

Freedom

Anarchist Weekly 6d

JANUARY 28 1967 Vol 28 No 3

The Belle of Barnoldswick*

THE LAST BIG yawn was 13 months ago this coming April, when elections will take place within the Greater London Council, at present controlled by Labour. The whole farcical ritual being enacted again—even on a diminished scale—doesn't bear thinking about. Originally the plans for a '67 spring election were shelved, but the chance to give the lesser lights of the parties a chance to dish out political humbug, with a two-month build-up, was too good to resist, and while Parliament was still in its post-Christmas stupor, the flea-circus which is local politics, was busy as worker bees at rank-and-file level—the 'Socialists' defending what they've got, the Tories straining to get back by appealing to voters as the more 'socialised' party.

Pledges, aimed at the voters with the shortest memories, have been drawn up, alongside other grandiose plans which cover the next 15(!) years, time enough for the person with the keenest memory for dates and facts to forget, such is our mind taxed and preoccupied these days. Anyhow, both sets of pledges have a similarity to identical twins, and if either party had an original thought between them, the official manifestos wouldn't look like a cribbing job or sheer plagiarism.

In actual fact these wordy seductions remind one more than ever of rival supermarket stores, with the glass windows solely there for the purposes of glued stickers, with today's bid outdoing yesterday's—except that election time is one of the few occasions when the real business of politics, things like homes, schools, work, land, and the general well-being of millions of people, is brought down from the dusty shelves and made into groundwork for alluring pledges.

The Tories have the most ground to make up at both national and local level, yet if their ideas, which have leaked out to the national press, are anything to go by, they've scraped the bottom of the barrel while in 'exile' after 13 years too many as the ruling party. As I shall reveal, some of their gimmicks are so desperate and dubious, that the party can hardly have faith in the bread-and-butter issues which are the very stuff of elections while parties are in a state of flux.

The Conservative Club of Barnoldswick, near Skipton, decided in their shrewd far-sighted Yorkshire way to introduce a little erotic entertainment into the town's right-wing politics. A stripper was hired to appear Friday nights with the idea of increasing membership and boosting morale. The stripper herself being a Tory, and no doubt reared on pyjama parties, a curious and insane way young Tories socialised in the Macmillan years, at least in the South.

My mind boggled, to think that the Tories were at their wits end, that they had to bring sex into politics; that they found it so hard to get votes that the

female members might be required to disrobe to catch enough votes for a majority. Fair exchange is no robbery, as the saying goes, and the Yorkshire Tories seem to think a bit of tit and buttocks every Friday night is a bargain in return for making the sign of the illiterate on a slip of paper.

Think what the Tories could do if they put on strippers all over Lancashire. Why, they could take Huyton for a start, since Wilson has only the 'freeze' to offer in his policy—surely the Tories can win hands down up North! Anyway, stripping has become well and truly respectable now, except some of the Tory elders at the top of the party ladder don't seem to like sex in its proper printed context away from elections; perhaps a little madness settles like dew upon certain individuals.

But there was bad news just before the eagerly awaited night when 'outside pressure', otherwise Tory Central Office, told the depraved, lecherous local officials to call off the idea. The groan that greeted the announcement of the cancellation could be heard in Wigan.

Nobody can begrudge the local Tories, otherwise hard-working citizens, their pint of beer and a bird before embarking on the weekend, except if they did find a real sexual revolution on their doorstep, I would expect them to oppose it. It still seems the party is virtually strangled by head office—but as I say the cat is out of the bag; Toryism, or, if you like, one of the many branches of capitalism has to pepper the windbags' tirades with a weekly dose of eroticism, before the cyclonic campaign develops into flagrant touting for votes.

As for the Anarchists, they know their message is true and can be substantiated, without recourse to gimmicks; perhaps that is why we're thought dull and misunderstood.

RON PEARL

*The girl was a professional stripper.

WHY WE ARE AGAINST GOVERNMENTS

ANARCHISTS are often asked why they are opposed to government and authority. Quite often, the people who put this question do not dispute the evils which result from authoritarian institutions, but they tend to attribute them to the weakness, corruption or inhumanity of particular individuals in positions of power rather than to the institutions of power themselves. Consequently, their solution of how to remedy these evils is usually by the replacement of those delinquents in office by other, more suitable people. They do not realize that these replacements too will inevitably be called upon to carry out the same work of subjugation and exploitation as their predecessors.

The most insidious function of the State machinery is not so much the coercion it can exercise against this or that (presumed) malefactor, as its power to force an entire population to do what the great majority of them do not wish to do, namely, to go to war. This has already been the case on several occasions this century, and is the case with the USA today.

Surely the American people do not wish to be involved in a war? All moral considerations apart, it is contrary to their innate sense of self-preservation, and besides, there is the alarming possi-

Welcome Kosygin!



BUT DON'T LOSE YOUR HEAD!

ON FEBRUARY 6, Alexei Kosygin, the Prime Minister of the USSR, arrives in London for a week's visit to Britain. It is the first time a Russian Prime Minister has come to this country for more than 10 years. What is our attitude to such a visit? Kosygin, like all his colleagues in the Russian Government, is a member of the Communist Party. The Communists have ruled Russia for nearly 50 years, which must be some kind of record. How did they get power, and how have they kept it?

Everyone knows about the Russian Revolution—or do they? Do they know that the February Revolution, which replaced the Tsarist régime by the Provisional Government, was the work of the people of Russia, and that the political parties—including the Bolsheviks (extreme Marxists)—not only took no part in it but were completely

taken by surprise when it happened? Do they know that the Revolution continued to be carried out by the people, while the political parties—including the Bolsheviks—quarrelled with each other, that the army was abandoned by the soldiers, the land was taken by the peasants, and the factories were taken by the workers?

Do they know that the October Revolution, which replaced the Provisional Government by the Councils (Soviets) of soldiers, peasants and workers, was really a *coup d'état* by the Bolsheviks? Do they know that the slogans 'All power to the Soviets!', 'The Land to the Peasants!', 'The Factories to the Workers!' were borrowed from the Anarchists by the Bolsheviks to obtain popular acceptance (if not approval) for this *coup d'état*? Do they know that the Soviets were never in fact allowed to exercise power? Do they know that the Bol-

sheviks built up the army again, took the land back from the peasants, took the factories back from the workers, and set up the Secret Police again? And do they know that the so-called 'dictatorship of the proletariat' really meant the dictatorship of the Communist Party (as the Bolsheviks decided to call themselves), just as Bakunin had warned half a century before?

Once they had got power, the Communists crushed every other political organisation in Russia—including the Constitutional Democrats (liberals), the Social-Revolutionaries (peasant socialists), the Mensheviks (moderate Marxists), and the Anarchists and Anarcho-Syndicalists—and took over the peasant communes, the trade unions, and the co-operatives. The Constituent Assembly, which was the result of the first (and last) free election in Russian history, was forcibly dispersed by the Communists in January 1918, because they had won only a quarter of the votes and a clear majority had been won by the Social-Revolutionaries. No wonder that in the Civil War of 1918-20, the Communists were fought not only by foreign interventionists and monarchist 'Whites', but by liberals, socialists and anarchists as well.

The Anarchists have the dubious honour of being the first victims of the Communists, from the time their Moscow headquarters were attacked in April 1918. In the Ukraine, the White armies were defeated by the Anarchist forces of Nestor Makhno, who was promptly attacked in November 1920 by Trotsky's Red Army. Peter Kropotkin, who had returned to Russia after 40 years of exile to support the Revolution, died

Continued on page 7

ANARCHY 72

OUT NEXT WEEK DISCUSSES
ANARCHISM

ANARCHY is Published by
FREEDOM PRESS at 2s,
on first Saturday of every month

bility that, in the long run, the enterprise might not prove to be profitable—except to those concerns supplying arms, napalm and the like.

Those critics of anarchism who worry about their possible exposure to the occasional homicidal maniac, and who justify the existence of a government and police force on account of the meagre protection it offers them against such an occasion, should ask themselves what protection the State affords them against the collective massacre it can ordain against its own citizens.

In Vietnam, now, hundreds of Americans are dying every week in a country where they have no right or sane reason to be, exposed to a severe and alien climate, and confronted by the determination of a hostile people to defend their country at all costs, and to prolong as long as possible, even against a greatly superior military power, a struggle which shows no sign of being resolved. And why do thousands of young Americans find themselves in this suicidal predicament? Merely because it suits the policy of their so-called democratic government to oppose Communism wherever it happens to crop up.

Can people really believe that the State guarantees our existence and safety? What could be more dangerously anti-

social than the deception and bullying practised by the American government on its own people and on the Vietnamese? Can it be true that this State, which so predictably breaks its promises, and which commits so much murder, violence and destruction, protects its citizens, as is pretended, from the consequences of anti-social acts?

No, of course not: we are right to claim that it is the State itself which, by its very nature, is anti-social. It isolates the people of this world from one great human society, dividing them up into warring nations, and pitting them in conflict against each other, man against man, brother against brother.

And surely one of the outstanding reasons behind the failure of the United Nations to stop the war in Vietnam, or even prevent it from escalating, is simply because the States which belong to it are all, by their nature, equally anti-social, that is to say, criminal.

Public welfare and the safety of its citizens is not, never has been, and never will be, the concern of the State, and general well-being and international peace will only be accomplished through anarchism—in other words, through the permanent suppression of all governments and authority.

DAVEY JONES.

YOUR PRESENCE IS REQUESTED

A Certain Visit. Anarchist Welcoming Committee meets outside Intourist (Moscow) Ltd., 314 Regent Street, W.1, February 4 at 11 a.m. Bring your own posters. Organised by NLADG.

books?

We can supply any book in print

SECONDHAND

We cannot supply the latest best-seller cheap or that textbook at a cut rate but we have a large stock of second-hand books.

Try us for what you want or better still visit us.

This week's selection.

- From White Cross to Red Flag Max Hoelz 12/6
- Studies of War: Nuclear and Conventional P. M. S. Blackett 15/-
- Poems Christopher Caudwell 7/6
- The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State Frederick Engels 3/-
- Popular Fallacies A. S. E. Ackermann 6/-
- Freedom of Expression: a Symposium Forster, Stapledon, Read, etc. 6/6
- On Living in a Revolution Julian Huxley 5/-
- Propaganda in the Next War (1938) Sidney Rogerson 6/-
- Aims and Means John Boynton 5/6
- The Prince and the Pauper Mark Twain 3/6
- Famous Trials: Roger Casement Ed. H. Montgomery Hyde (Penguin) 2/6
- A Stricken Field Martha Gellhorn 4/6
- Fifty Mutinies, Rebellions and Revolutions (Odhams Press) 7/6
- Gandhi and the Indian Problem (1932) Lt. Col. E. G. Hart (pb.) 3/-
- Arab Dawn R. K. Karanjia (pb.) 3/-
- Freud and Marx R. Osborn (pb.) 4/6
- The Crowd in Peace and War Sir Martin Conway 6/-

POSTAGE EXTRA

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 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
- Vol 14 1964: Election Years

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/-

ALEXANDER BERKMAN

ABC of Anarchism paper 2/6

ALEX COMFORT

Delinquency 6d.

ZAUL 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

MICHAEL BAKUNIN

Marxism, Freedom and the State (ed.) K. J. Kenafick (paper) 7/6

MARIE-LOUISE BERNIERI

Neither East nor West (Selected Writings) (paper) 6/-

ROUND THE GALLERIES

PICASSO is an international industry geared to intellectual snobbery and should have run its course, is a fact that is slowly beginning to seep into the zeitgeist.

There is a generation that neither knows nor cares of the exciting marriage of art and politics that marked the thirties and the ancient battalions that fought the good fight in Cable Street grow smaller with the years while the battle standards of poems and paintings hang limp within the anthologies and the State Art Galleries.

The young warriors of the brick and boot are now the paunchy veterans wheezing along on the demonstration marches while the Guernica reproduction long, long ago gave place to the plastic geese and Picasso himself is left to dry his veined flanks in the Mediterranean sun between producing instant art for the Picasso trade to tart into instant glory for the financial benefit of all on the bandwagon.

As an intellectual snob industry it should have run its course, but still the sucker money is there, so the old man churns out the rhubarb and the committee cliques in the various countries get on with it.

One could ask, 'Why the sour grapes?' maintaining that it is a harmless racket that amuses a few people, fills the bellies of the free loaders and provides an interesting and useless paid occupation for a number of people. What is at issue,

however, is that well-entrenched art lobbies, working in their own interest, utilise money and material to publicly deify trivia by virtue of no other fact than that they have the sow's ear of those who control public funds, and the sophistry of their calling enables them to silence those who would seek to challenge the aesthetic value of the State fund purchased knick-knacks.

Sweden is the latest country to become lumbered with a hunk of Picassoism and the fact that The pillar weighs 8 tons and is 15 metres high should stand as a permanent and salutary shock to the Town Council of Kristinehamn who doled out the citizens' gelt for this pleasant, amusing and useless chunk of solidified cement.

This huge column is now situated on a headland in Lake Vanern at Vaslosundet and is of poured cement mixed with various stones. Crudely decorated with simplified and blasting it is surmounted by two cement wings in the typical Picasso idiom and, if placed within any air transport terminal, would hardly rate a second glance.

For the brutal fact is that, profitable though it may be to those involved, Picasso long ago exhausted his claim to the production of exciting gimmickry, for a newer and younger generation can produce this crap as efficiently, as blatantly, and at a fraction of the cost of the Picasso industry.

Far be it from me to stop the erection

of kinky art, for I would defend to the death (typewritten speaking) the preservation of the Albert Memorial, the Leaning Tower and the Daily Express building, but if we are to litter the skyline with cement surrealism let us at least go where the action is. Claes Oldenburg was recently a guest of the Robert Fraser Gallery, of 69 Duke Street, W.1, and late of the Marlborough Street Magistrate's Court, and here is a man smart enough economically and scatty enough aesthetically to provide not only our Nordic neighbours but the rest of the metropolitan race with enough work to employ every indigenous art critic and, at this moment in time and space, cheap enough to blow up when it begins to bore.

Claes Oldenburg has nothing more to offer than to litter the towns of the world with monstrous cement: Peeled Bananas, Spilled Cigarette Butts or a giant Lipstick Monument, all realistic in appearance and as tall as the Albert Hall, for Oldenburg (and the Picasso industry) know that it is size that shocks and impresses, and that any gormless trifle that you normally would not deign to have on your mantleself if it were but six inches tall will, if it is blown up to cathedral size, con the sewerage-saving out of any Town Council wishing to be with it.

