



Tell Me Lies About Vietnam

A LATE UNLAMENTED politician (admired by Air Vice-Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky) once spoke in praise of the 'Big Lie', that it was better than a lot of little ones for it had such awe-inspiring quality that hearers thought no one could tell such huge lies and so accepted it as the truth. Since that statement was made we have had World War Two and the preliminaries for, what seems in our worst moments to be, World War Three. The lie factories have been pouring out stories so constantly since then that truth has become a scarce commodity.

The lie has its comforts, it makes for a spirit of conscious rectitude, of self-righteousness, it reduces the complexities of this world to a simple formulae of good versus evil (with us, of course, on the side of 'good'). But such is the power of the lies that have enmeshed the situation in Vietnam that it is impossible from either left or right to know the truth.

The only truth emerging is that napalm burns, bayonets wound, bombs mutilate, bullets pierce, and war destroys. Whether soldier or peasant, American GI or Fascist invader, Viet-Cong or National Liberator, death becomes increasingly likely and victory and defeat more indistinguishable in effects and outcome.

In this web of deceit one feels that both sides are working together against the people. The Americans with their bombing enforce the loyalty of the peoples to the Viet-Cong 'liberators'. The Viet-Cong by their raids and tortures of villagers, enforce a hatred of Communism and an acceptance of the American way of life. The American war industries, by their dependence upon war prosperity, lobby for preparedness. The NLF bands levy financial tribute from American war supplies going

through guerilla areas. In the same way that the guerillas are said to depend upon the occupiers for the arms that they can capture, there is a symbiotic relationship between the Americans and the North Vietnamese. Each needs the other and if they did not exist it would be necessary to create them.

The unparalleled efficiency with which the Americans become their own worst enemy is illustrated this week by the revolt against Air Vice-Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky in Da-Nang. *Life* magazine (that avid protagonist of the American way of death) had a 'searching assessment' on Vietnam on February 25 in which Chanh Thi (who was dismissed by Cao Ky) is assessed as Ky's principal rival and most likely successor. . . . 'Say those who believe that Thi can take power when he wants it, he has been working patiently on the complex question of how best to mesh his own plans and ambitions with the operations and objectives of the vast and growing American effort. Once he is satisfied that he has arrived at a satisfactory solution to that problem, the theory goes, Thi might make his move. For the present, however, Thi and Ky give every outward indication of being in harmony.'

Today (April 11) the *Daily Mail's* Boris Kidel's report is under the heading 'The Agonising Question: If Ky Falls Will US Pull Out?' Maybe President Johnson doesn't read *Life*, maybe he just looks at the pictures—and the advertisements.

America's talent for backing losers adds further fuel to criticism that she lacks the power of decisive world leadership and only serves for illustration that the leadership of the world is better in the hands of the Communists (revisionist or otherwise) or at a pinch in the hands of Britain 'who has saved the world before and will do it again given a

chance'. CND's pious hope 'let Britain give the lead in nuclear disarmament' is a pale echo of this theme.

But America's choice of Ky (or even a choice of Thi) is evidence, if it were needed, of their worship of power. Nothing succeeds like success and whoever can hold power is our man whether he be Batista, Nkrumah or Trujillo. But if he fails, we go for his successor.

As to how power is wielded, that plays no part at all, no matter how rusty the iron hand or threadbare the velvet glove. Anything can be justified by a need to save the world from communism—or, indeed, to consult the mirror-image to save the world from American imperialism.

So enmeshed in this lie of 'democracy in Vietnam' have the Americans become, that on April 7 (with the Vice-Marshal threatening to execute the mayor of Da-Nang as a Communist), the US Information Service announced dead-pan, 'Representatives of political groups in South Vietnam have met in Saigon and moved toward selecting a nation-wide constitution-making body.'

'These political actions . . . "would appear to be" [quotes in the original] a move in the direction favoured by the United States—that the various South Vietnamese political factions and interest groups meet to solve their political problems themselves.' Does he mean Ky and Thi?

It may be that President Johnson may take the excuse of the instability of Ky to desert South Vietnam and rid himself of a theatre of war that has proved some embarrassment. But nevertheless the show must, for Johnson's sake and for the sake of the Communists, go on.

Meanwhile, they will continue to tell us lies about Vietnam.

JACK ROBINSON.

NO TROUBLE IN RHODESIA

DATELINE SUNDAY

AS THE MONTHS go by it becomes more and more apparent that the British Government's plans for Rhodesia have come to little or nothing. We were told late last year that the Rhodesians would begin to feel the pinch of the sanctions and would have to 'tighten their belts' in February and that by May the Rhodesian economy would be in a very bad way with thousands of unemployed 'whites' streaming over the border into South Africa looking for jobs. It is April now and with less than a month to go it appears that the only thing that is streaming over the border is aid, and it is coming from South Africa.

Two things have become apparent to this writer: one is that Mr. Ian Smith is unmoved by 'world opinion' (whatever that is) and the other is that the African population of Rhodesia is doing little or nothing to overthrow the Smith regime.

VAGUE THREATS

It would be fair to say (though probably not popular) that African opposition to the Smith regime has just been a lot of empty talk and vague threats, and determined men (such as the Rhodesian 'whites') are not going to be moved by this. How they must be laughing at the Africans in Rhodesia who, in the face of oppression and exploitation, prefer to fight each other rather than their exploiters. Mr. Nkruma, who shouted to the world about sending an African army down to put Smith and his racialists under, now has no army to send having been chucked out by the very army that he was sending. In Rhodesia itself the two main parties, led by Joshua Nkomo on the one hand and Sitole on the other, are more in opposition to each other than they are to Smith. It appears that as long as this situation exists Mr. Smith is going to be in power for a very long time.

Of course, it would take years to organise a movement to bring about a General Strike against the Smith regime, and the fact that Rhodesia is an agricultural country makes this doubly difficult but it cannot be doubted that the African political parties have failed utterly in this task. So what would be the alternative? The obvious answer would seem to be a terrorist organisation such as Mau Mau was, which would sabotage the economy from within (and perhaps a few of the more obnoxious gentlemen in the government could be sent to the next world too) but so far nothing of this kind has appeared in any large sense.

TOBACCO CROP

Smith will no doubt eventually find a market for his tobacco (businessmen are notoriously lacking in morals or principles) so it should be sent up in flames wherever it is stored. One would have thought that some Africans would be able to blow up the oil refinery too (they may have no bombs but they could probably get them from states nearby) but nothing of this kind is being done. I do not underestimate the power of a police state, but Rhodesia is a very large country and the 'whites' must be spread quite thin within its borders. It appears however that the majority of Africans are not very interested in overthrowing the governments of Rhodesia or South Africa, and in this they are not very different from their counterparts in Europe.

At the moment in Ireland they are celebrating the 'Easter Rising' that took place 50 years ago. That glorious Easter when, to hear the Irish talk, one would imagine millions of people in that famous post office giving their lives in the fight for freedom: but was it really like that? No, it wasn't. It was just a handful of men who fought, and

the rest waited to see who won, and this is probably how it will be in Rhodesia. It is a true saying that if you wait for the majority, nothing will be done, but in Rhodesia they are all waiting for the United Nations.

