

One Step Forward Two Steps Back for Labour

ONCE AGAIN YOUTH are in trouble, hardly a day goes by without someone rucking about them. This time it's the Labour Party. Since the war the Labour Party has mucked around with their youth movement and by a gradual process reduced it to a gang of youngsters doing the leg-work at election times.

Immediately after the war the Labour League of Youth was formed, but died in 1960 through starvation. The NEC tried again with the Young Socialists who had their own Annual Conference and National Committee, but according to the NEC report to be presented to Labour Party Conference, this is far too libertarian. They are recommending to Conference that the new Labour Party Young Socialists shall discuss at their own Annual Conference only documents presented by the NEC after consultation with the National Committee of the Labour Party Young Socialists. Resolutions submitted must only be on organisational matter and subjects of special concern to youth, like Bingo, Top of the Pops, and my favourite girl friend. Discussion on socialism, war and peace, and industrial matters is strictly taboo, obviously they are too controversial, the Grandmas and the Grandpas of the Labour Party know best. But, to make sure that the youth delegates really conform, they will be elected by local Labour Party branches and not by Young Socialist branches as at present. We can rest assured that the said delegates will be well briefed on the question of public toilets, and bobbing and weaving in the selection of candidates for local

elections.

Of course, the Labour Party is not the only organisation to be embarrassed by its youth, the Communist Party has had similar trouble. Only its youth refuse to believe that black is white, and didn't have the mental capacity to accept the quick changes of the Party line, even though in some instances they were given an hour's notice.

The Conservative Party is not bothered with this problem, its youth appears to be more reactionary than the adult party dares to be (with regrets no doubt).

The trade union movement in the shape of apprentices is suffering from youth trouble, and funnily enough, it's always the youngsters who are in the wrong when in actual fact on many occasions they have proved their case to be correct.

Both the Labour Party and Communist Party blame the Trotskyists for the mutilation of their youth movements, and the only solution they can offer is repression from the, oh so wise, adult movement. The best solution for youth in any political party is to tell the adult politicoes where to get off and leave them to it. They will never change the political parties however much they struggle. The leaders are always right, control must always come from the top. To get to the top one must conform, and to stay there one must control the rank and file.

No one has all the answers, not even the youngsters with fire in their bellies, but at least they should be free to make their own mistakes.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE

WHAT HAPPENED AT Porton last Sunday will be discussed for years to come. After months of thorough preparation by a small but dedicated group, and the added publicity of Douglas Kepper's London-Porton walk, a crowd of about 300 demonstrators, mainly young and determined, assembled at Dunstable Farm about a mile away from the gates of Porton. We had already noticed that the police had no intention whatsoever of defending the several miles of wire-fencing that surround Porton. The local paper's headline was 'Secret Plan by the Police'. What did that mean? The troops were there, too, and helicopters sliced the air above our heads. Were they to stop the column, arrest everybody and put them in army trucks and dump them 20 miles away? Now, of course, after the event the explanation is obvious. The clue was there in the headline of the local paper. It was not a secret plan, but a secret plan. As long as the rest of the world did not hear about the horrors of Porton, let the '100' and the troops enjoy their fun and games. Let there be no arrests, no incidents. Somebody in Government circles must have studied the pattern of '100' versus Press relationship. 2,000 arrests may earn a front-page headline, 200 arrests get an editorial rebuke,

20 arrests result in a funny picture. No arrests, no mention.

Two months ago in a private letter I said that, from an anarchist point of view, for this demonstration to be a success one of the two following conditions had to be fulfilled: 1. The place is left unusable for military purposes, 2. The secrecy is lifted. The first point has only theoretical value. Upon the second was the 'battle' fought.

Now let us examine who was initially helping the Committee. There could have been ten times as many people there if the entire resources of the peace movement had decided to help generously.

How many papers helped? FREEDOM (very generous coverage, probably accounts for the great number of activists there from London, Birmingham, Cardiff, Oxford, Scotland, etc.). ANARCHY (not one word—yet wasn't it the ideal place for theoretical discussion?). Direct Action (one advertisement and an article). Peace News (only 'sent-in' stuff, no editorial opinion, an unbelievable aloofness). Sanity (not a word—CND on such showing will lose its entire youth movement). Socialist Leader (very good coverage, entirely due to the enthusiasm of its editor). Solidarity (not out on time). Resistance (ditto).

The Causes of War

THE OUTBREAK OF war between India and Pakistan has shocked the world because it is so apparently senseless. Thus *Peace News* asks, 'How can two countries as poor as India and Pakistan go to war? How can the dispute over Kashmir have gone unresolved for 18 years, and why is it worth going to war over?' The *New Statesman* headlines its leader 'Suicide of a Sub-continent' and goes on, 'Few episodes in history are more tragic than the spectacle of two huge, poverty stricken and fundamentally peaceful countries hurling themselves at each other's throats for the sake of a mountainous province. . . . The war over Kashmir is a crude travesty of all that is irrational in the world.' The *Observer* comments that, 'Two large nations, led not by power-mad megalomaniacs but by sane, civilised and level-headed men, are fighting each other.'

Here, then, is a war in which within a few days, thousands of people have been killed, and many more thousands rendered homeless, and yet for which no one can find a rational cause, and which defies the traditional analyses of why wars break out. India and Pakistan are not fighting for markets, for control of colonies or for living space. They are not fighting because either of their governments have been taken over by maniacs who invade other countries for no better reason than the traditional explanation of war! Furthermore, the war has broken out despite the fact that most other governments disapprove of it, that India is thought of throughout the world as a neutralist state, and that Pakistan is a member of countless pacts and treaties all designed in theory to keep the peace and prevent aggression.

At least for once, the apoliticism of *New Society* has enabled it to offer an explanation in general terms, 'The basic factor in Kashmir politics has endured, century after century; this is the utter indifference

of those who rule Kashmir to the hopes and fears of the people'. The writer, Hugh Tinker, concludes optimistically, without giving any reasons, that, 'One day there will have to be a political solution which takes account of the Kashmiris' aspirations.'

Discussion in all the newspapers is befuddled by the use, typical of unthinking political commentators, of words like 'India' and 'Pakistan', indiscriminately, to represent tracts of land, groups of people and governments. It is perfectly clear that the armies are fighting for control of tracts of land, that those who are suffering as a result of the war are the peoples of the two countries, and that the invasions and the counter-invasions are ordered by the governments. The all pervading assumptions of patriotism lead people to identify all these units under the single national banner, and to conclude that because the already poverty stricken peoples are having additional sufferings laid on their shoulders by war, it follows that the politicians, 'sane and civilised men', must be acting irrationally. They are certainly acting against the interests of their peoples, but is it so clear that the war is not very much in the interests of the rival governments?