By all means spend sucker money on elephantine trivia to amuse the cultural majority/minority but at least let us be sensible about it and buy it in the cheapest market, otherwise we are cursed with it until some future generation has the wit and the courage to pull it down again.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

LETTERS

God Freeze the Queen

Dear Comrades,

It is time we did something about royalty in this country. The Queen alone gets £475,000 tax free per annum despite the fact that she is one of the richest people in Britain. Even though we can't make her redundant immediately we can give publicity to her income and show that not everyone supports the monarchy by holding demonstrations and publicity stunts wherever she goes.

We could let off smoke bombs in front of TV cameras and carry posters with relevant messages on them. It will be a step in the right direction if we can dislodge royalty from its deeply entrenched position.

Yorks.

ROBERT HALSTEAD.

Keep it up, Bill

Dear Editor,

By all means help workers' control in FREEDOM, not only that but workers' collective ownership and rank-and-file management of them under libertarian ideology.

The wage slaves should take over the industries and lock out the capitalistic absentee owners and carry on production for use, instead of for profit, for the benefit of all human beings so that all may have and enjoy the good things of life.

We enjoy very much comrade Bill Christopher's articles in FREEDOM and we hope he will continue to write for it.

Here in the USA the IWW is having a resurgence and is educating and organising the migratory farm, ranch and orchard wage slaves.

Yours for a free libertarian society the world over.

Seattle, Wash., USA SKIDROAD SLIM.

A Class Struggle?

Dear Editors,

Recently I wrote to Anarchy suggesting that in practical terms the concept of class was meaningless because a class covered too many people for meaningful characteristics to be ascribed. I won't go into the detailed argument here but I think it necessary to make the statement as a basis for an expansion of the idea to the idea that the concept of class is itself harmful and inegalitarian. To accept a class description of yourself is for most of us to accept a label and a second- or third-class person or a class B, C₁, C₂, or D person to use the Registrar General's classification. Similarly to ascribe someone else to the upper class or upper-middle class Registrar General's class A is for most of us to do obeisance to that person.

I suggest that to think in class terms and ascribe class descriptions to others and to yourself is to help perpetuate class, or more accurately inequality, since as I stated earlier I think the concept of class meaningless yet nevertheless insidious and harmful. I have only recently become aware of this possibility and in future I shall endeavour to stop using class terminology. If we really believe Jack is as good as his Master let us stop describing Jack as working class and more importantly his Master as middle or upper since in doing so we are bolstering up the latter.

SCRUTATOR.

MICHAEL WOOLLISCROFT.

News from Elsewhere

forming an action group should residents want outside help.

ANARCHIST LEAFLET

A leaflet is being prepared by the Lewisham group. Written in a good down-to-earth language, it is a good introduction to anarchist ideas. Write to M. Malet, 61 Granville Park, Lewisham, S.E.13 for copies.

NEW YORK DEMO

The New York Federation of Anarchists held a demonstration near the Soviet Mission to protest against the jailing of the Russian writers, Andrei Sinavsky and Yuli Daniel. The picket signs read 'Freedom for Truth' and 'Breznev, Kosygin: Stalin would be proud.'

ABC OF ANARCHISM

A comrade writes: 'I have managed to get a letter published in DATA journal (Draughtsmen Union's Magazine read by about 60,000 people) advertising ABC of Anarchism by Berkman.' This is a very useful way of propagating anarchism.

VISITOR TO LONDON

A welcome visitor to Freedom Press today was Helene who looks after our Paris counterpart, the 'Librairie Publico' of the *Monde Libertaire*. She was very amused to find our bookshop as crammed as theirs. *Le Monde Libertaire* publishes 15,000 copies an issue! Helene says that the French Federation would like to have more contacts with the English comrades.

COMMENTS PLEASE!

Let us have your comments on this week's enlarged issue. Our next eight pages is on February 25.

SCRUTATOR.

THERE are now an increasing number of bookshops in London where anarchist publications and books can be purchased. In addition to bookshops in the Charing Cross Road (where at Better Books, for example, a separate table is reserved for *Anarchy*), we have found valuable outlets for our literature at Indica (Southampton Row), '85' Bookshop (Regents Park Road), and Mandarin Books (Notting Hill Gate and Swiss Cottage). Do you know of any bookshops which would stock our literature? Last year there also opened in New Compton Street the 'Wooden Shoe' bookshop with an extensive range of anarchist books and publications. This shop is owned and run by a comrade, Ted Kavanagh, who now publishes *Cuddon's Cosmopolitan Review* and reprints various anarchist pamphlets including *Anarchy* No. 2 on Workers' Control. Ted K. also publishes many provocative posters, his latest is the famous Bakunin slogan: 'If God existed it would be necessary to abolish him.'

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

The date of the International Conference, which our French, Italian and Spanish comrades are trying to organise, has still not been decided. The Conference was supposed to be held in April but now it seems to be postponed until September or even to April, 1968. We hope to print a detailed report in the next issue of FREEDOM. The Italian Youth Federation sent us their recently-passed resolution on its attitude to the proposed International Congress in Milan. Their attitude is that, in spite of the good work done by the Paris group, the different groups are not ready for the convention. However, the Italian group wishes to participate in the activities of the convention on the understanding that they find an atmosphere of practical

'engagement' and co-ordination. They repeat the previously expressed wish for an international bulletin maintained financially and in terms of articles and information by groups, comrades and federations. They also consider that the Paris group should bring out the bulletin and that all groups should communicate with the Paris group.

LONDON CONFERENCE

At last Sunday's meeting of the N. London Anarchist Discussion Group, it was suggested that prior to the next AFB Conference a meeting of London anarchists should take place early in March. Those who want to participate should contact the NLADG, who have started activities in a modest way.

HOSTEL CONDITIONS

'Over the past year the appalling conditions which exist in many hostels for homeless families have been brought to light in several parts of the country,' says a leaflet issued by Gordon Causer (Childs Hall, University of Reading, Upper Redlands Road, Reading, Berkshire). As very little seems to be known about the situation in Reading and in Berkshire, Gordon and Alan Ross would like to hear from people willing to join a small group who will look into the situation and find out what conditions are, with a view of

Anarchist Federation of Britain

(As there is no national secretariat for enquiries, speakers, etc., please contact local groups.)

ANARCHIST MEETINGS AT HYDE PARK EVERY SUNDAY AT 2 P.M.

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.
3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald and Irene Room's, now at 13 Savernake Road, London, N.W.3.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

ALTRINCHAM ANARCHIST YOUTH GROUP. Get in touch with Stephen Richards, 25 North Vale Road, Timperley, Cheshire.

ABERDEEN GROUP. Correspondence to M. Day, 29 Springhill Crescent, Aberdeen.

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

BELFAST. Contact: Roy McLoughlin, 46 Mooreland Park, Belfast 11, Ireland.

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact: Dave Massey, 138 Church Road, Erdington, Birmingham, 24.

UNIVERSITY OF ASTON GROUP. Contact: D. J. Austin, 5 Kingsbury Road, Erdington, Birmingham.

BRIGHTON. All those interested in activities and action should contact Richard Miller, 1/2 Percival Terrace, Brighton, 7.

BRISTOL. Contact: Dave Thorne, 49 Cotham Brow, Bristol, 6.

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

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

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP ONE. Cor-

respondence to Robert Lynn, 2b Saracen Head Lane, Glasgow, C.1.

HARLOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Enquiries to Keith Nathan, 138 Pennymead, Harlow or John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping.

HERTS GROUP. Friday, February 10, 7 p.m. Jeff Groves on William Morris' at South View, Potters Heath Road, Welwyn.

HULL ANARCHIST GROUP. J. Tempest, 89 Fountain Road, Hull, Tel. 212526. Meetings 8 p.m. 1st and 3rd Fridays of month at above address.

IPSWICH ANARCHISTS. Contact Neil Dean, 74 Cemetery Road, Ipswich, Suffolk.

LEWISHAM, LONDON, S.E.13. 2nd and 4th Thursdays. Meetings at Mike Malet's, 61 Granville Park, Lewisham, S.E.13.

NEW HAM LIBERTARIANS. Contact Mick Shenker, 122 Hampton Road, Forest Gate.

NOTTING HILL ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence to Brian Joseph, 1st floor, 27 Arundel Gardens, London, W.11. Meeting every first Thursday of the month at 8 p.m., Flat 3, 8 Colville House, W.11.

NORTH-WEST ISSUES. Meetings on the first Saturday of each month at 7.30 p.m. at Robert Barrilrop'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 Alan Ross, 116 Belmont Road, Reading, Berks.

SHEFFIELD. Contact Robin Lovell, c/o Students' Union, University, Sheffield. Tel. 24076.

NORTH LONDON ANARCHIST DISCUSSION GROUP. 'Dolphin' (back of St. Pancras Town Hall). Every Sunday 8 p.m. No meeting

January 29. See contact column for 'Freedom' selling. Next meeting February 5.

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

NORTH WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Regional Secretary: J. Bromley, 8 Warwick Road, Chorlton, Manchester, 21. Meeting: Feb. 25, 12 noon at The Salvation, Cavendish Street, near All Saints, Manchester. Buxton: Chris Berrisford, 10 Byron Street, Buxton. Chorley: Alistair Rattray, 35a Devonshire Road, Chorley. Manchester: Mike Mitchell, 3 Bakewell Road, Droylesden, Manchester. Brenda Mercer, 6 Breckside Park, Liverpool, 6. Rochdale: Ian Heywood, 16 Mansfield Road, Bamford, Rochdale. Stoke-on-Trent: Bob Blakeman, 52 Weldon Avenue, Weston Coyney, Stoke-on-Trent.

EAST LONDON FEDERATION

WALTHAM FOREST ANARCHISTS. Contact Lionel Donnelly, 122a Hoe Street, Walthamstow, E.17. Regular meetings.

WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Contact Stephen Higgs, 8 Westbury Road, Forest Gate, E.7.

WEST LONDON FEDERATION

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.

EALING ANARCHIST GROUP. Get into touch with Adrian Derbyshire, 2 Oakley House, Oakley Avenue, London, W.5.

LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION. Meetings—discussions—activities. Contact Peter Ford, 82 North Road, Highgate, N.6. (Tel.: MOU 5702.)

PROPOSED GROUPS

WATFORD. Anyone interested please contact Alan Britchard, 8 Bedford Street, Watford, Herts.

MEDWAY TOWNS AREA. Proposed Group. Erroll Davies, 22 St. Margaret's Street, Rochester, Kent.

WISBECH. Anyone interested write Albert Community, Chaptor House, Leverington,

Wisbech, Cambridgeshire.

CAMDEN (LONDON). Provos. Anarchist/Provo/C.100/Action group—anyone interested please contact Chris Davis at 56 Chalk Farm Road, N.W.1.

WEST SUFFOLK. Please write to Carl Pinel, c/o West Suffolk General Hospital, Hospital Road, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk.

S.W. MIDLANDS. Kate, Bill and baby Jane Beveridge wish to contact libertarians in S.W. Midlands. Phone Mickleton 275 or write to Myrtle House, Mickleton, Chipping Camden, Gloucestershire.

GOLDERS GREEN, LONDON, N.W.11. Proposed Group. Get in touch with Jane Wilson, 77 Erskine Hill, N.W.11 or David McLellan, 54 Litchfield Way, N.W.11. (Tel.: SPE 1783.)

MIDLAND YOUTH AGAINST AUTHORITY AND BUREAUCRACY. Proposed Group. Contact N. Jackson, 8 Leighs Close, High Heath, Pelsall, Walsall.

ABROAD

U.S.A. NEW YORK CITY. N.Y. Federation of Anarchists, c/o Torch Bookshop, 641 East 9th Street, N.Y., 10009. Meets every Thursday evening.

AUSTRALIA. Anarchist Group, PO Box A 385, Sydney South. Public meetings every Sunday in the Domain, 2 p.m. and Mondays, 72 Oxford Street, Paddington, Sydney, 8 p.m.

DANISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. 52 Mindevej, Soborg-Copenhagen, Denmark.

VANCOUVER, B.C., CANADA. Anyone interested in forming anarchist and/or direct action peace group contact Derek A. James, 1844 Grand Boulevard, North Vancouver, B.C., Canada. Tel.: 987-2693.

U.S.A. VERMONT/NEW HAMPSHIRE. Discussion group meets weekly. Contact Ed Strauss at RFD 2, Woodstock, Vermont 05091, USA.

SWEDEN. Stockholm Anarchist Federation. Contact Nadir, Box 19104, Stockholm 19, Sweden.

CANADA: Winnipeg. Anyone interested in Direct action/anarchy contact G. J. Nasir, 606 Matheson Avenue, Winnipeg, 17, Manitoba.

BELGIUM: LIEGE. Provos. c/o Jacques Charlier, 11 Avenue de la Laiterie, Sclessin-Liege, Belgium.

EAST AFRICA. George Matthews would like to make contact. Secondary school teacher from UK. PO Box 90, Kakamega, Kenya.

The Economics of Affluence

WE LIVE in a strange world of want and waste, of affluence and hunger. In the West, hunger is almost unknown, at least physical hunger. What my children waste would feed me, there has been a dramatic change since before the War when I remember people were prosecuted for raking over the tips for food. Even then the food was there if one had the money.

Boyd-Orr saw the poverty before the War, and the malnutrition, and campaigned against it. He forced the politicians to start the school meals scheme and was responsible for the war-time food policy that was so successful. *As I Recall* is a simple account of his life and work, an account of a valiant attempt to secure a world food policy free from politics and finance. He did not succeed in his wider vision and the post-war Labour Government must take a big responsibility for blocking this attempt. Instead the World Food and Agriculture Organization was set up and its recent report indicates that no significant progress has been made. Funds to implement policies for birth control have been blocked in Western countries where there is large Catholic influence, so population has overtaken food supply increases.

Vietnam rightly attracts the condemnation of all sane and reasonable men but the constant and nagging starvation which kills millions every year must account for more human suffering.

Boyd-Orr's book is a condemnation of the shortsighted expediency of politicians and those who support them. It is also a condemnation of the peculiar financial system that the present Government of Wilson and Co. are trying to make work. Boyd-Orr, as an agricultural and nutritional expert, says that, generally speaking, if the peasant is given the tools he will produce the food. The West has found it cheaper to give advice rather than the tools. Quoting the ground-nut scheme he shows that this sort of expertise is not always right.

Before the War, what stood between many families and malnutrition was the allotment which, in the new-found affluence, has tended to be despised but in terms of world food shortage could have a new significance. The activities of organisations like Oxfam can only have marginal results in the face of this problem which can only be resolved by a completely radical approach. The problem is to break through the unenlightened self-interest—such as that shown recently by the Durham traders who barred the efforts of Oxfam to open a shop in their city for the Christmas period. It is as well to remind the men of Durham that there was a time when they marched south to remind that relatively prosperous area of their own plight.

