

### FIFTH NUDE STOCKBROKER FOUND MURDERED

IF THERE WAS a competition for the headline most likely to attract, the papers of this country have had their chance in the last few days and weeks. 'Strangled Nudes' have tempted three-pences, fourpences and fivepences from the pockets of the sex-starved, where 'Thousands Die in Bomb-Blast' would not sell a single paper. Unfortunately the newspapers with that nice-mindedness which they invariably display along with a total lack of sensibility, have refrained from using the word 'prostitute' in the headlines although it has appeared in the text as this was undoubtedly the profession of the victims. A particularly odious euphemism in use has been 'good-time girl'; it recalls the expressions 'lady of a certain profession', 'street women', 'ladies of joy' and, worst of all, the Victorianism 'unfortunate' (n).

#### CLEANING THE STREETS

The operations of the Street Offences Act made it necessary for a reorganization of prostitution in Britain. It had until then been largely private enterprise but it was reorganized on a call-girl basis (presumably the gangs and protection rackets moved in), hence the necessity for the curious cards outside shops to denote availability. There is apparently no law against advertising the services of a prostitute being available, but apparently shopkeepers have been subject to pressure for showing cards that indicated this too plainly, so that at the moment only the initiates can understand the code, so there can be no possibility of the innocents being perverted, as the citizens of Chiswick apparently fear. For example a recent West London court case divulged that a prostitute had used the cryptic message: 'Doll for sale. Phone—'

#### SITTING ON A FORTUNE

It is apparently not the possibility of prostitutes increasing their clientele that infuriates the citizenry of Acton but the mere evidence of such an institution flaunting itself in West London. If the worthy citizens were content to pass the Street Offences Act which puts the prostitute off the streets and out of sight,

they must put up with the slight inconvenience of these discreet little show-cards to draw customers. 'After all,' it will be argued, 'a girl must live'; but, what is a more important fact that seems to escape the notice of the indignant citizens, in order that this sex-denying society may maintain itself, the institution of prostitution must keep going. The ancient history of prostitution shows its relationship to religion but with today's organization of the call-girl as big business and the utilization by big business of the service of call-girls for expense account entertaining, prostitution may well consider itself an industry dedicated to the service of the public.

#### THE POPULOUS SOLITUDE

Furthermore, considering the vast populous solitude which is London and the lives of quiet desperation lived by thousands who are flung into it by the need to get a living, or the need for anonymity, or the need to partake of those pleasures which only the big cities can offer, is it any wonder that there is a regular clientele for the prostitutes who advertise their wares to the scandal of Chiswick? There are many English who admire Britain's prestige and commercial prosperity in the world yet deplore the accumulation of armaments and the threat of war; they are like those who are proud to be Londoners yet deplore the crime and 'vice' that are the inevitable outcome of a big city.

The moral indignation which is worked up about many men's simple needs is another aspect of that feeling of guilt which leads the 'decent' citizen to persecute that indecency which he, being human, knows springs up inside himself.

#### JEHOVAH THE RIPPER

Jack the Ripper was in many ways a typical Victorian product. G. W. Foote, the Freethinker, wrote at the time an article called 'Jehovah the Ripper' where he gave as his theory that owing to similarities of character, 'Jehovah' and 'Jack' were possibly the same person. Jehovah had a strong dislike of sin, hence of prostitutes, Jehovah had a poor view of sex, Jehovah was very cruel, very vengeful and very unpredictable and therefore was likely to go on a criminal rampage especially in view of his deplorable criminal record in the Old Testament.

We cannot indict Jehovah for the West London murders but it is not possible that some poor creature with feelings of guilt expunges them by a human sacrifice?

It will be remembered that John Christie, that ex-special constable, Crown star witness and necrophile, sought his acquaintances in the same sordid area of West London and from the same profession. Not only did his victims have that same rootlessness and lack of friendship that marks this batch of victims but Christie was also a self-styled abortionist. Thus do the laws of this society breed other crimes.

#### THE STOCKBROKER'S OFFENCES ACT

If prostitution were regarded as no more illicit than (say) stockbroking, journalism or advertising, we should not get the sickening waves of moral indignation which sweep our society every now and again and we should be on the way to a more healthy sex-affirmative society.

If the residents of Chiswick were able to see that prostitution was a necessity in present-day society, they would therefore be more concerned to change society than to suppress prostitution. 'The revolution' as some great thinker or another said, 'begins in the bedroom'.

JACK ROBINSON.

# Who are the War Criminals?

DURING THE PAST year there have been many protests made throughout the world, against the fact that if proof is established against Nazi war criminals more than 20 years after the end of the war, it will be impossible under West German law to initiate new prosecutions against them. It is natural to hope for revenge against the people who committed such terrible acts, and there is the further point that if they felt free from the threat of prosecution, many former Nazis would return to Germany from abroad, or emerge from hiding in Germany, and participate in right wing activities.

The fact that this danger exists shows how little progress has been made towards sanity in social and political affairs during the past 20 years. Reports from Germany on public reactions to trials of war criminals that do take place say that the majority of people take no notice, or feel that after so many years, the war should be forgotten. Nor are the Germans very concerned about the dozens of former Nazi judges and policemen who form the backbone of their present legal system, except when it comes to political propaganda between the two halves.

It is clear in fact that however much one sympathises with the desire to find the individuals who played leading roles in particular war crimes and hit them as hard as possible, it cannot be argued that that contributes to solving the real problems. These problems are intimately related to the social and economic structure of the society which de-

veloped in Germany over several decades and in which the worst aspects of capitalism, militarism, and ideological brain-washing came to a horrifying climax.

#### WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY?

There is a danger that when people put the blame squarely on the shoulders of a minority of declared 'war criminals', they may be taking an easy way out, and not paying sufficient attention firstly to the society which bred them, and which has therefore the potential of breeding more, and secondly to the share in the guilt which should fall onto everyone who passively obeyed or acceded to the orders of his superiors when they were clearly planning or carrying out criminal acts.

