

The Language of Power

Many were cold but few were frozen

ON TUESDAY February 1, a demonstration organized by the London Committee of 100 was held in the 'Strangers' Gallery' and the 'Lobby' of the House of Commons.

During the afternoon the Speaker had refused to allow a motion on Vietnam to be moved. He said that the American bombing did not directly concern the British Government and therefore, was not the business of the House.

All of that day people had been busy contacting others so as to get them into the Commons at regular intervals. Letters had been written, telephone calls had been made. The greatest care was taken to prevent the police finding out about it.

The first arrest (removal is more correct since we were not charged, but held until the House rose . . . so we couldn't cause any more trouble I suppose) took place at about 7.15 p.m. and the last at 10 p.m. This means that for almost three hours the important business of the House was being continually interrupted. The important business was:

- (a) Should we buy planes from the US or should we rely on British ones to do the job? (Guess what the job was!); and
- (b) Salmon and Trout. These two things were what OUR MPs were spending their valuable time on.

When I got into the Gallery about ten people had already been taken out. It was interesting to see that there were only a couple of dozen of THEM down there. And one of them was asleep!

After about 15 minutes (of this Irishman talking about giving planes to Belfast) there was a snigger from below about all the noise in the Gallery. Needless to say, I leaned forward and yelled out, 'And what about Vietnam!' Then this arm comes round my neck from behind and pulls me out of the seat and onto the floor. There's no real point in saying anything other than . . . I was dragged (by the neck, arm, leg) and kicked (by an Inspector) into a lift and taken down into the dungeons where the other disruptive elements were waiting.

The police tried the old trick of getting you to empty your pockets without them having charged you. One person was searched against his will even though he objected strongly. For some reason I wasn't searched when I told them that they would have to bring some charge against me before I would allow them to see what I had with me.

By nine o'clock this was the situation: there were ten men in a large cell which had one window and a door that led into a sort of charge room where they were keeping six women.

From 9 p.m. till 12.35 a.m. we did the things that everyone does while waiting in a cell: we tried to burn the door down, we tried to cut the window out, we pulled the iron grill off the door, and we covered the walls with drawings and pieces of poetry and statements concerning freedom. One of the cops became very angry when he saw what we had done to his beautiful cell (Guy Fawkes was probably the last guy to be in there). (Having visions of seeing him at Midnight walking through the wall.)

The police were their usual selves: apart from me being kicked, someone else was punched on the jaw and numerous people were pulled and pushed all over the place.

Everyone was allowed to make a phone

call (only if it was in the London area, and because of this one man could not let his wife know what had happened to him), and go to the toilet, but they would not give us anything to drink (not even water). One cop said: 'Where do you think you are, on a holiday?' when asked for some water.

One of the important things to come out of this demonstration was that the press and radio and TV gave it as much publicity (good publicity!) as any Committee demonstration has ever had. It also marked the return (?) of Pat Arrowsmith . . . from out of the oblivion of writing.

The important thing that must be done now is a follow-up. Could this be not only the return of Pat Arrowsmith, but the return of the Committee as it once was. Perhaps in two weeks time we will be able to fill Parliament Square and/or the Lobby of the Commons. If these are important things! Perhaps the Committee can once again be a threat (?) to the State that has tried its utmost to destroy all of its opposition, but, as always, looks as if it may fail. TONY JACKSON.

'Does the US seek wider war?' (FREEDOM, 15.1.66.)

'Danger of war in South-East Asia—American warning to West'. (Times, 5.2.66.)

IN OUR ARTICLE we suggested that Thailand is being prepared as the bulwark of the West. The Times reporter from Washington places the argument on its head. This is the relevant quote:

Mr. David Bell, the administrator of the Agency for International Development, said that Chinese troops could intervene, not only in Vietnam but elsewhere in the area.

North Vietnam had given clear and open notice that it was about to start a war of liberation in Laos and Thailand. It had already started in Thailand, where police and border guards in the north-east provinces were being murdered, but the Bangkok Government hoped to throttle the war.

In all fairness to the reporter, who has in the past been a unique source of information of the chicanery that goes on in Washington, we do not know whether his despatch was shortened. A previous article, that appeared in *The Times* from their correspondent in Northern Thailand, flatly contradicts Mr. David Bell's account. It simply says that there is no insurrection and the men don't want to be ruled by either Peking or Washington, not even Bangkok. The fact that police and border guards occasionally get killed, is the natural reaction of people who have lived

without the trappings of government and police and suddenly find themselves in the heat of an 20th Century struggle for power.

Mr. Bell, 'a former Rhodes scholar who is not given to exaggeration' is also not given to amplification. The Americans would not be building port facilities in Bangkok, and cutting a road to the Mekong Valley, with airports dotted all over Thailand at a stated cost of \$200m. unless they wanted to shift the theatre of war to Thailand.

How do we know all this? In last week's FREEDOM a writer said (in the context of another article where his anarchist analysis proved correct):

Well, there it is, and I am not one of those anarchists who are supposed to be getting tired of saying, 'We told you so'. The more we are proved right the more will people be compelled to admit the usefulness of the anarchist analysis and attitude.

In the opinion of another anarchist, our method is merely inspired guesswork where our natural distrust of governments comes in useful. When governments spend \$200m. in a country ten thousand miles away from its own, on military installations, conclusions can be quickly arrived at. Neither do we trust the government of Hanoi. The orders for the 'liberation' of Thailand may have already been given. Hanoi must act quickly, before the Americans have completed that road and settled themselves com-

fortably on the backs of the Thai-

If this was printed in a daily newspaper accessible to the people of this country, or in an international newspaper accessible to the people of the world, I am sure there would still be time to stop the war in Thailand. But to bring us back to reality, here is another quote from a paper that does go round the world, the *Daily Telegraph*:

It is of little use to shower dollars on a battlefield; and those who condemn Mr. Johnson for showering bombs on North Vietnam should be invited to propose some speedier way of ending the war—no bombing brought no peace.

And again: And it is not surprising that some Americans, watching the growing menace of Peking, would prefer to confront China now rather than wait until she attains full nuclear power.