Anarchists are often accused of being hopelessly impractical and idealistic. It is true that many think in political terms of revolution, and solutions that will only come with utopia. Basically, however, the ideas have a relevance, and an urgency, if we have the wit, and the imagination, to break away from the old clichés that stand in our way. The cardinal difference between the anarchist

Coal Board, who pointed out that intensive factory farming is no answer to the world food problems. He pointed out that: 'The average American farm worker has behind him an investment of £10,000 and farm productivity per man is among the highest in the world. But productivity per acre of agricultural land was only half of that of Britain, which in turn was a quarter of that of the United Arab Republic.'

Today we are in a period of economic crisis, an impasse of a system of financial mumbo-jumbo that so-called Socialist politicians are vainly trying to make work. At the mercy of the whims of this modern fetish, which has no basis in rationality or usefulness, men are willing to live their lives. The honeymoon of post-war prosperity has come

fiercer and fiercer and the pace will get faster and faster and the workers will tie themselves to an industrial treadmill that is without purpose or satisfaction. In face of the continued world food shortage the price of this most essential of all needs is likely to rise steadily. The vulnerability of Britain's economy is obvious to all but the economist who urges greater production. The sad fact is that we are gradually covering our greatest asset with concrete and buildings. The soil and climate of Britain is a peasant's dream and although productivity in agriculture in Britain has far outstripped that of industry, its potential in the context of a sensible social and economic policy could be immense.

The cry is, of course, that one cannot turn back the clock, but if the direction one is taking is a cul-de-sac one has to turn round and try another way and if the approach can be made without preconceived ideas and traditions so much the better. In terms of human happiness even the affluent West cannot contend that industrialisation has been an unqualified success. There is little quality in life or production—houses and rubbish dumps are lumbered with the bric-a-brac of industry; cities and roads are clogged with cars that there is no longer any pleasure here; the benefits of lying in the sun are more than counteracted by the nervous energy expended in getting there. Yet the only solution according to the politician is the production of more and more of this mediocre trash. Many anarchists have fled this madness, failing to convince their fellows of the folly of such a system. To continue to talk in political terms is to fail to make ourselves understood. People are not unaware of the unsatisfactory nature of the times in which they live and, if they hear the same sort of terms that they hear *ad nauseam* from the political parties, anarchism will continue to be dismissed.

The problem for man is two-fold: to humanise industry and to deal with the spectre of famine that haunts the world—this requires the participation of people, a study of the problems and what action people can take. The problems of the Factory for Peace and the various communities indicate that it is not easy to counteract the habits of generations, but I am sure that the growing problems of our industrial age must find solutions that will undermine the growing power of impersonal State and private corporations. The individual must regain control of his environment. The ability to grow food and to control the source of food is probably the best way to secure this independence. Until the industrial worker realises this he will remain essentially a slave to the vagaries of a market economy. The trade union

and the co-operative movements have deteriorated into the same sort of impersonal corporations that abound in our society mainly because the mass of members fail to participate. They control vast funds, the membership still has constitutional control over these organisations, a small revolution could take place if they exercised their power. Trade unionists contribute vast sums in political contributions to a fund which, after all, goes to a political party that maintains the *status quo*. Every local authority is obliged to supply an allotment to those who have no garden. There are acres of disused land by roadsides that could be used which are a burden on the local authority. It may seem irrelevant when the shops are crammed with food but is it irrelevant to the millions who go hungry every day? The biggest contribution that anybody can make to the world food problem is to say we do not need to exact a contribution from the world larder. Everybody was a peasant once, it was the way mankind achieved some sort of control over his environment. Today he has to achieve an independence from an artificial system that prevents a full enjoyment of all life has to offer. Modern techniques have to be fashioned to man's needs—physical and psychological. The modern Briton could do this, it must be his reply to redundancies. Do not say to Wilson that you must do this for us, but say 'We are going to see that our families are going to secure a more stable community' and use the unions' funds to this end. Not only to procure a more stable community here but also abroad by using industrial knowledge to enable the hungry to stabilise their agriculture.

The limiting factors in agriculture are low rainfall, soil impoverished of organic matter and sometimes basically deficient. The first factor is sometimes aggravated by man's activities, the second is almost always caused by them. Often communities are caught up in a circle of poverty which they themselves cannot break. They burn the dung and the cover for fuel which makes the soil more and more arid. A big factor could be the provision of simple paraffin stoves and supply of fuel, the study of solar machines, wind generators, pumps, desalinators, improved hand tools, seeds, animals, provision of windbreaks, vermin-proof food stores. Just the indication that somebody cared would encourage enthusiasm and participation. We have made progress in breaking down religious objections here to population control. Perhaps some progress can be made in India with the sacred cow, we all have them, they are our biggest problem.

ALAN ALBON.



approach and the political approach is this, that the party seeks mass acceptance and we seek mass participation.

Man has come to the end of his reserves of productive virgin land so the land we have has to be farmed in the real sense of the word. Farmed to feed and to continue feeding. To those who still think that industrialisation will solve these problems I will quote Dr. E. S. Schumacher, Economic Adviser to the

to an end without an understanding of the real state of the world.

Most of the newly-independent nations pin their hopes on industrialisation. It is thought to be a source of power, and it is in political terms, but in the long term it is going to be a source of weakness, danger, enmity, strife and human misery. If mankind retains the present financial set-up the competition to sell industrial products is going to get

A Tricky Subject

IT'S A TRICKY subject to deal with, surrounded and permeated as it is with so much bitter class feeling and snobbery. Among left-wingers generally it has grown into something of a sacred cow and even some anarchists tend to be at least inconsistent, not to say conservative, in their approach to it. The fact is, however, that very few people give any thought at all to what education really is. Yet on few subjects do people feel so sure of themselves and so certain that no sensible person could harbour anything but a conventional opinion. For the most part they take it for granted that they know exactly how and where an education can be got: that they can tell exactly just who has and who has not got it. This unquestioning certainty in so many people should make us highly suspicious from the start. And make no mistake: this is a question of the first importance for anarchists. For as long as we are misled about the true nature of education, the real worth of individual human beings, and the real value of what individual human beings have to contribute, will always be misrepresented, ignored, and forgotten.

At the trial of Socrates it was said that he was a corrupter of the young, that he was placing wrong ideas in their minds. In reply to the charge he explained what his teaching method really amounted to. It's called the maieutic method—from maieutikos, Greek for midwifery. It was Socrates' belief that he stood in the same relation to his pupil as the midwife does in relation to the woman in labour. That's to say, his

whole concern was bringing forth, drawing into the light of day what is already in the pupil. It is, as you see, the very opposite of hammering in ideas. It's a case of bringing ideas out.

To this day of course even the ultra orthodox educationalists pay lip service to this ideal but in truth Socrates still stands condemned. The bringing forth method is never applied. The hammering in method is all we know.

Now, with respect, I would like you to know that by education I do not mean simple instruction. Instruction is one thing; education is quite another. Instruction amounts to no more than the elucidation and explanation of purely mechanical systems—as in grammar, science, or engineering.

But today it is as though the idea of education and the idea of simple instruction have been confounded and made to signify one and the same process. And the basic error of thinking of education as no more than mechanical instruction leads of course to greater errors. Because if a child proves incapable of absorbing, say, the rules of arithmetic or geometry, by and large he falls into the category of those who are taken to be incapable of profiting by an education. It wouldn't matter at all which category the individual child was assigned to if in fact the lower classification did not breed in him a real sense of inferiority and make it virtually impossible for him ever to seek out genuine education. And so, with his so-called education brought to an abrupt halt in this arbitrary way, he is marched off to

the factory where he'll spend the rest of his days, believing himself to be somehow inferior and not 'brainy' like the people who are set in authority over him. Common prejudice is against him. Everybody imagines the case is as plain as ABC. The child's a dunce and that's all there is to it. His status in society is established.

Yet who has the right to say what that child may or may not be capable of? What happens in the classroom, in all sanity, is as unimportant as what happens to the school football team on a Saturday morning. Academic systems are simply games, like chess or snakes and ladders, more or less complicated but in no sense a true gauge of the power inherent in any individual. It is of no essential significance and has little or nothing to do with real education. It has nothing to do with real, felt knowledge. It has nothing to do with being even moderately wise.

Sooner or later the dunce may acquire a taste for this or that branch of learning, and do well in it. But if he has not been shown that he must look inside himself for the truth: if he has been taught the direct opposite, that he must never simply consult his own feelings and tastes, and make his own personal decisions, no amount of book-work will make him a man.

Because the truth is this: Real knowledge—and by real knowledge I mean knowledge that enhances life, knowledge that enables you as an individual to live as an individual, knowledge that frees you from the cant and prejudices of schoolmasters and any other kind of master—real knowledge cannot be taught in systems like theology or academic philosophy or science or maths or dead languages. Real knowledge is nearer to us than any discipline. Nature doesn't supply us with the complete works of

Kant when we're born. She supplies us with blood and brains. And it's in our own blood, in our own heart and brains and soul, that we'll find true knowledge. What is good for us.

Every individual lives within his own personal mystery. Every individual has his own personal slant on things. What comes to you from without is not yours unless you can match it with something you have inside yourself, something of your own.

In society today schoolmasters are accepted as being the moral guardians of the young. They are paid, not only to instruct the young in this or that subject, but to bring to bear on the young mind a direct and powerful moral influence. Simple mechanical instruction often blossoms out into political and religious indoctrination. History is mangled and distorted to fit the prejudices of the State System under which we live. Literature is emasculated and dished out piecemeal as milk and water so that young people come to prefer 'Z Cars' and 'Dr. Kildare'. All this is bad enough. But the real trouble is to be found in the basic conception underlying the educational system. The root cause of all our miseries in this connection is the nature of the relationship fostered between the teacher, the one with the authority of knowledge, and the pupil, the inferior who knows nothing. It is a one-sided relationship. It is an authoritarian relationship. The young are forced willy-nilly to accept any so-called teacher the State sees fit to set over them. The young can't attempt to argue with or contradict the teacher. Even at university level to disagree with a tutor is nearly always fatal when the exams come along, if not before.

Such a set-up could never have come into existence, and would not remain in

existence one day, without coercion. All the power lies with the teacher—in his right to inflict corporal punishment and in his right to give a poor mark in an examination. The child is at his mercy from beginning to end.

All this has been going on for so long that people have come to accept it as the only correct way of doing things. Every hateful aspect of our society can be traced back to the authoritarian teacher. The parents were bludgeoned into submission in this way and they take it for granted that wee Johnnie, their son, should be likewise bludgeoned into submission. The authoritarian parent passes wee Johnnie over to the authoritarian teacher, and the authoritarian teacher makes sure that when wee Johnnie leaves his hands he'll be just as servile and just as doltish as mum and dad. The vicious circle is complete if wee Johnnie happens to be 'brainy' and ends up as an authoritarian teacher himself.

So what's the solution? It's simple. Don't send the children to school. Ideally that is the anarchist position. But the difficulties of this course are considerable. Being so few in number, the anarchist parents are in a vulnerable position. The question is: would the anguish and anxiety involved for both parent and child in defying the State in this respect be just as gruesome as the results of a successful State education? Personally speaking, I don't think they could be. But here I'm not out to offer anybody a ready-made solution. I wish only to spread awareness of the wrongs our children must undergo and the lie at the root of what passes as education. If I have done something in that way, my time has not been wasted. Awareness of the wrong must be the first step in putting it right.

PARQUHAR MCLAY.

Fake Folk

FOLK MUSIC, as a political weapon, can be among the most effective instruments of the revolutionary. But can today's 'protest' songs be considered as truly revolutionary? Are they really commercial 'cheque book' protest?

The surroundings of modern 'revolutionary' folksong tend to nullify their meaning. We find songs like 'The Hour That The Ship Comes In' and the 'Gates of Eden' on records issued purely for commercial purposes. Bob Dylan himself is becoming purely another Elvis

Presley: a meaningless fad. People don't understand his revolutionary symbolism, and those who do condemn him as being perverse. He sings about poverty in America and yet he himself receives hundreds of dollars for one single concert.

His British counterpart, Donovan, is his double in every sense. People tend to doubt his sincerity when they learn that he earns about £400 per week, and when he is not 'sleeping under the stars' and all that, he sleeps in an £18 per week flat.

Thus to draw any value from these songs we must isolate them from their background.

Traditional folk music in Britain is being slowly but surely strangled by those mainly urban addicts who are

claiming the whole field for themselves. There are, in many British clubs today, people for whom folk music has been not only an academic exercise, divorced from its realities, but also a positive status symbol. The sources of their music are very often old and working class people who are milked by bearded sophisticates who steal their treasury from them and regurgitate it to whole rooms full of bearded sophisticates.

Many of the clubs in Britain today are run by groups of people who suffer from a violent form of social introversion; the clubs are run by cliques and these cliques become so bound up in themselves that they become incapable of communicating with anyone else. A 'laissez faire' attitude develops among these singers. What is good enough for

the rest of the clique must be good for an audience of ordinary people. They seem to think that knowing the precise date of origin and the exact ethnomusical history of a song excuses them from the commonplace everyday necessity of having to learn to sing.

The traditionalists tend to have their own ideas on what is 'real tradition' and dismiss anything else as 'undesirable'.

However, they seem to be blind to the fact that folk tradition is a living entity, always spreading in new directions. Even in their own ideas they tend to exclude old traditions which would make them feel uncomfortable.

None will admit the real symbolism of songs like the 'Cutty Wren' which indeed is very anarchistic. What they find important is its age (600 years). Songs of

the Jacobean rebellions and the IRA are inapplicable to our modern age, and despite their political content are, to the 'purists', safe material. The middle class audience will not be upset.

Anarchists and revolutionary socialists can find in folk music an admirable and effective method of communication, providing they beware the academic trap of regarding folk and tradition as something in a glass case marked 'Not to be disturbed', and wrest it from the grip of the commercial record companies and dead folk clubs and restore it as a fighting weapon to the hands of the people.

JAIN MACDONALD AND
IAN S. SUTHERLAND
of the 'Moonlighters'.

MAN or General Purpose Robot

THE inescapable logic of the capitalist system is to use the latest scientific techniques in the field of psychiatry, psychology, sociology and communications to either manipulate workers into conforming or destroy those 'free men' who defy them by denying them employment. As machines become more and more important by increasing the effort of the workers who control or maintain them, then that extra little bit of 'machine utilization' is what the profiteer demands. Highly mechanised production is commonplace and the day of the automatic factory draws nearer. On no account can those whose 'natural personality' may waste 'machine time' be tolerated and it becomes progressively more profitable to invest in the 'netting and weeding out' techniques of the psychologist and psychiatrist. Man is not a man any more but a mere 'cog'. The mindless and ceaseless production of goods becomes an object in itself. Conscious or unconscious rebellion against a worker being a 'machine minder', a machine loading device, a substitute for a general purpose robot, is not to be tolerated.