Equally, there may be a temptation to imagine that once all the official war criminals have been dealt with, there will be no further problems. In fact, the problems will have been left untouched, and the work of education, enlightenment and propaganda for social understanding will have to be carried out as usual, by individuals, without any support from the government. Lastly, the peoples of states who 'won' the last war have some responsibility. A man who died a few weeks ago once promised to make sure that Germany would never again be a military power, and yet within ten years he agreed to the rebuilding of its army, which despite so called constitutional safeguards, is just as brutal and arrogant as ever. Yet only a minority of the workers of Europe, who could have prevented every European war had

they acted in time, raised their voices in protest.

#### WHAT IS REALLY WRONG

Some anarchists may feel that in our present society, there can be some value in trying to bring pressure on governments to change specific laws. Others may consider pressure of this kind to be out of keeping with the anarchist assertion that everything worthwhile has to be done by the direct action of the people. Others may conclude sadly that in our present state of weakness nothing can be done at all.

However, there should be no illusions about the fact that begging a government to do something for you, asking it to get rid of its Fascist judges and replace them by mere conservatives, and asking the police to suppress ex-Nazi and neo-Fascist agitators, is a sign of the pitiful state the progressive movement throughout Europe and the world is in. That is what really needs putting right.

P.H.

## Unite With Catholics?

THE NATIONAL SECULAR Society trusts that those (many of them ostensibly non-Catholics) busy today building an image of sweetness and light for the Roman Catholic Church have noted some of the news items of last weekend.

With, apparently, considerable brutality and doubtful legality, the Roman police stopped a private dress rehearsal of Rolf Hochhuth's *Der Stellvertreter* (*The Representative*). Other attempts to stage the play in Italy have also been frustrated. The Vatican has announced a 'white book' on relations between it and the Third Reich.

The Roman Catholic Earl of Incheape was excommunicated because he married his secretary in the Church of Scotland.

In including family planning in its programme, Oxfam has admitted that it has defied pressure from presumably Roman Catholic quarters.

Oxfam is to be congratulated on showing courage that hitherto the official UK Committee of the Freedom from Hunger Campaign of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation has failed to show. Oxfam has at last debunked the absurd proposition sedulously put about by Catholics that food shortage, the population explosion and family planning are unrelated.

If all the Christian churches are now dedicated to the principle of Christian Unity, it may seem extraordinary that marriage is not equally acceptable if sanctified by Edinburgh or Rome. But on January 20 of this year, Pope Paul VI made it quite clear that Christian Unity is, in Vatican terminology, just another name for the Counter-Reformation. Christian truth is Catholic truth, he declared in effect, and 'is not ours to change'. Do all Protestant churches realise that union with Rome is theological suicide?

It will be interesting to see what sort of white book on Vatican-Third Reich relations is produced. Let us hope it does not resemble the *Donation of Constantine*. It will be instructive to compare it with Guenter Lewy's *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* and *German Catholics and Hitler's Wars* by Catholic Professor Gordon Zahn. No doubt it will considerably assuage the 'pain' caused to the present Pope, who seems rather more aggrieved by the destruction of Monte Cassino and criticism of his old pro-Fascist mentor Pius XII than the death of six million Jews.

DAVID TRIBE.

## Bristol Activists Regather

THE RECENT RUMOURS that the Bristol Federation of Anarchists has dissolved are unfounded. After some months of relative inactivity and re-thinking regular meetings are to start once again. A pledge system has been reintroduced to ensure a regular income and when the weather improves we shall again sell FREEDOM on the streets and hold regular public meetings on Durdham Downs. At a recent meeting, attended by over twenty of the active comrades, it was decided to send a contingent on the Easter March, and to support the Newport Tenants' Demonstration.

#### THE CARAVANNERS

On Saturday, February 13, a group of comrades travelled up to Newport and visited the Nash Caravan Site. Conditions there were every bit as bad as had been reported in FREEDOM, and the tenants who were on a rent strike seemed genuinely pleased, and a little surprised, that people should have come from as far afield as Kent, Merseyside, Scotland, London, and Bristol to join their protest. Upwards of 150 people, including mothers with babies in prams, joined in the march, which passed through the busiest parts of Newport, attracting considerable attention and apparent sympathy. Only a tiny handful of bystanders refused the leaflets which had been duplicated for the demonstration, and some joined in the march. Considerable numbers of FREEDOM, *Direct Action*, and *Resistance* were sold. At the public meeting Mr. Richards, Chairman of the unrecognised Tenants' Association, spoke of the injustice of the neo-Rachmanism practised by the owners of the site, and was followed by Philip Seed, Dr. Ronald Sampson, and several more speakers. Unfortunately the Committee of 100 speakers tended to use the meeting as an excuse for propagandising the tenants, but in all it was well worthwhile. It was a delight to see just how generally aware were the tenants we spoke to, and how, after being given no assistance by Council,

MP, or employers, they realised the importance and strength of their own solidarity and direct action.

#### EVICTON

Should further demonstrations be necessary, even more comrades from Bristol will take part. Meanwhile we have established useful contacts with the Cardiff Anarchist Group, and feel that the protest was worthwhile. On the evening we returned from Newport we discovered that comrade Adam Nicholson, who intends to start a syndicalist printers' co-operative in Bath in the near future, had been forcibly evicted from his flat which he shares with three other comrades. He was given no notice, and the police assisted the landlady in ejecting them, after she had refused to accept any further rent. This appears to be strictly illegal, and the Federation intends to follow this up immediately.

#### HOUSEWIVES' BOYCOTT

Finally from the Federation comes the news that there is a possibility of organising 'fringe' events during the Bath Festival this summer if we can draw on the necessary cash and resources. From the local paper comes news that a group of Bristol housewives have formed a boycott group to combat rising food prices. The first object of their ban is sausages, which they claim 'have become unreasonably expensive in the last few months'. A last point, which caused us considerable amusement when we discovered it; the Bristol North-East Labour Party headquarters has developed something of a list. From the inside it leans to the left, from the outside it leans to the right. Well, well, well!

IAN VINE.

Whether Government is organized as an autocracy, or a monarchy, or a democracy, makes no difference, it is always the rule of the propertied class.

JOHN BEVERLY ROBINSON.