No doubt the man who writes the editorials in Hanoi or in Peking has learned to be as callous as the *Telegraph's* editorial writer. Between these people there is no human dialogue, they call for wars as others call for tea. As an anarchist I can only guess, I can only surmise; I am not in possession of all the facts, neither is my opinion asked or of any consequence. Nevertheless I am revolted by the intellectual acceptance of human suffering which makes it possible for another war game player, this time in the *Observer*, to refer to the Vietnamese as the 'Asian Serbs'. R.

BOND WASHING

FINANCIAL AFFAIRS GENERALLY have an aura or mystique around them that confuses people and this, in many cases, is a deliberate reason for the presence of the mystique. If the same things were described in the terms of the race track or more commonplace ways, the fiddles involved would become too outrageous to be accepted.

This is the case in the recent outburst over 'bond washing' where to call it a fiddle or conspiracy would be a too ungentlemanly way to describe the discreet goings-on in the City of London. With references to 'cum' and 'ex' dividend bonds instead of odds, weights, distances or the intricacies of pools, the issues have been rather confusing even for the 'experts' who have presented it in the financial pages of the Press.

No one—and all are so patently and transparently honest about the business—is quite sure how it was done, who, except those proclaiming themselves free of guilt (!), were really involved and who exactly benefited.

The technical details are difficult to explain and, one would hope, fail to benefit FREEDOM readers, but the prerequisites of 'bond washing' deals are, firstly, the peculiar legal approach to taxation, which makes the fine distinction between tax 'avoidance' (which is lawful) and tax 'evasion' (which is unlawful); secondly the application of special tax exemptions to holders of British Government Bonds not legally resident in Britain; and finally the deliberate and convenient blindness of the stock-jobbers (people who buy and sell bonds and shares on their own accounts and not for clients as a stock-broker does), who are given special privileges by the tax authorities.

The general conclusion from the recent events is that if you are stupid enough to work and pay tax, there is a happy conjuncture of old boys' clubs in the financial world, including lawyers, stock-brokers, stock-jobbers, bankers, account-

ants, company directors, civil servants and politicians, who have a strong pecuniary interest in ensuring you will pay even more tax to make up for what they avoid. And the proceeds they are cheerfully willing to pocket.

In the next two or three weeks, one or two sacrificial lambs will be found to square it off with 'public opinion'—apparently pop star agents are in vogue at the moment. One might even commit a spectacular suicide like Stephen Ward rather than let his old school tie down. The matter will then be conveniently forgotten preferably without the assistance of a judicial whitewash and the loopholes will remain for future use.

THE UNITED STATES Government has recently got very touchy about the growing number of conscientious objectors and draft-dodgers who, for some unknown reason, don't fancy a trip to Vietnam. Not that these people make much difference to the gigantic US military strength, but they are rather bad propaganda. In the States, savage sentences have been passed on several people who have burnt their draft papers; and now the US Navy, with the generous and unquestioning help of Leeds CID, have taken to trying to retrieve their unco-operative citizens from England.

Bruce Jack came to Leeds University last autumn to study Chinese; previously, he'd been studying at Berkeley University, but gave up his course, and came over here from the States, after checking that he wouldn't be called up while he was studying—some time ago, he'd put himself down on the naval reserve list.

Just before Christmas, he received orders to report back to New Jersey for military service. Bruce wasn't very pleased about this, and wrote back a humorous letter, saying that he was declining their 'generous offer of military service'. He was by no means a radical pacifist; in fact he tended towards sup-

porting Goldwater. But he did have reservations about the way the Vietnam war was being fought, and, presumably, he preferred the University to the Gulf of Tongking.

The US Navy decided to collect him on the morning of January 21. Bruce's girl friend had just called round to go to a lecture with him, when a member of Leeds CID arrived, and politely informed Bruce that two US naval officers were waiting outside for him; they wanted to take him down to London and it would be better if he 'came quietly'. Bruce was taken off in their car, and the girl friend hurried to see the university authorities. They expressed their sympathy, but told her there was nothing they could (would—?) do about it. The Students' Union was much more helpful. The secretary, Jack Straw, put phone calls through to the Home Office (not much joy) and the National Council for Civil Liberties, who contacted English and American lawyers. By now, other people in London had got to hear of what was happening.

When Bruce arrived in London, he was taken to the Navy's offices in the American Embassy to talk things over. After a while, the American official had to leave poor Bruce alone to answer a

rather long telephone call. When he got back, Bruce had disappeared. By now the Embassy staff must have been rather embarrassed. They got permission from Washington to set up a tribunal and review Bruce Jack's case—in his absence. On the following Monday, the tribunal discharged the missing Bruce Jack from the Navy 'with dishonour', and saved themselves the further embarrassment of searching the British Isles for him.

It's hard to see why the American authorities risked a lot of bad publicity by trying to abduct a genuine student from a foreign country. Perhaps it was an administrative blunder; perhaps they didn't care about the publicity. More likely, they'd hoped to hustle Bruce quickly back to the States, without any complications of Bruce escaping and giving the case a lot of publicity.

Is this sort of thing likely to happen again? And how often has it happened before? The position of many Americans studying here must now be in question. It would be interesting to know how much the British CID collaborates with American armed forces. Maybe the Labour Party's new Home Secretary will tell us, just for the record.

ANDREW LLOYD.

On his Own Jack

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AFTER PROBATION reports, during which one of the probation officers, who described us as 'showing no contrition', said, to our great amazement, 'I'm still learning about life' (he spent most of the time reminiscing with my parents, whom he knew 30 years ago), the four from Aberdeen appeared at Stonehaven Sheriff Court on Wednesday, January 19. While waiting for the Sheriff Aikman-Smith, known lovingly as the 'hanging judge', Liz Smith, dressed with great taste in red and black, began reading a back copy of FREEDOM in the court. An article entitled 'Poor Police?' attracted the attention of a constable on duty, but we suspect he was disappointed in his search for sympathy.

