

## Take Over the Railways!

THE Labour Party leaders are understandably worried lest the proposed strike called by the National Union of Railwaymen for next week damages the Party's chances of winning the next general elections. In a desperate bid to recoup its (electoral) popularity the Government is seeking any kind of excuse to confuse the issues, and above all to create a quite false image of the Labour Party as the mouthpiece of extremists in the Unions, and of those who, by advocating a defence policy without the H-Bomb, wish to reduce this country to the position of a minor Power. Undoubtedly the Tory election managers will welcome the NUR strike next week, and will seek to use the inconvenience to which the travelling public has been subjected, for electoral ends. In Churchill's message to the Primrose League, the Member for Woodford (who a day or two earlier had announced his retirement from the House where he has not uttered a single word since 1955) points out that "until lately it has been a source of national strength that all three parties, while supporting the Western Alliance, have seen the need for Britain to have a nuclear armory ultimately under our own national control" and goes on to warn the country that "to abandon

that policy now would be to embark on a course holding great perils . . . " And after references to "the mercy of Providence" and that if we abandon the H-bomb now we shall not have a second chance, for we will "abandon it for ever" he concludes:

This is one of the great issues the country will have to decide this year or next. I know that all of you, who realise how much is at stake, will do all that is in your power to see that the country takes the right decision.

In other words: Vote Tory! Only a politically moronic electorate could surely be swayed one way or the other by such ham-handed propaganda. On the other hand Mr. George Brown's appeal to the railwaymen to call off the strike and allow the Beeching plan to be thrashed out politically—"let us make that political case in a political way, in the political forum of the nation"—was hardly less ham-handed. It is true that the future pattern of public transport is a question of direct interest to each one of us. But it is equally a fact that the railway workers are prim-

arily interested in their future livelihoods—and this is purely an economic issue. As anarchists we consider the political and economic as indivisible, and because we do, we are opposed to capitalist, and all authoritarian, systems. But so long as the workers' organisations look upon their members simply as wage earners and accept as permanent the social and economic structure of capitalist society, not only will workers in every industry be divided among themselves (job differentials) but equally important, their just demands will not be received with the sympathy they deserve from the public, but resented as yet another "imposition". How often one hears the remark: "holding the public up

to ransom" when workers, especially in public services and "key" industries, strike for more pay. Of course one could point out to that indignant public that they too are prepared to act in the same way when their sectional interests are involved.

★

IN a capitalist society no one has the right to work. The Trades Unions exist to secure the best conditions they can for their members. But they have no legal powers to oblige a factory owner, for instance, to keep his factory going and employ workers, if he doesn't think it worth his while to do so. As we have often pointed out the Trades

Unions are most militant when trade is booming and impotent during "slumps". And the reason is not far to seek. It is the old capitalist law of "supply and demand". When the bosses are competing for labour they will offer even more than the Unions demand so far as rates and conditions are concerned. When they are competing for markets the boot is on the other foot, and there's little the Unions can do. The "Welfare State" is purely an Insurance scheme, the existence of which underlines the job insecurity, as well as the maldistribution of the national wealth for most of us, in a capitalist society.

It is obvious, surely, that the economic pattern of society will not be changed until the workers demand the right to determine what they produce and how they dispose of it. This requires political action. In other words, Trades Unionism is the machinery by which organised labour seeks to secure as large a slice as it can of the economic cake it has produced but which is owned by the employers of labour. The revolutionary and political approach, as anarchists understand it, would be for the workers to declare that since they produce the economic cake, they have a right to

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## ONE OUT—ALL OUT!

Public Transport should be a social service. That is to say, the community should provide for itself a service calculated to meet its needs not one whose existence and size depends solely on the profit-motive. However, the powers-that-be in our present society have decided to chuck human needs out of the window and apply their sacred profit-motive to the railway system. To this end they have employed £24,000 a year hatchet-man, Dr. Beeching, who far from producing a 'master plan' has only done what any bloody fool could do given the same mandate. If a line doesn't pay—chop it!

As far as industrial wages are concerned, all transport is the "Cinderella". The Employers, the Government, are the hardest nut to crack and are prepared to go to any lengths to get their way.

The bus-strike in 1958 was a classic example—busmen could have stayed out until they rotted. If on May 14 tube trains and buses run, then the railwaymen can have taken strikes 'until the cows come home' and get nowhere. It's no good the busmen screaming "tube men get more than us", or the railwaymen moaning "the busmen and tube men both get more than we do"—the struggle is the same for all.

How do we, the travelling sardines, come out of this? Quite bluntly, grasping the shitty end of the stick. The public's immediate reaction is to blame the bloke on the job. However, the interests of the general public and

transport workers are the same, and what the powers-that-be intend giving is contrary to all our interests. The public needs a service and transport workers are prepared to provide same, given the opportunity. The three-day stoppage will cause some inconvenience but nothing like the permanent inconvenience and loss of livelihood for many workers that will be caused by the Beeching cuts.

Marples claims that redundancy will not be so great due to natural wastage, retirements, etc. Even if this is true, on his own figures there will be thousands fewer jobs available when the 'plan' has eventually been implemented.

You won't 'have it so good' on the dole. Industry will not go to depressed areas if they find that they have to shift their goods by hand-cart.

Look at the Labour Party? What a hope! Wilson doesn't want a strike, it might damage his election chances.

Only Transport workers themselves can achieve success—leaders went out with Joan of Arc.

The key word in this whole affair is SOLIDARITY. Solidarity between commuters (passengers to you) and all transport workers.

### May 14, 15, 16, ALL OUT

Railwaymen, tubemen, busmen, coach drivers—the lot! Public sympathy and support is vital. While fully supporting the May 14th and 16th action as a necessary first step, remember that this alone will not halt the closures.

Constant struggle must be maintained and intensified through guerilla strikes, work to rule, and taking no fares and similar action—until the Beeching Plan is scrapped.

Don't strike-break by working overtime or abnormal hours (shifts, etc.). Make sure that this strike hits your boss as well.

(Leaflet published by: The London Federation of Anarchists and the Syndicalist Workers' Federation).

I SAY, ERNIE!  
YOU COULDN'T SPARE  
YOUR BIKE FOR  
A COUPLE OF DAYS,  
COULD YOU?