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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# AGAINST RESOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

THE MAIN THEME in the No. 1 issue of *Glasgow Solidarity*, one of the first libertarian journals to be brought out in Scotland for many years, is 'against revolutionary socialism'. Though born out of a growing interest and support for anarchist ideas in Glasgow, the magazine is a reflection not on the successes of the movement, but its deficits. 'Over the last year,' states the leader-article, 'lots of young people have been revolving round the ILP, but because of its immersion in traditional politics of bygone days and accompanying inactivity, disillusionment has set in and the ILP has been deserted. The Anarchists meet regularly, but their inactivity has been disappointing. A small group work on in the Committee of 100, but the world passes them by and no-one seems to care. CND is moribund, caught in the Labour Party straitjacket; YCND is healthy and active, and through them a lot of young people are coming into contact with the libertarian movement. The Young Socialists are split between the authoritarian and libertarian movements and in the main they have not grown out of the resolution passing stage. This is the state of the Glasgow left wing that we are introducing *Solidarity* into.' This would appear true of the whole British Left, not just Clydeside.

THOSE ANARCHISTS who bewail the lack of participation on the part of their comrades in supporting anarchist organisations might learn a lesson about the spirit of anarchism by discovering that whilst 'official' anarchist organisations in Britain, France and Spain are beleaguered by ill-will in their contacts with each other, 'unofficial' personal contacts between British, French and Spanish anarchists are excellent. In fact everything points to the conclusion that anarchist organisations get in the way of anarchist organisation and would serve the movement best by disbanding forthwith.

When 13 anarchists set out together from Britain for the Libertarian Summer Camp in the South of France last year no one could have supposed that the results of the Camp would have produced so much goodwill. Since that memorable camp of easy, relaxed libertarian enjoyment several visits have been made to France by English comrades and close relationships have cemented a sense of understanding between young people in Britain and France that would probably stupefy those who think that one builds an anarchist movement by holding conferences.

Not for the first time in anarchist history it has been shown that the

What are the aims of *Solidarity* and its point of difference with other socialist organizations? *Solidarity* is a revolutionary and libertarian socialist group whose aim is the establishment, by the conscious mass action of the working class, of a society without bosses or bureaucrats, armies or bombs... we are not a "God-given" leadership trying to impose our ideas and views on the movement. Instead we will try and be an instrument of the working class in its struggle. The valid distinction here being that we should aim at new arrangements not of ourselves, but by ourselves.

The ILP comes in for heavy criticism in an article entitled 'Respectable Revolutionaries'. Its members are accused of sleeping when the chance to put over a political message to a hundred or so young people offered itself. But who were these 'hundred or so young people'? 'Meds against the Bomb' according to *Solidarity*! Despite the fact that these youngsters were responsible for a considerable amount of damage to the Committee of 100 this was no reason for the ILP to sling them out. 'Who are the ILP wanting in their ranks,' asks the writer. 'Some kind of holy parson?' No—just responsible human beings! Since when has turning into a midden the offices of those few who are sacrificing

much of their spare time and cash to the propagation of libertarian socialism suddenly become an expression of revolutionary fervour? In the country of the Blind it seems, the one-eyed *Solidarity* is King.

The article on the Scottish Peace Movement, however, makes a little more sense, exposing the duplicity of the STUC and the Communist Party. CND also comes under fire for a half-hearted and reformist attempt at industrial action. It is a pity the article does not go on to suggest any remedies or practical alternatives. It has criticised the peace movement but not the war in South Vietnam, attacked reformism but left unscathed the MLF. Again *Solidarity* would appear to be guilty of one-eyed absolutism. Is short-term agitation against immediate problems to be shunned and condemned as reformist? Has the enemy always to be an absolute one?

Human conservatism, let us remember, is a factor in any historical situation. The greater your reforms, the more opposition will accordingly be pitched against them. Is attention and devotion to the 'Grass-roots' revolution the only possible road to better conditions? Is it not possible to accept, albeit reluctantly the realities of the nuclear age and devote our energy to removing injustices one by

one rather than by tackling all injustice at once? *Solidarity* has a great role to play in accelerating the libertarian socialist revival in Glasgow, but unless it gets down to clarifying and presenting a coherent attitude towards those immediate and outstanding problems which threaten our very existence, it might well entomb itself forever on the lunatic fringe.

BILL JAMIESON.

## ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN

Co-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

FEB 28 Tom Barnes  
Roles, Rules and Rebels.  
MAR 7 Ian Dixon  
Subject to be announced.  
MAR 14 Jerry Wilson  
Life with the American Indians.  
All welcome  
MAR 20 Conference Social (Saturday)  
MAR 28 Bob Coster

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.  
BRISTOL FEDERATION. Regular fortnightly meetings. Details from John Coveney, 1 Richmond Park Road, Clifton, Bristol, 8.

CAMBRIDGE ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact V. Madge, Newnham College.  
DUNDEE GROUP. Contact Mike Mallet, 20 South George Street, Dundee. Meetings Saturdays 2.30 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, February 28, 2.30 p.m. at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.

SOUTH WALES. Irregular meetings held. Enquire Peter Raymond, 300 Whitchurch Road, Gabalfa, Cardiff.  
VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA, CANADA. Anyone interested contact Bill Fletcher at 3743 West 7th 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 Freewing, 31 Burghley Avenue, Boreham Wood.

THANET. For information contact Peter Davey, 14 Fitzmary Avenue, Westbrook, Margate, Kent.

NOTTINGHAM. Anyone interested contact Peter Bowden, Flat 2, 11 Rectory Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham.

## 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.

3rd Saturday of each month at Sid and Pat Parker's, 2 Orsett Terrace (off Gloucester Terrace), Paddington, W.2, 8 p.m. (Please ring second bell from top).

## Vive L'Entente Cordiale!

barrier of language disappears in the face of common understanding—for I know that three of us who have returned to France since the Summer camp can hardly put a sentence of French together between us.

For their part our comrades in France, both the French and Spanish, have been overwhelmingly friendly. I only hope we can adequately reciprocate shortly and I hope that our reception will increase the amount of travel between Britain and France by comrades on both sides of the channel.

One thing is certain: the Summer Camp is the natural anarchist way of evolving an international movement and it even helps to engender co-operation within the countries concerned. In France individual anarchists without alignments and members of the Syndicalist Workers' Party worked together emptying dustbins!

Also in France mutual attractions vis a vis the French and English men and girls are not unknown. So, comrades, go to the warm pastures of France and

remember the words of Tolstoy on first reading the work of Proudhon: 'Nationalism is the one single bar to the growth of freedom'. VIVA L'ENTENTE CORDIALE.