Finally with great pomp and solemnity (we almost burst out laughing—to see these petty marionettes in fancy dress taking themselves seriously) the Sheriff arrived, only one and a half hours late. The procurator fiscal then delivered a scathing attack (well substantiated by evidence) upon us. During it he several times lost his place, dropped his papers and couldn't find the exhibits. He described us as a cunning, efficient gang of saboteurs equipped with 'a complete set of tools' who turned the place into a 'shambles'. Among the slogans that these terrible people painted were 'Scots Against War '66', 'Anarchy' and 'SEX—a strange new subversive element. (If the SB are puzzled we suggest the 'Society for the Extinction of Xenophobia'.) During the fiscal's speech Sheriff Smith was seen to yawn. Our lawyer did the best he could in the circumstances, even mentioning 'The Role of the Military in Civil Defence' and the fact that the fall-out shelters were not for the people. The Sheriff 'mixing a' w' admonition due', sentenced the youngest, George Robertson, to a term of probation of two years. I pity the probation officer who has to deal with

IT IS FAIR and fitting that the leaders of our fashionable coteries should exhibit each new aspect of their minor talents, so that we may join soft hands with a hypersthenic press and a bored haut ton, to while away a few sunless minutes of the Town's time, in prancing before the latest doodlings of some fashionable creature of the moment.

That these pleasant, harmless and slightly balding children of their world have every right to produce and exhibit their mediocre work should never need to be stated, and I would defend with your life their right to do so, or be damned to serve on a Blackburn Council. But those who have a self-elected duty to winnow the chaff from the tinted wheat must surely be those London galleries, whose names appear within the pages of the *Connoisseur's Guide*.

To turn any of these galleries over to the work of a friend, a man-of-the-people, the actor of the moment or a Carnaby Street tear-away, gelt-happy from his latest protest-song hit, is to poison the stream of work that flows through that particular gallery, and to turn a churning flow of creative, contemplative or just good work into a sewer in which all work must suffocate by association.

Lilli Palmer has, over the passing years, become part of the folk culture of our cinema world. An exotic creature of the international dream factory, who has outlived the banality of so many bad films, to become a fantasy figure to dull the hurt of our super-efficient age. She has now appeared as a painter of merit whose work, on display at Tooth's of 31 Bruton Street, W.1, has a confidence and skill that justifies its place upon the gallery wall.

She has a feminine weakness for the flamboyant use of bright colours yet for all that she can use them to create the illusion of depth. It is as a draftsman and colourist that she is at her best and never more so than in her *Dreaming Woman* painted in 1962.

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.

WANDSWORTH LIBERTARIANS. Correspondence to Tony Cadman, 116 Tilehurst Road, Earlsfield, London, S.W.19.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

ABERDEEN GROUP. Meets at the Adelphi 2.30 p.m. every Sunday. Correspondence to I. R. Mitchell, 137 Faulds Gate, Aberdeen.

ARLESEY GROUP (N. Herts., S. Beds.). Meetings on first Friday of month. Correspondence to Peter and Maureen Ford, 102 Stotfold Road, Arlesey, Beds.

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Convenor: Peter Neville. Correspondence Secretary: Martin Bragg, 25 Fitz Roy Avenue, Harborne, Birmingham, 15 (BEAwood 1504). Sales: Gordon Causar, 27 Upper Gungate, Tamworth, Staffs. (Tamworth 4562). Regular Meetings.

BRISTOL FEDERATION. Enquiries to Ian Vine, 3 Freeland Place, Hotwells, Bristol, 8.

ABERDEEN COURT REPORT

this budding Bakunin! The 16-year-old Alan Campbell was then fined £60 and everyone thought it would be clink for us. Supporters who had come to court were ready to wave the Anarchist banner, call the sheriff a cunt, stage sit-downs, shoot policemen, etc. But the lovable old gentleman, because he didn't want to ruin our careers, fined us a

mere £120 each, with the possible prospect of having to pay back the damage after a civil action.

After the sentence we distributed leaflets in Stonehaven which, as comrade Forbes Browne says, 'appeared mysteriously post marked Glasgow'. A local paper, with a readership of 200,000, printed this almost in full, calling it an

AUSTRALIA DAY VIETNAM PROTEST IN LONDON

THE AUSTRALIA DAY anniversary, January 26, was celebrated in London this year in an unusual way. A demonstration against Australia's participation in the Vietnam War was mounted on the day before outside Australia House in the Strand; and a statement of protest was signed by a number of well-known Australians resident in London.

Australia has, at the moment, about 1,500 troops in Vietnam (the casualties—at a rate twice as high as the Americans—have doubtless reduced this appreciably by now), and her politicians, Government and Opposition alike, have expressed their support for the war in terms remarkable for their extremism and idiocy. Menzies, the Prime Minister until recently, spoke in Parliament of the 'communist hordes' waiting to sweep down to the 'Timor Sea or beyond' if they were not contained; he on one occasion defended the memory of the late Ngo Dinh Diem in the words: 'I certainly have had no evidence that the

government of Ngo Dinh Diem was corrupt. I thought he was a brave, honest little man and a patriot'. This last remark epitomises Menzies' own type of whisky-sodden arrogance and blindness.

It was the first time the Australian authorities in London had had this kind of thing happen to them, and they were furious with indignation against the disloyalty of the Australians who were demonstrating. They were most upset by a poster which read: 'Don't go to Australia—they might conscript you', which was felt to be unpatriotic in the extreme, and an attack on Australia's immigration policy of filling the place up with whites before the blacks get there.

The demonstration began about half past nine in the morning, with a group of at first no more than 15 people hanging around in front of Australia House waving placards. Officials rushed out, purpled, and rushed back in to call the police, who arrived shortly in strength.

ROUND THE GALLERIES

Within this painting the woman's arm is solid and pulls at the shoulder while the full breasts hang by their internal muscles.

Competent, but never pretty, jackdaw in her search of styles, she is a painter whose work will be worthy of re-examination at a future exhibition.

But we cannot say this about Cecil Beaton, whose work litters the walls of the Lefevre Gallery, at 30 Bruton Street, W.1. They hang on the walls of this fashionable Bond Street gallery as the work of one who has pranced through so many coloured supplements, and so many TV interviews, gay, happy and witless, as poignant or as pointless as this week's design for a new beach shirt. For this is the giggle world of Gear Art, offering a tarted version of 'with-it' tattiness, uselessness dolled up in bright paint and enamelled, castrated tools of last year's living, poned up in house decorator's paint to decorate a Hampstead living unit.