SKITZ

## German Metalworkers' Strike

Metal-workers in Germany are out on strike for a pay rise of 8%. A 3 1/2% increase which was offered by the employers has been turned down by the unions.

The Metal-workers Union called out their members last Monday at the Mercedes-Benz car works near Stuttgart and the electrical firms of Bosch & Brown and Boveri & Co. They were followed by workers in other areas and the strike seems set to spread with the eventual involvement of nearly two million workers. The employers have countered the strike with a "lock-out". This state of affairs has shaken things in Germany which has had several years of peaceful labour relations.

Over the last two years, German workers have gained substantial pay awards and are now, and rightly so, claiming a higher wage out of the huge profits made during Germany's economic recovery. The employers seem determined to resist. Herbert von Hüllen, the leader of the Employers' Association, has rallied support from firms with the cry of "United we stand, divided we fall".

The workers of the North Rhine-Westphalia area have been threatened by the employers with a "lock-out" if they take strike action. Strike action in this area was to have started on Monday but the union leaders have decided to postpone it, presumably because of the talks scheduled to begin on that day between Dr. Erhard, the union leaders, and the employers.

The strike and the employers' "lock-out" are directly affecting the production of some car manufacturers and others will very shortly be threatened. Fords, Volkswagen and Opel factories are running short of parts. Fords said on April 30th that they had only enough

supplies to last them eight days.

Efforts have been made by Government leaders in the strike-affected regions, to try to bring about a settlement but their efforts have met with no success. In the face of the failure of these local efforts, the Government has now decided to take a hand. The Minister of Economics and Dr. Adenauer's proposed successor, Dr. Erhard, has asked representatives of the employers and of the Metal-workers Union to meet him in Bonn on Monday. The German

### INDUSTRIAL NOTEBOOK

government clearly does not wish to see this stoppage spread and become a long struggle between employers and unions. The unions for their part, have accepted the government's invitation to meet them.

What can the bloke on strike expect to get from this meeting? This government "get-together" formula has become the pattern for so many compromises both in this country and abroad. Here, at the Fords Dagenham factory, we have seen government intervention in an effort to prevent direct action with the result that the 17 victimised men are still out of a job. In France also, the miners' union leaders betrayed their members and went back to work with only half of their demands won.

This pattern of events is all too familiar to the rank and file union member. During strike action the union leaders try to control and limit the dispute. Often strikers wish to take more radical action, but the union officials resist and frustrate the workers' attempts. At all times the officials will

try to prevent any efforts by the workers themselves, to win demands. Their role is one of control, which leads to the eventual compromise and betrayal of the workers' struggle against the state and the employers.

Even before this strike in Germany began, the Metalworkers' Union leader, Otto Brenner, indicated that an offer of 6% would bring a settlement of the dispute. What say has the rank and file in all this? He is not consulted. The leaders get round the table with the bosses and that is that—Back to work with only a small part of the wage demand won.

These attempts by union leaders have to be prevented and rank and file strength must be built up in order to combat these. Only with this strength and control can the metal-workers' struggle in Germany be won. Some of the placards of the pickets have made it quite plain, "What the people make they own."

### 17 STILL OUT AT FORDS

Since the Court of Inquiry set up to investigate the case of the 17 men who were victimised by Fords, no real progress has been made by the unions to get these men reinstated. Fords have stopped paying them the £11 per week *ex-gratia* payment and instead, these men are now receiving money from the victimisation fund and the shop stewards fund. Those who belong to the Transport and General Workers' Union are also getting dispute benefit. Without this support from their workmates, these 17 men would be suffering great hardship. By this time, no doubt, employers have them well and truly black-listed.

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## ANARCHY 27

NOW ON SALE, IS ON  
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ANARCHY is Published by  
Freedom Press at 1/6  
on the last Saturday of every month.



## MORE CONTROVERSY ON

DEAR COMRADES,

As a post-Aldermaston recruit to the anarchist ranks, I feel rather alarmed at the tacit support for violent action which appears in the pages of recent FREEDOMS. Having arrived via the Committee of 100 I am convinced that violence is to be deplored at all times.

However, I recently came across an interesting attempt at distinction between violence and force, and I feel this should be followed up, as it is relevant to the discussion of how to act in demonstrations such as that in Whitehall. Violence implies hatred, giving vent to sadistic impulses in an essentially non-humanitarian way. It is basically a destructive power, and is largely irrelevant to true conflict, since its outcome in no way depends upon the merits of combatants' beliefs, merely upon who is physically strongest. There can also be mental or verbal violence, e.g. abusing policemen, and perpetual offensive badgering of individuals. This is more difficult to control and in some cases to condemn, but its underlying causes and feelings must be compared with physical violence and rejected.

Force, while it may often embrace violence, is not necessarily commensurate with it, and may, I believe, be in some cases justified. I see no other way at present of freeing the peoples of South Africa, Spain, etc., than some forceful revolution. I regret this, but it does seem true. However, force can be used as a constructive power, it can be used with love rather than vindictive hatred, and where it is used by a citizen defending a basic human right it is not irrelevant in the same way that physical violence is. For example a marcher who is faced with a police cordon can attempt to overcome this authoritarian restriction by pressing against it. Providing there is no personal hatred involved he may even be justified in pushing a policeman to the ground. He is not attacking him, which is violence, he is merely removing an objectionable object from a path along which he has a perfect right to move. Likewise he may use force to restrain an attack on his own person.

It is easy for a reasonably self-aware person to recognise whether or not violence plays a significant part in an act of force which he perpetrates. Inevitably violence will intrude, especially in moments of anger and frustration, but anarchists above all people must learn self-control, and we must attempt to find outlets for our violent impulses

# The People in the Streets

that do not involve our fellow men.

But I have only introduced the question of force *versus* violence, will someone take it up?

Yours sincerely,

IAN VINE,

Convenor, Bristol Federation of Anarchists.

DEAR EDITOR,

There seems to be a slight case of mental blockage where non-violence is concerned! It is obvious that the violence you believe in is the old-fashioned and, by comparison, almost romantic kind of struggle that took place in the Spanish Civil War. If the Spanish people had won that war, they would have had to use bigger bombs, import larger armies and employ many more Russian planes.