DO STATES NEED WAR?

Ayub Khan is the military dictator of a theocratic state, one of the few totalitarian regimes allied to the free West, although that has not deterred him from seeking support from China, having learned that fundamental adage of British diplomacy that a state has no permanent friends or enemies, but only interests. What is the justification for a dictator if there is no enemy waiting on the frontiers ready to attack? The government of India, which is attempting to wield various ethnic groups into a single powerful state, has been finding trouble with non-Hindi speaking linguistic groups, Sikhs, Nagas, etc. As several commentators have pointed

out, there is a tradition of non-violence among certain Indians, but is this not even more of a reason why the government of India, at the same time as wanting to unite all the diverse peoples of India against a foreign aggressor, should find it important to demonstrate clearly the need for a strong army and military discipline?

To put it briefly, states need tension and war, and the more insecure a government is, the more unhappy and discontented its people are with their lot, the more likely will it be that the state will feel inclined to embark on military adventures to bolster up its strength. The people's tragedy is the state's advantage. It may well happen that the present war will fade out without either side having 'won', and leaving the questions about which it was allegedly fought as far from solution as ever. What will also persist, unfortunately, will be the power of both governments to unleash further military action as and when it suits them. Although the 'sane, civilised men' who make up these governments probably do not want anyone to be killed or rendered homeless because of their activities, they are prepared for this to happen rather than give up their political power.

Because we believe that the fundamental reason for warfare of this kind does not lie so much in the specific issues over which fighting takes place, but in the political institution of government, which will always throw up an issue, anarchists have little faith in missions by UN personalities or Commonwealth Prime Ministers to the governments concerned. The only way to prevent wars like this taking place is for the people concerned not to take part in or support them, for people to consider themselves as human beings with value in their own right, and not as Indians, Pakistanis, Hindus or Moslems, and least of all as willing cannon-fodder for unscrupulous power politicians. P.H.

In other words, because it was a '100' demonstration, it could not call on the support of the 'self-seekers' of the peace movement.

What about the Government side? They have managed to keep the news out of the nationals (except for snippets) and play it down on the BBC but where they have lost is locally, which is a complete triumph for Richard Harvey and the local Salisbury group.

The place is now known and there was praise for the committee from local people. One farmer living in the district said: 'I've lived here all my life. Porton is a disgrace. If I were younger I would emigrate. To think I used to feed the deer in those woods!'

Nationally the Government has not been able to rely on complete censorship which may be applied to hard news but how can it suppress features? Not a word did I see in the *Sunday Mirror* for example, but they let an article through by Anne Nightingale which gave the words of several anti-war songs by Dylan, Donovan, Baez and this one by Bob Dylan: 'But now we got weapons, / Of the chemical dust, / If fire them we're forced to, / Then fire them we must. / One push of the button, / And a shot the world wide, / And you never ask questions, / When God's on your side.'

All in all however the Government managed to survive the day.

Going through the wire fence was a simple matter. Well over 50 people did so while the rest picketed the gates. To think of all that good arable land wasted, 7,500 acres of it. What is it all used for? Acres of woodland, too. A potato field which may have been cultivated two or three years ago. I could see the red and black flags dotted on the hillside, army cars and trucks

moving to and fro, helicopters above. Roger Sandell and myself must have reached almost the other side when we bumped into two rather nervous servicemen. John Papworth was detained at the same time. His cultivated English voice rang out: 'I wish to inform you,' said he to the soldiers, 'that you are trespassing on land that we have claimed for the World Health Organisation.'

Outside the gates there was a sit-down to prevent the trucks leaving with the 'prisoners'. There were no arrests. One by one the demonstrators were brought out, duly applauded by onlookers. An impromptu public meeting started which showed the Committee in its best light. It gave a chance to Dr. Ronald Sampson, who was too late for the public meeting in Salisbury, to give academic backing for the views of the Committee. His speech, which was warmly applauded by the demonstrators and by at least one policeman until he checked himself, asked for the Hippocratic oath to be extended to scientists so that they should use their knowledge for the alleviation and not for the causing of suffering. A student doctor continued the theme and warned that scientists have no control over micro-biological organisms and he feared the possibility of an epidemic. Richard Harvey castigated the Bishop of Salisbury, who sees nothing wrong in germ warfare, for his 'un-Christian' views.

The meeting then was suddenly interrupted as screams were heard from an army truck which stopped on the main road halted by the traffic. You have never seen a meeting finish so quickly with everybody running to the truck, completely surrounding it, some sitting down in front, some unloosening the ropes holding the canvas on the side,

while the rest chanted: 'Let them out'. Military policemen came and chucked some people in the ditch, but the numbers and determination of the demonstrators forced the officer in charge to give orders for the release of our comrades.

William Hetherington who resumed the meeting said that 'stopping army trucks and insulting soldiers is not the policy of "100"'. Then he closed the meeting formally although at that time Douglas Kepper and Pete Polish and others were still believed to be inside Porton. The Committee of 100 is one of the most human organisations, putting a formal gloss on it can only tend to dehumanize it.

JOHN REY.

P.S. On the 300th anniversary of a bubonic plague epidemic which killed two-thirds of the population of Eyam in Derbyshire, a celebration was held. Souvenirs such as plague tea-towels, chamber pots, etc., were on sale. Tourists numbered 12,000.

RELEASE SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE POLITICAL PRISONERS!

Demonstration:
3 p.m., September 19th
Belgrave Square

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IN DEFENCE OF 'BUMS'

ACCORDING to the Daily Mirror (21.6.65), the Freedom marchers in America are weeding out their Beatnik supporters. 'On the eve of this year's march south to persuade Negroes to assert their rights to register as voters the order has gone out "No Beards"'. Last year "the beards" predominated. One of them, Michael Schwerner (24), of New York, was murdered in Philadelphia, Mississippi. . . . But this summer's army is "middle-class and respectable" say the organisers. This controversy is not unfamiliar. Nearer home it frequently crops up. The terminology varies but the protagonists are roughly the same. On the one side stand the moderately respectable citizens, on the other 'the bohemians', 'the beatniks', 'the lumper-proletariat', 'the bums', 'the mods', 'the rockers' or 'the greasers', but for the purpose of international understanding one can settle on the perjorative 'bums'.