Beaton has a deserved reputation for stage design and he has now decided that the doors of the National Gallery must be stormed, and the work at the Lefevre is his manifesto. If these words sound cruel then the answer lies in our choice of ground for, if one exhibits one's work in a fashionable London gallery who, to quote their blurb, deal in 19th and 20th Century French paintings, drawings and sculpture, then one must be prepared to be judged by international and universal standards and, by these standards, Beaton falls flat on his face.

He has no feeling for depth, and he attempts to overcome this by a candid camera distortion of the body, in that one pauses before each canvas to wait for his subject matter to tumble arse over head. He offers us the pop figures of our pop society and, like visitors to a

wax works, we feel that we have received our entrance due by recognising each titled figure.

Beaton's flat figures hang like cardboard cutouts and over each one he has poured his highlight like sour cream over a blistered pudden for it bears little relation to the contours of the human body. Only once does he succeed, on a minor scale, and that is in a head titled *Explorer* where the subject is veiled in a pastel mist.

If one must judge Beaton then let them judge his portrait of Mick Jagger, of the *Stones*, against Hendrick ter Bruggen's *Singing lute player* painted over three hundred years ago.

Ter Bruggen and Beaton are both influenced by Caravaggio's use of strong contrasts of light and shadow, but beyond that Beaton has little in common with ter Bruggen, for his relationship to the Dutchman is that of a Micky Spillane to a Hemingway, in which the lesser man used a few of the tools of the master to bolster up his own inferior work, when words or colours are used as simple symbols to portray a shallow interpretation of the human predicament and everything is reduced to an infantile simplicity of red for blood and ochre for pain.

Bruggen's *Singing lute player* is a swinging hipster of our and ter Bruggen's time. The brush work in the interpretation of the material is roughly handled but the flesh is stretched and twisted by the hidden muscles over the bone foundations and ter Bruggen has recorded one aspect of universal man while Cecil Beaton has passed away an idle and a happy hour of value to no one but himself.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

'amazing CND document'.

We've given out 3,000 CND leaflets in the streets of Aberdeen and managed to sell 200 of last week's FREEDOM. Help has come from everywhere, including 2/9 from an OAP in Birmingham who said she would do this herself, but her bones are now too stiff.

Yours with no regret, no hate and no money.

IAN MITCHELL, LIZ SMITH,
ALAN CAMPBELL and
GEORGE ROBERTSON.

But the cops in England are not like the Australian cops—particularly the Sydney variety. Instead of launching a frontal attack on the demonstrators, with spectacular battles, arrests, and consequent publicity, the police inspector merely insisted that placard holders parade around the block (which conveniently was all Australia House) and keep 30 paces apart; which led to increased orderliness and effectiveness in the display of placards. In Australian terms this was a gross dereliction of duty by the guardians of law and order, whose function in that land of opportunity is simply to repress protest.

Throughout the day the demonstrators were subjected to continual abusive remarks and hostility from other Australians going in and out of Australia House, who thought—the most commonly expressed opinion—that they all ought to be sent to Vietnam, to fight, no doubt, side by side with our heroic troops. Several gentlemen, looking very like security police, came out at one stage and asked questions. Sir Alexander Downer, the High Commissioner, had the embarrassing experience of having a leaflet thrust into his hand as he hoisted himself out of his large black official Roll Royce. That night, in a speech at the Dorchester, Sir Alexander had some unpleasant things to say about 'the sort of people who nowadays write letters to *The Times* sneering at sentiments of kith-and-kin'. Implying Britain not to abandon her east-of-Suez policy, he said, 'And what of the fate of your Australian and New Zealand compatriots? What of it, indeed.'

As a publicity-getter the demonstration had some success. Photographs appeared on the back pages of *The Times* and the *Guardian*, and on the front page of the *Daily Worker*. The first two, at any rate, should embarrass the Australian Government considerably, and might help them to realise that their stupidity is not a matter of solely domestic concern. The *Sydney Morning Herald* (the local equivalent of *The Times*) reported it favourably and at some length; and at least one influential weekly will probably be running an article.

Easter March Co-ordination

ON FEBRUARY 6 London Anarchists held a meeting to discuss joint action on the Easter March. The meeting agreed to set up an ad-hoc committee to discuss the matter further.

The first meeting of this committee is to be held at 3 p.m. on February 20 at 5 Caledonian Road, N.1 (near King's Cross).

All comrades from London and the provinces and from other Libertarian groups such as the ILP, SWF, Solidarity and '100' are welcome to attend. However since the question of whether or not to march with CND was thrashed out at this meeting, those who do not wish to march may not wish to attend. Any comrades who are unable to be present but have suggestions for action are invited to write their ideas to: Roger Sandell, 58 Burns Avenue, Southall, Middx.

COVENTRY ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence Secretary: Eric Harrison, 9 Hermitage Road, Wyken, Coventry.

DUNDEE GROUP. Contact Bob and Una Turnbull, c/o Doctors' Residence, Stracathro Hospital, by Brechin, Angus.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP ONE. Correspondence to Robert Lynn, 2b Saracen Head Lane, Glasgow, C.1.

HARLOW ANARCHIST GROUP. First meeting Wednesday, February 23 at 14 Centre Avenue, Epping. Enquiries to Keith Nathan, 12 Shawbridge, Harlow or John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping.

MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact: Mike Mitchell, 3 Bakewell Road, Droylesden. Meetings alternate Tuesdays, 8 p.m. at the Lord Nelson, Chapel Street, Manchester.

ILFORD LIBERTARIANS. Regular meetings and direct action contact 212 Vicarage Road, Leyton, E.10.

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

NORTH-WEST ESSEX. Meetings on the first Saturday of each month at 7.30 p.m. at Robert Bartrop's, The Old Vicarage, Radwinter, near Saffron Walden. January meeting on the 8th.

ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2516. Brian and Maureen Richardson.

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

READING ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Philip Lord, 160 Castle Hill, Reading.

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

STOKE LIBERTARIANS. Correspondence Secretary: Bob Blakeman, 52 Weldon Avenue, Weston Coyney, Stoke-on-Trent.