The greatest conspiracy against the freedom of the individual is being put into effect by personnel managers and others in industry using social science techniques. Possibly 25% of the population will be badly affected by these measures economically and, politically, they have horrible implications. Both freedom of work and conscience are being threatened. Basically you have 'freedom of work' if you know you can get another job, so that if an unpleasant person or situation comes you don't have to degrade yourself for the sake of keeping the job. There are plenty of other good reasons for job mobility and anything that threatens this should be strongly resisted by all workers.

Personnel managers have always had power, but thanks to 'organised labour' the level of unemployment is pretty low and they cannot pick and choose as they used to, they do have greater powers now in making certain classes of people 'permanently unemployed'. Fundamentally they have not changed except in the 'technical ability' to manipulate and vet people, it is fortunate that the general economic environment has improved.

The horror of the 'thirties for the unemployed American and the fact that the capitalist search for profit is incompatible with trying to do the personnel management job ethically is captured by the writer Henry Miller when he describes his four years as Director of Personnel at the Western Union Telegraph Co., New York. 'I've heard so many terrible tales, that I have hardly got an ounce of sympathy left. That's a horrible thing to say but it's true. In one day I've had as many as six men break down and weep before me, beg me to do something for them and if not for them, their wives and children. When I couldn't give a man a job myself I went to my friends and begged them to give a man the work he needed. I brought them home and fed them. I fixed them up on the floor when the beds were full and gave them money. I got hell all round for doing too much and neglecting my wife and kids. My boss looked on me as a fool and instead of praising me for my efforts bawled hell out of me continually. I was always between two fires one above and one below. I saw finally that no matter what I did, it was just a drop in the bucket. I'm not saying I grew indifferent or hardened. NO, but I realized it would take a revolution to make an appreciable change in conditions. And when I say a revolution I mean a revolution, something far more radical and sweeping than the Russian Revolution for instance. I still think that (30 years later) but I don't think it can be done politically or economically.

Governments cannot bring it about, only individuals, each one working in his own quiet way. Our attitude to life must be altered. We have got to advance to another level from which we can take in the whole world at a glance. We have to have a vision of the globe, including all the people who inhabit it, down to the lowest and primitive man.'

A voice crying in the wilderness of crushed men and, as we shall see, company goals are still the same, despite the ostentatious display of 'so-called' welfare schemes. The welfare is not for all men, just for the 'efficient cogs', because it pays better that way. This is not to say there are not good people swimming strongly against the current, but most have sold their souls for personal gain and a careerist niche in the system.

The following types of people are not 'socially or mechanically' efficient by the standards of the company, so let's look at them closely and what the management spokesmen in the technical press has got to say.

Firstly there are roughly one in eight people with records of mental illness,

who they know will ever need looking after will get through the door.

The second category are the 'contra-suggestables', the rejecters of authority, those awkward people who you just cannot tell what to do but have to ask them. They will not tolerate 'being screwed down' or humiliated by ignorant bosses or having the boss take his personal aggression out on them, because the boss is too subservient to stand up to his boss over the pressure of work. Some bosses are natural democrats and very human but there are still a large number who domineer and bully, so that even the most cautious and reasonably minded person will say 'stuff your job'. If these natural anarchists do this a few times their 'mobility' will mark them off to the employer as being resentful of authority. What the company wants from the managers and workers can be seen from the statement of a major American consulting firm employing 40 psychologists who organised the recruitment of managers, it said the 'one crucial trait for managers was the respectful concept of authority'. However the

company, and some who try to create 'union solidarity' or inculcate political consciousness are seen as 'enemies' of the system. Again we can see what they want of the worker, by what they try to get out of the managers and it is only a matter of time before these demands are made lower down the pyramid of power.

Nothing is sacred not even a man's wife. Some companies look to the wife as a possible rival to them of manager's devotion. The American journal *Fortune*, in a remarkable article in 1951, showed this and quoted one executive as saying mournfully, 'We control a man's environment in business and we lose it entirely when he crosses the threshold of his home.' Management therefore has a challenge in creating a favourable attitude on the part of the wife that will liberate her husband's total energies for the job. *Fortune* continues, 'Management knows exactly what kind of wife it wants: (1) highly adaptable; (2) highly gregarious; (3) realizes her husband belongs to the corporation'. Later *Fortune* put it even more vividly in carrying a

The fourth category is of persons who may be capable of good quality work but are slow and therefore considered incompetent. In terms of productive efficiency these people are a dead loss. One usually finds that these people lack the undesirable qualities the system brings out in people: money and status seeking, and egocentric power seeking.

*Sweet Mary your production's poor
Just dry your tears and go.
For speed and greed are rated high
But love for others no.*

The poor Marys get lousy references, and when someone phones to find out why she was sacked they usually get told the reason.

There is not much hope of industry changing as it perpetuates its worst aspects by recruiting its managers from the autocratically minded, who like formal authority both in the giving and taking of orders. The degree of industrial specialization has produced a technology-orientated education system full of bureaucratic hurdles and this, in turn, produced status-conscious managers and technologists intent on maintaining the status quo. An emerging meritocracy is the forerunner of a new kind of technology based on neo-fascism, in which the god is efficiency.

From the melting pot of technological change comes another machine that can be used by the industrial company against the worker. The computer has revolutionised the processing of information and as central and regional computing services develop a 'master employment record' will be compiled by the employers. It has already been done by a Midlands firm for credit-worthiness and they have criminal and debt information on about five million people on punch cards. They can tell you things about most people who have been in trouble within five minutes of making an enquiry. There are already links between commercial and military intelligence units and this will grow. The Chapman Pincher article in the *Express* on telephone tapping was interesting in that he says that the military intelligence unit has two million files on people and that phone tapping of communists, fascists, nuclear disarmers and others on the radical Left is commonplace. The behind-the-scenes link-up will probably occur in the future when the police get their way and everyone is fingerprinted.

Checks kept on workers now are very limited because the costs of processing the information by manual methods are exorbitantly high, but with time the computer will change all that. There is coming a time when 'central files on individuals' will be kept up to date and more detailed and accurate than the files the Nazis kept on individual Jews. This is the real meaning of the concept Totalitarian Democracy, a kind of insidious and creeping fascism that will in time turn personnel managers into political Gauleiters. So in the future square pegs who have squirmed their way into round holes look out. If they cannot cut the corners off of you a man in a clean white coat will come to take you away.

ALAN PARKER



alcoholism or recurrent physical illness. All are potential liabilities if the company actually knows about them. My first experience of the rejection of someone in this category was during my apprenticeship. As I was chairman of the Apprentices Association I happened to be in the Personnel Office waiting room, when I got talking to a chap who wanted a job as a draughtsman and what he told me was confirmed later by the Personnel Manager. He had a degree in civil engineering and a good job but had a nervous breakdown when his wife had left him 18 months before. For over a year he had been unemployed and was trying to get any kind of job where he could use his technical skills. This man really wanted work, and his civil engineering know-how would have been invaluable on some of the projects we were involved in. Yet the Personnel Manager rejected him (as many others had) on the ground that it was 'probable' that he was emotionally unstable and therefore liable to create friction and trouble in the company. When I said that I thought he should have given him a chance because no one could deny his technical competence, I had my head chopped off and was told that in due course I would 'understand these things'. I understand them all right but I am even more convinced that it is wrong. The only time an employee gets a fair deal is if he has worked there for a long time and his 'long experience' is considered an investment not to be wasted and they get the full benefit from it by enhancing the company's image inside the place. Companies can now proudly boast that they 'look after their employees' after making sure that no one

manager has an advantage over the worker in that W. A. Whyte, in his book *Organisation Man*, tells them how to outwit these batteries of psychological tests by cheating.

A healthy disrespect of authority is seen as something else by those in power. In the American journal *Iron Age* there was an article entitled 'Psychology Sorts Out Misfits'. It told of the Armco Iron & Steel Corporation's new enthusiasm for psychology, which is a 'fancy word for a technique that lifts the iron curtain that humans often hide behind and many employees were finding they had no place to hide'.

The 'pay off' according to Armco Iron was that the company was able to cut from 5% to 1% off the number of new employees who had 'undesirable or borderline personality faults'. In other words, the employers are no longer content to label anyone as a 'rebel', 'trouble maker', 'awkward' or being 'too independent for us'. They seek to totally discredit the persons by using psychiatric and psychological terms to imply that men who do not fall in love with the artificial social structure of the industrial company are in some way mad or insane. The sacred cow is the 'Company' which is truly rational, wise and all knowing, that its 'corporate' wisdom exceeds that of its parts which is an integral part of fascist political theory.

Thirdly there are those characters who use any of the company's facilities to further causes, ideas and interests of their own, some of which are socially and politically useful and of great value to the cultural life of the community. They all have one thing in common. They do not give their total energies to the

report of 8,300 executives by Lloyd Warren and James Abeglin which stated that a wife 'must not demand too much of her husband's time or interest, because of his single-minded concentration on his job, so that even his sexual activity is relegated to a secondary place'. Also artistic and musical activity is frowned upon as detracting from a man's energies by many American personnel directors. It is just a matter of time before it becomes a universal attitude.

No company has got the right to meddle in a man's politics, but when a friend of mine went to the 3M company for an interview for the job of metallurgist he found he was receiving an interrogation into all of his private views. He refused to fill in an 'application form' which wanted to know not only his politics but those of his father and mother. His father was a communist shop steward at Austin's, so considering lies beneath him, he asked the Personnel Manager if his last name was McCarthy and stormed out. At Linwood they compiled a blacklist from lists of Trade Council delegates and shop stewards, but it did not do them any good as new leaders without experience took over the job of negotiating with the management. Being a bit green, and anxious to try out their new power, more strikes occurred than was tactically necessary to get the changes in working conditions. However, the blacklists exist and some day all the companies are going to put them together and put them into the memory of a computer, which will check out in a few minutes the political history of any man who may be after a job, and send it over teleprinters to any personnel man who wants it.

WHERE 'FREEDOM' MAY BE OBTAINED

- In London
- Albert's, St. Martin's Court, W.C.2.
- Better Books, 94 Charing Cross Rd., W.C.2.
- Bloom, R., 56 Red Lion Street, W.C.1.
- Collet's Bookshop, 66 Charing Cross Rd., W.C.2.
- Coptic Street Newsagent, Coptic St., W.C.1.
- Housman's Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1.
- Indica Bookshop, 102 Southampton Row, W.C.1.
- Librarie Parisien, 48 Old Compton St., W.1.
- Shelly's, 184 Drury Lane, W.C.2.
- Solosy Ltd., 53 Charing Cross Rd., W.C.2.
- Wooden Shoe, 42 New Compton St., W.C.2.

'BY OFFICE BOYS FOR OFFICE BOYS'

THE RECENT DISMISSAL of Michael Randall, editor of the *Daily Mail*, highlights the crisis in Fleet Street. It is significant that the *Daily Mail* celebrated (in 1965) the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Lord Northcliffe, its one-time head. It is recorded that it was once said that the *Daily Mail* was produced for office boys; this was capped by a remark that it was produced by office boys. The summary dismissal of Michael Randall seems to prove that with Rothermere, as with Northcliffe, even the editor is a mere office boy to be sacked at a whim.

Among the many ills liable to afflict the newspaper reader is the 'created event'; in its most common form, the anniversary. Readers of the *Daily Mail*, who are not so many as they used to be, were recently asked to participate in the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Lord Northcliffe. We can anticipate the hundredth anniversaries of the birth of *Answers*, the take-over of the *Evening News*; the founding of the *Daily Mail*, the take-over of *The Times*; the take-over of the *Observer*, the death of Lord Northcliffe. A real anniversary creator might cut down the anniversaries in size to 25th and 50th anniversaries, thus increasing the anniversaries in number, and frequency.

Not only the *Daily Mail* and the *Evening News* (its twin) celebrated this non-event, but *Forme*, the house magazine of Carmelite House, invited the staff to join in commemorating this non-event, including the one hundred and thirty survivors of service under Northcliffe.

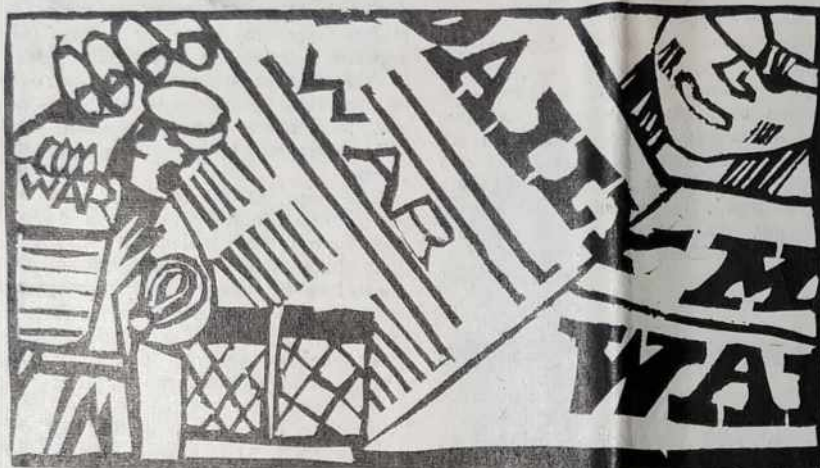
Alas, the *Sunday Dispatch* has joined the shades, the *Daily Mirror* has now a King in charge instead of a Napoleon, *The Times* and the *Observer* have broken away from Northcliffe tutelage, and as for the Amalgamated Press empire, it has, like another Empire, seen the sun setting.

The story of Lord Northcliffe is put over in the *Daily Mail*, the *Evening News* and *Forme* as the rags to riches story of a pioneer, an educator, a public servant (almost a statesman) without whom history would have been very different. Looking at it from another angle, we can see a lucky speculator who arrived at the right time, a 'stunt' publicity man, a power hungry megalomaniac who became literally insane at the end, a frustrated political place-seeker and manipulator, an unscrupulous propagandist who ultimately failed in all his grand schemes.

The passing of the Education Acts made the newly literate ready victims to the deluge of printed trivia, scandal and crime which was turned out in vast quantities to make money for those who were there to reap the harvest. Among the pioneers was Alfred Harmsworth, later Lord Northcliffe, who graduated from a penny-a-liner in Fleet Street to the editorship and later ownership of *Answers* which was a repository of trivia and owed its successful start to a competition to guess how much gold there was in the Bank of England. This craze for competitions persisted with Northcliffe throughout his career and is one of the mainstays of the popular press to this day. [In 1904 the *Weekly Dispatch* (another from Harmsworth's stable) ran that most elemental of competitions—a treasure-hunt—which in 1965 was a stunt of the *Evening News*.] Northcliffe, throughout his life, always denied that he went in for 'stunts' and he once said: 'A "stunt" is merely what jealous newspapers call something their rival has done that they had not the brains to do themselves.'