There is a fine romanticism about *la vie boheme* (Puccini wrote a whole opera about it) but when confronted with it in reality, even radical's reaction is to turn and run or to deprecate the whole thing very strongly as spoiling the 'public image'. Reason generally abdicates its throne on such occasions especially when one has been the unwilling host to one or several 'bums' or has been 'touched' for a considerable sum. The civil rights movement was no doubt thinking of its 'public image' as no doubt many anarchists thought of the regrettable incidents in Whitehall and Trafalgar Square this year.

A recent newspaper sensation highlights the same attitude to the 'bum'. The case of Michael Chaplin. All the British virtues were outraged by this typical case. A 'bum' is lazy or, if industrious, occupied in something useless like 'art', he is unorthodox in dress and appearance, he generally sports long hair (males) and a beard, he is dirty, he is immoderate in his habits and far from respectable, he is not very honest, reliable in paying debts or punctual; in the finer flights of indignation, he is given over to drug-taking or alcoholism. Most of this is true and cannot be denied but the virtues outraged are only minor ones. There is the fable of the Greek bowman who was very skilled and in great demand. Unfortunately he had a suppurating wound which made him repellent to his companions but his marksmanship was such that they had to endure him. In some ways 'bums' are like that (literally in some cases as regards the smell) but their wounds (often self-inflicted) are the price one pays for non-conformity. Perhaps the price is too high—but then, everything has its price tag.

A man has the right to be lazy if he cannot find work that satisfies him or does not feel that he should continue to be exploited. On the other hand, the reasoning that leads him to desist from being exploited should lead him to desist from exploiting others—especially those of like sympathies. 'We desire neither to be victims nor executioners'.

Unorthodoxy should not be carried to the point where it becomes a new orthodoxy; the standard uniform of the 'beats', 'mods' and 'rockers', is just a

desire to conform to a minority.

Questions of personal appearance are questions of taste, and questions of priorities. Living on a budget, haircuts and baths come low on the list. In certain circumstances, 'living rough' for example, cleanliness is next to impossible. On the other hand the allegation that 'baths are bourgeois' is very often an over-reaction to excessive parental insistence on cleanliness.

In a dangerous world situation such as we have been in constantly for the last twenty years, moderation and respectability seem out of place. One is inclined to think of William Lloyd Garrison's rejoinder to counsels of moderation on the slave-question. 'Might as well ask a mother to be moderate in rescuing her child from a fire.' As for respectability, it is impossible to imagine a CND march with bowler-hats and umbrellas and as John Willcox said in *The Greenwich Village Voice* (talking of Madalyn Murray), all the great reforms have been advocated initially by people who were not afraid to be thought unrespectable (or words to that effect).

The chief talent of many 'bums' seems to be their ability to 'borrow' money from whoever can be induced to part with it. Our Stirnerites have pointed out the glow of self-satisfaction which comes from dispensing largess, the accession of power from doing good to our weaker and poorer brethren. 'Pity,' says William Blake, 'would be no more, if we did not make somebody poor.' The acceptance of the role of a lender has its pleasures, as have those of a 'borrower'. One must prepare to be used; so long as one has full knowledge that one is used, it doesn't hurt.

As for the allegation that these 'bums' are given over to the vices of jazz, of alcohol, of drug-taking, of fornication, one merely envies such versatility and prowess. It is not for libertarians to criticize these tastes; one may be personally an addict of Bach, fruit-juices, Dunhill's shag and/or platonic conversation. Every man to his taste!

The criticism made of 'bums' in progressive circles differ. It is well-known that Shaw made a remark about 'Socialism attracting not only those too good for society but those not good enough'. Shaw was notoriously authoritarian in his later days but we can note a failure to define whose society he meant. Societies are notoriously pluralistic; failure to adjust to Shaw's society may mean one is a success in the society of the Duke of York's or Finch's. Whether the society of the hobo is one that you or I or Shaw would choose to join, is quite another question. Whether the 'bum' should adjust, rehabilitate or re-establish himself to Shaw's or anybody else's concept of society is a question to which the anarchist would answer 'no'.

The notorious definition by Shaw's mentor, Marx, of the lumpen-proletariat as the declassed scum of society, a rotting mass (a definition which appears alarmingly in ANARCHY 49) has all the earmarks of the nonconformist witch-hunt which life in the Soviet Union, the Eastern bloc, and China seems to be. To define human beings as a rotting mass is but a short step to the definition

of *untersmenschen* and its sorry consequences: the allegation that these 'outsiders' will become a tool of reaction is as true as the equally romantic belief that the 'bums' are naturally revolutionaries—in fact sometimes it is claimed 'the only revolutionaries'.

The fact is, the 'bums' are rarely politically conscious. Their protest is as permanent as their circumstances. They may be going through a phase of being rebels—some merely succeed in being 'revolting'. Some are in marches for a 'giggle'; some for more sinister 'kicks'; some may just be going through an anarchist phase and will emerge from it as they emerge from a bohemian phase, to settle down to lives of quiet desperation in Golders Green. Anarchism is fashionable at the moment.

But there is no need to despise the movement of protest. It is a healthy reaction to the threat of nuclear war. Tribunals of 1939-45 used to say 'You are 18 years of age and yet you have only just begun thinking about the question of war and military service'. Man's notorious inability to think about swimming until he gets into the water is one of the things that marks him as human, all too human and not a fish.

After all why shouldn't we create new Saturnalias even if they started off as politically serious-minded protests? What ever happened to May Day with its Maypoles, or All Fools' Day with a Lord of Misrule? If the 'bums' swarm in Whitehall once a year perhaps the ruling classes may tremble. My God, they even frighten me!

In any case these urban gypsies are one of the few vestigial remnants of non-conformity in this society. True, they may at some levels conform to standards which some of us think undesirable but let not our Chaplins of the sixties be adjusted to 'Modern Times'. Rather let 'Modern Times' adjust itself to them!

JACK ROBINSON.

March through the Black

WEST REGIONAL CND are holding a 'Build for Peace' march through the industrial areas of the West Midlands, specifically aimed at getting the campaign's ideas across to industrial workers engaged in military work.

The Birmingham Anarchist Group is helping to organise a specific anarchist contingent, and will provide accommodation if notified in advance.

Birmingham Group will have its own banner, and invites other anarchist groups to bring theirs. It also hopes, if finance is available, to produce its own leaflet.