J.W.

## NOTE:

The French anarchists of the Jeune Libertaire in Marseilles hope to start a bookshop-cum-library for the dissemination of libertarian ideas. They wish to appeal to British anarchists to send any contributions they can afford for establishing such a library to me c/o Freedom Press. I will forward the money to France which is quite a complicated procedure and will acknowledge all money received in FREEDOM. Anyone who wishes to can send money directly to Mr. René Bianco, C.C.P. 38.31.81., Marseilles. The number is his current account and money should be sent with a mandat carte de versment.

JEREMY WESTALL.

## FILMS

## HAMLET—PENNY PLAIN . .

THE ART of W. C. Fields lay in his ability to interweave his world of bitter logic into the unrational world around him. He tottered through a society of vile children, nagging women, poisonous relatives and mentally unbalanced administrators, an honest man forced to accept the human race as his cross yet always aware that without that society he could not exist, for like yourself he was forced to accept and tolerate the inanities of the human race knowing that they are the comedians that the gods have spawned to plague you.

N. F. Simpson in his play *One Way Pendulum* realized and accepted this obvious fact as his term of reference. In a society of 'do-it-yourself' kits it must be merely a matter of time and industrial ingenuity before one could buy not only the easily assembled parts of an Old Bailey Court, but the entire administration from clerk to judge and the obvious and logical place to erect it must surely be in the privacy of one's own dining room. The lunacy of this lies with the society that hawks these wares and the logic with Mr. Groomkirby who buys both judge and jury to while a boring weekend. Yet this is the fundamental point that has escaped Peter Yates who has translated Simpson's play from stage to screen. No longer is Groomkirby the one steady link in a jangling chain but a crazed father of a lunatic family, or to quote the press handouts 'the World's wackiest family'.

Yates's camera freezes onto our world as we daily accept it and through this world, at which we daily pay lip protest, Eric Sykes staggers and rolls as a pathetic figure of simple-minded fun. The accepted physical manifestations of the original text become the hallucinations of a suburban clerk.

The son in the attic trying to get the speak-your-weight machines to sing the Hallelujah Chorus no longer provides

the orchestral background but now exists in his own right as a figure of pathos. No longer does Groomkirby hold the centre of this world through which all the irrationalities of public promise and practice are funnelled to their logical conclusion but emphasis is now shifted to the daughter to prove that though Groomkirby and son may be stark raving mad, Sylvia Groomkirby and the audience exist to mock the lunacies of father and son. Simpson created a suburban Lear for the London stage, a man impervious to the fools that raged and mocked around him, yet in conspiracy with the film director Peter Yates he now offers a suburban Hamlet, a sad creature at the mercy of the world's laughter, bending his head before the baying of fools and hiding the awareness of his own isolation behind a cloak of madness.

W. C. Fields or the early Chaplin could dominate the screen because they dominated their social background, for they amused us but never the shadow world within which they acted out their problems and this is where Simpson and Yates have failed. We do not smile as we watch some unfortunate creature publicly drooling to a weighing machine or at an undersize man hauling huge unwieldy packing cases through crowded traffic lanes, for to simplify it the author and director have failed to realize that the only legitimate laughter is at the mental mirror of our own accepted and conquerable failings.

After Yates's failure Grigori Kozintsev has tossed a Russian Hamlet on to the world's stage to mutter away the hours of indecision, to stalk the dank spray-swept battlements, seeking answers from the unanswering night.

Fed for a generation on the teeth-chopped Kensington enunciation of the Old Vic with their well-acted camp slanted subsidiary characters, we are

now given Innokentii Smoktunovskii's muscular Hamlet not only at war with himself but at the decadent society around him. There, to the score of Dimitri Shostakovich's powerful brass and hypnotic strings, Hamlet sinks beneath the weight of masterly camera angles. Scene after scene rises through Gritsyus's camera to dominate the mind to the exclusion of all thought, and the play that held the groundlings around the boards of Southwark's Globe becomes a beautiful circus. Here is a Ghost that fills the screen to the sounds of Shostakovich's beating brass and the mockery of neighing horses, yet Olivier's broken worm eaten ghost still haunts the mind.

Ophelia has a marbled doll-like quality and Shostakovich's tinkling cembalo chains her to her puppet movement instead of allowing her madness to flower into its black evil. Like Eisenstein, Kozintsev has allowed the camera to dominate both player and author and Hamlet's primeval and universal misery becomes but a muted wail in this vast visual orchestra, played out to a score that turns the players into dancing dolls.

Yet on some bare boards a year from now while we queue for other amusements, a drifting player will stand and mouth to the half empty darkened rows before him Shakespeare's queering cries and that player standing alone before a painted backcloth will find an unspoken echo in the darkness that robes him in his mummer's majesty, for in every audience there is a Hamlet.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

## One Way Pendulum.

Directed by Peter Yates. Produced by Michael Deeley. Distributed by United Artists. 85 minutes.

## Hamlet.

Directed by Grigori Kozintsev. Produced by Lenfilm Production. Score by Dimitri Shostakovich. Distributed by British Lion. 149 minutes.

# This is not the way to Integration

MALCOLM LITTLE was shot and killed in a Harlem ballroom where he was just beginning a speech. He was a negro leader in the United States and was not a pacifist.

He had been a member of Elijah Muhammad's Black Muslims which is the equivalent of a Fascist party for coloured people. This party believes in racial segregation and holds its meetings with American Nazis and Communists who support the line from Peking.

Malcolm Little however must have seen the lunacy of this case (one doesn't have to be very bright to do so) and he left the Black Muslims taking a large crowd of his followers with him. When he appeared on the television programme *Tonight* some time ago, he said that he believed in 'integration' now, but the negro would have to be more militant and, if it were necessary, should use violence to defend himself.

All this seemed to me to be quite reasonable, and yet the *Daily Mirror* described him as a 'fanatic'. What is a fanatic? Nowadays it appears to be anyone who believes in anything all the way. Malcolm Little is described as a fanatic because he thought that negroes should not allow themselves to be torn to pieces by police dogs, should defend their homes if necessary from white racists and should act to achieve equality now.

It appears from the Press that any negro who does not want to be forced to live in slums, get all the worst jobs, be made to walk in the gutter, go to different bars, different toilets, sit in the back of the bus, and all in all be treated like a white man's dog, is a madman. Let's just look at Malcolm Little's

background.