Mystery of the 'Daily Mail' (1921) lists thirty-six *Daily Mail* prizes given between 1898 and 1921 for objects as diverse as 'best forecast of the General Election', 'best bunch of sweet peas', 'best design for a hat' (which was eventually called 'the Sandringham'). These attempts to boost circulation ranged from hardy annuals like the Ideal Homes Exhibition and Children's Seaside Sandcastle Competitions to such pseudo-history as Bleriot's Channel crossing. The circulation war with gift offers of free insurance was started by Northcliffe, but he was not alive to see the near-suicidal sequel of the 'free gift' newspaper war of the 'thirties.'

Some of Northcliffe's 'stunts' had very little to commend them save that they emanated from the brain of 'the Chief.'



With the firm base of *Answers* and *Cycling* and other assorted publications including several children's comics, in 1894 Harmsworth was able, along with Kennedy Jones, to buy the *Evening News* which was in an ailing condition. A sensational murder trial given extensive treatment proved, as usual, a good start to the paper's new management. The *Evening News* flourished like the green bay tree and in 1896 Harmsworth was ready to start a daily which could be printed on the same press as the *Evening News*. In later years Northcliffe, as he then became, was able to take over and nurse *The Times*, which was in a precarious condition. He also took on the *Observer* for a while until both papers were handed over to trustees.

Northcliffe's formula for success with newspapers was to treat of the subjects of crime, love, money and food in that order. The newspaper was passing from the phase of weighty, informed, literary journalism to that of, as one of his detractors claimed, 'A paper by office boys for office boys'. Northcliffe rejected this taunt and gave it as his task to 'explain, simplify and clarify' or, as the aims of the *Daily Mail* journalism became: 'Clarity, Brevity, Readability.'

In the quest for circulation there ensued a fogging between what was news and what was an event created by the newspaper. Many of these events have persisted up to today. Proudly, an Associated Newspapers publication, *The*

This meant that no matter how inane or insane the idea was, it had to be pursued to the bitter end, or until 'the Chief' grew tired of it. Not only did Northcliffe run a contest about hats; he also ran a competition about bread. For a while he had a great passion for a play, Seymour Hicks in *The Man in Dress Clothes*, and day after day it was plugged in his papers, until it sank into a thoroughly deserved obscurity.

Winston Churchill earned the momentary enmity of Lord Northcliffe by his firm refusal to wear 'the Sandringham' hat. Northcliffe had the desire for power. He exercised it upon Churchill. He sent one Churchill book review back to the author three times for re-writing. Eventually Churchill re-wrote it to Northcliffe's taste.

The history of Northcliffe's relations with politicians is long and complicated but it can be summed up in the bitter words of Stanley Baldwin speaking of other press lords and newspapers: 'The newspapers conducted by Lord Rothermere and Lord Beaverbrook are not newspapers in the acceptance of the term. They are engines of propaganda for the constantly-changing policies, personal wishes, personal likes and dislikes of the two men. What are their methods? Their methods are direct falsehood, misrepresentation, half-truths, the alteration of the speaker's meaning by putting sentences apart from the context, suppression and editorial criticism of speeches

which are not reported in the paper. What the proprietorship of these papers is aiming at is power, but power without responsibility—the prerogative of the harlot throughout the ages.'

Northcliffe played his own game of power, intriguing against Lloyd George and exposing 'scandals' mainly of his own invention. He worked the shell shortage for all it was worth, to such a degree that Lloyd George finally sent him on a mission to Washington to put over the British case.

In February 1918 (a significantly late date) Northcliffe was appointed Director of Propaganda in Enemy Countries. He had always ambitions to enter the Cabinet but this was denied him by his feud with Lloyd George. Such was the contempt in which he was held that even the consolation prize of attending the peace conference was not to be his.

During his term of office at Crewe House (Britain's propaganda headquarters) he was apparently responsible for the line of argument which made the next war (1939-45) if not inevitable, probable. His leaflets which were dropped over enemy territory proclaimed the necessity of unconditional surrender and a memorandum on peace terms, which he had distributed, proclaimed 'The whole situation of the Allies in regard to Germany is governed by the fact that Germany is responsible for the war', and further 'The Allies must never be tired of insisting that they were the victims of deliberate aggression.'

All this from a man whose newspapers had constantly stated 'the only good German is a dead German' and whose contributions to the war effort were incitement to wreck German-owned premises and to attack anti-war agitators.

It was claimed with pride by Northcliffe that a medal was struck in Germany in 1917 in his dishonour, naming him as the chief English propagandist. Whether this was so or not (a Lusitania medal produced in Germany by an obscure manufacturer owed its wider circulation to Lord Newton of the Foreign Office who ordered English-made replicas for sale in America and South America), Northcliffe certainly had his part in the creation of the falsehoods of wartime. His patriotic zeal was only matched by his striving for power.

It will be remembered that Lord Beaverbrook, the Northcliffe of 1939-45, started in August 1939 with the prophecy: 'There will be no war'. On August 6, 1914, Lord Northcliffe made a similar 'boob'. He was urging that no expeditionary force be sent to France!

For a long time it was denied that Lord Northcliffe went insane at the end of his life, but after Tom Clarke's *My Northcliffe Diary*, written by one of his closest associates, it could not be denied. However, only a short study of his life and works leads to the probability that the onset of insanity was much earlier than was admitted and was obscured by several factors.

Northcliffe had perpetual fears of assassination. When he was taken ill on one occasion he claimed, 'I was poisoned by Germans'. He spoke to Clarke with awe of a visit to a museum of Napoleon's

relics and said of Napoleon's hat: 'I have had it on, it fits me'.

This Napoleonic complex was fostered by an constant stream of 'yes-men' who flattered him and fell in with his mad schemes. Northcliffe is credited with saying, 'No one ever gives interviews to representatives of my newspapers. We always give interviews to them.' Sisley Huddleston was one of the very few 'no-men' who stood up to Northcliffe and won, but in the main he seems to have been surrounded by such men as contributed to Northcliffe's illusion that he was Napoleon.

One of the illusions of the British is that 'tabloid' journalism—the 'yellow press'—is one of the lamentable importations from the United States. This is not so. The *Daily Mail* has the dubious honour of being the first 'tabloid'. For an example of what this meant to one who worked on the *Daily Mail* (not actually in Northcliffe's time), we have the testimony of that insensitive sentimentalist Beverley Nichols who, when a young reporter, was sent to interview the father of Mrs. Edith Thompson (a woman hanged for murder). Nichols says 'it was the first piece of journalism which made me feel ashamed of being a journalist'. This 'invasion of privacy' is nowadays a commonplace of journalism and no journalist is ashamed of it.

Northcliffe started the popular press with its catering to women readers (previously newspapers had been for men only), he introduced the illustrated newspaper—which was only possible by technical improvements. At the same time as he launched a drive for advertisements, he sought, in vain, to retain control over the advertisements and the advertiser. From the days of Northcliffe can be placed the ascendancy of the advertisers.

In Northcliffe's time the scheme was worked out for hitching advertising rates to circulation figures. This brought newspapers for the first time into the sphere of big business. Hamilton Fyffe in his *Press Parade* (1936) says of the newspapers: 'A very flourishing branch of commerce they represent; with huge amounts of capital invested in it, with immense payments of dividends, with an enormous wages bill. Profits during the years since the Press became commercial have been spectacular. The company, owning three London newspapers, the *Daily Mail*, the *Evening News*, and the *Sunday Dispatch*, paid out in eight years £6½ million, representing 1,300% on the original deferred shares, mostly held by Lord Rothermere and members of the family to which he and his brother, Lord Northcliffe, belonged. In addition to that, the holders of those shares have received in the course of thirteen years three and a half bonus shares, so that where they were paid dividends on one, they are now paid on four and a half.'

We have seen how power was the main quest of Lord Northcliffe. Power over opinions and minds were always his, political power eluded him but financial power was always as it always is, in the grasp of the newspaper proprietor. But this threefold power is always at the command of the newspaper-baron, whether he be Northcliffe, Rothermere, Beaverbrook, or the Kings and Thomsons with their added dimension of television. The usage of such power is always harmful and is conducted today, as in Northcliffe's day, quite without a sense of responsibility. JACK ROBINSON.

FRINGES OF ANARCHY

ANARCHISM'S basic proposition that voluntary co-operation, according to necessity, is more effective than enforced, unwilling 'co-operation', is so simple that many of us must be quite baffled as to an answer, faced with the endless misconceptions of anarchy, that result from the day-to-day living, non-political person believing our modern perversion of human nature to be a natural thing. Indeed, the totalitarian machine advances so terrifyingly large that even libertarians tend to think this is inevitable, and wonder why we cannot, in fact, infect people with the spirit of resistance to it. Unless, of course, we mistake—as some syndicalists might—the defence of free collective bargaining in a mixed economy by trade unionists, for an attack on the whole capitalist system; that is, unless we mistake resistance to a part for rejection of the whole! This seems a hard comment especially to those who have sacrificed a lot in the various struggles against authority. But it is a problem that demands explanation.

I suggest the cause is that we are always in a state of potential—but never realized—anarchy or freedom of action. For instance, the individual, to make life endurable, must 'fiddle' time off work, build his own life, as far as he

can, and make-believe now and then he is free in it. He must find means of mental escape (or inscape) in drink, drugs, music, weird art forms, religious beliefs. In all of these things there is something good, or they would not be effective in producing their temporary modicum of happiness, but the result of all such individual moves seems to be an even more disintegrated society, even less capable of organizing against tyranny. For instance, in our street, the fact that the populace is divided into diverse self-contained religious and social groupings mitigates against organization to combat economic evils such as bad landlords.

This does not mean these 'escapes' are bad in themselves. This is the short-sighted view of, perhaps well-meaning, legislators against drugs, for instance (if we are not sure of the answer to a problem ourselves, it would be unfair not to give credit to others' motives, though their solution seems inadequate!). It means that our present state of potential anarchy makes a capitalist system and administration inefficient, without leading to a libertarian socialist system that is efficient without infringing the individual's freedom. Just as the schizophrenic sees visions that could make him a great artist, if only he could begin to

express these visions in paint and thus begin his own cure. Indeed, this can become a self-perpetuating process. Irresponsibility becomes confused with freedom, freedom becomes alienated from the supposedly 'democratic' collective will, and tyranny fills in the gap left by a lack of voluntary discipline. Because social coherence and integration is weak, people become more afraid of freedom as the basis of a new order, while asserting the need for certain fringe-freedoms in an effort to replace this basic freedom.

This last confusion between fringe-freedoms—the right to 'smoke hash', have late licensing hours, extra tea breaks and the basic freedom of one's own will over all things that affect one—accounts for the fact that anarchists have not succeeded in crystallizing the grievances of beats, rockers, casual labourers and all the others in our society who don't share the flesh-pots. Provos may appeal, not because they want freedom, but because their methods are 'way-out'. That fringe-freedoms and this essential freedom are one is obvious to ourselves. This very obviousness blinds us to the fact that a society where the individual and the collective are alienated distorts the average person's view of the problem so much that they believe they can give up fringe-freedoms without losing their basic freedom (and vice-versa). They get tied up in clichés like 'giving up personal freedom for the social good'. They do not even think that personal freedom and the social

good are inseparable and that, if they traditions of the state-capitalist system and therefore a situation not beyond changing.

Depressing? Won't people turn from the comparative optimism of the workers' struggle on Page 4 to this, and see in it a failure of libertarian ideas and movements in society as a whole? The anarchist movement, though it can't claim success proportionate to its numbers and potential support, involves a principle of outspoken self-criticism that is the sign of a healthy society. If this aren't, that is a result of economic unhealthy society is always potential and never realized however, self-criticism only helps perpetuate the depressing cycle by becoming a cynicism that can only repel people, who, unlike the ideologies of syndicalism, Stürmerism, etc., do not know how to live on hope. Some syndicalists, and individualists also, fall into the trap. Syndicalists say economic freedom is basic (it is) and reject, erroneously, as irrelevant the 'lunatic' fringe (their terminology—lunacy is only another form of reasoning). Individualists see my freedom as basic (it is) and regard economic freedom as secondary in a way I don't pretend to understand, unless it be that they are financially better off than I am.

Thus, we all remain on the periphery, each believing he has reached the heart of the problem. Maybe I'm beating about the bush as well, but surely the workman's attitude to the Prices and

Incomes Policy (it has a remarkable number of supporting votes) depends not only on the f.s.d. and teabreaks involved, but on a general attitude influenced by other social factors? Is not the almost childlike loyalty to the Labour Party a clinging to something solid in a disintegrated community? Is it not time the anarchist movement tried to provide that 'something solid', as well as being the necessary negative, a completely free social critique and non-compulsiveness, without becoming tyrannical? This can only be done, bearing in mind the foregoing observations! DAVID STRINGER.

New Sub Rates

The new rates are:—
FREEDOM only (per year)
£1 10s. (\$4.50) surface mail
£2 16s. (\$8.00) airmail
ANARCHY only (unchanged) (per year)
£1 6s. (\$3.50) surface mail
£2 7s. (\$7.00) airmail
COMBINED SUBSCRIPTION
FREEDOM & ANARCHY (per year)
£2 10s. (\$7.50) surface mail both
£4 15s. (\$12.50) airmail both
FREEDOM (airmail) &
ANARCHY (seamail)
£3 17s. (\$10.50) (per year)

DAY OF POETRY

[An international gathering of poets was held in Budapest to coincide with the 10th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution. The following is a translation of an article which appeared in Irodalmi Ujsag, an emigré Hungarian literary journal published in Paris, and appears by their permission. The article was sent to them by a 'Western' poet who participated in the international conference.]

WE arrived by plane, a handful, for the poets' gathering in Budapest, the sun, the blessed October sun, shining strongly, the customs officers polite, at the airport a car waiting for us, and in it a young, sympathetic colleague, speaking my mother tongue perfectly, who interpreted and passed on to us the organisers' best wishes and pointed out the capital's scenery as it rushed past our car window.

We progressed through Ulloi Street, past new if somewhat hurriedly-built blocks of flats. By the street-sign I understood that we were just passing the place where, ten years ago almost to the day and hour, the most critical battles were fought between the Russian tank divisions and the Hungarian revolutionaries. In an objective, natural voice, I addressed a question on this matter to my companion.

He was not embarrassed. I was glad that, young writer as he was, he could answer such a delicate question.

"Truly, ten years ago, in the final days of October, quite heavy battles were fought here. Many buildings were damaged and new ones were built in their place. On this corner stood the barracks where Malet's company fought. Now they are offices."

I asked him: "Were there many dead and wounded? What happened to their families, to their relations?"

He answered: "The great waves of ten years ago have now died down, the problems today are quite different."