The march starts at 10 a.m. from the forecourt of St. George's Church, off Bilston Street, Wolverhampton, on Saturday, September 18, and the first day's march ends at Dudley. On Sunday, September 19, after an assembly at Dudley, Stafford Street Car Park, the march leaves at 11 a.m. for Birmingham.

Comrades are invited to contact Peter Neville, 12 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham 23.

Anarchist Federation of Britain

Co-ordinating Secretary: Frank Hirshfield, 4 Albert St., London, N.W.1.

London Anarchist Group 1&2

'Lamb and Flag', Rose Street, off Garrick Street, London, W.C.2. (Leicester Square tube) 7.45 p.m. All welcome. Sundays.

SEP 19 Alan Albon
Anarchism and Agriculture.

SEP 26 Syd Parker
Anarchism vs. Socialism.

Public Meetings every Sunday Hyde Park 3 p.m. Correspondence to J. Rety, 10 Gilbert Place, W.C.1.

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.

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 Ames-

bury 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.

First and third Tuesday of every month at 8 p.m. Arthur Uluth's, 30 Arundel Gardens, W.11. (Top bell.)

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP.
Correspondence: Joe Embleton, 11 Balliol Street, Glasgow, C.3.

Meetings at Horsehoe Bar, Drury Street, Tuesdays at 8 p.m.

MANCHESTER & SALFORD ANARCHIST GROUP. For information contact c/o 4 Ouse St., Weaste, Salford 5, Lancs. Open air meetings Sundays at Old Shambles, Victoria St. at 8 p.m. FREEDOM selling Saturday afternoon, Central Library.

ILFORD LIBERTARIANS. Regular meetings and direct action contact W. E. Rodgers, 4 Sheldon Road, Dagenham, Essex.

MERSEYSIDE FEDERATION. Enquiries: Barbara Renshaw, 4 Clarence Road, Devonshire Park, Birkenhead, Cheshire.

ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson. Next meeting September 19. 5 p.m.

OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact H. G. Mellor, Merton College, Oxford.

SURREY ANARCHISTS are invited to meetings on the first Thursday of every month at Chris Torrance's (63 North Street, Carshalton, Surrey—please ring three times) and on the 3rd Thursday of every month at M. Dykes, 8 Court Drive, Sutton, Surrey. Both meetings 7.30 p.m.

PARISIAN CONFLICTS

The Mandarins by Simone de Beauvoir.

NO DOUBT TO attract readers to this book, it is described on the outside cover as 'the emotional conflicts and passions of post-war Parisian society', but do not be put off by this for in fact this book is a perceptive study of the feelings of left-wing individuals of any place or time. Although the characters are living immediately after the war, the decisions they are forced to make could very well be those we are forced to make tomorrow.

The main character, Henri (an ex-member of the Resistance), runs a newspaper which he hopes to keep politically neutral reporting facts and, he hopes, not merely becoming a left-wing version of the biased right-wing press. The first decision he has to make is whether to let this paper, 'L'Espoir', be the organ of the SRL, a non-communist but not anti-communist socialist group formed by an old friend Dubreuilh. If he does this, he risks losing the support of many communist intellectuals who respect its neutrality. His second problem is whether to disclose verified reports of work camps in the USSR, and be forced into making a complete break with the Communist Party who would justify anything in the name of Communism. In making this decision, he also risks his friendship with Dubreuilh who does not want the circulation of 'L'Espoir' to be cut down at a time when its influence could be very powerful. Henri is also a novelist and, as he becomes successful, we see him struggling with the bourgeois pseudo-intellectuals who want to adopt and befriend him, while his communist and socialist acquaintances criticise these new associations.

LIZ STORRY.

Stirnerism

The Ego and his Own. Max Stirner. 15s.

A MORE REVOLUTIONARY work than this has yet to be written. The case for the individual against authority is dealt with most profoundly.

Most people who read it with care and patience will discover that they have been slavish to an idea; to an idea, god, of country, of a nation, of humanity, mankind and so many causes which are in fact abstractions; 'wheels in the head' as the author would say.

In the light of Stirner's work one observes that democracy is sham liberty, egoism the real liberty.

What is free speech to sheep? They only bleat. Those who accept Stirner's teaching will take their liberty; they will bow the knee to no man, to no god, to no king, queen, nor belted earl, nor even to any truth. Truths cannot move nor develop like a you or an I. Truths can be chains forged by one's own mind. Free thought means thoughts are free. Thoughts above me are free and can be my dominion. But my thoughts, my own thought, I am master of.

In thinking slavish thoughts I as creator become the creature; a slavish creature of my own creation.

In annihilating slavish thoughts I remain my own.

R.L.

SOUTHALL ANARCHIST GROUP.
Get in touch with Roger Sandell, 58 Burns Avenue, Southall, Middlesex.

PROPOSED GROUPS

WEST KENT LIBERTARIAN ALLIANCE. Anybody interested contact Peter J. Clarke, The George, Frant, Sussex.

NORTHOLT ANARCHISTS. Projected formation of group contact Jim Huggon, 173 Kingshill Avenue, Northolt, Middlesex or Miss Jean McLean, 6 Epsom Close, Northolt Park, Middlesex.

NORTH-WEST ESSEX. Close to W. Suffolk, S.E. Cambs. and N.E. Herts. Contact Robert Barltrop, The Old Vicarage, Radwinter, near Saffron Walden.

HULL & YORKSHIRE (East Riding). Anyone interested in forming anarchist group contact R. A. Baker, 6 The Oval, Chestnut Avenue, Willerby, E. Yorks. Phone: Hull 58543.

SUNDERLAND (Co. Durham). Proposed Anarchist Discussion Group. (Syndicalists welcome) at Geoff Edwards, 'Side House', St. George's Terrace, Roker, Sunderland, Co. Durham.

LEEDS LIBERTARIAN ALLIANCE. Anybody interested please contact Roy and Frankie Todd at 15 Clarendon Place, Leeds, 2. Telephone 24282.

NEW ZEALAND. Auckland Anarchist Group. Public Meetings every Sunday in Myers Park at 2 p.m.

The Blue Bindweed

ALTHOUGH NOTHING HAS yet happened with regard to *The Golden Convolvulus*, Blackburn police are still holding (since August 19) all the copies of the publication, all copies of *Poetmeat* 5, 7, 9/10, and copies of a volume called *Whether you or i love or hate* (reviewed in *FREEDOM*). They seized also all files, invoice-records, mailing lists and a personal address book. They also took away original manuscripts and stencils of the *Golden Convolvulus* and *Poetmeat* 9/10, plus correspondence and private books off bookshelves.

