAL DISCIPLINE

POTTERY WORKERS at Stoke-on-Trent were greeted with banner headlines in their local paper *Evening Sentinel* (Thursday, January 14) 'Yes, I said it' confirms Sir John. Hoping for a million more jobs.

This sort of talk in 1965 is heresy. Many employers no doubt entertain such thoughts privately, but to headline their hopes in the press—never.

The Sir John in question is Sir John Wedgwood, Deputy Chairman of Josiah Wedgwood and Sons Ltd., pottery manufacturers. He was speaking in New York whilst on a sales promotion tour. He also stated 'I hope the Labour Party will increase unemployment by a million. We are running an economy without disciplines.' Sir John claims that whilst we have full employment everyone goes for the soft Home market and therefore labour is short for the export trade.

Sir John stood unsuccessfully as a Tory candidate at Leek in 1959. The Conservative Party do not regard him as a vote catcher.

The British Potters' Manufacturers' Federation does not subscribe to Sir John's views. The Managing Director of Wedgwoods also expresses disagreement.

Obviously no one in their right mind is going to subscribe to the policy of unemployment publicly, but substantial unemployment has a way of curing strikes, particularly the unofficial type. Industrial discipline is far easier to maintain.

SELFISH WORKERS

This is the opinion of Gunter the Minister of Labour. We are not dreaming, it is a Labour Government still in office, up to the time of writing anyway.

Speaking at Dulwich London he said Britain's greatest need at the moment was discipline. He rattled on 'That a handful of men can throw thousands out of work and can delay with frightening inconvenience ordinary people trying to get home, just because these men are not happy about the amount of back pay they had from a recent agreement.'

Mr. Gunter will receive £8,500 per year plus £1,250 Parliamentary allowance. He is the M.P., for Southwark, one of the safest Labour seats in the country. He babbles about productivity and that improvements in our pensions, hospitals and housing will have to be earned.

Who the hell does he think he is? Hard working people sent him to the Gas Works at Westminster, with the misguided idea that he represented their interests. I wouldn't trust him with our cat and I hate cats.

A Labour Government spokesman once said 'We are the masters now.' This can be taken two ways. A Labour Government can only mean one way, 'masters of the ordinary working people'. To the employing class, they are just one big tame tabby cat.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

Work yourself out of a job!

ONE OF THE MAIN critics of the Government's present monetary policy is Paul Chambers, Chairman of ICI. Whether or not his criticisms are correct, and evidence appears to show that they are, is less important than his motives for making them. Chambers is often pictured as one of the 'New Men' of our time, a management bureaucrat, of objective viewpoint, and high national ideals. I suggest that this view is mistaken. Chambers is as reactionary as any other nineteenth century mill owner, and his methods are the same—to subordinate the individual workman to his viewpoint, as ruthlessly as any Stalinist Kommissar, though this is veiled by the subtle 'kid glove' tactics and sweet words of the personnel manager. Like all 'benevolent despots' Chambers is one who acts in our interest. His motives are the purest. His watchwords are 'the economy' or more precisely 'the firm', and its interests are apparently seen to be the interests of us all, so therefore anything goes, for the end justifies the means.

In the most recent edition of the ICI Magazine—an industrial glossy of superb presentation and dubious purpose—he gives his New Year Message to the staff, rather like Queenie. He tells them that profits for the year are likely to be good, in fact output, and sales, both here and abroad, are at record levels. In spite of wage and salary increases, selling prices have been reduced. There are apparently reasons for this, high world demand, technical improvements, management efficiency, and, he admits, a hard working staff. By beating foreign competitors in both the home and overseas markets, ICI is improving the economy as a whole. This, he suggests, refutes criticisms that British goods are uncompetitive. In fact he claims that national exports as a whole were expanding, and that ICI is in the forefront of this expansion, with its new plants and lavish modernisation schemes.

with its new plants and lavish modernisation schemes.

SACKINGS?