UN MUDDLE

Meanwhile back at the United Nations they are muddling on about the chairman not calling the meeting at the right time or the right day or in the right way. The US delegate is angry and motions will no doubt be passed in the chamber about the tankers and the oil which they may, or again may not, pump into the pipeline. The African delegates want it to be pumped in so that they can denounce Wilson as a coward and get force used to topple Mr. Smith. Of course, they are right about Wilson, but what about them? A few riots would force the UN to send troops, but when are they going to happen?

To the anarchist, it would hardly distress him to see Smith, Verword or the Portuguese thrown out by force, but he would not support this because he is under no illusions about what would happen afterwards. The African would then be exploited by the African and many of the 'white oppressors' would be called in to help the building of a multi-racial society where Joshua Nkomo would have a good job as would his 'white' advisers, and the ordinary African worker would be exactly where he is today, holding them all up.

Rulers, be they 'black' or 'white', are in no way different: they are there to rule, to exploit the majority of the common people. They rule with the same apparatus, the big stick, or the carrot, and 'their' people will never be free till they rid themselves of them. This lesson goes as much for Europe as Africa.

JACK STEVENSON.

England

DESPITE THE bad weather, anarchists attended in considerable strength on the first day of the CND March. There were about a dozen banners from the provinces and also from abroad. Police provocation started on the first day. Anarchists, undeterred, concentrated in selling literature and distributing the AFB leaflet and the invitation to the Conway Hall meeting. At a lunchtime discussion it was decided that incidental skirmishes with the police should be avoided and all our energy and propaganda should be directed to preventing an MP speaking on behalf of the nuclear disarmament movement on the last day. On Sunday matters were not helped by the CND not making an early start. Some forgetful anarchist groups, contrary to the first day's discussion, tried to take the lead on the March. There was also a sudden realization on the part of some anarchists that the March was avoiding the Ruislip base. Some anarchists decided to make for it. At this point George Clark asked the police to show and escort the anarchists to USAF Ruislip. They shot ahead but then stopped, realizing they were falling into a police trap. Anarchist groups held a meeting at lunchtime at which they decided to resume in the middle section of the March and cooperate with CND until such time as Stanley Orme, MP, spoke on their platform.

That evening there was a well-attended meeting at the Conway Hall with Dennis Gould in the chair and Donald Room, Robert Baltrop and Philip Sansom, who gave their reasons and answered questions on the anarchist attitude to the March. This sort of meeting, in many comrades' opinion, should be repeated frequently on different subjects in the coming year.

On the Monday there was some fan-

The Easter Marches

ning out in Kensington High Street and a certain amount of confusion. At a meeting in Hyde Park this was discussed and comrades agreed that the ideas of anarchism should first be practised by ourselves before we try to propagate it to others. In fact decisions taken at that meeting were carried out. We agreed and did disperse from Hyde Park and made our way individually to Trafalgar Square. This disappointed our friend Supt. Gilbert who, with his loyal troops, was waiting for us in Whitehall. 'Where are you?' he said. 'We were waiting for you.' Well, we were already in Trafalgar Square and held an unmolested meeting from the plinth of the column.

Anarchists took up strategic positions in front of CND platform, prominent among the banners were 'Drop the politicians not the Bomb' and 'The State is your Enemy'. The intention was only to drown Orme's speech, he was persistently heckled. Nevertheless skirmishes with the police and shouts for an anarchist speaker clouded the objective and heckling continued at highly inappropriate times. There was an attempt by Ilford Libertarians to grab the microphone and explain our objections to Mr. Orme. This attempt was foiled and two comrades were arrested.

At one point during the meeting the police suddenly made a violent attack on the crowd. Our comrades resisted and although some anarchist banners were snatched, the anarchists pushed the police back to their starting point. A police helmet was seen floating towards the fountain.

Mrs. Gibbs held out an olive branch and asked for an anarchist speaker. Jeff

Nuttal who was working with the puppet group was at hand and spoke saying that 'it was obvious that eight years of marching has not abolished the warfare state and other methods have to be attempted'. The invitation to speak was as much a surprise to him as to us.

It was a tribute to the quality and imagination of the puppet show that the anarchist contingents remained silently appreciative. But it was good anti-state stuff.

Limited success was achieved on the March, whilst we had limited objectives. Despite general militancy which existed, there was a general lack of direction. Certain co-operation was nevertheless achieved.

M.H.

Scotland

Forbes Brown reports:

THE SCOTTISH YCND March on Easter Saturday was preceded by a 100-hour fast outside Rosyth naval dockyard. Elizabeth Smith and John Mailer of Aberdeen YCND fasted for the whole of this time, being joined for shorter periods by others, including a member of the public who had seen reports in the Scottish press.

The March itself was supported by Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Glasgow YCND and Anarchist Groups, the Scottish Committee of 100, Clackmannon YCND, the Iona Community, Aberdeen Young Socialists and several individuals from Scotland and the South. Numbers were badly hit by the foul weather and the preference of many comrades for the London March, there being about 100 marchers in all. Visits were paid

to RAF Pitreavie, a NATO centre and fall-out shelter, Rosyth dockyard where most of the marchers joined in, and RSG Scotland at Barnton Quarry, where marchers held a tea-break in the woods, playing hide-and-seek with the Special Branch. After a speech by Alan Parker on the function of the place, the March continued into Edinburgh, headed by a large black coffin labelled 'Viet Nam' carried by four people.

The Corporation had refused permission for a wreath to be laid at the Edinburgh Cenotaph in memory of Viet Nam's war dead, but after arriving at the dispersal point at The Mound, some 70 marchers carried on to lay the coffin there. Ignoring a frustrated fuzz with a loud hailer, the group surged up a flight of steps beside the Art Gallery and made their way to the Cenotaph, carefully evading the constabulary, and then placed the coffin in position. At this point Alan Parker was charged with 'leading an illegal procession', much to his surprise, and this was followed by a

Continued on page 2

ANARCHY 62

ON SALE NOW DISCUSSES

**ANARCHISM
AS A THEORY
OF ORGANISATION**

ANARCHY is Published by
Freedom Press at 2s.
on the first Saturday of every month

books ?

We can supply any book in print

NEW BOOKS

- Protest: Sacco-Vanzetti and the Intellectuals D. Felix 43/-
- The British Communist Party L. J. MacFarlane 63/-
- The Smile at the Foot of the Ladder Henry Miller 15/-
- Ireland Since the Rising T. P. Coogan 42/-
- The Pacifist Conscience (ed.) Peter Mayer 42/-
- A Very Easy Death Simone de Beauvoir 21/-
- Not Dying: an Autobiographical Interlude William Saroyan 21/-

REPRINTS AND CHEAP EDITIONS

- Reflections of a Russian Statesman K. P. Pobedonostsev 12/-
- In a Few Hands: Monopoly Power in America Estes Kefauver 6/-
- The Centaur John Updike 5/-
- The Day the Call Came Thomas Hinde 5/-
- Pale Fire Vladimir Nabokov 7/6
- Zasia Raymond Queneau 5/-
- To a God Unknown John Steinbeck 5/-
- Deathwatch Jean Genet 4/6
- Pomes Pennyach James Joyce 4/6
- The Rise of Modern Industry J. L. & Barbara Hammond 12/6

SECONDHAND

- Monkey, Wu Ch'eng-en 4/6; Fallen Bastions: The Central European Tragedy (1939), G. E. R. Gedye 4/-; The World is Mine, William Blake 5/6; Equality, Edward Bellamy (paper-back) 2/6; Selected Writings of Thomas Paine, (ed. R. E. Roberts) 6/-; Looking Forward, Philip Rappaport 5/-;

Freedom Bookshop

(Open 2 p.m.—5.30 p.m. daily; 10 a.m.—1 p.m. Thursdays; 10 a.m.—5 p.m. Saturdays).