Today, such a struggle would inevitably end in a nuclear explosion. Once you decide to use violence, how can you draw the line at any particular weapon? (cries of "answer! answer!") It has been proved again and again that violent means lead to violent ends with more repression to follow.

You put the London Anarchists on the back for getting the better of the Police on Easter Monday, but they only did so because no real violence was used. If the Police had employed dogs, truncheons, hoses, we know quite well what would have happened.

I agree that non-violent methods have their drawbacks and can be immensely irritating at times, but I don't see how you can convert people in any other way. And it *must* be conversion—not coercion. Or the whole idea of Freedom is a farce. Which you would be the first to deny. There are no short cuts to Utopia.

Yours,

Sussex, May 6. OLIVE MARKHAM.

DEAR EDITORS,

There are, as we well know, conditions which are libertarian and conditions which are anti-libertarian. In order to establish a free society it is obviously necessary to abolish all the anti-libertarian conditions. It has been stated several times in letters to FREEDOM that a free society cannot be established by violence because violence is authoritarian. If violence is used in the cause of liberty it must be essentially libertarian. Violence, in essence, is neither authoritarian nor libertarian but becomes one or the other according to which ends it is used to further. It may be argued that violence is authoritarian in that it may force a group of people to do something against their will, but, employing that particular definition, civil disobedience, if it achieves its aims is authoritarian. (Of course, if it does not achieve its end then it is not worth employing anyway, so there arises the choice of being "authoritarian" or ineffective). In fact everything short of non-contention is "authoritarian". If however we adopt

a "turn the other cheek" attitude then no attempt is made to coerce the State and consequently pacifism cannot be regarded as libertarian. If a civil disobedience movement became large enough to effectively challenge the State it must be as "authoritarian" as a violent movement, however if it did not effectively challenge the State it could not be regarded as libertarian. Any attempt to overthrow the State with the aim of establishing a free society is libertarian and consequently anarchist violence must be libertarian whilst anarchist pacifism cannot be so.

Sincerely,

CHRIS ROSE.

Upminster, May 5.

DEAR COMRADE,

It is very distressing that your only reaction to those anarchists who advocate non-violence should be abuse of a particularly childish nature. To be a middle-class pacifist is clearly to your way of thinking incompatible with being a truly revolutionary anarchist. Such an attitude is not only intolerant; it also reveals that you are lamentably ignorant of the basic idea behind non-violence, which, whether you personally agree with it or not, is increasingly widely held in the anarchist movement.

The essential point about the concept of non-violence—the thing, in fact, which distinguishes it from straightforward pacifism—is that it is seen as a viable method of achieving social change. Most of its advocates (including, I assume, Tony Weaver) would argue that it is not only a method, but in fact the *only* method, of achieving an anarchist revolution. The concentration of power in the hands of the modern state is such that it seems inconceivable that any revolutionary movement can possibly overthrow the state by physical force. This is not a question of moral principle (though for many people that is an equally relevant factor) but an analysis of the situation as it appears today.

It is for this reason, I imagine, that Tony Weaver spoke of the incidents on Easter Monday, as 'masturbating in public'—a substitute for the real thing! What did we achieve by temporarily taking over a few streets when we must know that a handful of machine guns could have mown us down in ten minutes? What are we priding ourselves on—that we did not provoke the police to even greater violence than they actually used?

No, comrade, your visions of the barricades are juvenile fantasies. But this does not mean that there is no hope of revolution. On the contrary, as Alex Comfort pointed out in his book "Art and Social Responsibility", written while the last war was still in progress, the very centralisation of power in the hands of the state, which makes violent revolution an impossibility, renders the state all the more vulnerable to acts of individual, non-violent disobedience. It is through these means, if any, that hope

of anarchist revolution lies. But the taking of such action will require a tremendous amount of courage and self-discipline. It is for this reason that we must, in Tony Weaver's words, 'get down to the business of educating and training ourselves': educating and training ourselves in non-violent direct action, which will be the means of achieving the economic and social changes that are our common goal.

Yours fraternally,

Oxford, May 6. GABRIELLE CHARING.

DEAR COMRADES,

It seems to me that in the midst of their attack on Tony Weaver, pacifism and non-violence the Editors make a mistake. For a start, many pacifists are also anarchists who do *not* believe that the police are merely 'doing their job': on the contrary, on the more effective demonstrations in which these people have taken part, their dislike of the police force as an institution has not been expressed by the ridiculous scuffling of amateurs with professionals in the art of violence. This is speaking the language of the police—and they have louder voices. But non-violent non-cooperation is not something the police understand very easily—and they find it far more disturbing.

Yours sincerely,

London, May 5. DIANA SHELLEY.

## ILLUSION

DEAR EDITORS,

Non-violent revolutionaries are taken to task for 'remaining oblivious to the massive entrenched forces with which

the privileged minority protects itself against radical change.' It is precisely my awareness of the PHYSICAL manifestation of these forces which inclines me to nonviolence. Cannot the Editors see that any attempt at armed revolution would get smashed assuming enough people could be found foolhardy enough to try it. Every weapon or violent tactic the revolutionaries used and the State would go one better. The State's ultimate weapon (at present being developed) is a nuclear device which kills by intense radiation all living things in an area yet causes no material damage beyond broken windows. Obviously the possession by the State of such weapons makes armed uprisings utterly and totally impracticable. This is realism not defeatism.

What then of non-violence? Wouldn't the State use such weapons against non-violent revolutionaries? Possibly but not necessarily because it is hoped to win over the people who will be ordered to use these weapons, to persuade the hirelings, stooges and victims of the state to see where their real interests lie.

Few, if any, non-violent revolutionaries seriously hope to win over that small band of cynical, unscrupulous rats that inner establishment, which pulls the strings of power. But what will be the point of their pulling strings if there is no one on the other end.

Whether this idea is practicable or not I don't know. There are a dozen obvious snags, which it may be possible to get round when the time comes.

Let's put it in simplest terms. If a hireling of the State is offered a gutful of machine-gun bullets he'll give a gutful in return. But if he is offered an idea he may perhaps accept it.

Yours faithfully,

Watford, May 5. JEFF ROBINSON.

## A Badge of Honour

"IF THIS BE TREASON", by Helen Joseph, Andre Deutsch, 18s. Mrs. Joseph's earnings from the book are for Christian Action.