However, this is not enough. By American standards the ratio of labour to output is still too high. Rising wages and salaries will increase costs, which must be avoided, therefore something will have to give way, and inevitably Chambers suggests it will be labour. In the previous year, despite increased wages and salaries, prices were lowered, and profits increased, but in this year the opposite will take place. How very odd. As we now have full employment and expansion it is up to ICI to redeploy existing staff rather than cause redundancy. Though he doesn't stop there, he also suggests it is up to industry as a whole to redeploy labour. Whether it must redeploy its own labour or the ones ICI fires he does not say. Nor does he anywhere indicate that ICI employs over twenty thousand workers in the North East, an area not known for much recent industrial expansion, even in times of 'over-full' employment. Perhaps the Billingham and Wilton factories will not sack anyone? But if they do, where are there other factories to absorb the labour—Birmingham, Coventry, London? The implication Chambers appears to make is that ICI will go bust unless it reduces the staff ratio, but as ICI has practically a monopoly is this likely under the circumstances?

Chambers asks for co-operation. He wants to reduce the staff no doubt by work study and automation. But who will gain, the staff, or the firm? The latter surely. A recent study in one factory reduced the personnel in one laboratory to 2.4, so they cut the staff to two of course. The watchword is to get higher productivity, to enable us to export more and reduce the balance of

Continued on page 3

ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM THE WORKERS' NEXT STEP 3

UNLIKE trade unionism, Anarcho-Syndicalism has not been developed merely to 'represent' workers within capitalist society. It can do that, and do it far more effectively than trade unionism, but that is not its main object, for its real aim is the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of the free, classless society. The defence and improvement of our standards of living as long as the existing systems last are, of course, vital, but the Syndicalists long ago realised that under the capitalist state there is no lasting security, no permanent peace or prosperity.

Capitalist states, forever struggling among themselves, also wage ceaseless war against their own subjects. Externally they wage economic or military wars; internally, the class war. For the workers, life is a perpetual struggle, and it is from the working-class struggle that ideas of Anarcho-Syndicalism have sprung; it is not the product of one man's academic theories. It has been hammered out in countless actions against the boss and the State, against oppression, exploitation and political trickery; it was not just thought up in the British Museum. But it is one of the many tragic aspects of the situation to-day that the reformist and pseudo-revolutionary theories of the political parties of the 'Left' have created such confusion that the simplicity of Anarcho-Syndicalism seems too good to be true!

For, although the task which faces such a movement is colossal, the approach we make to that task is the straightforward and direct approach of the class struggle. We reject—however plausible and attractive they may seem, because they represent the easy way out—the arguments of those who think in terms of political tactics, rather than face up to the reality that working-class strength lies at the point of production and not in the seat of government.

In fact, most of those who use the political arguments very often see that truth clearly enough, but for their own interests—i.e., because they want to get into power—they put forward the well-known lines ('We've got to get our own men into Parliament,' etc.) for which the workers have so long fallen, but which are wearing a bit thin now. Let us look, then, at the Anarcho-Syndicalist alternatives.

INDUSTRY, NOT CRAFT

Anarcho-Syndicalists maintain that the workers should so organise themselves as to get maximum effectiveness with the minimum of effort. To achieve this, it is necessary in the first place to organise on an industrial basis and not according to craft. I have already shown how craft organisation tends to split the workers rather than unite them. By organising themselves according to industry, workers can come together on a much more solid basis, and their identity of interest becomes much more apparent. Within the same factory, there may be workers carrying out half-a-dozen different kinds of jobs—engineers, electricians, 'unskilled' labourers, clerks, maintenance men, drivers, building workers—all of whom at present may belong to different unions. In a syndicalist organisation they would all belong to the syndicate for the particular industry of which that factory is a part. From this it would automatically follow that whenever any section of the workers in the factory had to take action to defend their interests, all the workers would take action with them. That often happens to-day, of course, but it does so only as a result of the natural solidarity of the workers and against the pleas of the trade union branch officials. Clearly, the workers should create organisations to foster that natural solidarity, not stifle it.

NO PERMANENT OFFICIALS

Coming together by industry and not by craft would also greatly simplify the work of organisation. Instead of the hundreds of unions claiming membership—and often competing for it—something like twenty-five or thirty syndicates would cover the necessary industries and services. This would immediately cut down the vast number of organisers which trade unionist workers have to carry on their backs, but that number would be cut down even more drastically by the fact that Anarcho-Syndicalism consciously aims at an absolute minimum of organisers.

There are two principles which apply to this. One, that no organiser shall be regarded as permanent; two, that no organiser shall be paid more for his work as an organiser than he would get for his work as a producer.

P.S.

(To be continued)