17a MAXWELL ROAD FULHAM SW6 Tel: REN 3736

FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

- SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM'
- Vol 2 1952: Postscript to Posterity
- Vol 3 1953: Colonialism on Trial
- Vol 4 1954: Living on a Volcano
- Vol 5 1955: The Immoral Moralists
- Vol 6 1956: Oil and Troubled Waters
- Vol 7 1957: Year One—Sputnik Era
- Vol 8 1958: Socialism in a Wheelchair
- Vol 9 1959: Print, Press & Public
- Vol 10 1960: The Tragedy of Africa
- Vol 11 1961: The People in the Street
- Vol 12 1962: Pilkington v. Beeching
- Vol 13 1963: Forces of Law and Order

Each volume: paper 7/6 cloth 10/6 The paper edition of the Selections is available to readers of FREEDOM at 5/6 post free.

VERNON RICHARDS Malatesta: His Life and Ideas cloth 21/-; paper 10/6.

E. MALATESTA Anarchy Paper 1/-

PROUDHON What is Property? cloth 42/-

ALEXANDER BERKMAN ABC of Anarchism paper 2/6

HERBERT READ Poetry & Anarchism paper 2/6

ALEX COMFORT Delinquency 6d.

PAUL ELTZBACHER Anarchism (Seven Exponents of the Anarchist Philosophy) cloth 21/-

RUDOLF ROCKER Nationalism and Culture cloth 21/-

CHARLES MARTIN Towards a Free Society 2/6

JOHN HEWETSON Ill-Health, Poverty and the State cloth 2/6 paper 1/-

VOLINE Nineteen-Seventeen (The Russian Revolution Betrayed) cloth 12/6 The Unknown Revolution (Kronstadt 1921, Ukraine 1918-21) cloth 12/6

E. A. GUTKIND The Expanding Environment (illustrated) boards 8/6

GEORGE BARRETT The First Person (Selections) 2/6

IT WAS after all not so surprising that in the election that 'nobody wanted' the 'most vociferous, most consistent voice of dissent came from the anarchists' (Daily Mirror). The voice of dissent himself (Mr. James Cameron) revealed himself in his last article as the voice of assent. Mr. Cameron voted Labour and castigated a Mr. John Rety of Sloane Street, Chelsea (?) for organising apathy and advising the electorate to take a sedative on polling day.

Dissent took many forms. The anarchist approach to politics clearly shocked people, provoked a lot of stupid politicians and party agents and possibly increased the vote by injecting some interest into an otherwise deadly dull campaign. There was hardly a day when anarchist activities were not mentioned. According to Karl Taylor of the West Ham anarchists 'it is true to say that the anarchist don't vote campaign received more press coverage in the local papers than that accorded to all the other parties put together'. The East London Federation's campaign was very successful with the kind of youthful exuberance and imagination that calls to mind the 'Provos' of Holland.

A very 'cool' approach came from the Whitney anarchists. They published a leaflet advising people to vote Labour and enumerated a case for the local

Election Results

candidate 'which he may be too modest to make'. Basically, what it said was if you want a really right wing Government why vote Tory—Labour is doing this more effectively than any Tory Party ever has. The leaflet gave instances of Labour's Tory policy on Housing, Pensions, Defence, Vietnam and Rhodesia, Immigration and Anti-Trade Union legislation. No wonder that the local candidate has hastened to repudiate the pamphlet.

We have also knowledge of campaigns in Southall, Manchester, Birmingham, Reading, and like to hear from comrades from all over the country of their campaigns and observations. Articles appeared, besides, in many local papers, in the Sun, Guardian (a nice interview with a publican who was displaying a 'Guy Fawkes' poster he bought three years ago), Express, Mirror (with a photo of comrade Vicky Mudge curled up in a tub chair and quoted as saying: 'People think it is rather sweet to be an anarchist'), also in the Standard and the Telegraph (Hugh Massingham deploring

the presence of 'lunatic anarchists' at P. Gordon Walker's meeting where they chanted 'Governments out—Anarchy in'). There was also a television interview on Granada (to the north) and on radio (to the south), a privilege which cost the Communist Party £7,500 in lost deposits, as they had to put 50 candidates in the field to get broadcasting time.

But, to me, the most curious incident concerning us was at Fulham, where this year we ran no campaign at all, yet in The Times and the Evening Standard there was a story quoting a Mr. Hilliard, election agent for Mr. Stewart, alleging that 'members of the Anarchist Party called on houses displaying "Vote Stewart" notices and seeking promises that the householders will not vote Labour.'

Jack Robinson replied to this preposterous allegation. As his correction has not been published here is the relevant passage: 'The most rudimentary encyclopaedia would have told Mr. Hilliard there is not, nor can there be an "Anarchist Party", to the anarchists

opposed as they are to governments and states, political parties (of all kinds) are anathema'.

And we have yet to see Mr. Strick's election epic on television.

J.R.

Easter Marches

Continued from page 1

second blatantly-rigged charge of the same kind. He is pleading Not Guilty.

The Press then arrived and took pictures of the proceedings, including the eventual removal of the coffin after veiled threats from a constable with 'scrambled egg' on his cap against Forbes Brown and Alan Parker.

This piece of direct action gave some point to what might otherwise have been a completely damp squib (literally) of a demonstration.

Our thanks to all those hardy comrades who braved the elements to register a Scottish protest against war in general and the Viet Nam war in particular.

Holland

Ron Geaves reports from Amsterdam:

THE MARCH STARTED at Den Helder on April 8 at 8.30 in the morning. The organisers had decided to walk 42 kilometres (about 28 miles). Although lifts were available very few people took advantage of them and the first stop was reached on time. There were about 400 marchers on the first day and that night we slept in tents. The only complaint made by the English marchers, along with many others, was that due to Holland's morality laws boys and girls were segregated at night, and even though there were protests the organisers carried the segregation out rigidly.

The next day's march started at 9.30 and covered about 15 miles. The pace was so steady that on this night and on the remaining days we were 1-3 hours ahead of schedule. The marchers were in exceptionally good spirits. There was no considerable rise in numbers on the second day but the March was becoming more international, having marchers from Belgium, France, Germany, Denmark, Sweden and of course Britain, represented by about 15 marchers from Glasgow, Edinburgh, Worcester, Sussex, while from London the Northolt and Ealing groups were represented. The Dutch 'Provo' marched with us, and we were surprised to find out that they were not as we in England think; they are more of a political sort of beatnik and are out to cause trouble most of the time, with anarchists as leaders.

On the next night we slept in a large hall, where a wall had been placed down the middle, boys on one side and girls on the other.

The third day's march was cut down to about 14 miles and by now the march had lengthened quite considerably, and in the evening a 'Protest Song Night' was attended by about 2,000 people, listening to songs by Dutch singers and Alex Campbell who was the hero of the day—he brought the house down, and people got up and cheered and joined in.

On the last day seven miles were walked, which ended in a 'rally' in Amsterdam which was all over in a matter of seconds, because of the fear of the police, and the only speaker in the time was the initiator of the March, Robert Mulder.