It will no doubt be remembered that the raid on Freedom Press group members in 1945 was equally sweeping and equally indiscriminate. It is said that much which was taken away then was never returned, and it is to be hoped that Dave and Tina procured receipts for all their property.

Included in the haul was a book of

poems by Alan Jackson called *'Well Ye Ken the Noo'*. This, they explained, 'is obscene.' Perhaps they were confusing him with Robert Burns.

The wording of the Obscene Publications Act offers no comfort to the unlucky publisher. The police can retain material for a 'reasonable time'—whatever that may mean. The material prosecuted must be 'published for gain' but even though poetry publishing is a money-losing venture, sordid materialists like policemen, prosecuting counsels and magistrates would be hard to convince on this point.

Blackburn may be suffering from something besides an outbreak of polio. It may be suffering from the strangling growth of the blue bindweed which chokes all creative endeavour in the name of law, order and decency.

We must stand by ready to help Dave Cunliffe. J.R.

'Why Socialism has been Slower than Expected' —Socialist Leader

JUDGE JOSEPH HUBERTY of the US Supreme Court ruled that heaven, hell and purgatory may exist therefore the bequest of £71,428 to Catholic charities was not made under coercion or under the false threats of hellfire or purgatory. The Pope issued an encyclical that the Eucharist was not, as many priests and theologians (in Protestant countries) had put forward, a symbolic and ritualistic act, portions of the body and blood of Christ were actually consumed in the ceremony. The Pope reminded his flock that 'the most sacred task of theology is not the invention of new formulas but rather a defence and an explanation of the formulas adopted by the councils'. Father Divine, American negro leader of a religious cult whose followers believed him to be God, died of a heart attack, he was believed to be about one hundred years old. Once, when asked if he was God, he replied, 'There are thousands of people who call me God. Millions of them. And there are millions of them who call me the Devil, and I don't say I am God and I don't say I am the Devil.'

THOUSANDS OF AMERICAN and South Vietnamese marines, according to the *Guardian* launched an air and amphibious operation against elusive guerrillas in the Cape Barangan peninsula. A marine unit trapped a number of Vietcong in a cave and killed three of them, officials said. Most of the Vietcong apparently got out before the operation started. Later, American marines killed sixty-six Vietnam guerrillas when they blew up their underground hideout. When a forward marine patrol encountered a guerrilla he threw two grenades and disappeared down a 'spider trap', a camouflaged hole in the ground. The marines fired down the hole, and two wounded guerrillas and two women surrendered. The marines were fired on again from the 'trap'. A demolition squad then set off charges of explosives in the hideout killing sixty-six guerrillas. A spokesman quoted General Louis Watt, commander of the Third Marine Amphibious Division, as saying 'I was so proud of my Marines, I could hardly talk. American aircraft on a psychological warfare mission showered 10,000 packages of toys, school supplies, and soap over North Vietnam for a children's Autumn (or Moon) Festival on September 10. The South Vietnamese Government paid for the packages.'

of this morning. It was quite apparent that the enemy's next move was to attack us across the border. In a cowardly fashion they also strafed from the air a stationary passenger train. The decision to move was dictated by the need to take an overall view of the defence of the country. Now that the enemy rulers with their customary cowardice and hypocrisy have ordered their armies to march into our sacred territory without a formal declaration of war, the time has come to give them a crushing reply which will put an end to their adventure in imperialism. We have taken the decision to effectively repel aggression in the full knowledge that the whole nation, irrespective of parliamentary alignment is at one with the government in this matter.'

AN ATTEMPT BY anti-Castro refugees to blow up Karl Marx's tomb in Highgate cemetery was foiled, it is said by the *Evening Standard*, by the stalk of a flower intervening between the wires of the fuse. Mr. Roy Sanderson, a member of the Communist Party executive committee, resigned from the party on the grounds (a) that he has lost faith in the party's effectiveness, (b) that he is dissatisfied with the way the ETU ballot-rigging case was handled, (c) that he disagrees with the handling of the party's work in industry, (d) that the party should have deplored the manner of Krushchev's removal, (e) that the party has a marked tendency to oversimplify issues, for example on disarmament, immigration and local authorities rent policies. Mr. Sanderson says he is not happy at the attitude to the Labour Party because great care needs to be exercised in the way it is criticized 'for fear of adding our voice to the reactionary chorus which is attempting to bring it down.'

A MOUSE FLUNG into a snake-pit as an evening meal for an adder, bit the adder in the back of the head and killed it. JON QUIXOTE.

Force of offence is the principle of the state, while force of defence is the principle of liberty.
BENJAMIN TUCKER.

LETTERS

& Controversy

Centres of Anarchy

Dear Brothers,
In an article (26.6.65) which, in some respects, admirably complements Douglas Truman's 'Centres of Anarchy', my academic friend 'K.M.' of Sydney University rather too neatly lists categories of anarchists. In so doing, he perpetuates traditional antagonisms which are superficial, in my view, and proceeds to place me in the first of these categories ('revolution is imminent') which does me and the work I am doing in New Zealand an injustice.

If individual anarchists have emphasised various paths to anarchy it has partly been a matter of personal disposition, partly of social circumstances in a given era or country. Thus Stirner, the schoolteacher in a girls' college (until deprived of this position by the notoriety of the 'Ego and his Own'), was the great individualist—partly because of his own loneliness, partly because of the contemporary Hegelian school of dialectics which helped to produce concepts of national conflict, class conflict, personal conflict. Stirner rationalised the latter and arrived at an anarchist conclusion. Kropotkin, champion of 'Mutual Aid', emphasised a very different aspect of nature and also arrived at an anarchist conclusion.

I have never seen any point in anarchists condemning one another because of the different emphasis they place on aspects of social existence or personal preference. Nor do I think are any anarchists in basic conflict with one another, i.e. there are no principles so fundamentally held by different schools of anarchists that render the latter irreconcilable. On the contrary, anarchism can be seen as one principle

embracing innumerable aspects. Let the different anarchists advocate their views but let them realise that, in essence, we are all part of one movement.

Revolution certainly is not imminent in New Zealand but may be in Brazil or Bolivia. There is no guarantee that any revolution 'will usher in anarchy' but if anarchists are placed in a revolutionary situation (e.g. Spain, 1936), are they to be condemned for attempting the realisation of anarchism? Indeed if one 'fosters seeds of anarchy within the existing State-centred society' is not one willing to see them brought to birth in a revolution or any other social event?