HELEN JOSEPH has presented us with a very human documentation of the four-and-a-half year Treason Trial in South Africa, where she and 29 other men and women of all races stood trial for high treason.

This ugly episode in the history of South Africa began on December 5th, 1956 when 150 people were arrested for high treason, two weeks later another 16 people were arrested. Then in January 1958, after a whole year spent on the Preparatory Examination, charges were withdrawn against 65 of the accused, leaving 91 people to be committed for trial. In January 1959, after another year of legal wrangling, 30 of the accused appeared in Court. Later, in April of the same year, the indictment against 61 of the accused was quashed. It was not until August 1959—nearly three years after their arrest—that the thirty accused of high treason pleaded not guilty.

In 1960, whilst the Trial was in process, 66 people were shot dead at Sharpeville, and soon after, a State of Emergency was declared. Twelve of those accused of high treason were arrested in dawn raids, nineteen others were arrested outside the court. Throughout the Emergency, some five months, they were held in gaol. The Trial continued, with the accused conducting their own defence to be followed by the Crown argument. It was not until the 29th of March, 1961, that the Court unanimously found the accused not guilty.

In money the total cost of the trial was more than half-a-million pounds, yet as Mrs. Joseph remarks: "The cost in human suffering cannot be assessed; there is no yardstick for the years of anxiety, of physical and mental strain". The loss in earnings for the accused amounted to £168,000, resulting in untold suffering for their families. As Helen Joseph remarks: "a monstrous trial." And in the words of one of the former accused: "What treason was there? Is it treason to ask that Black and White should live together, as brothers, countrymen, equals? Is it treason to ask for food? Is it treason to ask that the pass be abolished? And that we might walk freely in the land of our birth?" The answer to these questions by the State is an emphatic affirmative. Those on trial were regarded as guilty until proved innocent, and even then they were treated as being guilty. In the name of humanity—if this be Justice!

Yet the response of the African people is indicative of their respect for those

accused of treason, they name their children Treason with a sense of pride and regard it not with shame, but as a badge of honour. The common humanity of people tells them that those who are regarded as traitors in the eyes of the State must indeed be on the side of justice, equality and freedom. It is, indeed, a badge of honour to be regarded as a traitor by the State.

"If This Be Treason" is a partisan account of the Treason Trial by someone very involved in the issues at stake, at times Mrs. Joseph slips into sentimentality and there is some lack of objectivity.

There are some delightful episodes, and also some very moving ones, of the former—during the Preparatory Examination—is the plight of the Crown's expert on Communism, Andrew Murray, Professor of Philosophy. He was given some unidentified quotations from President Wilson, President Lincoln, from Dr. Malan and from his own writings and he said that they were the sort of thing a Communist would say or could be expected to say. Of the latter, an example occurs during the cross-examination of Robert Resha: He is asked "During approximately what period did you live in Sophiatown?"—"I think from 1940 to 1959."

"What happened in 1959?"—"In 1959, while I was in this place (the Court), the re-settlement board demolished the house in which I lived, throwing my property outside the house whilst my wife was away at work, and my children were at school."

"When you arrived home that evening you found your property on the pavement?"—"Fortunately there are still good people in this country who looked after my belongings until I came back from this case."

"Did you receive any notice about this demolition of the house?"—"I did not receive any notice."

We have, then, the tale of the victimisation of men and women who opposed the policies of the South African Government, who were punished whilst not being found guilty and who continue to suffer still due to their convictions. Their treatment is an example of the sickness of the decaying corpse of Western civilisation. For those of us in Britain who are advised to look to America to see the future pattern of our life, it strikes me forcibly at times that our reaction might well be to point out that it is to South Africa that we must look, in order to prepare. After all, it is only a matter of time before we have our own Treason Trial—we have already had a foretaste in the Trial of the Six. So it might be advisable to read Helen Joseph's book, just to be ready. J.W.

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## 'Lovely War' Excellent Entertainment

"OH What A Lovely War" (Theatre Royal, Stratford), which marks Joan Littlewood's return to stage directing after two years' absence, consists of a series of satirical sketches built around songs of the First World War. I recommend it to theorists of the "art equals morality" school. Because while reminding us just how clever and tune-fu popular songs can be (by comparison, nowadays, we are back in the Dark Ages), it demonstrates that some of the most delightful of the 1914-18 period were literally murderous. "I suppose they had to sing songs like that," a girl remarked as we went out, "otherwise they could never have got people to fight."

The war, according to Miss Littlewood and her collaborator, Charles Chilton, was a bloody mess. True, but hardly news. If Miss Littlewood's main purpose was to express her anger at the slaughter, she is about thirty years too late. It is not as though she and Mr. Chilton have anything fresh to say on the subject: virtually the only cliché they omit is the one of the ex-serviceman grinding a street organ. (To be fair, some attempt is made to draw a parallel with our present nuclear predicament, but this is largely confined to the pages of the programme).

If, on the other hand, Miss Littlewood was intent chiefly on making a general pacifist statement, I can only say that

to base one's argument on the First World War is a little too easy. It would have been interesting to see what she would have done with more recalcitrant subject matter, the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, for example, or the Spanish Civil War.

Curiously enough, for a propaganda effort, the show rather plays down war's physical horrors. Lantern slides are used intermittently to depict scenes from the battlefield, but on the stage itself nobody screams or bleeds, hardly anyone dies, and in one instance an attempt is made to present violent death in poetic terms.

The show is also weakened by its use of the celebrated alienation effect. We are asked to feel compassion for the stage Tommies, but at the same time we are refused the illusion of their existence. As for the casualty figures that flash across the back of the stage, they are terrible in any context, and there is no need to go to the theatre to experience an emotion that can be had simply by picking up an official history.

Having said which, I must add that Oh What A Lovely War is an excellent evening's entertainment. That, really, is its trouble. Watching it, I felt a little like someone who had paid to see The Silver Tassie and found himself instead at a performance of Cavalcade.

GEOFFREY MINISH.



## TAKE OVER THE RAILWAYS!

Continued from page 1

decide how it shall be distributed. Such an approach presupposes that all shall have equal access to the means of production to provide for their needs. (This writer will explain, on another occasion, why in spite of the foregoing, he is in practice an advocate of communist--and not individualist--anarchism!)