Afterwards the Provo groups mounted a counter demonstration to protest at the segregation on the March, the bad food, and the route taken, too much of which went through fields and not enough in towns.

[Our correspondent concurs with Provo that the food, which was provided free, was 'just about eatable'.—Eds.]

ARTHUR MOYSE.

ROUND THE GALLERIES

TRIVIA, by its very nature, is capable of unlimited permutations for one no longer uses the material as a tool to express an emotional or intellectual desire to communicate but as an end in itself. To throw words onto a sheet of paper or paint onto a canvas merely to see how they fall can be amusing, interesting or plainly moronic but one is no longer in command of one's medium but its helpless hand. As a pastime it can and has raised many a grey tower of theory floating on a stagnant puddle of talent so the Arts Council are to be thanked for offering the Town and Sir Herbert Read an opportunity to see the retrospective exhibition of the works of Naum Gabo and having said that, what else can one say. For over twenty-five years Sir Herbert and the art theoreticians have written on the work of Gabo and Constructivism and here is their Johanna's box opened to reveal the same amusing but empty space. Even Robert Melville has felt called upon to lean

out of the New Statesman window to give a manicured thumbs down by comparing Gabo's most beautiful and most Constructivist works unto a development of the linearism of Art Nouveau and, unkindest cut of all, he quotes Sir Herbert's statement that Gabo had little feeling for mass for this, in cultural circles, is equivalent to being bottled slashed in a pub in the Mile End Road, for Gabo was an artist who based his entire art on the deliberate rejection of mass.

Like so many a fashionable avant garde artist, Gabo's fame lies not in what he produced but in the opportunities he gave to the aesthetic theologians to count the angels on the pinhead of their subject matter and now Gabo in his theophanic role has become manifest within the temple of the Tate to pull the plug on his theomantic camp followers. All works of art must exist outside the world of sterile or fruitful theory as an entity in its own right, for each one is a single door illuminating the heart of man. Reject the windy ancient manifestoes and all those beautiful cultnames and we are left with the works of a man who, within his limitations, played with light as does a woman when she runs her opened fingers within the length of an empty stocking. We are held by the action as the light swirls in waves along the rippling nylon and for our pleasure it is an action that can be repeated a thousand times for the trivia is capable of unlimited permutations.

So with Gabo as he neatly winds his nylon thread around his twisted plastic frames. For twenty-five years Sir Herbert has written of this minor art form yet, for me, the quintessence of all Sir Herbert has written lies in a few lines of poetry he wrote in 1915 when he was an infantry officer and Pevsner, using the name Gabo, was assembling his first cardboard essays in Constructivism, for Herbert Read surely summed the whole sorry mess when he wrote the lines *Thy ruins etched / in silver silhouettes / against a turquoise sky. / Lank poles leap to the infinite / their broken wires / tossed like the rat-locks of Maenades.* But the circus has now returned to Town fifty years older and creaking around the axles while the principal performer dies the death in Connecticut, leaving us only

J.R.

Anarchist Ball

THIS BALL was organised at short notice. The aim was to provide entertainment in exchange for a communal subsidy in form of tickets. To those who took part, Johnny Parker's Jazz, Chad R & B, David Thomas, Adrian Mitchell folk singers, poets, and many others, many thanks. Especially I am grateful to Arthur Rowe for doing the catering, to Adam Nicholson for silk-screening the posters, and to those who helped selling tickets, in the cloakroom, with washing up, manning the bookstall or tripping people up on the stairs.

As soon as all outstanding money has been collected an account will be issued.

The BBC, with its usual foreknowledge, broadcast a talk on the ball (two minutes flat) by one of our comrades recorded at 3 p.m. and unleashed at 10.45 p.m. The bill for breakages and losses at this orgiastic saturnalia was 6s. 4d.! Not bad 450 despisers of property!

Anarchist Federation of Britain

c/o Freedom Press, 17a Maxwell Road,

London, S.W.6.

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.

APR. 17 Tony Jackson

The Visible Revolution

APR. 24 Arthur Uloth

Desert Islands

Public Meetings every Sunday Hyde Park, 3 p.m.

Correspondence to David Boughton, 10 Gilbert Place, W.C.1.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON

DISCUSSION MEETINGS

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

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

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

4th Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at David Bell's, 19 Aberdeen Road, Highbury, N.5.

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 M. Dey, 29 Springhill Crescent, Aberdeen.

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

BEXLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence to Paul Wildish, 2 Cumbrian Avenue, Barnehurst, Kent.

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

BRISTOL FEDERATION. Enquiries to Ian Viro, 3 Freedom Place, Hotwells, Bristol, 8.

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Mike Cowley, 36 Whitaker Road, Tremorfa, Cardiff.

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 G.1.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP TWO. Meets 11 Balfour Street every two weeks. Contact Joe Embleton.

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.

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

LEWISHAM, LONDON, S.E.13. 61b Granville Park. April 28 at 7.30 p.m. Subject: 'What Next?'

LEICESTER ANARCHISTS. Correspondence, Peter Gibbon, 22 Fosse Road Central, West End, Leicester.

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

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

NORTHOLT ANARCHISTS. Contact: Jim Huggon, 173 Kingshill Avenue, Northolt, Middlesex. Meetings first and third Wednesday of the month at Jeannie's, 6 Epsom Close, Northolt Park, Middlesex, at 7.30 p.m.

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

ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.

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

PLYMOUTH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Contact J. Hill, 79 Underlane, Plymstock, Plymouth, Devon.

READING ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Philip Lord, 160 Castle Hill, Reading. SOUTHALL ANARCHIST GROUP. Get in touch with Roger Sandell, 58 Burnas Avenue, Southall, Middlesex.

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

WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Contact Mr. Karl Taylor, 98 Clava Road, Forest Gate, London, E.7. Meetings every Wednesday.

PROPOSED GROUPS

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

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

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.

USA, ALBANY, NEW YORK. Contact E. Strauss, 230 Washington Avenue, Albany. Discussion group meets about twice a month.

LETTERS

Slipping

Dear Friends,
In last Friday's *Christian Science Monitor* there was an article by the London correspondent bewailing the unchecked rowdiness and heckling at election meetings. One paragraph read as follows:—
'In 1964 student interruptions came from the nuclear disarmers, plus a few Trotskyites. This year it's chiefly youth untamed, as when one young group, with no visible political affiliation, simply chanted, "Government out, Anarchy in!"'

No visible political affiliation!! Are we slipping? Or is this a particularly ignorant correspondent? At least it's a change from hearing the stock phrases 'How can Anarchists be organised?'—It's a contradiction in terms.
Best wishes,
ROY TODD.

Leeds, 6

Retrospective Justice?