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). Meetings 7.30 p.m.

WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Contact Mr. Karl Taylor, 98 Clova Road, Forest Gate, London, E.7 (MAR 0367). Meetings every Wednesday. (Next meeting February 2.) Jack Robinson on 'Anarchism and Peace'.

PROPOSED GROUPS

GOLDERS GREEN AND HENDON. Anyone interested get in touch with David McLeiland, 54 Litchfield Way, London, N.W.11.

LEICESTER TOWN & GOWN. Get into touch with P. Gibbon, c/o Students' Union, Leicester University.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE. Anyone interested get in touch with Bob Yorke, 69 Grumbold Avenue, Raunds, Wellingborough, Northants.

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

SCARBOROUGH. Any anarchist-minded persons please contact John B. Feetenby, 29 Cambridge Street, Scarborough, Yorks.

ABROAD

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

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

SO OFTEN ANARCHISTS are asked why do we not find some other name with less emotive connotations. Occasionally one tries, when one finds oneself in a position where people will listen to libertarian ideas until they hear the word, or where the actions of those who share the name appear unanarchist and no advertisement. But what other name? Libertarian? Longer and sounds like Liberal or at best socialist-Liberal. Fraternalist? Koinoniaist? Communitarian socialist? Voluntarist socialist? Cooperator? All suggest withdrawal from the world as it exists, a somewhat pietist elite building an Utopia away from contamination; which even if it were desirable would be impossible. Acephalist? All right philologically but too academic.

SOCIALISM AND ANARCHISM

Perhaps this is to start at the wrong end; we have not yet clarified adequately what we wish to convey. One might start to equate anarchist communism with activist, applied, authentic socialism; but immediately one is faced with the necessity to insist that socialism has nothing to do with state ownership and control; and to those who quote the dictionary definition 'principle that individual freedom should completely be subordinated to interests of community' one has to recount the history of the International. So even if one had not as yet used the word anarchism, it would then have to be introduced.

We may now—with reason—have considerable doubts on the ideas of Bakunin; undoubtedly he devised conspiratorial forms of organization which Lenin copied to fashion Bolshevism, and at that point in his criticism of Bakunin Marx was right and more anarchist than was Bakunin. But having admitted this, the fact remains that Marx's formulation of the State withering away was totally at variance with the rest of Marx's analysis of power. We cannot fairly argue from the experience of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia—the only occasion when industrial workers have ever even temporarily captured an whole nation state—that inevitably all leaders and all capture of state power must lead to tyranny, for this is an unjustifiable argument from the particular to the general; but we can say, as Marx himself said, that never in recorded history has a ruling elite willingly surrendered power, and we can say from this that the evidence is that they probably never will.

So 'anti-state socialism, opposition to all ruling elites whether founded on the ownership of money or the control of the state apparatus'. Fair enough, but there are many socialist groups which believe sincerely that the policies that they propound at elections or within the Labour Party would lead to this; so we have to add that it is socialism with a do-it-yourself kit. However, since Marx himself said 'the emancipation of the working class is the task of the working class itself', it is clear that we have to add that 'do it yourself' in this context means that the working class must free itself by its own direct action to take direct control of industry and society; and that moreover we do not hold (as do, for instance, the writers of 'Towards Socialism') that therefore whether in a Bolshevik elite or pervading an hegemonic party, middle class intellectuals have a right to lead the workers.

So immediately we have to define the role of the anarchist in trying to convert his fellows and build a mass revolutionary movement; since he does not constitute a vanguard elite any more than he believes in staying within 'the mass party of the workers', it is necessary to talk of militant minorities and propaganda by the need. So again, even if the word anarchism was not so far used, it would be necessary to refer to

just those parts of the anarchist past which one was presumably trying to forget, in order to show that it is possible for a revolutionary minority to act in a selfless way in order to raise the consciousness of others with no intention of later imposing leadership.

ANARCHY AND COMMUNITY

We are therefore trying to convey not merely the concept of anti-authoritarian socialism, not merely the need for self-activity but also the need for the absence of directing intellectuals within the movement; moreover, incidentally, that this is not just for those who wish to opt out but a total change in society, since it is integral to anarchist thinking that where power groups exist it is their nature to attempt to expand their power. Not merely would those who were still authoritarian wish to subject any libertarian communities near them to their rule, but they would also fear them as a danger to their own power.

The fact that a community within an industrially advanced society has to compete with it on terms dictated by that society, means that it must inevitably fight constantly to maintain itself or become corrupted. One may find an exceptional community, such as that at Stapleton which consistently refuses to compromise, but at the cost of continual harrying by the state, and at the cost of living without all luxuries; one finds, too, the occasional equally courageous community such as Koinonia in Kentucky, which miraculously survives despite almost weekly bomb attempts from the Klan.

ANARCHISM AND SYNDICALISM

Of course much of all this is denoted by Syndicalism; though now that the Liberals are talking of Democratic Syndicalism this is becoming less a synonym for an aspect of anarchism, and so it is again necessary to talk of anarcho-syndicalism to make the distinction—just as it was necessary at one stage to use the longer term to distinguish oneself from national-syndicalism. But since Syndicalism is the industrial application of anarchism there is no real distinction of terms; few will have heard of the term who have not heard of anarchism and those that have heard of a perversion of it.

Syndicalism is a method for getting anarchism. This makes it in no way less important since to anarchists there is no distinction between ends and means; but though the syndicate is an anarchist society in embryo, nevertheless since anarchism is essentially pluralist not all the facets of an anarchist society will be syndicalist, and no syndicalist would deny the importance of other facets.

But even by suggesting the term Syndicalist one refers back to that emotive past which the innocent inquirer thinks one ought to wish to disown.

Let it be clearly admitted there is a lot in the anarchist past of which anarchists may well be ashamed; many of our foremost personalities have been essentially authoritarian in nature; many of our acts have been mistaken; people who have used our name have so behaved that at the turn of the century in France the term was used to denote armed bandits of quite apolitical and anti-social thieves; and we can all think of traditions of anarchism with which we would rather not be associated.