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NOW the N.U.R. are fully entitled to stage their strike but by the same token the A.S.L.E.F. and other railway workers are entitled not to join them, and one would even add, the travelling public should not be expected to support them, for what are the issues at stake?

The Beeching plan is, in a word, a crude attempt to make the railway system financially solvent by closing down all those services which by an equally crude financial yardstick can be shown to be operating at a loss. The implementation of this plan will, apart from depriving a section of the public of a service, result in thousands of railway employees losing their jobs.

If we lived in a world in which each of us was our brother's keeper, the issues calling for public reaction are clear enough. But we don't live in . . . an anarchist world! Consequently sympathy over the fate of a group of our fellow beings is tempered by the divergent and conflicting interests of the rest. (1) It is not difficult to understand the ASLEF's reluctance to join the NUR. The fact that the former, which limits its membership to engine drivers, firemen (aspirant drivers) and signalmen, that is skilled workers, hopes that the Beeching plan will, by making the railways more efficient (financially) ensure higher remuneration for the key men which it represents, would indicate that it seeks its improvements at the expense of the so-called "unskilled" workers. (2) While a minority of travellers will sympathise with the NUR because in fighting for their jobs they are wily nilly fighting to keep open the branch lines used by this minority (though it should be made clear that the NUR are not fighting to keep the services going but of keeping their jobs) a majority will be thinking that to keep the railway system as it is will mean that they will have to pay higher fares and (3) this fear of one section of the community having to subsidise another will be manifest among the millions of car-owners (most of whom spend more time polishing their status-symbol than using it) who probably would argue that all railways should be scrapped and converted into motorways! (4) One must not overlook the fact that hardships for the railway workers will be offset by "gains" for workers directly or indirectly engaged in road transport.

The gloomy picture we present of a divided people can only be ignored if one is content to repeat the slogans of solidarity, mutual aid, etc., and leave it at that. But if one has more than an intellectual interest in the social struggle one must be prepared to recognise the futility of next week's railway strike. To our minds there can be no solidarity where there is no identity of interests; and there can be identity of interests among the working people only when they reject all

economic differentials and social privileges.

★

BUT in the meantime what can the railway workers do to prevent the Beeching axe from falling. Apart from electing a Labour government next time (which says that it would prune the railways and not axe them), there is little the NUR can do with its present approach except call a strike in an attempt to get Beeching to ease the operation of the redundancy scheme. It is abundantly clear that the NUR is not concerned with Beeching's closures of these services so long as its members get "a fair deal". If the NUR believed in the ideas of workers' control, and the provision of a service to satisfy the public need, the Beeching plan would have been a golden opportunity to put into effect a workers' take-over of these unprofitable lines and show how it is possible to provide service even when the need is limited. There was ample time for the railway workers and the railway users and potential users to get together to ascertain the needs and plan what services would be required to satisfy these needs. The financial aspect so far as running costs are concerned could also have been ascertained (to our minds the railwaymen were entitled to take-over the lines and equipment without any payment since it is the government's intention to scrap these lines in any case, and they cannot have it both ways!) and explained to the users. Clearly some lines would carry sufficient traffic to justify full-time workers, but there would be others where only part-time workers would be sufficient, in which case it would possibly be necessary for such workers to obtain alternative employment as near at hand as possible to the railway.

There is probably still time to make the attempt at least on some of the lines threatened with the Beeching axe. And if the NUR workers who are, after all prepared to lose three days' pay, were instead to work those three days and give their pay to a fund for this purpose, they would launch their take-over with probably more than £1 million, a sum which would allow them to reach the public direct and wage their battle to keep the lines open where the need warrants it. This is, to our minds, the only practical action, which will draw the people closer together, and which incidentally, can be carried out here and now and not after the revolution. But it is the kind of action which is a definite step in the direction of workers' control, responsibility and the libertarian social revolution. And because of this it will not be accepted by the government without a struggle. Indeed we have no doubt that if the railwaymen were to show the kind of initiative we outline the government would revise its plans post-haste. And in that case we hope that the workers would have the sense and responsibility not to give in, but press forward with even more determination their demand to control the services in which they are engaged.

Beeching contemptuously stated at a Press conference that public protests last about six days and then peter out, and that this would be the case over the branch lines. It is a challenge which railway workers and users should take up. Beeching and the government must be made to eat their words.

ACCORDING to which page of the *Daily Telegraph* one reads, the tactless plebeian Mr. Marples said about the closure of the land and sea route from Stranraer to Larne, either "Northern Ireland have no need to worry that they won't be consulted before it is closed" or "So there is no need to worry. There will be no consultation before it is closed down". Either way, Mr. Marples earned the prize of Mr. T. G. D. ("Tam") Galbraith for his Joint Parliamentary Secretary. A game of musical chairs sent Mr. Charles Orr-Ewing back to industry. The member for Woodford conceded that since his last speech was in 1955, and another election is imminent, they had better choose a new candidate for the constituency. He sent a message to the Primrose League annual meeting warning of 'great perils' if Britain gave up her independent nuclear deterrent. "These deadly weapons are safer in our hands than in any other." Mr. Macmillan was seen to be taking a collection during the week-end party conclave at Chequers, it turned out to be in aid of the ancient churches of Buckinghamshire and not for any other relics. A Dublin mail-van robbery was carried out by six men, one of whom wore a mask cast in the features of Mr. Macmillan. . . .

A GREEK newspaper advocating that the Greek royal visit to this country be cancelled, carried the banner headline, "Keep away from these homosexuals"—*et tu Plato!* This spleen was occasioned by the release of the news that Queen Frederika Louise of Hanover (and of the Bund Deutscher Mädchen) was kicked (Mirror), assaulted, molested, chased, or otherwise incommoded (according to what paper one reads or which agency one gets the news from), on making an unguarded trip from Claridges. She was approached by Mrs. Betty Ambatielos. The Queen replied that she did not speak to strangers. Mrs. Ambatielos who was protesting about the imprisonment of her husband in Greece for sixteen years, persisted, with the result that the Queen fled, pursued, if not by real furies, by the Furies of Greek legend. She entered a *cul-de-sac* as all monarchs are apt to do and sought sanctuary with a stranger. The stranger, being a democratic American, was not put out by the explanation "I am the Queen of Greece", and gave her refuge and whelp. . . .