Dear Friends,
Most readers won't be surprised when prejudice triumphs over legal justice. Here's a nice case of where it triumphs over legality itself.
Prosecuting two men charged at Bow Street on April 6 with conspiring to sell the latest and most expensive kick, LSD-25—a hallucinogen derived from a plant known by the Aztecs as 'Flesh of God' (*The Times* calls the drug 'vision of Hell')—Mr. G. Schindler points out that it is not scheduled under the Drugs (Misuse) Act, but expresses his confidence that it will be soon.
We've heard of *ex post facto* laws; what do we call the prosecution of someone for something that will soon be an offence?
Yours sincerely,
MARSHALL COLMAN.
Stanmore, Middlesex

More in Sorrow

Dear Comrades,
May I please use the columns of *FREEDOM* to express my disgust for the so-called West Ham and Waltham Forest 'Anarchists' who were on the CND West End March last Saturday (26th).
As a critical student and supporter of the ideals of freedom and liberty, I can only believe that those persons must have been especially grown in bottles by the Home Office in order to discredit Anarchism.
A more insular, negative-minded bunch (they knew a number of things they were against and said so, to the greater confusion of the people watching, ranging from Trotsky to someone's

father (to know Lloyd George) with not a positive noise to their disordered chanting all evening, I never hope to meet.
Their arrogance and neurotic megalomania at times outshone that of their keepers in blue.
They turned a march to gain support for Easter and in opposition to the war in Vietnam into a public farce, discrediting everyone there and the name Anarchists.
If ever impressionable Joe Soap needed proof that the police are necessary to 'protect' 'society' from the 'rabble' it was amply given last Saturday.
To my comrades in East London I should like to express my regret at having to say this but I hope the criticism of a sympathiser will be considered.
Sad regards,
KEITH NATHAN.

Poetry & Anarchism

Dear Editors,
Nothing makes me more bitter than the kind of ignorance shown by Vincent Johnson ('violence is violence' *FREEDOM*, 26.3.66). 'Poetry,' we are told, 'is to revolution what masturbation is to sex.' So here we have an implied moral judgment, i.e. 'masturbation is bad,' and an aberration of dogmatic 'thought' that attempts to make 'beauty' a laughing stock: 'poetry is masturbation'.
Vincent Johnson's attitude typifies the sort of stratification and built-in obsolescence of thought that cripples the anarchist movement today. 'If it isn't about anarchism, it isn't worth anything' is the attitude. But anarchism is construction, not just destruction, which in itself only contrives to be reactionary. Hasn't Vincent Johnson ever heard of 'anarchy of the spirit'? Through anarchy of the spirit we discover that imagination and love have no boundaries, that true anarchism goes beyond tired political sloganising such as 'fascist minded bastard', which expression is closely akin to the sort of invective used by fascists themselves in their own propaganda. Use of this sort of language instantly allies us in other people's minds with the other extremist groups which use it, such as the KKK, BNP, SLL, Greater Britain Movement, etc.
Some of the most inspiring revolutionary movements have had poets, painters, artists' galore, fighting and dying in their ranks. Victor Serge was a poet-anarchist who fought manfully against the bureaucratic tendencies of the revolution in Russia after 1917, and suffered a vile imprisonment for his pains. Many poets and writers fought and died side by side in the anarchist columns in Spain. Garcia Lorca was thought dangerous enough to be executed, despite the fact that he took no prominent part in the struggle.
The greatest poetry can be the greatest propaganda for freedom there is—pure propaganda, unsullied by catchphrases and the meaningless repetition of tired slogans. Without poetry—or painting, dancing, music—anarchism is

'We're All in the Establishment Now'

—Harold Wilson in the *Daily Mirror*

'ON THE EIGHTIETH DAY the Bomb rose again at Palomares and now sitteth on the right-hand side of the Supreme Command whence it shall judge the quick and the dead. It ascendeth into heaven and there shall be death eternal and death everlasting.'

DR. TIMOTHY LEARY addressed a meeting in New York urging that marijuana and LSD should be sold on the open market to people who had learned to use them 'correctly' and earned a licence to buy them 'the way you get an aeroplane licence to fly a plane'. Dr. Leary is appealing against a 30-year prison sentence and a fine of £10,000 (\$30,000) for smuggling a small quantity of marijuana across the Texas border. Dr. Leary agrees that LSD is not for everyone, but insists that all adults should have the constitutional right to do what they like with their own bodies provided this does not threaten others.

JOHN OSBORNE was reported in *Newsweek* as saying, 'Censorship is the commonest social blasphemy because it is mostly concealed, built into us by indolence, self-interest and cowardice.' The French Ministry of Information have banned the film version of Diderot's *The Nun*. The producer has launched what he calls a 1789 manifesto against 'this formal attack on the liberty of expression, and the right of French adults not to be treated as minors'. A London magistrate decided that even though a play is produced by a theatre club it is still subject to the Lord Chamberlain's censorship and the Royal Court Theatre Club was fined for presenting Edward Bond's *Saved*. . . . A TV PROGRAMME dealing with the finances of the Vatican was held up, it was said, to get the opinion of six religious advisers. Lord Hill, the Independent Television Authority chairman, ordered the postponement of the programme. . . .

THE POPE, referring to the attempted prosecution of Milanese students for a sex-survey, urged young people to moderate their way of living and get a

sense of values. He said that young people were becoming anarchical. They said too much on matters they did not understand. 'Youth today,' he said, 'has a stronger and perhaps fresher voice. . . . It must have a sense of moderation. We often behold the sight of young people attracted by futility and stupidities.'

MR. HUGH DELARGY, MP, wrote in the *Sunday Citizen*, 'The Anarchist Federation of Britain (by what rules can anarchists federate?) boasted about stink bombs thrown at political meetings. For all I care these cranks can make what noise they like. But the sale and manufacture of those odious missiles should be made illegal.'

MR. HAROLD WILSON, reported in an interview in the *Daily Mirror* by John Beavan, outlined 'a more radical society with less privilege, more equality, more chances for people to discover, develop and apply their skills'. Beavan goes on, 'This implies, in fact, the creation of a new Establishment, a new set of people chosen to run Britain not because they are the children of the old Establishment or went to the "right" schools, because they have the right ability, character and energy.' Paul Johnson, editor of the *New Statesman*, said, 'Harold Wilson's ministerial changes are fuddy-duddy and uninspiring.'

MR. DAVID CHALKLEY, an electrical engineer and former Labour parliamentary candidate for Brentford and Chiswick, said, 'After bringing Brentford and Chiswick to super-marginal status in the 1964 General Election I [was] pushed out to make way for a candidate who had been to public school and Oxford. . . . A wave of snobbery and class discrimination has swept the Labour Party in these last few years and resulted in the new Parliament having fewer Members than ever before who come from the working classes.' Mr. John Palmer, another rejected Labour candidate, said at an impromptu meeting on the CND march, 'The Labour leaders are traitors—traitors to all those who have worked so hard to see them elected and elected to reverse Tory

policies.' . . .
A LATTER-DAY Ben Jonson wrote in reply to Mr. Delargy, 'I sent thee late a stinking bomb / Not so much honouring thee / As giving it a hope that there / it might more perfumed be / But thou thereon didst only breathe / and sent'st it back to me; / Since when it glows, and smells, I swear / Not of itself but thee!'

CANADA DECIDED to retain the death penalty for murder by 143 votes to 112 (two Social Credit members voting for retention) despite the recent publication of an account of the trial of Stephen Truscott, a 14-year-old Canadian boy who was sentenced to death (later commuted to life imprisonment) on what seems to be a miscarriage of justice. . . .

THE NUMBER of people on FBI files considered a danger to the President's security is 1,800, a quadruple increase since the assassination of President Kennedy. The Secret Service launches 15,000 investigations annually and 7,000 items of information are received monthly. . . .