I believed this because I saw that the demolished buildings have been replaced. I believed less, however, that the demolished ideals, fever, enthusiasm, poetry, have also disappeared. And, as I was a guest of these Days of Poetry in Budapest, I resolved to see what had happened to that brain-shattering poem, which was written in blood on these cobblestones by a nation led by its best poets.

I could have taken on an easier task. It would have been enough just to sit, listen, and in silence make friends with my colleagues, to taste the food served to us at the banquets, the excellent Hungarian dishes, to drink the fashionable Bordeaux-like 'Egri' red wine. I decided, however, to make my interpreter purchase a newspaper and ask him to translate to me the headlines. I asked him to buy the most authoritative paper. He placed in front of me the Government and Party organ: *Nepszabadsag* ('People's Freedom'). He opened it in the middle where a few Hungarian and foreign poems were featured.

"See, the Days of Poetry in the Central Organ of the Party," he said.

The paper was dated Sunday, October 23, 1966. I asked him if there was a poem in it dealing with the events of ten years ago. He did not even glance at it as he answered smilingly, "No."

"Astonishing. These poets whose verse is represented here—are they no longer touched by those events?"

We went through the names. One of them, ten years ago to the day, announced an analysis of outstanding poems dealing with tyranny. Another, a famous poet, was for years in prison because ten years ago he spoke up on behalf of the Revolution. One foreign, Soviet, poet in those days sharply attacked the Hungarian poets and intellectuals. Yet another, French, ten years ago signed a protest against the Russian attack.

"Is there a word on this amongst these verses?"

My interpreter smiled again. "Naturally, there is not," he answered.

"Why naturally?"

"It would be bad to stir up the waves again," he said.

I was not at all convinced by his answer. Have those passions really died down? These poets, whose neutral verses are published in the country's foremost newspaper, have they stopped thinking of those events?

Later, I asked one of the poets. He spoke my mother tongue perfectly.

"You can imagine that nobody in ten years has forgotten either the date or the events," he said. "Your newspapers are also full of remembrances of what happened. I know that a long list of books and essays appeared in the West on this subject. You can be sure that here, where it happened, where every-

body vividly remembers every chapter of the story, how much the public would be interested, how much the artist, the poet, the historian, would wish to analyse what happened. Naturally, it is impossible to bring this out into the open."

I smiled, and he asked me why I smiled.

"That adverb, naturally. I keep meeting it."

"But of course, naturally. Here this word does not mean that something is logically natural, like keeping quiet, but that the System's nature demands it. Dictatorship exists. In Franco's Spain it is possible to gain a concession—for example, they made a national poet out of Garcia Lorca whom they themselves shot in the head, but naturally—naturally—they will not rehabilitate the role of the Republicans; there is no question of an honest analysis of a civil war battle or of a diplomatic turn. Here in Hungary the dictatorship is neither mild nor humanitarian; it is rigid, as in the Middle Ages. To mention a few examples: a trade union movement as we see it in Spain is here unimaginable; the last strike took place ten years ago, when the working class had weapons in its hands. A student movement, as in Madrid? By next day the leaders would be in prison. I would like to add that those Western left-wingers who protest (rightly) against Franco's imprisonments hardly utter a squeak when they meet with similar happenings in Hungary. Is he not right, then, who naturally does not wish to deal with the events of the Hungarian Revolution?"

I said: "A great proportion of Western newspapers have said that many of the demands of the 1956 Revolution have been granted. The standard of living had improved, the regime is more liberal, foreign journeys are more frequent, many tourists come here, the Russian oppression is not so harsh. Kadar (the Hungarian Premier) has learnt from the events. Is there in all this some truth?"

Now he smiles. He has a spirited laugh, without bitterness, without hatred, but with a bright human knowledge. A man who has seen many things in his life.

He answered: "Let me reply with a comparison. When ten years ago the Russian tanks came and defeated the Revolution, the government they brought with them declared that they would satisfy the Revolution's chief demands. In those days even they called it so, they had to call it so: Revolution. Only later, nice and slowly, did they turn to using the phrase: counter-revolution, which phrase, incidentally, is used only by officials and in the last resort. But let us return to the concessions. They agreed that the army's headgear should not be like the Russian saucer-shaped cap with flaps but the old Magyar mountain-camp cap. Officially and with a fanfare of trumpets they announced this as a great concession. Two months later they withdrew it and brought back the Russian cap. Another major concession was that the newspapers could revert back to their old small size, as in the Horthy era. They gave as their reason for this that the revolutionary nation burnt the Party's newspapers everywhere merely because they objected to their large, unmanageable Pravda-like format. The expensive German rotary presses still stand idle in the Party newspaper's basement; the newspapers are small again as in the time of Horthy. A victory for the Revolution? They also saw with what passion the people cut out the regime's star symbol from the flags. By law they abolished the old symbol but fabricated something very similar (in place of the Kossuth-symbol of Hungarian sovereignty, which was demanded by the people). End of comparison."

"I confess, I am not quite sure, why comparison?"

"Comparison, or illustration. Tiny, cynical bribes instead of great, clear, real ideals. You speak of foreign tourists. Do you know what was demanded by the Hungarian people ten years ago? Why they shed their blood, why they threw petrol bombs at Russian tanks?"

"For freedom, I believe."

"For basic human rights of freedom. They demanded freedom of the press. Today, on the anniversary of the Revolution, every citizen can lay his hand on a small-sized paper full of official pronouncements, some official ordinances, in which he will find no trace either of realized or of ruined former demands. Not one letter, not one verse, not an article can appear—naturally—of those days when these ideals burned with a

high flame. This small nation wanted independence from the Russian empire, it wanted to be neutral in the world, and what report do we see in this anniversary issue: "The Hungarian delegation is returning home from the Moscow meeting"! Moscow meeting! No need to explain what type of meeting this was, how it was a sharp, short whistle—a command to call together the satellite nations' proxy-rulers, so that they should jump, beg and serve their Muscovite masters. Not one line or half a word appears before the "Sovereign Hungarian nation" to say what was the new order, must we go to war and against whom, are we to draw more food away from our parched mouths, or are we to condemn "as one man" who, who indeed? America? China? God himself? Everything is possible."

"Continue, please."

"Ten years ago today, a people, as you yourself said, arose for freedom. Good. Tomorrow morning there is a session of a poets' gathering. Imagine the following: There I stand up, I tell them what I have told you and I add that I would like this to be printed, even if abridged, in papers at home and abroad. What would happen, to your way of thinking?"

"Forgive me for the expression—they would lock you up in a madhouse."

In the same issue of the paper, Tibor Dery, who remained in Hungary, is quoted from an interview with *Stern* magazine, Hamburg, as follows: "Today I still hold, in opposition to the officially-held view, that the events in October were revolutionary and not counter-revolutionary. Regrettably some anti-democratic elements also intervened. I myself took part in the events as a socialist against the Rakosi regime's unbearable tyranny and its mistakes. I'm a writer and my standpoint was also in defence of my trade."

"Nevertheless, I only mentioned freedom of the press. What would happen if I referred to freedom of association and freedom of opinion, if I started to demand, in poem and in prose, that I want to see my political party ruling, or at least taking part in elections, that I want my representative to confront Kadar's man, that an economic system more to my liking should supersede this bankrupt, bureaucratic organisation? All my life I have been a socialist; struggle on behalf of the people has filled my life and every page of my work. But, as you "naturally" thought, I cannot even whimper my demands, even though the authorities know me, or because of that. In that case what should the man-in-the-street say, he whose son or father fell for these ideals in the battles of ten years ago?"

"Is public opinion restive?"

"It is impossible to measure moods objectively, for reasons already given. The public cannot express itself, as my poet colleague wrote so magnificently: "To heart-dumbness condemned." But his eyes are open. After all, it is common knowledge that the standard of living in the smallest modern country, like Austria, is roundly double that of ours, not to mention human rights, press, films, elections, etc. It should not be thought he takes no account of how the old-established giant nations—America, Britain and Australia—live. The defeat of the Revolution dispersed two hundred thousand Hungarians round the globe. They write to their relations, send pictures of newly-bought houses, Cadillacs, send parcels and descriptions of their lives. There is no family which does not know through this how talented and industrious men—and Hungarians are such—can live in the free world. Do not think, therefore, that public opinion here is satisfied to live on reduced means, to be kept in an ideological adolescence."

"We have travelled far from poetry, my friend."

"Not so far as you think. In this "anniversary paper" there is an important, lengthy editorial entitled: "Directing the Arts". Ten years have passed since the Revolution. There is nothing else in it except this: why it is essential for the bureaucracy, for the dictatorship, to direct and control the arts and literature and guide them within the lines laid down by the Party. In point of fact, the so-called "liberalisation" is measurable by the tone of the article, which condemns the old-fashioned Rakosi-type methods and their present-day adherents who manage this guiding

DANCE OF LIFE

HIROSHIMA MON AMOUR and UNE AUSSI LONGUE ABSENCE by Marguerite Duras (Hard cover 30s.; Paperback 15s.).

EROS IN THE CINEMA by Raymond Durgnat (Hard cover 30s.; Paperback 15s.).

BOOKS ON THE CINEMA are becoming numerous enough to require a detailed catalogue, and amongst several good books devoted to the seventh art, two seem to me to merit particular attention. The first of these is a 'double-feature' of two screenplays Marguerite Duras wrote in the 50's when Resnais and Colpi were experimenting in bringing novel and film closer together. Most people will buy this book on account of *Hiroshima Mon Amour* (the publication is rather belated but the distance in time between film and book doesn't hinder comparison) but *Une Aussi Longue Absence*, which provokes a quieter sympathy for the characters' apparent impasse, is beautifully done, as Therese tries to awaken the memory of a man she believes to be her husband, now an aimless tramp, his mind and will destroyed by the concentration camps.

Hiroshima too was about the effect of war on two people—Mlle. Duras always does her best work within the duet situation, although one feels the Japanese is drawn into the stream of Riva's thoughts, only wants to know her better if he can know her past. Riva lives so intently that to her madness and intelligence are equals, while Wilson's tramp suffers in a void remembering neither past nor present; he, one feels, is in the state of a living death, while Riva at least has a bundle of concentrated fertile imagination. The Nevers sequences come through strongly and flowingly in the cafe scene, while appendices include fifteen pages of 'Nocturnal Notations' which impart an existentialist feeling to one girl's experience of the war, and because of the depth of information which it was felt necessary to impart on this aspect, we begin to know what Hiroshima means to Riva and why she bestows it as a sad parting gift to her nameless Japanese lover.

Raymond Durgnat has plenty of scope with his subject matter, which is to discuss some of the most erotic films—many of them employing symbolism and innuendo to outwit the perspiring censor—and the moral climate and conditioning from which the films themselves have sprung. Of course a book with a subject like eroticism couldn't fail in holding the interest, but Durgnat's sprightly, demonic approach keeps the narrative moving at a cracking pace, though the book is somewhat choppy at first, but settles down from the discussion of *La Dolce Vita* onwards. Mr. Durgnat feels that *Kiss Me Deadly*, *L'Eau à la Bouche*, *The Strangers of Bombay* (a piece of Hammer crap, which was so uselessly repulsive, anybody would have been glad to do the puritans' job for them), *La Ronde*, *Les Amants*, *The Savage Innocents* (Eskimos are more moral any day than Anglo-Saxons), and *A Bout de Souffle* while B.B. pops up everywhere, either as the liberation or the malaise of our age—according to temperament. If B.B. is so discussable, why does Louise Brooks—and for that matter, her director, Pabst—merit so little attention? Louise Brooks could

by use of pistols and jails; this today must be arranged by "polemic"—in other words by threats."

Here we sit in the Days of Poetry conference room, under Hungarian slogans, French, under the French, Russian. Who presides? His name: Jozsef Darvas; he was minister for cultural repression under Rakosi, today he is still the chief man of culture in Hungary. The other great personage is by name Kopeczi. He speaks French fluently, he was Rakosi's chief publisher. The third one, by name Dobozy, a quick-moving man, does not speak a foreign language and, like the other two organisers of the Days of Poetry, is no poet. Which of these would be prepared to speak of the past events? They say Dobozy wrote a film script portraying 1956 as counter-revolution. Darvas has written a play on the same subject. I am listening to the real poet's wise, friendly observations and my heart misses a beat: the Soviet delegate, Surkov, is about to speak. Perhaps now after ten years he may say a word that Budapest should not have been destroyed, that perhaps poetry played a part in the dream that was shattered by his compatriots' exploding bombs. But only polite phrases, a mild smell of stew from the buffet, and quiet whispers in the audience.

overwhelm the senses, in her own different, unique style even more than Garbo; seems a good chance went begging here. I regretted that *L'Avventura* or Bunuel's surrealist works were not discussed (actually the latter films were appraised thoroughly in *Films and Filming* four years ago, from which much of the book's material is taken), but the whole work presumably had to be kept within reasonable limits, so the author acknowledges various omissions, but implies that particular film's mastery and profundity and leaves the reader to place that film's importance within the thesis. Bunuel is considered to have moved from a note of total despair to a constructive anarchist morality, while the Scandinavians display the most healthy attitude in harnessing their erotic impulses and putting repression in perspective. Dreyer is rightly granted the accolade of greatness, and Bergman isn't far behind him, though in a book which is example and insight and not functional criticism, Mr. Durgnat feels that *The Virgin Spring* is too flawed to 'hang-together' on any plane. The Victorians and the American sub-culture come in for the heaviest beating, the book's humour filtering through on these subjects. The author is always at his best when discussing the sociological and psychological aspects of sex-repression, then taking extracts, or even single shots, and illuminating a particular film; British suburbanism has left us with grey underfed minds, Uncle Sam suffers from the shackling effects of Momism (a review of Hitchcock's *Psycho* should have been included), while there is a mind-wrestling match between monogamy and polygamy.

Raymond Durgnat is the first psycho-analytic film critic these shores have produced, and he is very much a product of his time which sees a happier subconscious if we accept eroticism on a basis of selective reasoning rather than the stony ground of rigid dogma; and then perhaps, amongst other things, we (and within this context I'm thinking most of all of Great Britain) can move towards a positive, liberal, unembarrassed cinema, personal and unfettered.

R.P.

Jazz and Us

FOR MOST people jazz is a somewhat strange music. There are bourgeoisie who have not the slightest knowledge of jazz music, but nevertheless they don't want to confess positive things in it. They feel that jazz is a medium to create a new form of existence and there is nothing that scares them so much.

Jazz is the musical expression of a psychic moment. But the 'kick', the shock of existence, is not only the expression of jazz, it also has been created by means of this music. So you can say that jazz is a medium to 'turn on', to grow 'high'.

Yet it is not senseless to analyse such an emotional art-expression, because you will discover that it is based upon the same principle as the anarchistic one: freedom in equality. In the same way as socially is the apparent antithesis (individualism)—socialism is a reality in the synthesis anarchism, the dualism artist-society in jazz disappears by the constant interaction between creator and listener.