Trying to live as anarchically as possible—K.M.'s third category—may well be one in which we all could claim to be included and is certainly not incompatible with the other two. Indeed none of the categories are exclusive of one another even if the first is more a product of K.M.'s imagination than a reality. One weakness of the academic 'brain' is the obsession for categories and lists of points and divisions which, when applied to anarchism and anarchists, may well result in a false picture. The individualist may be a poet, the syndicalist a factory worker. Obviously their needs are very different and their outlook on life, as expressed by themselves, equally different. But the anarchist commentator or philosopher will not see them as antagonists and possessed of irreconcilable anarchic principles. An understanding of sociology will give one an understanding of different degrees of development both in the person and the classes of society.

K.M. speaks of the degree of hope which one may have in regard to anarchism. Surely this is a very individual matter. Some are optimists, some pessimists, others both at different times. Yet the optimist is going to work the harder and more enthusiastically. Certain types of pessimistic anarchists become so pessimistic concerning *humanity-as-a-whole* that they elevate (or degrade) anarchism to an elitist epureanism reserved for a select group. They despise and condemn the 'evangelism' and 'missionary' activities of the optimists using religious terminology to discredit active anarchists. This form of activity—known in Australasian circles as 'Maddocksian elitism'—tends to destroy the value of the group itself apart from discouraging other anarchists and doing grievous harm to anarchism as a cause.

Yours fraternally,
Auckland W. G. LANGFORD.
1.7.65

ALSO PLAYING God was the Pope who decided to fly to the United Nations on October 4; he said he would do everything in his power to end the fighting between India and Pakistan. He said, 'he was particularly afflicted and concerned' at the seriousness of the conflict. 'Although completely outside the dispute,' he said, 'we will not shrink from doing everything to ensure that the use of arms ceases immediately.' United States officials (according to their information service) say they are, essentially, for the earliest possible end to the fighting (in the Indian sub-continent), a pull back to the cease-fire line (in Kashmir) and a resort to peaceful methods of settling the fundamental dispute (in Kashmir). For all these, the United States considers the United Nations the best vehicle. The *Daily Worker* editorial comments, 'It is a tragedy that two great nations like India

INDIAN AND PAKISTANI leaders said, 'We attacked to forestall an attack. The hour of trial has struck. Our troops have moved across the border for the protection of our border. The enemy attacked our territory in the early hours

AGAINST RACIALISM . . .

Dear Readers,
My article on race (A World For Debbie) was meant partly to show that the subject is very complex and that the smug assumptions of so many left-wingers (e.g. that all racialists are sexually warped, that racialism is the monopoly of the upper classes of the white race, etc.), muddle things further by introducing a new note of unreality. I know of no left-winger who has made in so many words any of the above statements but many give the impression that they believe such things and thus the damage is done.

J.W.'s remarks (11.9.65) seem mainly to result from ignorance of history and misreading of my article. For instance, the slave trade was motivated by greed not (as J.W. states) by ideas about race inferiority. It was this same greed that put English children down coal-mines, the difference between the white industrial slave and the black plantation slave was that the latter at least had sunshine and fresh air.

Also I didn't say that family men are never sexually warped but that sexually well-integrated men (as some of the S.S. undoubtedly were) could be extremely warped about race.

J.W.'s suggested solution to the problem of the Mrs. Goodes's of the world is impossible to apply. He says she 'needs to be educated in how to enjoy

life'. You can't educate people to enjoy life or anything else. All you can do is acquaint them with example and arguments. Her coloured neighbours may (as J.W. hopes) supply Mrs. Goodes with the example, although I think that the idea that coloured people in Britain are happier is another left-wing myth. But who is to supply her with the arguments? Not, I hope, the left intelligentsia whose contribution to social problems is gusts of cant and hypocrisy.

But surely the point is that Mrs. Goodes has already seen Jamaicans, etc., and has doubtless heard (through press and TV) anti-racialist arguments yet like so many people she still feels hostility. In other words at the moment she either cannot or will not be educated short of forcible brainwashing.

The reason for Mrs. Goodes's condition, I think, is that like so many other people (of all classes and races) she is so obsessed with the standards of the supermarket and bingo hall that she is immune to anything else. This is what must change if there is to be progress in race relations or anything else. And however slow and fumbling the process (if it happens at all) only Mrs. Goodes can change herself. Real progress, however faltering, takes place in the minds of individual men and women. All else is illusion.

Notting Hill JEFF ROBINSON.

Dear Comrades,
With reference to recent publicity concerning coloured immigrants, and the supposed forming of a Ku Klux Klan in Britain, I feel that it is time that all anarchist and libertarian-minded people took some sort of action to prevent or fight against racial oppression in Britain. The coloured people were oppressed in America and still are, yet when they come into this country they are oppressed here as well. They are refused houses, jobs and equality. These things we take for granted and we must condemn those who mistreat a man because his skin is brown.

There are a lot of things we can do (depending on circumstances and individuals concerned), such as offering our services to anybody that may need them. We are allowing a capitalist society to treat a man like a slave or like dirt because of a darker skin. The Ku Klux Klan are fascists and so are all people who agree with them. We must fight this fascism with all means at our disposal, match violence with violence if necessary.

In an anarchist society all men are equal but, when it comes to practising what we preach, a lot of Anarchists seem to have doubts about it. We will never succeed this way. If we preach a theory we must be prepared to practise it, so let's start with this problem and then we can theorise on it or preach it until we're blue in the face (and find a colour bar against that as well).

Your fraternally,
Glasgow JOE EMBLETON.
30.8.65

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LAG 2 PROGRESS REPORT

At the last meeting of the London Anarchist Group/2 the following decisions were made:

- The Hyde Park meetings will be continued.
- Will attend the Porton demonstration.
- Will take part in demonstration for the release of Spanish and Portuguese prisoners.
- Continues its search for a permanent place.

The accounts are as follows:
20.5.65-22.8.65

Income	£ s. d.
By literature sold in Hyde Park	15 6 1
" Posters	15 8
" Collections at the Lamb and Flag	11 7 8
Total	27 9 5

Expenditure	
To Stanhope Press for posters	2 5 0
" Rent for Sunday evenings	8 8 0
" Freedom Press for literature	9 1 5
" Hampstead Committee of 100 for literature	1 16 6
" Peace News advertising	1 12 0
Total expenditure	23 2 11
Balance	4 6 6
Total	27 9 5

The retiring secretary reported that the meetings were well attended both in Hyde Park and at the Lamb and Flag. There is now a steady demand for FREEDOM in Hyde Park and the last issue of ANARCHY is also selling well. The new secretary is David Bell until December, after which time it is David Boughton's turn. LAG 2 will have a working party at Kirkdale School on September 25-26. All useful workers invited.
JOHN REY.