But though there are many bad things associated with the term, not only are there immeasurably more that are good; but most of the bad ones even if we wish to disown them, we cannot do so, since it is essential to be able to refer to them in order to illustrate from the good points in them the possibilities for better for the future.

JOHN ST. LAWRENCE.

'Iron Heel Firmly Clamped on England's Neck'*

—Evening Standard

MR. WILSON SCORED a great victory and secured a show of loyalty and subservience (from his left wing) which must have emboldened Mr. Stewart to unhesitatingly endorse President Johnson's renewal for (peace purposes only) the bombing of North Vietnam.

Laura Grimond writing about Orkney in the Guardian said: 'In all small communities strong pressures exist to reinforce social patterns of behaviour, while at the same time the small community provides a natural safety-net of friendship and concern for the weak and inadequate. In addition the diverse social character of such societies, tends to raise rather than lower standards of conduct. If there is a family in need or trouble it is more likely to come to the notice of someone who can help. But more than most nations we live in cities and within many of these are neighbourhoods where the poor, the elderly, the uneducated, are herded in conditions of squalor and hopelessness. While all the distractions are provided which lure the improvident, there are generally understaffed schools, overworked social servants, few playgrounds and fewer playing fields.'

A MENTALLY DISTRESSED MAN, well known to the authorities at Southend and five times a mental patient, hanged himself because no one could or would help him, an inquest was told by the coroner. He died because he was abandoned. Those who cared about him could do nothing. Those who should have cared did nothing. The responsibility for his death lies with all of us. On the day before he died, the man had attempted suicide, made suicide threats and had been taken three times by police to Southend Hospital for help. The first time he was found with his wrists slashed in an hotel room, the second time he was threatening to jump

under trains at the railway station. He was driven to hospital but the police were told that the casualty officer refused to treat him. The police contacted a mental welfare officer who said he had been in touch with a mental hospital to have the man admitted but there were no beds. The police drove the man to a shelter on the seafront. The Police Inspector said: 'There are no hostels in Southend for such cases. He had no relatives. There was nowhere else to take him.' The man later stopped a police car on the seafront and vainly asked them to take him to the mental hospital. Next morning at 5.15 a.m. he was found hanged by his own necktie from the luggage rack of an empty train in Victoria Station, Southend.

PROFESSOR BRIAN ABEL-SMITH and Professor Peter Townsend calculated that about 18% of all households in the United Kingdom are living below an income level set by the National Assistance Board as necessary for food, rent, clothing and fuel. Of the seven and a half millions estimated to be living in poverty, about three millions are in households where the father has a full-time job. About two and a half million children are in the low-income households.

A NUN UNDER A VOW of poverty won a Mk. X Jaguar car in a soup-making contest. A cheaper car will go to the nun's order as will the cash-balance. A motor-agent was fined for parking a car which took up two meter-spaces. An MP's wife sued Harrods of Knightsbridge after a bottle of cleaning liquid exploded in her face when she was employed on the domestic task of cleaning her jewellery.

PAINT-SPRAYERS AT FORDS stopped work when the safety breaks in their working

hours were reduced because of claims of improvements in working conditions.

IN MIAMI, FLORIDA American socialites have paid £890 a head for tickets entitling them to sit near Prince Philip at lunch and dinner when he visits Miami in March.

THE UNITED NATIONS Food and Agriculture Organization has ordered 2,000 tons of flour made from fish in order to fight famine in hungry countries. Rationing is to be imposed in Delhi next month.

Mr. Denis Healey, Minister of Defence, speaking of the Government's plans for setting up an organization to promote arms sales said: 'While the Government attaches the highest importance to making progress in the field of arms control and disarmament, we must also take whatever practical steps we can to ensure that this country does not fail to secure its rightful share of this valuable commercial market.'

THE INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC RELATIONS suspended for a year for 'unprofessional conduct' two members who ran an anti-birth pill campaign. They set up in November, 1964, a 'Genetic Study Institute' backed by London Rubber Industries. This spread propaganda against the pill.

A LEADING AMERICAN COMMUNIST, Robert Thompson, who was decorated for bravery in two wars and imprisoned for five years for his communist views was refused burial in Arlington National Cemetery where any ex-serviceman is entitled to be buried.

JON QUIXOTE.

*It's only cricket.

Individualism

Dear Comrades,
I thought the Nobodaddy article a mess, and was surprised that it was thought worthy of publication, so badly was it written.

But it must be admitted that individualist anarchism, like communist anarchism, and I suppose any other 'ism', does have its lunatic fringe, and what Nobodaddy says could apply to one or two people who call themselves 'individualists'.

Sad News

THE PRESIDENT, weary with fatigue, and conscious of the gravity of the occasion, spoke on a nation-wide network with international hook-ups to a waiting world.

'Fellow countrymen, in spite of all our labours, our travail and our toil the blow has fallen. The situation which we had worked so hard to avoid, the traps which we thought had been side-stepped have been sprung. In spite of all our manoeuvres, the enemy's offensive in the field of diplomacy have triumphed. Our counter-offensive which deployed masses of men to all parts of the world failed and the enemy seized the initiative.'

'The heroism, the valour of our fighting-men now has other employment. The fortitude, the staying power of our citizens now face the hazards of the new social situation. We, your government, face more complex problems than the simplicities which have been our lot up to now. Rest assured we shall handle them with the same dexterity which has heretofore governed all our actions.'

'Our economic position will be hazardous. On receipt of this news the markets have already gone into a decline. Our production programme will have to be curtailed with consequent redeployment of labour and the greater effort on your part that this will entail. Many of our citizens, who have been maintained at the State's expense, will be thrown back upon their own resources. 'The spirit which has animated us will have to be re-applied, however great the difficulty, to the new situation which confronts us. Adjustments must, and will, be made. We shall not hesitate to make them on your behalf.'

'We hope and believe that the new situation will find you equal to its rigours and, although hitherto a healthy state has been maintained, we trust that the new situation will find no relaxing in your, or our, vigilance.'

'It is with deep emotion that I must remind you of the fact that an armistice has been signed between ourselves and Paranoia and the state of war ends forthwith.'

JACK SPRATT.