People say that jazz is a protest music. Of course it is true, but jazz is more. Jazz is also a proof that it is possible—with some basic rules—to express individual creative feelings of different persons on the same moment. Most bourgeoisie call that chaos, but actually it is a form of anarchy.

The great composer, Duke Ellington, once said: 'For me jazz is freedom in musical language.' And that's right. A jazz musician is a composer, conductor and soloist all together. Although he is part of a unity, he is able to express his personal feelings. After the collective (theme) every member of a jazz group can give his own conception (solo), supported by the rhythm group. The soloist is always in contact with his fellow-members by playing the chords or the tonality of the theme. But jazz music is not complete without one important thing: the drive. This is the seeming acceleration of the rhythm. This swing element is the second link between soloist and group.

As you can see jazz music is a wonderful art-expression, in which individual and collective get what they belong.

Jazz is a positive, building-up form of creation, like an anarchist form of society should be.

HANS JAR.

Welcome Kosygin!

-BUT KEEP YOUR HEAD

Continued from page 1
under virtual house arrest in February 1921. Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, who had been deported from the United States for their revolutionary principles in December 1919, had to leave Russia for the same reason in December 1921. Some Anarchists were released from prison at the insistence of foreign trade-unionists in summer 1921, on condition that they left Russia; but many more were never released.

The final victory of the Communist Party was celebrated in March 1921, when Trotsky drowned in blood the Kronstadt rising of sailors and workers who still called for power to be restored to the Soviets, for land to be restored to the peasants, for factories to be restored to the workers, and for political prisoners to be released. But appetite grows with eating, and in the absence of any other victims the Communists began to persecute Communists. First the leaders turned against dissident groups in the Party, such as the Workers' Opposition and the Democratic Centralists. Then after Lenin died in 1924, the leaders turned against each other. Stalin, Kamenev and Zinoviev drove out Trotsky; Stalin, Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky drove out Kamenev and Zinoviev; Stalin drove out Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky; and then there was one.

After 1929, the Communist tyranny became worse than the Tsarist tyranny. The five-year plans meant the forcible industrialisation of the Russian economy, and the forcible collectivisation of Russian agriculture. No one knows how many people died in the process, but they are counted in millions. The Communist régime in Russia set up labour camps and even death camps before the Nazi régime in Germany (it was pointing this out that first got Mihajlo Mihajlov into trouble in Yugoslavia). The Moscow Trials disposed of most of the remaining Communist leaders, and the accompanying mass purges kept the camps full. No one knows how many were imprisoned, but they too are counted in millions—and thousands of them, like Lara in *Dr. Zhivago*, 'died or vanished somewhere, forgotten, as a nameless number on a list which was later lost.'

The Communists talked a lot about the threat of Fascism, but they betrayed the socialists and anarchists who fought Fascism in Spain, and in August 1939 Stalin actually made an alliance with Hitler. At the beginning of the War, Russia helped Germany conquer Poland, went on to conquer Bessarabia, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and tried to conquer Finland. At the end of the War, when Germany was finally defeated, Russia took the rest of Poland, half of Germany and Austria, and Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia. Lenin had called imperialism the last stage of capitalism, but 20 years after his death the greatest imperialist power in the world was Communist Russia. In 1949 Russia became the second country to make and test the Bomb.

Everyone knows that things are better since Stalin died in 1953—but how much better are they? The Russian empire is a bit smaller than it was, and so is the Russian army, but Russia is still the second military power in the world. Russian soldiers smashed the East German rebellion in June 1953 and the Hungarian rebellion in November 1956, and

they would do the same again if the need arose. Communists support disarmament in the West, but Russia still has the Bomb—the 'Workers' Bomb' (!)—and exploded the biggest one ever in October 1961. Russia is one of the few countries which has universal conscription, with no provision for conscientious objectors.

The Communist Party is still the only political organisation allowed in Russia, as in all Communist countries — including Yugoslavia. There are still no free elections, and the Soviets still have no power. There are still no free trade unions, and in the workers' paradise strikes are illegal and people may not change their jobs without official permission. The peasants are still serfs, since they are tied to the land and may not leave their farms or villages without official permission. All Russians must carry identity papers, and may not leave the country without official permission. There is still strict censorship, and nothing may be printed without official permission. Writers who defy the censorship are at best ostracised or exiled (like Pasternak and Tarsis), at worst put in lunatic asylums or labour camps (like Yesenin-Volpin and Brodski); it is less than a year ago that Sinyavski and Daniel were imprisoned for publishing their works abroad. Russia is one of the few countries which has official anti-semitism, and as recently as 1964 an anti-semitic book was published by the Russian Academy of Sciences (*Kychko's Judaism without Embellishment*).

Kosygin is not innocent of what has happened and is happening in Russia. He has been a member of the Communist Party since 1927—when he was in his early twenties—and of the Central Committee since 1939. He was a member of the Politburo and a candidate member of the Presidium under Stalin. He elbowed his way to the top with the worst of them, and he is implicated in everything they did. No doubt he not as bad as Stalin, but since when was that a compliment? He is not as bad as Lenin or Trotsky either. He is still the most important figure in one of the most powerful dictatorships in the world. Take no notice of the 'revolutionary socialists'—the Communists and Trotskyists and fellow-travellers—who would have it otherwise. They are the people who for 50 years have betrayed not just socialism or the revolution, but humanity and truth itself, with the terrible arguments that the end justifies the means, that the state is greater than the individual, and that success excuses anything.

Kosygin meeting Wilson is like the pigs meeting the farmers in *Animal Farm*. We are the animals gazing through the windows. We can see no difference between them. They are both fake socialists. They are both our oppressors. Wilson is our bastard, but Kosygin is a bigger one. That is all. So what is our attitude to Kosygin's visit? Well, we know what happened when Queen Frederika of Greece came to London in 1963. We know what would happen if Franco or Salazar came, or Vorster or Ky, to say nothing of Johnson. Kosygin is no better than any of them. We hope that something will happen when he comes to London next week—something that should have happened when Bulganin and Khrushchov came in 1956. We hope that thousands of people will go out into the streets and show him what they think of him and his government and his party. Remember that in Russia anarchist groups and papers are illegal, and so are street demonstrations. Let us make use of the rights our ancestors won for us. Let us give Kosygin the welcome he deserves!

Subscribe for a Friend

'Heath's Future will be Decided by Wilson'

-The Observer

MR. JO GRIMOND retired as leader of the Liberal Party and was succeeded by Mr. Jeremy Thorpe, who is on record as declining to protest in the case of Stuart Christie because the State has a right to defend itself. Jeremy Thorpe's mother, it is claimed in the *Sunday Express* 'used to be a Tory. Yet today she always votes Liberal. "Blood is thicker than politics" she explains. . . . Mr. Thorpe explains his policy to the politically-conscious readers of the *News of the World*. 'We [Britain, that is] have ended up almost friendless—pathetic to the Americans, decadent to the Europeans, dishonest to the Africans, untrustworthy to the Commonwealth, and insignificant to the United Nations. The image in the mirror is not one to be proud of. The Liberal Party has never been a party of emotional flag-waving patriotism, but it knows that any nation that loses its self-respect is bound to decline' and later, 'For too long Britain has been a divided nation, torn by a ridiculous class-war and with an old-fashioned industrial system of strife and anarchy. Liberals condemn the inequality of power in industry. Too much power is in the hands of old-boy boards and arrogant union bosses. Too little power is in the hands of workers and professional managers who really create our wealth.'

THE TORY CENTRAL OFFICE *Weekly News*, writing of Mr. Wilson, said, 'There is probably not an international statesman in any country who can trust what he says or the motives behind what he does.' . . . 'Every single promise made in two elections by Harold Wilson has been broken.' . . . 'When he opens his mouth in public no one—yes, no one—can be certain whether he is saying what he means, or if he means what he says.' . . . 'He has said one thing and done the opposite so many times that, in some spheres, he has become known as the original political somersault.' The Tory Central Office referred to Mr. Wilson in the following terms, 'the dishonest words, the dishonest promises and the dishonest manoeuvres of the most dishonest man it has ever been the misfortune of the British nation to elect to its highest office.' Many Tories criticized this as too severe and personal. The *Sunday Express* columnist 'Cross-Bencher' suggested that although the dissatisfied Conservative Party has apparently no

successor to Edward Heath, they still have his predecessor Sir Alec Douglas-Home who may have the possibility of an 'Indian Summer' to come.

MR. REG BIRCH of the Communist Party, now standing for the Presidency of the AEU, commenting on the Political Committee of the Communist Party (in the *Sunday Telegraph*), 'They are like a tin tabernacle, a Baptist band of hope which loves to be loved and to belong. They talk about the "British Road to Socialism" because they want to do it the right way, the cricket way. They don't want to seem like Bolsheviks, because that means black beards and bombs.' Asked how long he expected to remain a member of the CP, he said, 'Not long, I imagine. But they'll have to chuck me out. I'm not resigning.'

THE LEADING TABERNACLE EVANGELIST R. Palme Dutt, writing in the *Morning Star* under the title 'Hopeful stirrings in China's time of difficulty' says of China, 'At the same time it is necessary, as always in a critical phase of any revolution, to approach these events and dangers with understanding, and to maintain a balanced long-term perspective with complete confidence in the living forces of a great Socialist revolution and a great Socialist country.' Mr. Dutt then goes on to re-write history and says of China in 1956, 'But then came a change. The subjective weakness began to show itself in a series of arbitrary, adventurist and dangerous trends. At home the serious objectives of the Second Five-Year Plan, prepared with Soviet experts, were thrown aside in favour of wildly impossible targets in the "Great Leap Forward".'

MR. GEORGE BROWN'S BRUVVER resigned his post as Party Whip because, it is felt by some, he is being groomed for a post in connection with the Common Market, others believe he was disappointed in recent Cabinet shuffles. Peggy Duff is leaving CND at a time when there is some criticism of CND's apparent intention to go ahead (despite resolutions) with sole unshared organization of the three-day Easter demonstration. Dr. Clark Kerr of the University of California has been dismissed from his presidency by Conservative forces despite (not because of) his

resistance to student demands.

MR. BROWN AND MR. WILSON visited the Pope. The Pope expressed himself as displeased with the American government (but not to Messrs. B and W or on Vietnam) on the US policy of spreading birth-control information to needy countries. . . .

THE UNITED STATES carried out 'the biggest civilian evacuation programme of the Vietnam war' to quote their information service. 'If this temporary resettlement project works, and all early signs indicate it will, the evacuation may set the pattern for a new type of combined civic and military action programme.' . . . 'Vietnamese peasants in the iron triangle have been reluctant to leave their native land [Note how much easier it seems to leave an "iron triangle" than the Mekong delta—a food growing area—which is the real name of the place] which their forefathers have tilled for centuries and the military problem has been one of protecting [from whom?] these innocent families while at the same time eliminating the Vietcong from their previously impregnable sanctuary and main base area in the triangle jungle.' 'The military operation goes forward with considerable success.' 'They captured 7,000 Communist uniforms, 20 printing presses and 2,662 tons of rice.' It was stated that South Vietnamese troops found the bodies of 44 prisoners in an NLF camp as they advanced. A survivor said that the NLF bayoneted him in the back and threw him into the mass grave. They then flung hand grenades on top of the dead and wounded and fled before the unit of the 42nd Rangers who discovered the camp. . . .

A CORRESPONDENT in *Tit-Bits* writes, 'Since returning from China, where I worked in rice-fields, a growth—like an extra toe with a nail—has developed next to one of my little toes. What should I do about this?' *Tit-Bits* answered, 'This condition is called polydactyly—having too many fingers or toes. If you see your doctor, he may arrange for you to have the extra toe removed.'

JON QUIXOTE.

Talking Points

A RECENT LETTER writer in *FREEDOM* once again came up with the perennial idea that anarchists should adapt themselves to being a permanent minority reconciled to so being and forget about 'utopian' dreams. A little earlier, very rightly, he had mentioned that the present trend of the world is to 'Brave New World or 1984; if he examines his own arguments he will see that there will soon be no room in society for a libertarian minority, the rush to conformity will take us under if we do not contest it, and the only way we can contest it is by offering the majority of people (who would otherwise conform) the possibility of an alternative.

Of course there is little evidence that we shall succeed. If it were as easy as some people seem to think, then there would be no possible justification for the fact that we have not as yet built anarchism. Some people come into the movement, preach the possibility of anarchism for about five minutes, give up and then become dogmatic about the

Permanent Minority?

possibility of achieving change. They have tried and they have failed—therefore it is impossible. Apart from the arrogance of this, it shows a total misunderstanding of the difference between anarchism and liberal humanism. Many liberals want the same sort of society as us, but they do not appreciate the existence of vested interests deliberately combating social change. Vested interests (who control both the mass media of communication and the orthodox educational facilities of the state), are therefore in a position to brainwash the majority of people from birth, and to limit their access to facts in order to prevent the growth of libertarian movements. A tendency that would be very considerably accentuated under a 1984 society.

If attaining anarchism were merely a matter of preaching, then one would have to suppose that everyone had considered the anarchist case and for reasons which appealed to them (though not to us) had rejected it. As it is the majority of people have not heard our case. Those that have frequently are all too aware of the difficulties involved in spreading it and are daunted by this, rather than by any other difficulty in the anarchist case. It is precisely because we can never hope to compete with the establishment press that all successful anarchist propaganda is propaganda by the deed. (*FREEDOM* will never have the circulation of the *Express*, simply because an anarchist paper cannot raise money in the same way from advertising. The *Mirror*, for instance, every time it sells a half-page advert, raises £12,000 or more to subsidise the rest of the paper.)

FREEDOM's Permanent Protester policy of enlarging one's own sphere of influence neglects the tendency that your correspondent mentioned. We are moving towards more authoritarianism. Authoritarian society corrupts those spheres of freedom within them—which is why the Factory for Peace was doomed from the beginning. Nevertheless building such libertarian groups—yes even the Factory—each time contributes for a time to the libertarian education of others. So that though the Permanent Protester policy is self-defeat-

ing if so limited that it is seen as a viable end in itself, it becomes, if accelerated, a means of propagandist education; and such a means is necessary as a precursor of revolution.

Naturally the power interests will not sit back and allow such education to continue without redoubling their efforts to drive libertarian groups under. Only if militant action is waged against the ruling class can one prevent it destroying the nuclei of freedom that libertarians build. But there is obviously no mass movement of conscious rebels to fight the rulers and if there were the problem would already be solved. This then is where the traditional syndicalist policy—which your correspondent also derides—has validity. By starting with those who have an immediate (though not conscious) reason for opposing the state (and this is not necessarily now the working class—certainly not the white working class), it is possible to harass the authorities and thereby permit freedom for libertarian experimentation in *FREEDOM* designed to educate people. L.O.