PRESS FUND

WEEK 36, SEPTEMBER 11, 1965:
Expenses: 26 weeks at £70: £2620
10 weeks at £80: £2620
Income: Sales and Subs.: £1986
DEFICIT £634

London, S.W.6: A.W. 10/6; Leeds: G.L. 2-; Rocky Hill, Conn.: D.S. 10/6; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2-; J.L.* 3-; Holyhead: D.M. £2 5s. 3d.; Oxford: Anon* 5-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10-; California: C.L. £1 4s. 6d.; Bridgewater, Mass.: R.H. 6-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2-; J.L.* 3-.

TOTAL	£5 15 9
Previously Acknowledged:	£643 14 6
1965 Total to Date	£649 10 5

THE TUC FARCE

THE VOTE by the Trades Union Congress on the proposal of their General Council that they should vet pay claims by the unions, has been a farce. The whole thing has been a well staged performance but who do the TUC and the Labour Government think they are kidding?

Mr. Woodcock may have won sufficient votes for his proposal to continue keeping the Government's incomes policy within a voluntary framework, but the Government, for their part, are not satisfied that this has worked and want to use coercion. Mr. Brown plans to introduce legislation next December 'to put the National Board for Prices and Incomes on a statutory basis and to give the Government power by order—power which would be used only for consultation with the TUC and the Confederation of British Industry to require notification of price increases and pay claims and, if they are referred to the Board, to require their deferment until after the Board has reported'.

This is the job the TUC has voluntarily taken on, but even Mr. Woodcock seems uncertain that they can do it. He said, 'I will not assume in theory that our job is impracticable until it has been proved in practice that it is.' One could say why trouble, for it has been pointed out that the TUC has not even got the staff to do this

job, and all sorts of jealousies would creep in as trade union leaders investigated each others' claims.

BOTH NEED ONE ANOTHER

The whole thing is a stage-managed face-saver, not only for the Government, but also for the TUC. *The Economist* says, 'Had a Conservative Government asked the TUC to do something of this nature, it would have met with an angry refusal. But there is a more than special relationship just now between Labour and the TUC. The Labour Party needs its link with the trade unions, for their money and for their local workers. But the TUC (as distinct from the trade unions in general) needs its link with the Labour Party more, in order to preserve the myth of its power and influence over events that in practice go rolling along without it.'

Both the TUC and Mr. Brown know that voluntary restraint will not work, but say they prefer it to legislation. Mr. Woodcock even goes as far as to admit that giving the Government statutory powers in this matter is very dangerous. It was pointed out at the congress that this would be 'the thin end of the wedge'. Let's face it, this is what it amounts to for the futile exercise which the TUC will perform in the coming month will play straight into the hands of those who want a working incomes policy. It will give them reasons for legislation which will restrict wages, but will leave profits unhindered. In fact these were up by 16% in the quarter ended July against 11.9% for the previous quarter.

The unions who voted for the TUC proposal have surrendered to the Government the reason for their very existence, i.e. to gain the highest possible rewards in wages and conditions for their members. Now they are saying that they will go along with the Government in a policy which will serve not the interests of their members, but those of big business. This is no new departure, for trade unions have been doing this in one way or another since the time of their conception. It has been a case of compromise all the way along and they have never challenged the in-

terests of big business. So it is not surprising that in 1965, when the present day developments of British Capitalism demand a restraint on wages so as to become more competitive in the world markets, that conservative body known as the TUC should submit with hardly a whimper.

A RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT

How will all this affect the dues-paying members? Pay increases will be further delayed and further legislation can be expected to keep pay awards down to some acceptable norm. In fact we can expect more State control. On the other hand, it could lead to the shifting of negotiations to the shop floor with workers themselves taking a more active part, for they know what can be expected from their leaderships. This trend in itself will weaken the power of the union officials. In fact further alienation will occur between union leaderships and the members, bringing about more unofficial strikes.

The trend today is for more control over the rank and file union members. The TUC has failed to do this and it has failed in reforming itself. The Royal Commission will give whichever party is in power plenty of recommendations to act upon, such as the breaking up of any unofficial movements among workers. However, opposition can be organised to prevent this, for there are today several rank and file groupings in industry, some tied to political factions, some not. These groupings should be built up, independent of any political control, into a movement within the official trade union movement, covering industries and not crafts, and bringing all workers together in a struggle not only against union executives, but also the employers.

It should be a movement which sees the State as an instrument of oppression, an institution which assists the employers and opposes the interests of the workers. We hope the rank and file turns along these lines in their endeavour to find an answer to the problems which now face them.

P.T.

Contact Column

Glasgow. Glasgow Anarchist Group are having a 'bus run to Edinburgh on week-end September 25-27 as a get-together for libertarians and sympathisers. Cost per head 50/- including Saturday lunch; bed and breakfast Saturday-Sunday. Twelve seats still available. Raffles in aid of food parcels, etc. for Stuart Christie. Contact R. Lynn, 2b Saracen Head Lane, Glasgow, C.1, if interested.

Hull—Accommodation. Painter-teacher, man, wants lock-up living/working quarters (reasonable rent) from beginning October. Unfurnished if possible. Central or other busy district preferred. Box 12.

Secretary Wanted. London Committee of 100. Post vacant end of September. Enquiries and applications to London Committee of 100, 13 Goodwin Street, London, N.4. ARC 1239.

New Poster

War Waste Politics!
Want Why?

3½d. each plus postage. Orders to Bill Sticker, c/o 17a Maxwell Road, London, S.W.6.

Youth Against War in Vietnam. Glasgow YCND March, Saturday, October 16. Contact Alan Sinclair, Flat 3a, 39 Mallaig Road, Glasgow, S.W.1. GOV 3995.

New Zealand Federation of Anarchists. First Annual Congress, December 26 to January 6. Enquiries Box 5455, Auckland CI, NZ.

Vietnam Posters. 'Who Loses in Vietnam—Always the People'. 4d. each. 30/- per 100. Orders to Freedom Press.

Room Wanted—London. Shift worker would like room with mod. cons. South, or West Kensington. Box 11.

Leicester Accommodation. Unfurnished cheap weather-proof accommodation wanted by mature (?) student, wife and two children. Any proposals (sharing, etc.) considered. Mike Radford, 90 Westfield, Harlow, Essex.