LETTERS & Controversy

Because these sort of 'individualists' make a noise disproportionate to their numbers, I would hesitate to apply the term 'individualist' to myself.

These kind of people love to shock. Beginning with Stirner's criticism of the ordinary liberal concepts of 'rights' and 'duties', they go much further than Stirner ever intended, and proceed to glorify violence and even sadism. Stirner says somewhere that he could kill a man, but not torture him. Not so the modern 'individualist', who proclaims himself a disciple of de Sade, and glorifies cruelty.

If one objects, one is merely labelled a weakling, who cannot face the harsh facts of reality. However the facts are not in dispute. Human cruelty is without limit. The point though is, is this a good thing or isn't it? I should have thought it was deplorable, and that one of the reasons for being an anarchist at all was that authority tends to make people more cruel than they would otherwise be, and it should therefore be opposed as much as possible.

HUMANITARIAN.

Cardiff Anarchist Group Comments

WHILST WE WOULD support such a conference at Birmingham, we would suggest that the agenda should be modified to subjects that are better dealt with at such a centralized conference, such as those needing co-operation by all groups, e.g. Easter March, or ideological discussion of common interest, together with reports of work done by all groups.

We think that a highly specific subject is better dealt with in small groups or groups directly concerned with that subject.

CARDIFF A.G.

Wrong Address

IT HAS BEEN brought to my notice that in last week's FREEDOM my name and address were given as the person to contact for accommodation in Edinburgh for the Scottish YCND Easter March. I intend to go abroad for three weeks over Easter, and would not have agreed to organize accommodation even if I had been asked to, which I was not.

I would be grateful if you would print this letter.

SALLY MITCHISON.

AFB Conference

Dear All,
1) To those who criticise the length of the agenda, allow me to point out that all I have done is to put forward a few points for discussion. It is up to the Groups within the Federation to choose what they want discussed. I seem to remember last conference was more like a study group and many of the topics studied (sorry, down for discussion) had no relevance to experience of groups at all.

2) I suggest if the topics are topics that groups need to discuss then they will discuss them. What must be done is to find out how many topics are up for discussion and decide which are considered most important and relevant and discuss those there, as time allows. If time is insufficient, however, to discuss some topics in detail it may be necessary to have more frequent meetings, as does, say, the Committee of 100. Why not revive the summer camp idea? What is to prevent us having a camp at a camp site for a week, or a couple of weeks, in, say, the Scottish Highlands, The Lake District, The Peak District or on the South Coast, and combine a camping holiday with group discussion.

Birmingham. PETER NEVILLE.
N.B. This letter has been considerably cut owing to lack of space. Please keep your letters under 250 words. —Eds.

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Protest by 'Direct Labour'

SOUTHWARK COUNCIL seem to have taken a leaf out of McAlpine's book in terms of importing labour. Southwark Council are importing labour from Scotland, whereas McAlpine imported Irish labour.

Southwark Council have flown in bricklayers from Scotland using potential earnings of £40 per week as bait. The minor point being that the workers will have to work an 84 hour week to earn that kind of money.

I understand that the living accommodation is really palatial, they were given beds from a reception centre and slept in a first aid shed on the site. I suppose an 84 hour week doesn't leave much time for anything else other than sleep.

I don't doubt for one moment that the Scottish building workers are only too pleased to earn a few bob, and their acceptance of the job is up to a point understandable, but obviously this is not the solution either to Scotland's unemployment or Southwark's labour shortage.

Some local councils are notorious for the low wages they pay. They ponce on the fact that most of their labour is local, and therefore the workers will put up with anything because they can get home to dinner and have very little travelling expenses.

Southwark Council is no exception to the rule, the wages they offer are chicken feed in comparison with other contractors. The council's 2,500 strong labour force has threatened to strike over conditions

in general, i.e., reorganisation proposals, bonus disputes and finally importing of labour. Several trades claim unpaid bonuses still owing.

Most local councils just tolerate 'direct labour force' and every attempt is made to expose them in terms of 'inefficient and expensive'. Other departments within the council take every available opportunity to pass on their 'on costs'. 'Direct labour forces' are the Aunt Sallies for all and sundry, even when tendering for a contract they are at a disadvantage. Local councils would far sooner spend their money on all the pomp and bullshit that goes with mayoralty than on council workers.

Bermondsey Trades Council suggests that Southwark's direct labour force should have its own training scheme. This is fair enough provided it is a proper training scheme and not an excuse for cheap labour.

'Importation of Labour' is a well-known game among building trade employers, it is used as a 'divide and rule' tactic, and unfortunately

all too often it succeeds. In many instances the 'imported labour' is non union, and non union for the worst possible reasons, higher pay under worst possible conditions, safety regulations taking a back seat.

Southwark Council workers are right to oppose the principle of imported labour under these conditions, but having said this, integrated rank and file should go into action for the benefit of all. The 'brickies' of Scotland must not be treated like someone from another planet and on the other hand Scottish workers must assist Southwark workers in improving conditions.

As has been said before, 'unemployment' is England's favourite export to Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales, and will continue to be so until we do something about it. 'Chauvinism' is the policy of governments and their lackeys, 'Solidarity of the Joe Soaps' must be the policy for us if we are to keep our heads above water.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

Is Glasgow Giving Up the Struggle?

AT A RECENT rank and file conference in Glasgow, Harry McShane, veteran revolutionary agitator, spoke of the shame he felt over the Fairfields situation. Anyone who knows the history of Glasgow can understand how he felt. This city had the only effective anti-war movement Britain has known—the Clyde Workers' Committee, during the 1914-18 War.

In the '20s, Clydeside trembled on the brink of revolution. There was the Clydebank Rent Strike, which lasted three years and ended in victory for the tenants. Evictions were attempted at dead of night, but loudspeaker vans would roam the streets shouting 'Evictions! Evictions!' and men and women would rise from their beds to do battle with the police and authorities.