He said that his first memory was of white men burning his home. His father, a negro-rights campaigner, was murdered by being beaten to death and then thrown under a tram, his grandmother was raped by white men. Not a very nice picture is it? Now he has been shot by members of the Black Muslims, who are little more than Nazi arse-lickers. These people are, because of their hatred, playing into the hands of those who believe in segregation. How many people have heard it said 'You can't give the negroes in Africa self-government, they just start murdering one another'?

It appears that men are the same the whole world over, the black and the white. As soon as they appear to be getting somewhere they start killing each other instead of making common cause against their real enemy. With all militant groups, it seems the hatred they feel for injustice is only matched by the hatred they feel for each other.

The negroes in the United States are in a minority, and therefore they need solidarity much more than they do where they are in the majority, yet in spite of this they have split into three groups (at least): the Black Muslims (who are Fascists); Malcolm Little's crowd; and the NAACP who are pacifist and work through the courts (though they will back up militant action as long as it is non-violent). They too have had a leader shot. There have been as far as I know, no assassinations of coloured Fascists. The reason is obvious: as long as the negro wants to be segregated he will be. Not in the way he wants, but the way he is now.

JACK STEVENSON.

## OUT OF THIS WORLD

A WARRANT HAS been issued for the arrest of Adolph Hitler, on charges of mass-murder. It has been pointed out that this is a mere formality, for if he should by any chance be alive and the amnesty on war-crimes comes into force, there would be no obstacle to Herr Hitler re-entering public life, even to the extent of becoming a member of Parliament; the mass-murder charge now makes this impossible. A ceremony was held to mark the twentieth anniversary of the destruction of Dresden by British and American bombers. The town at that time was crowded with refugees from the advancing Russians and it was estimated that 135,000 were killed (the deaths at Hiroshima were 70,000). A book has been published in the USA, *In Solitary Witness: The Life and Death of Franz Jägerstätter*; Jägerstätter was beheaded in 1943 for refusing to serve in the German Army. He was a Catholic and based his objection upon his own conception of his religious responsibilities as a Catholic. In 1946 the Bishop of Linz said he was simply 'a martyr to his conscience' and the 'greater heroes' were those 'exemplary young men... who fought and died'

for the German state. *A Voice of Reason*, the American Atheist publication reprints the words of Martin Niemöller, 'In Germany they first came for the Communists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Communist. Then they came for the Jews, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Jew. Then they came for the trade unionists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a trade unionist. Then they came for the Catholics, and I didn't speak up because I was a Protestant. Then they came for me—and by that time no one was left to speak up.'

AN ACTOR PLAYING Gerstein, an anti-Nazi member of the SS in Hochhuth's play *The Representative* was charged with planting a bomb outside a Vatican wall, in protest against the Roman ban on the public performance of the play. This was in fulfilment of a Papal Concordat signed in 1929 with Mussolini. A young Catholic priest who advocated in the *Birmingham Post* the use of contraceptives was called to Rome by his superiors. He was asked if other priests believed what he had written. He said 'Yes, they are moving in that direction.' Asked if he expected an ultimatum to resign or retract when he reached Rome he said 'I don't think so. I have nothing to add to what I wrote. I will clarify that later.' In the article he wrote 'I have come to believe that not only do many Catholics use contraceptives, I believe they have the right.'

### LETTER

#### Wage Divisions!

Dear Editors,

A brief reply to PT. I wholeheartedly agree that co-operation is needed to make anarchism work. But the point of my letter was that some wage disputes, while they undoubtedly involve co-operation while the strike, etc., is on, have the effect, in the long run, of deepening the gulfs between richer and poorer nations and sections of the community. PT has not satisfactorily answered this point.

Things may work out as PT hopes but I see no sign that they are. I have no faith that they will; I gave up that faith with Father Christmas and Christianity.

JEFF ROBINSON.

domination. No repetition of the Popular Front!

Libertarian movements must work closer together. We shall also attend the Easter March. With our numbers and solidarity and insistence on our principles, we shall overcome these hypocritical 'peace-lovers'. And the CP had better watch out before they try to destroy our banners!

JOHN R.

## LONG MAY HE REIGN!

IT IS CUSTOMARY for libertarians to stress the apparent inevitability of all power corrupting, and rightly so. But last Sunday my iconoclasm of even our own dogmas was fully vindicated by the supreme aristocrat of jazz music, Duke Ellington who, at an almost teenage 66 years of age, is in sight of his 50th anniversary as a Band-leader of unchallengeable authority.

This current tour (which concludes at the New Victoria Cinema, Sunday, February 28) is no tired flag-showing, fund-raising circus by a collection of honourable, but 'passed it', veterans living on nostalgia and hormones. This is the very best that Europe has ever been privileged to witness, by any orchestra!

Gone are the embarrassing plugs for a mediocre record; the undistinguished excerpts from various cultural diversifications have been jettisoned, and the all-too-fleeting couple of hours are crammed with an overwhelming variety of riches, old and new, which inspire this unique collection of talents to heights even beyond those to which old hands have become all too familiar. Also the solo features are much more widely distributed than on previous tours and, for the first time in 20 years or more, Duke has widened his instrumentation by having two of the three trombones double on tubas, thus giving a further depth of tonal texturing.

His new bass player, John Lamb, a completely unknown young New Yorker, is the best he has had since the legendary Blanton.

Gonsalves's 'Chelsea Bridge' feature is a superb replacement for the long since threadbare 'Perdido' and 'Diminuendo'. Hodges, not seen to doze off for even eight bars, attacks his three numbers with a verve that I had assumed he would never have been able to regain.

Of Cat Anderson, whose sounds are still ringing in my ears six hours later, I can only say, with some knowledge of brass playing, that it is impossible.

Of Ray Nance, doubtlessly many of my acquaintances were disappointed by the absence of his violin, but it was always

MARIO SAVIO, the leader of the Free Speech Movement at the University of California, Berkeley, is quoted in *Liberation* as saying 'There is a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sick at heart, that you can't take part; you can't even tacitly take part, and you've got to put your bodies upon the levers, upon all the apparatus and you've got to make it stop. And you've got to indicate to the people who run it, to the people who own it, that unless you're free the machine will be prevented from working at all.'