KEEP IT UP!

WEEK 3, JANUARY 21, 1967:
Expenses: 3 weeks at £90: £270
Income: Sales and Subs.: £204
DEFICIT: £66

Perthshire: H.B. 4/-; York: P.C. £2;
Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-;
J.H. & D.H. 10/-; London, S.W.3: P.T.
3/-; Kenya: E.M. 5/6; Western Australia:
C.K. £1/5/-; California: M.R. 6/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Hartfield: O.M. £5;
D.M. £2; Rome: G.M. 15/-; Aberdeen: I.M. 2/6; Ilford: C.S. 10/-; California: J.R. £1/15/-; McKeesport: J.R. 6/-;
N.L.A.D.G. 1/8; Tooting Broadway: R.R. 2/6; London, S.W.10: A.M. £15;
London: J.R. 2/6.

TOTAL: £30 3 8
Previously Acknowledged: £29 0 0

1967 Total to Date: £59 3 8

CAN YOU HELP?



Freedom Selling. Saturday, January 28, 7 p.m. Meet in forecourt Charing Cross Railway Station for West-End *FREEDOM* selling. Organised by N.L.A.D.G.

N.W.

A Warning to Print workers

RECENTLY the national newspapers have become very self-conscious and not a little embarrassed by the amount of publicity they have been getting. Some have accused television producers of being unfair in their presentations of programmes, but newspaper editorials are very quick to attack practices in other industries, which are in fact being used by themselves.

This week's publication by the Economist Intelligence Unit, a report commissioned a year ago by the Joint Board of the National Newspaper Industry, shows the extent to which they themselves are 'guilty'. But the report is more than this. It is a thorough investigation into the industry, the management and the unions and, like all reports of this nature, suggests ways of making the industry more profitable.

Perhaps this is a thing that is forgotten by many people buying their daily paper. They are published mainly for profit and reporting, informing and commenting on the news comes second. In fact the report criticises some proprietors for their attitude towards profits. 'The attitude of some proprietors towards profits is not the same as that of the professional manager in industry. The professional manager looks upon profits as the yardstick of efficiency, but some newspaper proprietors often subordinate profitability to other considerations.' The report recommends more detailed budgeting and cost-control schemes.

Two newspaper groupings get considerable praise. The Mirror Group of Cecil King is described as 'a successful company by any yardstick', which is run like 'any progressive commercially-

minded company in industries'. The Thomson organisation gets similar praise.

The trend today is for newspapers to rely more and more on advertising revenue, 52% of the total revenue for the industry comes from this source. Of course the amount varies from paper to paper, the *Daily Mirror* gets 33% and the *Sunday Times* 77%. But whereas the *Mirror* has a huge circulation, the *Daily Sketch*, with a very poor one, gets less than 25% of its revenue from advertising. With so much reliance placed on this type of revenue, newspapers are particularly vulnerable during an economic squeeze. While circulation might be helped by this situation, revenue from advertising has decreased and so highlighted the economic situation in the industry.

THE 'CLOSED SHOP'

Although proprietors are blamed for their unbusinesslike approach, they are also criticised for their weakness towards the unions. Agreements on 'no redundancies' and 'manning' schedules are attacked. The report says that over-manning costs the industry £5m. a year. This is the same old story that workers have heard from employers and the Government, that there are too many men doing too little work. From the point of view of the workers, it means more control on the job. If workers have achieved this through the 'closed shop' policy, then this is a good thing, for it gives them far more security.

Workers in print, generally, are feeling less secure now than they have for a very long time. It cannot be denied that they operate many practices that can be called restrictive and because of this they have found it easier to secure the wages and conditions that they enjoy today. But, as with other workers, these conditions are under attack. The Government's July measures have created a situation where employers are in a stronger position to attack the restrictive practices of workers. It is now the turn of the printworkers.

The industry does face strong competition from abroad and new machinery, designed to cut labour costs, is seen as a way of being more competitive. The Cameron Report, set up to enquire into two disputes arising from the introduction of web-offset machinery recommends one union for the industry. The advantages and disadvantages this would bring to the rank-and-file printworkers are debatable, but what workers can expect is a much tougher attitude from the managements, especially from King and Thomson.

Many commentators have lamented the decline in the number of newspapers. Even though all the daily newspapers

faithfully support the capitalist system, with the exception of the *Morning Star*, which supports state capitalism, different expressions of these views are far better than the monopoly control towards which the industry seems to be heading. While liberals lament this, they nevertheless fail to point out that this is inevitable under the present system and that competition eliminates rivals, leaving only the strongest.

UNIONS TOO POWERFUL?

The EIU Report's main criticism of unions in the industry boils down to the fact that they have become too powerful. But what is important is that this power has come into the hands of the rank-and-file. The present wage structure consists of basic pay made up with extra payments which are negotiated at shop floor level by the shop steward, who is known as the Father of the Chapel (FOC) in the printing industry. Depending on the ability of the FOC and the militancy of the men he represents, considerable pressure can be brought to bear to gain extra wage payments. Rank-and-file organisation is too powerful for the liking of the EIU, who are concerned about the control over hire and fire which the rank-and-file have. The FOCs described in the report as 'sound and reliable' are the moderate ones, while those who are willing to have a go are 'no credit to their union'.

The report recommends higher salaries for union officials and says that they have relied too long on a 'sense of vocation'. 'The quality of the trade union officials is probably even more variable than that of management. Some are outstanding men who would probably have risen to the top in any sphere. Many are good, although they would probably be even better with training.' In other words, they want more jobs for careerists, with the union officials having a highly-paid job which involves all the negotiating, thereby taking the power away from the rank-and-file members.

The worker has only his labour for sale and organises and creates the most effective means of gaining the best return for it, and in the process aims for as much control as he can over his job. The more he has over manning, extra overtime payments (even after the job is completed) and hire and fire, the better for him. However the printworker will have to fight to maintain this position, for the report says that normal 'wastage' will not bring about a reduction soon enough, so sackings will be tried. This report, like the Devlin Report on the docks, is a warning to printworkers that they can expect tougher attitudes from now on.

P.T.

FREEDOM

For Workers' Control

JANUARY 28 1967 Vol 28 No 3

The Dignity of Labour

WHEN it was announced that 2,000 of London Transport's external and internal officials were to stage a one-day strike in protest at the freezing of their promised pay claim the general atmosphere within most garages was one of amused contempt. In every industrial dispute these men have always and without hesitation lined up with the management against the rank and file and the mass of these 2,000 men have always regarded their work function as that of industrial police. No conductor believes for one moment that when an inspector checks his bus it is for any other reason than to report the conductor for any failing, be it the conductor's fault or no, and rather than perform their correct function of maintaining a smooth flow of passenger transport, too many of these men appear to believe that their job is to act as human whips and goads.

It is from their ranks that the LTB recruit the volunteers for their plain-clothes industrial spies and there has never been a shortage of volunteers for this filthy job. Yet one could have accepted that finally this gutless crew would work up sufficient courage to say boo to the guv'nor, and one could have given them a silent blessing, if it were not for the fact that they were not having a one-day protest strike for more pay (for that had already been granted before the pay freeze caught them by the goolies), but because they were demanding an extra increase to maintain the difference between them as a social elite and the horny-handed rank and file.

They were quoted by the press as earning a £1 a week less than a driver—and this is a blatant lie because, in the same week as their one-day strike, an inspector's gross pay for a 40-hour week would have been £21 5s., while my pay as a conductor was £15 17s. gross for a 41-hour week, giving me a net wage of £13. In the Ur-days of public transport when conductors called everybody 'sir' and drivers were lords of the local pub an inspector's wage was held to be roughly one eleventh more than a driver's pay.

Now it is nearly 25% more and still they demand a greater social/economic difference and my simple class reaction is to say 'balls comrade', for I know that next time I am involved in some form of transport dispute with the LTB these

are the very men who will continue to work and try to break whatever stoppage of labour may take place. But they had their strike and we all laughed and wished them well as they stood sheepishly on picket duty outside the garage, minus strike picket armbands and police guard, that always appeared a legal necessity when the rank and file struck.

But again it was left to the rank and file to drag this sorry mess up into the dignity of workmen against management when, at four-thirty on a black winter's morning, less than a single handful of drivers and conductors reporting for work found a scab inspector inside while the night inspector who should have been on duty was on the stones as a striker. The small group of conductors refused to accept their ticket boxes from the scab and, with nothing to gain and a day's pay to lose, stood and waited until an elderly labourer box-hand arrived to issue the boxes. These handful of conductors took this action without any printed orders from the union top-brass sound asleep in bed, and without any of those mass meetings so beloved of middle-class working-class mythology. Men and women in at least three garages were prepared to stop work and lose a day's pay in defence of men on strike even though these men were their industrial enemies.

When those within the anarchist movement breathe over their coffee cups that the working-class are a mindless herd, remember those men and women who at four-thirty on a black winter's morning stood fast on the principle of working-class solidarity, even though they knew that the very people they were standing by would not bother to stand by them, be the tense past or future, and you who rode in a bus on Friday, January 20, know that you did so because thousands of men and women were doing their job, with but a few exceptions, without any industrial police, uniformed or nay, to hound them on.

We talk so easily of the dignity of labour but, on that day, a small group of busmen and women gave it a true meaning and, for a single day, thousands of men and women worked as a public duty when they could have turned London into a transport circus.

LUMPENPROLETARIAT.

Contact Column

This column exists for mutual aid. Donations towards cost of typesetting will be welcome.

Thanks! Liz Smith and Ian Mitchell have finished paying their £120 fines, and would like to thank again all those who contributed. Aberdeen Anarchists.

Dialectics of Liberation. International Congress sponsored by Institute of Phenomenological Studies. London, July 15-30. Registration Fee 15 gns. Allen Ginsberg, Paul Goodman, Herbert Marcuse, Ronald Laing, etc. Enrolments to IPS, 65a Belsize Park Gardens, N.W.3.

Accommodation Wanted. Girl wants flat in London sharing with 2/3 others. Lesley Owen, 24 Crawshay Drive, Emmer Green, Reading.

Work. Urgent; young couple, both graduates, seek any work in which they can be together (for personal reasons this is more important than the money). John Tittensor, 103a Camden Road, London, N.W.1.

Accommodation. Young couple (with two small sons) urgently need 3-room s.c. flat at reasonable rent. Willing to decorate, baby mind, help in house, garden, etc. Box 42.

Mujeres Libres Lecture. Sunday, January 29. G. Baldelli on Technocracy and Society (in English) at Royal Hotel, Woburn Place, W.C.1 (near Russell Square) at 3.30 p.m.

Translators. Translators and summarists wanted for FREEDOM. Russian, Hebrew, Yiddish, Japanese languages. Get in touch with editors.

Accommodation wanted. Tourist accommodation wanted. Australian woman, travelling in Europe needs CHEAP accommodation in London for approximately four weeks in February, 1967. Prefer relatively central location. Would also like companion for travels in March. Box 43.

Work Wanted in France. Long shot. Can anyone help married couple (30's) find permanent work—France/Switz. Box 47.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

Defending Job Control

THE CAR manufacturing Rootes Group are facing stiff resistance to their plans to replace piece-work by a system of measured day-work payments. The company want to introduce this system into their factory at Ryton-on-Dunsmoor, Coventry, an area where piece-work has a long established tradition among many sections of workers.

The new system, similar to that worked by Fords and Vauxhalls, is a method in which each job is timed by a skilled demonstrator on the staff of the company. There is to be no bargaining on the time allotted to each job. The company say that they will also decide how many men will be employed on a given job and that they will not negotiate on this manning. In other words, Rootes want complete control over rates of pay, manning and speed-up.

The company's proposals cover two foolscap pages, in which they state their intentions quite bluntly. 'A fundamental principle of the proposal is that management assume full responsibility for manpower planning and the efficient use of the company's staff and labour resources. This means that man-assignments and performance standards will be determined by the management.' Obviously a stand had to be taken on this, for not only would acceptance mean cuts in wages (Ministry of Labour Gazette gives the

difference in earnings of piece-workers and time-workers as being as much as 3s. per hour), but would also mean loss of their negotiating rights.

Rootes also has plans for any worker who did not reach their time-measurement, their proposal in their 11-point document being 'If, after adequate instruction, investigation and discussion with the appropriate trade union representatives, any operator persistently fails to achieve normal standards of achievements, the matter would be dealt with under normal company procedure.' This of course means the sack.

'FAILURE TO AGREE'

The men have the support of their district officials and the three unions involved, the Transport and General, Amalgamated Engineering Union and the Vehicle Builders, have taken it through all the stages of the negotiating machinery, up to national level, at a meeting at York, where a 'failure to agree' was recorded. A representative for the employers said: 'Despite the failure to reach agreement today, the company do not intend to act precipitately on this issue. . . . We hope that talks will still continue in the establishment in the hope that a mutually acceptable basis of payment can be found.'

After the York meeting, a decision

was taken on a recommendation by shop stewards that the men stop work for a period of fifteen minutes in every hour. They took this action after the management refused to start negotiations on piece-work rates for new models. This strike tactic soon proved effective for after four days, the management agreed to negotiate.

Negotiations over piece-work rates can often lead to disputes. This has happened in BMC plants times out of number and is the main reason why they are also considering a new wage structure. BMC will no doubt watch the

Rootes dispute closely. However, there has not been a history of strikes at the Ryton factory and Rootes have not raised any points about inefficiency before. With two unprofitable years behind them, they clearly want to cut their wage costs without any loss of production. They want to do away with shop floor negotiations by shop stewards, and smash the job control which workers now exercise. The importance of this dispute and its outcome have much wider implications and effects on workers at other companies. Their struggle could be yours next.

YOUNG WORKERS!

(A leaflet issued by North West Young Workers Committee, 279 Cheetham Hill) Road, Manchester 8.

INDUSTRIAL ANARCHY is said to be wrecking and ruining our country! That's why we appeal to apprentices and young workers to refuse to participate in the destructive and degrading practices, which often prevail on Pancake Tuesday.

DO NOT TURN UP ON THIS DAY, as neither our training nor production will benefit by our presence at work! Young workers should set an example! Instead of horse-play and buffoonery on February 7, which only hinders work at the factories, let's put forward constructive proposals to the employers.

We could offer suggestions on: improvement of our training, more ade-

quate pay, a modernised apprenticeship, and how we should be allowed to free ourselves from all aspects of the industrial dark age.

This is important, because the young and underpaid workers are suffering from the effects of the Government wage freeze! Come out onto the streets on Tuesday, February 7! Protest outside factories, employment exchanges, employers' offices and support those unions that are against the pay freeze. Hold protest meetings! Set up picket lines! Organise marches!

COME OUT OR STAY OUT on Pancake Tuesday, February 7.