CONCLUDING AN investigation into 'The Snoopers', the *Daily Sketch* reports a government answer to a question by Sir Stephen McAdden, MP (Con.) in 1961 that 10,382 Civil Servants have the power to enter private premises without permission. Sir Stephen said, 'During the last two years, the ranks of Civil Servants has risen enormously because of new legislation. New Ministries have been, and are being set up. The numbers of officials who now have this right to pry into our lives has gone up accordingly. . . . Since I started my campaign five years ago there is no doubt that the interference with the liberty of the individual in this country has accelerated.'

POLICE AT PRESTON toured a district warning parents about dangerous explosives after children had been seen 'chalking' on the wall with sticks of gelignite. JON QUIXOTE.

GEORGE DIXON'S CORNER

EVENING, ALL. You know, in our job you've got to be ready for just about any situation. Take last week down at the manor. We'd brought in Duffy Clayton—you remember the lovable old rascal, the oldest beatnik in the business. Funny thing, I never thought Duffy'd take up crime at his time of life. But there it is—a stand of furs lifted from Vossofski's warehouse, and Duffy was distinctly seen snoozing in the doorway that same night. And the Super was getting pretty stumpy. Vossofski being on the Watch Committee.

Well, we picked Duffy up for interrogation. Andy and Laurie took turns at him, and would you believe it, old Duffy got quite stumpy. And that's where the trouble started. Andy went out for a natural necessity, and it seems Laurie lost the rag. He's been a bit quick on the draw ever since he had to shave off his tash when he switched to CID. Anyway, when Andy came back there was Duffy on the floor with his back broken and poor old Laurie white as a sheet and ready to drop.

Well, there was a turnup if you like. You've got to allow for a thump too many on occasion or one where it shows. When you think of the lot we get in, it's only natural for the lads to lay on a bit freely. But Laurie went too far, no doubt about it. Rules are rules, and Laurie knows well enough not to use the knee there. The Super gave him a right dressing down. Still, he's too good a lad to lose, and then we had to think of the Force's good name. So the Super rang up Doc Saunders,

our new police surgeon; he's young, but fitting in very well.
To cut a long story short, the Doc got Duffy's carcass into manageable shape and put it into three laundry bags and we drove it in the old BM to Wapping Old Stairs. We tipped Duffy in and a few days later his torso came ashore at nearly the same place.
But you could have knocked us down with a feather when the Yard's forensic boys said it was a woman's, who'd had three kids. We knew Duffy was a queer old codger, but not that queer. Come to think of it, no wonder Doc Saunders was grinning when he came out of the kitchen. But then these surgeons are queer bods themselves, take my word for it.

Still, it's an ill wind that blows nobody any good; it all helped to put us in the clear, and it was a treat to see how Laurie perked up. He tried again and picked up the real thieves; at least they owned up after questioning. It seems we were a bit hasty over Duffy. You can't be too careful, I always say. But it's worked out for the best. Laurie's redeemed himself, and we at Dock Green have proved that the old solidarity in time of trouble's as strong as ever. And however you look at it, Duffy was no asset.
Well, time for me to be moving along. I'll be back in your homes next Saturday at 6.15 with more stories of life on the manor. Take care of yourselves, keep on the right side, and—er—mind how you go.

A. HERRICKSON

DOWN WITH SPORT—KICKING BALLS IS WRONG!

AT LEAST ONE well known anarchist has suggested that sport, in particular football, might be the opium of the people. There is evidence to suggest that, far from being an opium of the people, sport or any sort of competitive game promotes aggression. Whilst the title of this article is not I hope without humour the purpose of the article is quite serious. I should point out that I am not a psychologist and that my position is that of a layman using psychology to make out a case against sport. The argument is based on the frustration aggression hypothesis (i.e. aggression is the response to frustration)

as put forward in 'Aggression' by Leon Berkowitz (McGraw Hill, 1962). It is popularly supposed that sport is a socially useful outlet for anti social aggression. In the chapter on 'Catharsis', Berkowitz cites experiments which showed that there is no reduction in aggression after people have taken part in aggressive sports. On the contrary an increase in anxiety about aggression was observed and this might in turn lead to increased aggression as anxiety is frustrating. Further, in a chapter on 'Intergroup hostility', Berkowitz states that several experiments have shown that competition breeds dislike between the

rival parties even though the rules of the situation may prevent the dislike from flaring into open hostility (p. 194). There does not seem to be any evidence that there is a reservoir of aggression anyway nor that it is possible to release aggression (which is a response to frustration) in equivalent form. In another part of the book dealing with 'The Mass Media' Berkowitz shows that catharsis occurs via films or TV only when the angered individual perceives that his frustrator has been aggressively injured. All this leads me to conclude that competitive games are a social evil helping to maintain a high level of aggression in society.

To put the above in more blunt language, if you take part in a game of football, or any other game for that matter, your aim is to hurt and humiliate your opponent(s). If you win, your opponent(s) won't like it and you yourself will probably feel guilty and guilt is destructive and leads to further hatred. If you lose you won't like it. Your aim will have been frustrated and this will make you aggressive and bad tempered.

Are competitive games a social agency for maintaining a spirit of aggression in Society, hence perhaps they're in schools? I am not suggesting that there is some sort of conspiracy on the part of the establishment. I assume however that sport does have some kind of social function and I suggest that from an anarchist point of view it may well be an evil one, helping to maintain aggression, aggression competitiveness and ultimately war. Would any sociologists, psychologists, etc., as well as footballers, boxers, etc., care to comment? MICHAEL WOOLLISCROFT.

MAKE SURE OF YOUR ANARCHIST JOURNALS BY SUBSCRIBING!

Freedom WEEKLY
Price 4d. Every Saturday except the first in each month. (40 issues per year.)
BY POST:
1 year (40 issues) 22s. 6d. (U.S. \$3)
6 months (20 issues) 11s. 6d. (\$1.50)
3 months (10 issues) 6s. (75c.)
SPECIAL RATE FOR 2 COPIES:
1 year (40 issues) 30s. (U.S. \$4.50)
6 months (20 issues) 15s. (\$2.25)
BY AIR MAIL:
1 year (40 issues) 45s. (U.S. \$7)
FREEDOM by AIR MAIL, ANARCHY

Anarchy MONTHLY
Price 2s. (2s. 3d. or 30c. by post)
Appears first Saturday of each month.
BY POST:
1 year (12 issues) 26s. (U.S. \$3.50)
BY AIR MAIL: 1 year 47s. (\$7)
JOINT SUB. FREEDOM/ANARCHY:
1 year 42s. (\$6), 6 months 22s. (\$3)
3 months 11s. 6d. (\$1.50)
2 COPIES OF EACH:
1 year 63s. (\$9), 6 months 31s. 6d. (\$4.50)
by SURFACE: 1 year 65s. (\$9.50)

Cheques, P.O.'s and Money Orders should be made out to **FREEDOM PRESS**, crossed A/c Payee and addressed to the publishers:

Freedom Press
17a MAXWELL ROAD,
LONDON, S.W.6 Phone: RENown 3736

PRESS FUND

WEEK 14, APRIL 9, 1966:
Expenses: 14 weeks at £80: £1120
Income: Sales and Subs.: £771
DEFICIT £349
London, S.W.15: C.W. 1/6; Montevideo: C.R. 9/; Blakeney: A.G. 3/; Letchworth: D.D. £1; Kidderminster: J.H. 2/6; Kent: H.H. 8/; Liphook: N.S. 17/6; Wigan: A.H. 18/; Cambridge: J.H. 18/; London, N.W.6: H.S. 18/; Baltimore: A.N. 10/6; Denver: W.S. 10/6; Aberdeen: I.M. 3/; London, S.E.17: D.S. 4/; Teddington: T.C. 4/; Luton: A.B. £1 14s/;