"PARIS-MATCH" keeping up the reputation of the World press for reliability and veracity, reported Peggy Duff as saying of the Aldermaston march, *Cette année, nous avons pensé qu'il fallait faire mieux que d'habitude, frapper l'opinion . . . Avec nos tracts et nos pancartes, nous avons décidé de faire un détour. Par la base secrète 'R.S.G.6*



justement." This, I am credibly informed means that she and the CND decided to make a detour to "R.S.S.G.6". The police are still on the track of the original pamphlet which continues to begot its kind and a pamphlet on R.S.S.G.4 which is said to be in Brooklands Avenue, Cambridge. The Committee of 100 group sightseeing there tried to take photographs. Three young men from the contractors said it was a public lavatory, and they had instructions not to let anyone take photographs. "Why can't we take photos of a public lavatory?" the Committee of 100 asked. "It has special pans". "Can we use it?" they asked. "No, the drainage is not working yet." Damage done to R.S.S.G.6 on Easter Saturday was estimated at £2 and the estimated cost of the work of setting up Regional Seats of Government was £1,600,000. . . .

THE SECRETARY of State for Scotland Chamber of Trade Conference thought that the Chamber's public relations section should be doing more to guard shopkeepers who gave good service "against all the slurs and all the protection that consumers seem to want from us wicked folk". A canned baby cereal examined by *Which* was revealed to contain 75% water. . . .

THE SECRETARY of State for Scotland refused to order an enquiry into the case of a Borstal boy who was said to have been kept in solitary confinement in an underground cell for 21 days. Two detectives at Sheffield were fined £75 and £50 respectively for inflicting grievous bodily harm on two men being questioned at C.I.D. headquarters about alleged store-breaking. The chairman of the Bench said there had been a deliberate and excessive use of violence. Authority had been abused. A rhinoceros whip and a cosh were used. One man was hit with the cosh for fourteen minutes. Another was hit on the back, buttocks and arms. The defending

counsel said "They are human and were tired after working long hours. They didn't stop at restraining the men, but laid into them. They gave them what some may think these men possibly deserved. They went far, too far." A CND marcher took out a summons against a policeman for assault at a Kensington police-station. He alleged that after CND symbols and "RSG6" were written in the dust on a coach carrying a load of policemen, a man was arrested for insulting behaviour. He protested and was arrested also, and grabbed and thrown into the coach. Someone thumped and kicked him. On being charged he refused to give his name and was allegedly smacked on the face. He said that when he remained silent a sergeant entered the charge room and said, "Enough of this. Give them the full treatment." He was struck again. Simultaneously he was punched hard in the stomach and doubled up. Lord Goddard, former Lord Chief Justice said on addressing members of Somerset and Bath Magistrates Association, "I think it an awful pity that the stocks cannot be used for the Teddy Boy, whom nothing cures as quickly as ridicule. The stocks have never been abolished even if the Acts concerning them have been altered." Too much attention was being paid to the prisoner and not to the victim. "Short sentences are a misfortune, but many crimes only carry short sentences. You must harden your hearts at times. These people who plan the coshings, and the robbers of payrolls, it is no good talking to them about reformation. They live by crime." The duty of the criminal law, Lord Goddard said, was to punish, "reformation of the prisoner is not your business." . . .

LADY DARTMOUTH told the Royal Society of Health Congress at Eastbourne that as a child she was beaten when naughty. She maintained that discipline was vital. She could not remember why she was beaten but it was for all kinds of naughtiness including being late, or dirty, and not doing her work. She was never naughty the same way again. . . .

THE UNITED STATES Supreme Court ruled unanimously that racial segregation in courtrooms was unconstitutional. "State-compelled segregation in a court of justice is a manifest violation of the State's duty to deny no one the equal protection of its laws." 1,400 negro demonstrators, including many children, were arrested in Birmingham, Alabama. High-pressure hoses were used to disperse the crowds of demonstrators, and police dogs were set upon them. The Police-Commissioner (who has recently

Continued on page 4

## AROUND THE GALLERIES

WE are indebted to Mr. Sazo Idemitsu for loaning these paintings by Gibon Sengai to the Arts Council that that most materialist of organisations may exhibit them at their headquarters at 4 St. James Square, S.W.1. Grateful in that they add a needed touch of humour to the humourless exponents of instant Zen as expounded in the coffee houses of the West. Zen, that abbreviation of the Japanese word *zenna*, derives from the Sanskrit *dhya*na meaning meditation, tranquillization, concentration or merely keeping the mind on one subject and as such was a spiritual discipline first started in India's Vedic Age which when adopted by the Buddhists spread throughout the East. Vinaya, *Dhyana* and *Prajna* are the three fingers of Buddhist spiritual training and Daisetz Suzuki has defined Vinaya as the observation of the rules of conduct as laid down by Buddha, *Dhyana* the art of self-concentration and *Prajna* the awakening of the innermost sense that lies at the basis of our sense-intellect as it functions. Zen places its emphasis on *prajna* which gives the wisdom aspect of Reality but for all that *prajna* is valueless without *karuna* which is but the name for compassion and love.

*Karuna* is the means by which the disciple of Zen seeks *prajna* and it is the only path that leads to the final Emptiness that is Fullness and the Fullness that is Emptiness; not in the after-life of the christian teaching will it be found; not with the cold and reasoning intellect will these doors be opened; neither conceptually nor abstractly must it be sought but literally at this very moment in time and space. Sengai's *upaya* or method of demonstrating his *karuna* to help him find *prajna* are these

70 Zenga and 10 earthenwares now on display at the Arts Council hideout. To hideously misquote a gentleman from Slough it sounds like an awful load of bullshit and I feel that Sengai and I would form an unholy trinity in endorsing this view, for these slight yet ironic paintings mirror the cynic rather than the whey-faced mystic seeking infinity within the whorls of his navel.