A COLOURED CHURCHWARDEN of the Anglican Church in Cape Province, South Africa, has asked that his son be admitted to the all-white St. George's Anglican Grammar School. The application has been turned down by a majority of the school's governors but the decision has been challenged by the Anglican Dean of Cape Town. *Die Vaterland*, the South African Nationalist newspaper, calls the British Council of Churches' apartheid report 'pious nonsense' and

says 'South Africa knows its responsibilities to itself. Those people's path is a short-cut to Vietnam'. An advisory committee told the US Civil Rights Committee that the negro in Mississippi still lives in a state of terror in spite of some progress in race relations. The report of the committee describes looting, bombing, threats of economic reprisals and 'a collusion between local law enforcement officers and hoodlum elements'. South Vietnamese troops fired into a crowd of demonstrators in Thang Binh, unofficially it was reported that 40 were killed. The demonstration was against bombardment of their villages by South Vietnam forces and the conscription of men for the Army. Mr. Michael Stewart, the Foreign Secretary, said on television that he thought the US policy of military retaliation in Vietnam was unavoidable in the existing situation.

AN ITALIAN ARCHAEOLOGIST claims to have found the genuine bones of St. Peter under St. Peter's Basilica.

JON QUIKOTE.

## PRESS FUND

FINANCIAL STATEMENT	
WEEK 7, FEBRUARY 20, 1965:	
Expenses: 7 weeks at £70:	£490
Income: Sales and Subs.:	£456
<b>DEFICIT £34</b>	

Hayes: Anarchist Group\* 5/-; Frankfurt: H.B. 10/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.\* 2/-; J.L.\* 3/-; Rochdale: B.B. 6/6; London, N.W.3: A.M.S. 5/-; Bristol: J.C. 9/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.\* 10/-; Stoke on Trent: R.B. 2/6; London, S.W.10: P.C. £1; Manchester: A.M.F. 5/3; Surrey: F.B.\* 5/-.

TOTAL	£4 3 3
Previously Acknowledged	£173 11 1
1965 Total to Date	£177 14 4

\*Denotes Regular Contributors.

## Contact Column

**Demonstration.** Ilford Libertarian Group and Ilford Committee of 100. Saturday, February 27. March starting at Gants Hill (Central Line tube), 2.30 p.m., to Civil Defence HQ, Ilford High Road for sit-in.

**W. C. Fields Preservation Society** now organising. Details: J. Jack, 41 Sandringham Buildings, Charing Cross Road, London, W.C.2.

**Community.** Would any person interested in founding a rural community in Britain in the near future send 2/6 for information to 'Vegan Communities Movement', 7 Tudor Road, Wheathampstead, Herts.

**Work Wanted—Woman.** Wanted part-time or casual work. Pat Parker, 2 Orsett Terrace, London, W.2.

**Record Evenings.** Anyone interested in record evenings (music, poetry, satire, etc.) please contact: Parker, 2 Orsett Terrace, London, W.2.

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

**Touring.** Anarchist Comrade wishes to tour as many groups as possible in June, July, August this year. Those interested and who can accommodate, contact Peter Davey, 14 Fitzmary Avenue, Westbrook, Margate, Kent.

**Accommodation wanted: London.** Young couple (no children) require furnished or part-furnished accommodation S.E. London. Maximum rent £4.

**Edinburgh** thanks those who sent donations to the 'Anarchist'. As not enough money is yet available for next month's edition, a foolscap leaflet has been produced instead on the Vietnam crisis. Distribution urgent, 3/- per 100 from Edinburgh group.

**Country Job Wanted.** English Anarchist girl, with love for children and experience with them; Animals, light farm work, clerical, seeks job in Country with Anarchist family of sorts, where own daughter (15 months) would be welcomed, for six months or longer. Apply Fauser, 246 Leggatts Rise, Watford, Herts.

**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. rent £4. Stan Graham, 34 Conduit Road, S.E.18.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

## Against All Tyranny!

THIS IS THE time for the whole libertarian movement to come out of their ivory towers and face up to the realities of recent Communist Party manoeuvres to take over and destroy it. On February 14 the Communists, as reported in *FREEDOM*, managed to turn an anti-war demonstration into a 'hate-the-yankees' affair. Their tactic is to take whatever we are doing, to call a parallel demonstration at the same time and place, and with their organised chanting, strive to take over the whole meeting.

To an impartial observer then it all appears as a CP meeting. This has been the tactic of Communist Parties everywhere for the past 50 years.

On February 21 the Communist orientated 'Youth Peace Committee' organised an anti-MLF march. They invited the YCND and the Committee of 100 to take part. The Committee of 100 which is now alive to the sudden manoeuvres of the CP to disrupt it, insisted on carrying their own banners and giving out their own leaflets. They made it quite clear at the YPC briefing meeting that the main slogan: 'No German finger on the nuclear trigger' was not sufficient and that they were also opposed to militarism, east or west. To get their numbers the YPC agreed to this.

However, at the march there was much resentment expressed by the CP at the

Committee of 100's insistence on no nuclear weapons, east or west. Outside the American embassy all posters bearing that slogan were torn down by march marshals. In Hyde Park an attempt was made to squeeze out the Committee's speaker, Douglas Kepper. There was much resentment when, answering a question, Comrade Kepper stated that the Committee of 100 was as firmly opposed to the Warsaw Pact as to Nato.

The most dangerous plot that has come to light is that the YPC have announced that an Easter march will take place organised by them and the time and route just happens to coincide with those of the CND Easter march. They of course did not mention CND Easter plans, in their preliminary announcement.

We shall all have time to discuss this at the Anarchist conference in March and no doubt it will also be discussed at the next Committee of 100 meeting.

We, as anarchists, are firmly opposed to war anywhere and will not allow the highly organised party politicians of the CP to make political capital out of the misery of war.

We call on all libertarian organisations (Committee of 100, CND, Solidarity, YCND, ILP, the Syndicalist Workers Federation and all individual members of the libertarian public) to resist this attempted Communist take-over and

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# Labour's Task: Make Us More Competitive

THE PRIME TASK of the newly elected Labour Government has been, and will continue to be, making British capitalism more competitive in its bid for markets. It seems to me that it is more suited to perform this role than the Tories. Attempts by them to keep wages from rising met with opposition from the trade union leadership. Now it is a different matter for the Trade Union Congress has given its support to an incomes policy. A Labour Government has done what the Tories could not, namely to get the employers and the TUC to agree on a policy whereby incomes of all kinds, whether wages, salaries or dividends, correspond to productivity.