Belfast: D.M. 7/6; Wimborne: D.M. 7/6; Smethwick: E.W. £2; St. Albans: W.Q. 8/; Leeds: A.C. 8/; Bushey: W.P. 8/; Londonderry: J.B. 10/; Glasgow: J.B. 9/; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/; Falmouth: R.W. 8/; St. Albans: K.L. 17/6; Fife: G.G. 8/; Dudley: M.H. 5/; B.T. ford: M.T. 8/; Hampton: P.R. 8/; London, S.E.11: M.D. £1 9s/; Toronto: P.L.L. £2 2s/; Oxford: B.H. 10/; Maccambs: R.D. 8/6; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/; J.L.* 3/.
TOTAL £21 18 5
Previously Acknowledged: £267 2 2
1966 Total to Date £289 0 8
*Denotes Regular Contributor.

Redundancy for the North-East

THE INQUIRY of Mr. Geddes' Committee into the shipbuilding industry reminds me of the description given to a German Communist editor between the wars—'he only ever read his own newspaper!' The people who wrote this enquiry only ever seemed to have read the *Financial Times* and have fallen victim to the belief that an industry can only be good if it is big, or in the case of the shipbuilding industry, bloody huge. The casting of envious eyes to the Japanese and German Cartels with their near monopoly strangleholds on certain sectors of industry has been much admired by the 'theoreticians' of British Management. In an age where the technocrats have taken over, the shipyard business has been resistant to change and the managers don't like it.

The conclusions of the Geddes Report are amazing to even the directors' side of industry. Geddes says that the industry is not profitable enough and needs drastic overhaul in order to bring in the desired moolah for the government and the shareholders. In order to do this of course somebody has to suffer, and guess who. Surprise, surprise, you will be amazed to find out it is the workers.

THE PAPER REVOLUTION

The Geddes Committee has recommended that there should be rationalisation of the 27 major firms in the industry (that is, those capable of building ships over 7,000 tons). These firms are to be reorganised into four major groups, two on the Clyde and two in the North East. Harland and Wolff are left alone because (a), they are too efficient, and (b), they are protected by the Northern Ireland Government. The Committee recommends that each group should cover several

yards and have central headquarters, etc., etc. One thing is certain—the printers will get work out of this—the forms that are going to result is no-one's business.

NONSENSE MAKING MONEY

What Mr. Geddes is really complaining about is that the yards are not building enough. He even went and hired a firm which specialised in the statistics of hope. They have proved to the committee's satisfaction (but not anyone else's) that the world tonnage will go up in the period '65/'71 by 3.2 to 6 million tons. So we must get ready to grab our share of this non-existent cake. Even the shipowners thought this figure was a little odd considering that there is a surplus of shipping and some talk of laying up at the moment, and they are absolutely certain that no such increase could take place.

Even if it were to take place, there would be little reason to expect that the British yards would be able to cope with the increase. Most of them have their books full and there seems no reason to believe that even if all this 'modernisation' took place it could be achieved in time to take advantage of the supposed increase. The report is full of rubbish like this, as a result it has been praised for its foresight (though not by the shipowners who can't get a decent price for ships on their hands at the moment).

It's a pity they can't build ships of paper—these committees would be great.

The more obvious areas of redundancy are: at Barrow in Furness for Vickers, some of the yards on the Wear and the Tyne. The major area of redundancy will be in the marine engineering yards of the

Tyne and Wear. It is estimated by the *Economist* that at least ten of the fourteen engineering works will be closed. Quite what Geddes hoped to achieve by this game of musical chairs is hard to understand. He is basing his report on the hope that there will be an increase of 25% in the world shipbuilding figures by the end of 1971. Even supposing that reorganisation starts immediately, it would not be effective for at least three years, by which time it would have been too late to gain from the 'boom'.

The consequence of this report will be to release the money bags in the usual bout of takeover bids and mergers. The gilt-edge whores who don't give a damn about the state of the yards will be cavorting about the brothels of Threadneedle Street. Eventually some grey bowler-hatted sycophant will be left in charge of the livelihoods of thousands of men. The representatives of the grey anonymous wealthy will coin in the lolly and go weeping for a government subsidy.

Roll on workers' control, when some sense can enter the lives of the men who build ships to make other idle swine money.

SPARKS.

Note. It must be pointed out that there is one piece of classic thinking in this report that George Brown should really take to heart. On page 133, paragraph 495 contains one of those gems of thinking which should be preserved for all time (or at least closing time). It reads: 'Shipbuilding is often considered of special importance for its contribution to the balance of payments. We accept that the whole production of this industry as of many others can be said to help the balance of payments in so far as it either adds to our exports or reduces our imports of goods and services.'

Wages Council Takes a Rap

THE PRICES and Incomes Board has censured the Road Haulage Wages Council for approving a proposed 7% pay and hours award for 200,000 road haulage workers.

Wages Councils were reconstituted in 1945. They were the former Trade Boards of 1909 and 1918 with extended power. The Minister of Labour can make an order establishing a Wages Council if he is of the opinion that no adequate machinery exists, or following a recommendation of an Independent Commission of Inquiry that existing machinery is inadequate or likely to become inadequate.

The main function of a Wages Council is to fix the 'Statutory Remuneration' to be paid to workers, either generally or for any particular work, and for the provision of holidays.

The Minister is responsible for the enforcement of Wages Councils Orders, and the administrative work in this direction is undertaken by an inspectorate.

The report by the PIB challenges the entire system of Wages Councils because they are a threat to the Incomes Policy. The formation of a Wages Council consists of a person appointed by the Minister, not more than three independent members, and equal proportion of representation of employers and workers as the Minister may think fit.

It can therefore be seen that the PIB in censuring the Wages Council has put the Government in a really awkward position.

The PIB also criticises the haulage settlement because it makes no reference to productivity. In actual fact of course 'productivity' is not in the terms of reference of any Wages Council.

The Minister of Labour can delay or refer back the road haulage settlement. If Gunter decides to take such a step even the right wing unions will scream, because Wages Council awards are sacrosanct to them. It's a nice

skirt to hide behind.

It is rumoured that Gunter will delay the award until June, which is a stroke in anyone's language. In fact it is a cut in wages and extension of working hours.

Let's cast our minds back to the time when Brown presented his 'Declaration of Intent'; with his hand over his heart, he claimed the class war over, and most important of all, lower paid workers wages must be brought up to the national average.

We can rest assured that Wages Councils have no intention of doing this, therefore even within the Government's wage freeze policy, a Wages Council award must be more than fully justified. Surely road haulage workers should take action to have the award implemented now! Not take a cut.

Job Control—Yes or No?

THE ESSO DISPUTE has now lasted nearly a fortnight with little or no progress. The effect will really be felt just after Easter. ESO handles approximately 25-30% of the Midlands petroleum fuel.

The strikers are not due to meet until April 14.