Gibon Sengai was born in the province of Mino in the year 1750 and at the age of eleven this farmer's son donned his monkish robes for the first time. But it was not until he was 19 that he began his *anya*, or pilgrimage, from one master to another until he settled in Nagata to study the teachings of Gessen Zenji. At the age of forty he settled at the temple of Shofukuji at that time under the patronage of the local feudal lord Kuroda and at 62 he surrendered his abbotsip to spend the last twenty years living out his own free life.

A man of simple tastes, a worldly wit and a humanist he died at the age of 88 spurning worldly honours even to the purple robe offered to him, and conferred only by the imperial order of Emperor Kokagu. And in spite of his idolators the image comes across the age of a man too human to be wasted in the sterile dream world of self-delusion. His brush paintings are at times little more than doodles for at their best they have the innocent charm of the well-intentioned amateur, yet when married to his brief poems they have a sad and worldly lyricism. Like Jules Feiffer whose style bears comparison with Sengai, Sengai spoke for the pseudo-intellectual, for that was his world, that world of drifting men vainly seeking infinity yet wasting the years con-

templating the most banal of trivialities; men who after years of contemplation found that the quintessence of their secret wisdom was the ancient commonplace of the market-place, for in renouncing their fellow men they renounced the springs of knowledge, and in segregating themselves from the common touch they closed the doors upon the very love and compassion that they sought. This, Sengai must have realized when, at the age of 62, he walked out of the silent temple of Shofukuji back into the dusty, dirty, squalling stream of life. Yet his paintings have little artistic value for, at their stylised worst they are inferior versions of the 18th century *Tosa* school with its human figures dehumanized into pretty patterns at one with the background while at his best he owes an obvious debt to certain aspects of the 17th century *Kano* school with its own blend of Thurberish loose drawing and slow humour. Of the poems, many of them of less than a dozen words apiece, Suzuki's catalogue is invaluable though I feel that Dr. Blyth who aided him has endeavoured to read into them more than their frail frame will bear as with Sengai's painting of two bamboos with the painter's own caption "Thickly growing bamboos, each standing/Singly, on the hill of Tai-shan" to which Dr. Blyth must add the needless comment that perhaps Sengai means that everybody must live an individual and at the same time a social life, to which one can only ask that maybe Sengai just wanted to paint some bamboos and to hell with philosophy. Yet for all that Sengai was a man for all ages. A monk who could write: "Kill! Kill!"

Not only the cat,  
But the leaders of both parties,  
Including Wang the Old Master  
Himself."

was wasted on his chosen company.

ARTHUR MOYSE.



## Bruce & social sickness

DEAR SIR,

John Pilgrim's outline of the plot of "Mental Ward Nympho" as containing a detailed description of the "breaking a woman's limbs one by one, and when she recovered consciousness, raping her," and then relating it to a sick society is a point that on a moment's reflection is unacceptable.

Need one quote Shakespear's "Titus Andronicus", Webster's bloody and incestuous stage or the rest of the Elizabethan sword and cod-piece sex brawls to show that these off-beat fantasies can exist in a healthy and a virile age or that the writing has little to do with the subject-matter for that plot could be handed as a ploy to Bunuel to weave a film around and all the Town's culture kiddies would queue two deep outside the National Film Theatre to see out its moral symbolism.

A man and a society is not sick when it indulges in these harmless exercises via the printed page and the curtained stage only when it perpetrates them in the dark alley, the suburban bedroom or the State prisons. My sympathies are still with the unfortunate Lenny Bruce for I feel that he is the victim of his enemies and his friends. In spite of John's protestation I cannot believe that the fly boys of the Establishment hired him for any other purpose than that of a bawdy freak and that their cries of rage are completely synthetic and come mainly from their cash register. The battle is not for the right to use certain words or describe certain positions when expounding a moral proposition but for the right, for which I give my full and open support, to openly give full and free rein to our intellectual appetites

### CORRECTION

The final paragraph of my contribution to the controversy "The People in the Streets" should read: "The CND movement is not a movement of sheep—our action in the streets of London has underlined this fact" [italicised words omitted in FREEDOM 4/5/63].

Hull

J.W.

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# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

when communicating with each other without the pretended justification of moral or aesthetic highmindedness or in other words the right to paddle in the gutter without pretending we are looking for roses.

London, May 4. ARTHUR MOYSE.

## 'Travelling Loaded'

DEAR SIR,

I don't wish to pick holes in Mr. Parker's review of my novel, *Travelling Loaded*. This book has made me appreciate the fantastically odd 'connections' an author can make with his readers: a B.B.C. reviewer accused me of watching television serials (I don't own a telly) and reading Agatha Christie (never read a book by her). Regarding Mr. Parker's reference to Brinley's affair with Lalanie Foam, I'd like to describe how the principle of association worked. In 1942 I was locked in a cell in a military prison, only for a week or so, awaiting trial. Later I had trials via psychiatrists. One day a young man passed my cell door; he wore shirt and trousers and socks, and he carried two full buckets—the latrine buckets which we had to keep shiny. This young man was about five feet, four inches tall, fresh complexioned, well built, with regular features and brown hair sloping across his forehead. I envied his detachment. Behind him walked a prison guard, a private soldier no more, and for the time I was able to watch them from my cell, he kept hitting the young man on the back of the neck, down-chopping punches with the outer edge of his fist. Each time the young man staggered he maintained his grip on the buckets, and then moved forward again.

I don't know what happened to the young man. The guard told me he had

refused to wear uniform. Had someone ordered the guard to shoot the young man, I'm sure he would have obeyed without compunction, as an act of righteousness. Chronologically, the young man would be old enough to father my fictitious Lalanie Foam, so I shoved that bit of my personal experience into the story. Very simple, but what about the young man? His parents, brothers, sisters?

My final point: These are the individuals who change history. I have lived with the memory for twenty-one years, and I must have related the incident to scores of people. This letter will inform many more.

Rhondda, April 24.

RON BERRY.

## Anarchist Federation?

DEAR COMRADES,

There has recently been some discussion about the possibility of forming an Anarchist Federation of Great Britain. The idea of this is not necessarily to build an 'Anarchist Movement', but more to provide points of contact for comrades who may feel isolated and also to encourage a wider exchange of ideas and mutual aid. The F.L.A. has often thought of the idea of calling a meeting to discuss the formation of such a federation, but since we are in contact with only a few groups in other parts of the country, nothing has been done.