We are told that it is in the 'national interest' that incomes should be planned in accordance with the growth in production, which is just another way of saying 'wage restraint'. In America, similar policies have been carried out, while in France, the Government has set an example and imposed a policy of wage restraint on public employees.

The whole emphasis is on making capitalism more competitive. Lord Cromer, Governor of the nationalised Bank of England, has advised the Government to cut down its spending both here and abroad.

## CAPITAL KNOWS NO FRONTIERS

A WALK OUT by over 7,000 of Singer's sewing machine workers was staged in protest to the introduction of a new bonus system. The walk out embraces workers of six different unions which are working in unison. Unfortunately there is a lack of conscious syndicalist ideas although there does prevail a vague notion of industrial unionist principles.

This was the case when I worked in Singer's of Clydebank in 1959 and still is the case according to contacts whom I'm still acquainted with. A ban on overtime was agreed upon, commencing from Monday, February 15, with the threat of more militant action if the ban proved to be ineffective.

It is to be hoped that the workshop committee representing the workers of the six unions will not prove to have short memories. Several years ago when Singer's workers' counterparts in America had several disputes concerning bonus systems, two factories, Bridgeport and Southport, were closed down. Production of the machines the American workers were engaged in was transferred to German factories. Capitalism knows no frontiers, it's only the mugs who recognise them being misled into believing there are different races; some good, some bad, some indifferent. Moral: In wartime, America and the Western allies' interests were apparently linked with their own national working class fighting for Western ways of life. In so-called peacetime 'Western ways of life' are of lesser importance than the financial interests of the big business cliques. Could it be that production in Singer's Clydebank may take a similar pattern to its American counterpart, which was aided by the acquiescence of the trade unions?

Perhaps it's time for the workshop committees to find out more about the process of the factory production and the relationship of the markets and to extend their organisation and solidarity across their national boundaries. Capital is organised internationally in the industrial plane. In order to match this the worker must do likewise.

It will be interesting to observe the development of this dispute.

R. LYNN.

using this money 'for the more essential activities'. This means that public spending will be cut to assist the private sector of the economy. From the capitalist point of view, we are unable to afford expenditure on the building and improving of schools, hospitals, etc., and as for the old-age pensioners, the permanent Civil Service heads of the Treasury soon persuaded the Labour Government to put off any increases until March.

### KEY ROLE FOR THE GOVERNMENT

Meanwhile 'essential' spending will mean re-training of certain workers, whose skills are no longer needed, in those of which there is a particular shortage and a need, rather than for any humanitarian motive. Employers cry out about

## STEEL ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!

THOSE OF US who take the trouble to read the capitalist press must have been struck in recent months by the spate of full page adverts taken by the iron and steel bosses for their anti-nationalisation propaganda. Simple souls might be forgiven for thinking nationalisation really is a threat to the capitalist structure. The truth is that these adverts are not designed to prevent nationalisation. They are designed to force an extortionate price as possible for the industry.

Under the last self-styled 'Labour' government £245,000,000 was paid for the steel industry. This was a fantastic rate of compensation for an industry officially described as 40% scrap. The Tories de-nationalised it, sold it back to the vultures for a song, and now we've come full circle again. Once more the British people are to be asked to pay through the nose for the privilege of state capitalist control of steel.

### NOT CONSULTED

Nobody seems to have thought of asking the views of us, the workers in the steel industry. Most of my mates are vaguely in favour of nationalisation on the understandable grounds that nothing could be worse than the present set-up. At the same time nobody sees the mouthings of the Wilson administration as the signal to hoist the red flag over the works.

What about the British Iron, Steel and Kindred Trades Association? Where do the leadership stand on this issue? Well, 'Man and Metal', the official union organ, prints glossy full page adverts by the steel bosses along with the rest of the capitalist press. The union leadership are far too friendly with the bosses. Petty officials have a habit of taking management's side in any dispute. And as for troublemakers, well that's easy. The foreman in the shop where I work was formerly the shop steward and a troublemaker.

There is little solidarity amongst my fellow workers. We're all on different rates of pay, different rates of bonus, and most men are far too busy knocking up the bonus to notice that this system is slavery.

### BOSSSES UNITED

The only competition in the steel industry is between the workers. The bosses are united. Each company produces a different type of steel, or, if they're producing the same, they satisfy different markets, with no attempt to poach from each other. It is not free enterprise; it is monopoly capitalism. Yet the bosses have the insolence to try and convince the workers that they are as much a part of the company as the shareholders!

The final power is to be left in the hands of the bureaucrats, whether they be of the state, monopoly, or trade union brand. Another campaign will

the shortage of labour, there are more vacancies in the Midlands than people to fill them. More labour is needed now. As the *Financial Times* says, 'Something can be done to meet this problem by encouraging those due for retirement to remain at work and making it easier for married women to return. But the main solution must be a sharp rise in productivity, brought about by more efficient use of labour and a rapid increase in automation. It is Mr. Gunter and Mr. Cousins who have the key roles to play in Labour's attempt to go for a new Britain.'

What plans for solving a problem!! This is a short term policy of bringing more labour on to the market, which is treated by the employers as mere production units, followed by a 'more efficient use' of this labour and a 'rapid increase in automation', which will eventually lead to unemployment. So capitalism stumbles along, and is still unable to solve its problems, even though it no longer has to face the big crises it did in the past. More and more it calls upon the State for help, for a cash subsidy for expansion, and an incomes policy to keep wages down.

This will continue to be the story while capitalism remains, with men and women performing tasks, some of which they find disagreeable, producing useful and useless things, not because they are necessarily needed, but because they make a profit.

P.T.

also be starting shortly. This will aim at spreading the ideas of class solidarity and workers' control throughout the industry. So far it's little more than an idea in my head, but I am appealing for enthusiastic helpers prepared to give out leaflets, etc., at factory gate meetings all over the country.