The Birmingham management allege that the union has prevented them from talking to the strikers. Therefore a personal letter has been sent to all the 150 strikers explaining the company's policy on recruitment.

There can only be one policy on recruitment, that is through the union (with no strings). One is left wondering whether the T & G are really considering the policy of recruitment as a serious issue—if they are it's no good piddling around in a local pool. Fourteen days is a long time without progress on such a fundamental issue.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

Freedom For Workers' Control

APRIL 16 1966 Vol 27 No 12

In the Halls

BOTH THE EXHIBITION and building industries are interchangeable as far as the workers in them are concerned. Many tradesmen and labourers switch from one to the other as the fancy takes them or when it is convenient for them. Due to the casualness of both industries, the forming and maintaining of union organisation raises many difficulties. However, it must be said that on the whole the exhibition shop stewards maintained a 100% union membership in the Halls and the joinery shops supplying them. Consequently they have enjoyed hourly rates of pay that have been about 1/6d. above those of their fellow workers in the building industry.

However, over the last two to three years there have been enormous improvements in site union organisation and it is not unusual now for craftsmen and labourers on building sites to be earning 3/- and 4/- bonus an hour on top of their hourly rates. The exhibition industry has no bonus schemes in the management-union agreements. Workers rely on overtime payments to make up a living wage.

With the very tight schedules for opening the exhibition, there has always been an enormous amount of overtime worked in the industry. This has led to a situation where men come into the industry for about six months, working all the overtime possible, which is just what the employers want, and then go back to the building sites. In this way it is possible to put a nice nest-egg away for a rainy day. But these workers, who just hold a ticket, are not really interested in union organisation.

This and other reasons are the cause of a general decline in the militancy of the men in the Halls. Recently, the unions agreed to a 4d. per hour increase for craftsmen and 2jd. for labourers. There was considerable opposition and disgust with this and the Exhibition Workers' Shop Stewards' Co-ordinating Committee called a meeting of the lads at Hammersmith Town Hall. They had worked out a campaign of action to get a more realistic increase. They wanted to work a five day week, starting on a Wednesday, with the week days consisting of 11 hours work and Saturdays and Sundays being at the maximum overtime rates. This would give them a nominal 58 hour week, with the actual number of working hours being 43. The stewards felt this would hurt the employers most, but at the same time would not mean a cut in wages for the men. It also meant that according to manage-

ment-union agreements, they would actually be on strike on Mondays and Tuesdays.

I have outlined this as a method of struggle as I think it is a valuable one and could, I think, be used by other workers. No doubt variations can be made to suit the conditions in particular industries in order to make it more effective.

While those attending the Town Hall meeting agreed with this campaign of action, the men in the Halls, at Olympia and Earls Court, rejected it when it was put to them. This shows that not only is a lot of education and organisation needed, but that the general split between craftsmen and labourers has to be healed before any effective action can be taken against the employers.

The labourers have a number of real grievances. Firstly, their union, the Transport and General Workers' Union, does not have a seat on the Joint Council for the industry, so they are not even represented at official level and therefore the interests of the craftsmen dominate. This, of course, suits the employers. Secondly, the craftsmen often seem to do their level best to do the labourer out of a job. Carpenters are particularly guilty of this, fetching their own timber, nails and equipment. They even went so far as to do this during the labourers' strike two years ago. (FREEDOM, April 26, Vol. 25, No. 13.) So, for a start, there are not enough labourers employed in the industry and the remedy for this is for the craftsmen to stop doing the labourers' job.

Many of the men seem to have a sense of achievement in getting the exhibition stands finished in time for the opening of a show. They seem to have been indoctrinated by the management and rush and tear into the job like madmen, but surely these rigid opening schedules can be used to the advantage of the men.

Obviously some radical changes of attitude will have to be made by the workers in the industry, particularly the craftsmen. All workers must recognise that they are in this together and that splits between craftsmen and labourers can only harm them. The majority of stewards realise this and try to remedy it, but with the coming and going of workers it is a difficult task. However, something has to be done otherwise all the exhibition workers will really have to become 'overtime kings' by the sheer economic necessity.

P.T.

ANARCHIST PERSPECTIVES

IT SEEMS that one of the more important facts of the past few years for our movement in France is that the ice has been broken between anarchist circles and a lot of non-anarchists.

So the bourgeois publishing houses begin to be interested in our ideas for the money to be made out of them. Three pocket book series have included a book about anarchism; the latest being Daniel Guerin's *L'Anarchisme*,* which can be seen in the hands of a lot of young people who are not anarchists. A large book composed of selections from Bakunin, Kropotkin, Malatesta, Reclus... is now in the big bookshops, and there will shortly be a new edition of Kropotkin and Bakunin.

So now, we can say that the French movement is a movement of young people, and this is the reason why we are so interested in the international meeting of young anarchists to take place in Paris on April 16-17. We think that it is necessary to present to the working class the picture of an international movement which is the only one to conserve the spirit of internationalism of the First International, and not a lot of little movements, often without contact

with each other.

It is the reason why one of the propositions which comes from France is to study problems of the young and unemployment in relation to the Common Market. Studies and action on this problem must be international.

We should like, too, to do as the English anarchists have done in the Peace March and project our ideas into the reformist movement.

And lastly, to help the Spanish movement. If the campaign for the liberation of political prisoners in Spain did not achieve great importance in France, we can say that the campaign for the liberation of Abarca was carried out speedily and to some effect.

So we are convinced of the necessity of an international movement which can also resolve a lot of problems we have inside the national movements (e.g. conflicting tendencies, problems of personality, occasional 'leaders', etc.). This kind of problem is the effect of a STAGNANT movement. The anarchist movement must be dynamic!

JEAN-PIERRE D.

*coll. 'Idées' NRF (Gallimard)

Contact Column

Money? Still needed to pay for AFB march leaflet 'Where Are All the Young Ones Gone?' Money to Peter Turner, c/o Freedom Press.

Concert and Film Show. CNT, April 17 at Mahatma Gandhi Hall, Fitzroy Square, London, W.1. 6 p.m. Admission 5/6.

Accommodation. Young couple seeking accommodation in West or NW London with view to communal flat. Not too expensive. Grateful for any type of reply. Box 27.

West End Central. Would anyone who has been charged at WEC Police-station or heard at Marlborough Street, write Box 26 giving details of (a) Prosecuting officer, (b) nature and circumstances of offence, (c) dates, (d) name of Magistrate, (e) plea, (f) findings. Thank you.

Quiz. Second issue now ready produced by Oxford Anarchist Group and Oxon Federation. 60 pp. 1/6 plus 7d. postage from Tony J. Pitcher, Merton College, Oxford. Donations welcome to meet loss on first issue.

Accommodation. Flat or rooms required in London area (preferably unfurnished) by teacher and wife. For one-year period from September. P. and M. Ford, 102 Stotfold Road, Arlesey, Beds.

Accommodation Vacant. One bunk empty—happy, tolerant girl wanted in s/c flat, in lowest Lambeth, details REL 5224.

Teachers. Would anyone interested in the idea of a Libertarian or Anarchist Teachers' Association write: A. W. Taylor, Basement Flat 1A, 10 St. Georges Terrace, N.W.1.

Accommodation wanted. Accommodation needed by couple (small income) with boy of 2½ and baby. London. Preferred unfurnished. Reliable and considerate. Box 23.

If you wish to make contact let us know.