London Accommodation. Couple and son (two years) seek 2/3 unfurnished rooms, North London. Box 8.

Kirkdale School. South London's new co-educational and progressive day school offers skilled teaching by qualified teachers, small groups and modern methods to children of 3½ to 13 years. 186 Kirkdale, S.E.26. Tel.: SYD 0149.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

The Philanthropists are still with us

The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists by Robert Tressell. Panther Books. 7/6.

THIS BOOK is a welcome addition to the paper-backs that are on the market. All too often previous editions of the book have been cut to pieces, whole chapters being left out and ending with Owen in despair and contemplating suicide.

The Panther edition is in fact the same as that published in 1955 and although it still has one chapter missing, it is to be preferred to previous ones. Incidentally, I understand the original manuscript is housed in the TUC headquarters at Congress House, London.

The author, whose real name was Robert Noonan, has written a vivid and lucid story of the conditions under which the Building employees worked in the years preceding the First World War. Noonan lived in Hastings and worked there as a painter and decorator. The fears and anxieties which Owen faces in the book are those which the author faced himself.

He tells of the insecurity, the dread of Fridays when you might get the sack and the relief felt when this danger passed and how, if you did get the sack, you and your family faced near starvation. In spite of all this, Owen's workmates still supported or at least defended the system which brought about these miserable conditions. His attempts

to explain how they were being exploited were usually met with laughter and derision, but he does make an impression on some.

His alternative, though, is far from being an Anarchist one, as it is one of nationalisation. He thinks of the State as a great benefactor running industry in the interests of the people. From our point of view, the Noonan vision is restricted to that of the old Social Democratic Federation of which he was a member. In spite of this, I think the book is something of a classic in that it shows, in a readable way, exactly how the capitalist system works, the way it exploits, degrades, dehumanises, brutalises, and even sometimes drives people to suicide. Perhaps some of the hopes of Noonan have come true and the State may have rubbed off some of the rough edges of capitalism, but the system remains essentially the same.

A lot of what Noonan describes in the building industry remains, particularly the insecurity of the job. Men can still be sacked with only a few hours notice, they still have their tea out of old cracked cups in filthy kitchens and, of course, they still scoff at those who put forward an alternative system. Let us hope that this new edition will reach more of those who still remain philanthropists by working under and supporting the capitalist system, even though their trousers may no longer be ragged.

'CHIPPY'.

Freedom For Workers' Control

SEPTEMBER 18 1965 Vol. 26 No. 29

Ford's Offer 'Take it or Leave it'

ON AUGUST 19, the Ford Motor Company put their workers on a four day week—just like that. The unions had no prior knowledge whatsoever, in fact the Ford plant at Halewood not so long ago disciplined car workers for not working overtime.

The reasons for this action have been many and varied. Ford's management take the easy way out and claim that the credit squeeze is responsible for lack of demand. The naive politicians claim it is deliberate sabotage against a Labour Government. This is a load of cod's wallop. Ford would not stop making money just to have a go at an insipid Labour Government.

The main reason is fairly obvious, simply 'OVER PRODUCTION'. The industrial editor of the *Financial Times* date 20.8.65, makes the point quite clearly, 'Ford is the first to break the ice, principally because it has not suffered from strikes or labour shortages and has been able to keep production in line with sales. Its share of the market has increased slightly this year, but not enough to offset the general decline in sales.'

Mr. Stan Newens, MP for Epping, put it another way, 'If it wasn't for the

good relations on the shop floor at Fords, there would not be any short time working.' So in a nutshell, by piece-time working and general speed up, the car workers at Fords have worked themselves on short time.

Another aspect of this calculated swindle is the fact that Fords, England, doesn't work in isolation but in conjunction with Fords, America and Fords, Europe. And if the necessity arises can cut back in one place or the other. It has been reported that Fords, England, are prohibited by the master plan from entering certain overseas markets, so, therefore, British workers are at the mercy of the American juggernaut (American or British what's the difference?).

The solution to the problem is in the hands of the Ford workers. If the production in the four days that they are working drops, due to nervous tension, anxiety state, then the fifth day would be needed to pick up lost production. Fords can well afford to consider the welfare of their production workers and if they can't, the production workers themselves can enlighten the Ford hierarchy.

PANDORA'S BOX IS OPENED

THE TRADE UNION reform hounds are on the trail. Disturbances in the motor industry have given them a further taste of blood. The appointment of a Royal Commission whetted their appetite but now this is too slow, they want action now. The TUC pre-emptive system is a start, backed by the insertion of teeth into the Prices and Incomes Board.

On August 29, in the *Sunday Telegraph*, Desmond Donnelly, MP, in a centre spread article, decided that a Royal Commission is too slow and that the Government should take legislative action on three points: (a) Incomes and Prices Council should be invested with statutory powers; (b) Recognised contracts between management and union should be legally enforceable, either side have the right to sue the other if it defaults. A statutory period of notice before any strike action can be taken should be enforceable; (c) Certain statutory rules must apply to all unions including the introduction of the secret ballot before strike action can be taken. Mr. Donnelly puts forward these suggestions for the good of his party and his country.

There is a 'whiff of anarchy in the air,' says Donnelly; that scent to me would be sweeter than roses if it were true. After claiming that the trade union movement is failing and failing disastrously, from the viewpoint of national interest, he goes on to support a policy of a fake industrial unionism, one union, one factory, wherever practicable, so that the union official can be brought closer to the shop floor. Donnelly would also like to see more centralised negotiating machinery in which annual increases are agreed across the whole range of industries, within the overall capacity of the country to pay.

The whole tone of the article is a proposal to force the rank and file worker into a well planned trap so that he can only move by permission of the state.

At the end of the article he knocks

the employers with a feather duster when he states 'I am equally critical of the employers' representatives in certain industries. I have seen many of these employers conduct a charade during negotiations.' Mr. Donnelly strikes them with a feather duster because, 'they give way often because they are gutless, or because they are only too ready to pass on increased costs. They too have their responsibility. But that is another story.'

Obviously Mr. Donnelly favours the corporate state. That's okay, that's his opinion, but many MPs and trade union leaders support his views. The next eighteen months could mean a tough time for all workers; once the openings are made, any government can and will push forward the necessary legislation, all in the NATIONAL INTEREST. The only people who can force the plan to fail are the Joe Soaps, not by looking for, and following leaders, but by their own efforts. Surely we must have learnt by now, all governments are the same, history to date proves the case.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

ANARCHY 55

DISCUSSES

MUTUAL
AID

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