There has also been a suggestion that someone should travel about the country meeting all the different groups and forming a loose liaison in this way. This raises several points. Who has the cash and the spare time to do this? How are we to find groups and individuals who are unaware of the existence of Freedom Press or who choose to ignore it? Would they feel enthusiastic about such a liaison through an individual comrade?

I feel that we should hear the opinions of as many comrades as possible before

## OUT OF THIS WORLD

Continued from page 3

been voted out of office but has challenged the legality of the election) says: "We're just going to stop them, that's all." The crowd sang "We shall overcome some day". Five negroes and five whites set out on a march from Chattanooga to complete a march started by William Moore, a 35-year-old Baltimore postman (white Anglo-Saxon Protestant) who was shot dead on U.S. Highway 11 on April 23rd whilst carrying anti-segregationist posters. The Johannesburg City Council has banned the word "boy" to designate any of the thousands of Africans which it employs. The council also voted to increase the African minimum wage of £15 sterling per month. The Pretoria and Northern Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church declared that the principles of race differentiation and separate development were in accordance with Scripture teaching. Robert Sobukwe due to be released at the end of a three-year sentence will be

attempting to call a meeting, and that anyone who knows of other comrades who do not take FREEDOM, should urge them to write and let us have their views, even if they don't wish to take out a subscription.

Enfield.

"X"

## Anarchist-pluralist

DEAR COMRADES,

I am sorry to have dismayed J.P.H. I am not myself an anarchist-individualist, but an anarchist-pluralist. I believe that the different anarchist theories are equally genuinely anarchist, so long as no coercion is involved, and most of them would work in practice, though they are not necessarily equally suitable for every part of the world, or for every person. Each person selects the anarchist theory which appeals to him.

I do however believe that unless every individualist lives in complete isolation, like Robinson Crusoe, some form of organisation is inevitable. To me it is organisation when two are three are gathered together to achieve a common object.

My reason for taking up the cudgels on behalf of anarchist-individualism is simply that I have never heard that individualists object to such get-togethers, and indeed, in order to produce their papers and run their groups, they have always formed these kinds of small-scale organisations.

A further reason is that I believe that the different anarchist tendencies should have more mutual respect for each other. J.P.H.'s anarchism seems a mixture of Sartre, Proudhon and FREEDOM misprints (surely a line is missing between the third and fourth at the top of the fifth column?). As far as I can understand it, it is a form of Manichean dualism, with Freedom and Authority in eternal conflict.

I do not know if this is meant to be anarchist-individualism, or exactly what relevance it has to my previous letter. But so long as J.H.P. is not proposing

detained under the "No-Trial" law which was passed into law. Bristol West Indians have decided on a boycott of Bristol buses because the Bristol Omnibus Company declined to employ a man when they discovered he was coloured "because the employment of coloured workers is not conducive to general recruitment". Sir Learie Constantine, High Commissioner in Britain for Trinidad and Tobago has intervened, but Mr. Frank Worrall, captain of the West Indies cricket team and a supporter of Moral Rearmament, has declined to comment since "he's only in Bristol to play cricket". . . .

AN ADVERTISEMENT in an Australian Catholic newspaper *The Record*, reads: "Are you thinking of a career? Why not be a nun?" The Home Secretary said that call-girls describing themselves as "models" were operating from flats in the West End of London, but usually in a way which does not break the law.

JON QUIXOTE.

## The Struggle in Dagenham

Continued from page 1

Union officials are to have separate talks with the Fords management about their members. These talks will drag on, with the union leaders hoping all the time that the management will change its mind and re-instate these men. If this change of heart by Fords does happen, these 17 men will be continually watched and their life made hell. On the other hand, what action will the unions take? They have threatened

strike action, but we have heard this one before. Action should have been taken long ago. In the meantime, Fords have further speeded up production on the new Cortina and are now boasting of the high production rates they have achieved, an increase that has taken place with the help and collaboration of the union leaders.

### MORRIS PAINT SHOP STRIKE

Talks are scheduled to begin on May 14th between the unions and the management at the Morris Motors factory at Oxford, where the dismissal of a man for alleged bad work has led to strike action.

The reaction to the sacking by his fellow workers in the paint shop was to take strike action to which the unions answered with a call to return to work in order that talks with the management could commence. These talks failed and so the men in the paint shop decided to strike for the second time. Now they have returned to work again to await the outcome of these new talks.

These workers have threatened further action if their work-mate is not reinstated after these coming talks. Here again it is the workers themselves who are taking action instead of waiting for their leaders. They are learning that only by their own efforts can their interests be safeguarded. An injury to one is an injury to all.

P.T.

to force it on anyone then it is a form of anarchism all right, though certainly a rather odd one.

Yours fraternally,

London. ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

## LETTERS HELD OVER

We apologise to correspondents whose letters have had to be held over through lack of space. We hope to get them in next week

## WATCH FOR ANNOUNCEMENT OF MEETINGS IN CENTRAL LONDON

### NEW MEETINGS

Informal Meetings: Soho Finch's "One Tun", 60 Goodge Street, W.1. Saturdays from 6 p.m.

Bristol Federation of Anarchists Meeting

MAY 8. 7.30 p.m. 38 Canynge Square, Clifton, Bristol 8.

### OXFORD ANARCHIST MEETINGS

For details please contact:—Wynford Hicks, Christ Church, Oxford.

### OFF-CENTRE

#### DISCUSSION MEETINGS

1st Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. at Colin Ward's, 33 Ellerby Street, Fulham, S.W.6.

3rd Tuesday at Brian and Doris Leslie's, 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).

Third Wednesday of the month, at 8 p.m. at Albert Portch's, 11 Courcy Road (off Wood Green High Road), N.8.

First Thursday of each month, Tom Barnes', Albion Cottage, Fortis Green, N.2. (3rd door past Tudor Hotel).

Last Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at George Hayes', 174 McLeod Road, Abbey Wood, S.E.2.

3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald & Irene Rooum's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3. Please note that the meetings at Fellows Road, N.W.3 are now on the third Friday, not the third Wednesday as hitherto.

Notting Hill Anarchist Group (Discussion Group)

Last Friday of the month, at Brian and Margaret Hart's, 57 Ladbroke Road, (near Notting Hill Station), W.11.

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