In George Square, Glasgow, John McLean told assembled shipbuilding workers, 'The distance between the United Kingdom and the Soviet Republic of Scotland is the distance between George Square and Maryhill Barracks'. Soldiers were locked in Maryhill to prevent them being contaminated by the spirit of revolt. The ruling class were so frightened they brought in soldiers from other parts of the country and posted them as snipers on rooftops in the city centre. Tanks were stationed in the meat market. In 1926 came the General Strike, and the government went to the extraordinary length of sending battleships up the Clyde and turning the guns on working class districts. (Would the Navy have fired if it came to the push?) No wonder Lenin called Glasgow the vanguard of the international working class struggle. He was wrong about a lot of things, but for once he spoke the truth.

Through the years Glasgow has remained a militant city. Many working class advances have been won. But has something been lost? When the owners of the Fairfields Yard announced that, in spite of having orders to last for years to come, the yard must close, where was the militancy for which Glasgow is famous? A number of Fairfield workers wrote a leaflet, which was produced for them by the Solidarity Group, saying, 'Let us take over the yard ourselves'. The majority of workers did not think this a practical solution. Why not? If they said 'The capitalists have failed, we will prove that the workers can succeed', there would be widespread support for them. But the workers dithered, and what we have now is a shabby compromise.

At the same time as transport workers in New York went on strike 'till hell

freezes over', the men of Fairfields were making concessions to yet another capitalist. Mr. Stewart, who had graciously consented to exploit them. While an Irishman in New York, as the spokesman for a group of people of many different races, told a judge to drop dead in his black robes, the workers of Glasgow licked the boot which kicked them.

What made Glasgow so militant in the past was not just poverty, but also propaganda. Great chunks of revolutionary propaganda, year after year. It must be so in the future. Not only in Glasgow but throughout Scotland. We anarchists have a job to do, to spread the message of revolt through the length and breadth of Scotland. Harold Wilson has said he would like to be the Prime Minister who solved the Irish Problem (he thinks he can solve it with trade agreements). I think it's high time we gave him a Scottish Problem.

MICHAEL BUCHANAN.

Who will gain from the Inquiry?

THE UNIONS and the Ford management have agreed to an inquiry into the work schedules of the paint sprayers. This is the outcome of the recent thirteen-day strike, which seems to have been provoked by the management. They tried to reduce the rest period from 104 paid minutes per day to 53 minutes. Paint sprayers were asked to sign a form which set out this reduction, but they refused and came out on strike immediately.

During recent negotiations, the unions had turned down all suggestions for a cut in these rest periods. They wanted an extra 4d. per hour, but finally settled for 2d., with an official 'failure to agree' being registered on rest periods. Fords say that this reduction would put the Dagenham sprayers in line with those at Halewood, that the paint shops are very similar and that the Halewood rest periods compare very well with those in the plants of other car manufacturers. They claim that the present paint shop, which was opened in 1959, is much better and long rest periods are not needed. It has certainly taken Fords a long time to realise this and their statement about the rest periods at Halewood must be incorrect because union officials there have been trying, unsuccessfully so far, to extend the rest periods there. Apparently these fall below the standard set in the Agreement.

Even with improved spraying and extraction equipment, the job still remains an unpleasant one. Work is done

FREEDOM

For Workers' Control

FEBRUARY 12 1966 Vol 27 No 5

BUSMEN:

A Revolutionary Solution

THE LONDON TRANSPORT debacle proves once again that workers who have no control over the Industry they sell their lives to, are likely to be as disgruntled by one government as the next.

The London Transport Authority imposes its timetables on its workers and public alike, and rejects out of hand any proposals of the Stewards' Committees, and rank and file. The only expression of the rank and file is to resort to go-slows, strikes, work to rule, etc. (from which they are often the losers).

Now none of these mentioned might be the anarchist solution, but then again, many anarchists might not have the problems either, but busmen have! and to be dogmatic about the revolutionary solution, etc., doesn't help one iota. What surely does help, however, from the anarchist point of view, is the fact that a practical and revolutionary solution does exist. What, after all, could be more practical than bus crews convening at their garages and working out a rota over which, that which is beneficial to them, is the criteria of how the rota works. After all, it doesn't matter how many surveys the Transport Authorities make of road conditions, the crew alone knows the work involved. Workers' control of transport, as of anything else, is based on the practical satisfaction of need, in the most responsible and humane way.

Part and parcel of the concept of workers' control is, surely, that in its practice, workers have the opportunity to be outside the label of 'workers' and look for the human solutions to the problems of capitalist economics, leading up to its elimination. Under workers'

control the worker, involved in the everyday responsibility of performing useful functions, would be extending and developing his individuality, through taking part in co-operative enterprise as opposed to submissive labour.

TO SATISFY A SOCIAL NEED

Now many anarchists will say, 'But do we want transport, or, for that matter, industry at all run in any way at all?' (e.g. arms factories, human cattle-trucks, etc.). This writer's answer is no. But the getting rid of them is only going to come from those people who are now working in them, realising that there are other aspects to living and organising than the ones they are faced with at present. With the transport for example, controlled by the workers, it might become a service designed to satisfy not only a social need, but also social needs will change under workers' control, thus changing aspects of industry and behaviour, and putting everyday living onto a more sane basis.

State-controlled industries we have now learned (some of us knew) are an extension of the profit system. Workers' Control of Industry is also to do with profit, but in this case, profit changes its meaning. All can profit from the free availability of necessary commodities. We do not have to regurgitate the 'glorious anarchist past' to understand that workers are capable of organising jobs more efficiently than bosses or even union bosses; what we have to do is to stimulate interest amongst workers, not in the catchphrases and lies of the modern public relations gimmickists, but in the old truths, which need yet to be tried.

Revolutionary precepts don't follow the fashions of the day. For ages, thinkers have realised that who owns the work controls the workers. The anarchists say fair enough.

The worker must control the work!
F.H.

FORD'S

Contact Column

Harry Michaels' father, of the FAS is in Hackney Hospital, Ward A5 and would like visitors. Visiting 7.30 p.m.-8.00 p.m. daily, except Thursday and Sundays 2.30 p.m.-3.30 p.m.

Glasgow Anarchists! A meeting will be held to discuss AFB Conference. For details write to Dave Coull, 89 Dalriada Crescent, Motherwell.

Help! Help wanted, male or female, to clean and redecorate room in East London. Evenings or Saturday afternoons. Remuneration by arrangement. Box 22.

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