For us in the steel industry, and for the workers in all other industries, the only lasting solution to our problems (and the only way to win real freedom) is to throw the parasites off our backs and seize control of the means of production for ourselves. Let us make the powers-that-be the powers-that-used-to-be!

MICHAEL BUCHANAN.

## ANARGHO-SYNDICALISM THE WORKERS' NEXT STEP 6

### WORKERS' CONTROL

SOCIALISTS AND PARLIAMENTARIANS who say they aim at a free society advocate taking over the State (either by parliamentary or revolutionary means), transforming it from a bourgeois capitalist State into a 'Workers' State' and then educating the workers to run society themselves while the State (in some way not yet clearly defined) proceeds to wither away.

Syndicalists and Anarchists retort that this is utter nonsense. In the first place 'Workers' State' is a contradiction in terms, since the State is the concentration of the means of power of the ruling class and if there is a ruling class it must be distinct from the working class. Secondly, to take over the State implies an organisation aiming at the usage of State power, and since the whole population cannot manipulate the powers of the State, those powers will inevitably pass into the hands of a minority—whether elected or not makes little difference. And all history shows us that when a minority has power it will do nothing to help that power wither away. Since, too, the trend of the modern State is to take more and more of the functions of society under its control, it can hardly be seriously regarded as a vehicle for educating the workers to take responsibility.

Therefore it is clear that the conception of nationalisation as a step towards workers' control is as fallacious as the political idea of State Socialism being a step towards free communism. In fact, nationalisation is a political concept and simply results in giving to the State which already holds political and social power, industrial power as well. And in the modern world it is industry which is the key to national power.

And here we come back to what I said in the first article about the importance of the workers. Without the productive workers society could not function for one day and this simple fact applies whether they are producing grain on a farm or operating an automated factory. They do, in fact, control industry, run society to-day, but they do not realise it, and so they allow themselves to be controlled by those who do. For there is no doubt at all that our rulers are fully aware of where the strength lies in society, and the

# Freedom For Workers' Control

FEBRUARY 27 1965 Vol. 26 No. 7

## TRADE UNIONS 65

FOR MY SINS I ploughed through Hansard for the 'Trades Dispute Bill'. The debate started at 3.50 p.m. and wound up with a Division at 10 p.m.

The object of the 'Trades Dispute Bill' according to the Minister of Labour is to restore the position to what everyone thought it was under Section 3 of the 1906 Trade Dispute Act. As everyone knows the spark that set this scuffle off was the Rookes v. Barnard decision.

During his opening speech Mr. Gunter made the point about trade unions changing and that they are accepted as almost part of the Establishment. Funny, when we say this we are accused of heresy and smearing the trade union movement. John Horner, MP, contradicted Mr. Gunter's suggestion that trade unions have been accepted and went on to quote the British Employers Confederation's document to employers warning them of the growth of staff unionism and the dangers of recognising them.

Sir Tatton Brinton, MP, Kidderminster, an employer, stated that he supported trade unions and regarded them as essential. Mr. Gunter during his contribution said 'We are seeing today the creation of one great industrial authority speaking with one voice for employers and management. In all this I see much that is good. I see that there will be greater efficiency; there will be greater order and, it may be, there will be greater discipline (my italics). But in all this there is much danger.'

The two sides of the debate, Labour taking the view that if the situation is not remedied, official trade union leadership would be shy to exercise their rights, and therefore, unofficial leaders and wild cat strikes would be encouraged to take over. The Tories were

concerned with freedom of the individual. With the Rookes v. Barnard case in their minds, they thought the bill would encourage 'closed shop disputes'.

The blue-eyed boy of the Tory party is Sir Edward Brown, MP, a Tory trade unionist, the first of the species to chair a Tory Party Conference; he is a member of ASSET. Sir Edward has written an article in the *TV Times* (February 20-26) on 'The Trouble With Trade Unions'. He claims that if trade unions don't wake up they will have us back in the Dark Ages. He says that every trade unionist should have a responsibility to his country, to the national well-being. The TUC he says is powerless and should be able to DICTATE to all intents and purposes allowing for democratic processes, a solution. Trade union leaders should be paid £5,000-£10,000 a year as a recognition of how important they are to us. And finally he suggests that shop stewards should be offered an opportunity to gain promotion thus stimulating competition for election.

Sir Edward's views are not confined to the Tory party, many Labour and trade union leaders have similar views. Control from the top, TUC, dictating, the rank and file doing as they are told, unofficial strikers disciplined. This is the pattern for 1965 and onward.

The Labour Government is to set up a Royal Commission to enquire into the role of the trade unions and employers' associations in modern society. Its deliberations will not be known for a very long time, I hazard a guess that their line of thinking will be along the lines of American Unionism, 'Big Business' in fact. 'Almost a part of the Establishment?' They will be the backbone.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

growth of State capitalism has, for them, two functions. Firstly, it strengthens capitalism by both its monopolistic planning and control and by allying it directly with the repressive forces of the State, and, secondly, it bamboozles the workers into thinking that, the bad old days of private enterprise having gone, democratic ownership means a better deal for them.

Our experiences in this country alone have shown that private enterprise is a miserable failure as a means of providing well-being for all in society. But so is the 'Socialist' alternative, State control. The libertarian alternative, workers' control, remains the only means by which the continued sacrifice of war and the frustrations of peace can be eliminated.

Can the workers control industry? This is no longer a matter of discussion only. The workers have controlled their industries in revolutionary situations in Russia, Italy, Spain, Mexico, and other countries—even in Korea, at the beginning of the tragic war there, the workers occupied the factories in Seoul when the administration retreated. The control did not last, it is true, but it has never collapsed through any inherent fault or fallacy in the idea.

In Russia and Italy the workers allowed an authority to be re-established over them (in Russia, using revolutionary slogans to gain workers' support), in Spain it took Franco and the forces of Hitler and Mussolini, together with the apathy of the rest of the world, to destroy the revolutionary economy the CNT-FAI, the Syndicalist and Anarchist organisations, had created.

The strength of the idea of Workers' Control is that it is something to which workers naturally turn when authority over them is threatened. It is not a theory, but the natural desire for responsibility, to express the dignity of labour, that makes the idea the (unconscious) aim of the working class.

The task of the Anarcho-Syndicalist is to foster that natural desire and turn the unconscious urge into a conscious movement.

P.S.

(To be continued)