# Anarchist Weekly @

APRIL 23 1966 Vol 27 No 13

# **Anarchism** in Chicago

THE ENTIRE LEFT in Chicago participated in the international Days of Protest in the form of a huge (for Chicago) Parade for Peace on March 26 State Street in the Loop. Close to 5,000 participated and thereby made largest peace demonstration Chicago witnessed since the late thirties. But not the numbers, nor the floats and puppets, contributed to the uniqueness of this parade as much as the fact that fifty anarchists marched behind the banner of The Anarchists, a group formed eight weeks ago. This Chicago group is only one of many anarchist groups that have been formed on campuses all across the country, from Duluth, Minn., to Austin, Texas, and in most large cities, in only the last few months. This phenomenon is more of an explosion than an attempt at visibility by a few anarchists scattered here and there. These groups generally contain at least six members and at larger campuses as many as twenty or more. sympathizers more than double

Established student organizations in the States also contain a large number of rank-and-file anarchist sympathizers

who are constantly responsible for the agitation over real issues in such groups. The Student for a Democratic Society, for example, contains not only 'anarchist' chapters, but almost whole regions with a definite libertarian bent.

Generally, in explanation of this explosion, one must take the view that the present generation here, as in England (and, an isolated American suspects, throughout Europe), is less gullible in accepting pat rationalizations of adults and are beginning to build a world of their own on their own values. They prize their freedom as it is manifest in their appearance, their music, and their willingness to take chances and confront dangers. If the destructive forces of this society can be staid, an unbelievably difficult task, for several years, the hopes and values of this generation may actually become an impelling force for the intrusion of desire with all of its marvellous aspects into a decadent and crusted society. One can only work towards this goal by developing with youth a sense of rage and urgency to unite the realms of dream and action fearlessly and with candour.

BERNARD MARSZALEK.

# After Guy Fawkes

ONE of the charming anachronisms connected with the opening of the anachronism of Parliament, which took place this week is the ritual searching of the cellar for

traces of a Guy Fawkes plot. After two months of hectic anarchistic activity including heckling (indoor and out), sabotage (minor and major), skirm shes with the police, marches, meetings, conferences and balls, one almost expects the search to be for anarchists. However, despite the alleged patron saint, Guy Fawkes. Parliamentary ritual and anarchists have very little in common.

One might feel that with a new Government safely ensconced for five years, anarchists will find their occupation gone and will settle down to their lives of quiet desperation. However with Mr. Harold Wilson's pragmatic approach and promise of the firm smack of government there will be much to

Many years ago. 'Gowrie' in Forward published a cartoon of a newly-arrived MP at the House saying anxiously, 'I'm new here. What do I do with my election promises?' There is an answer to this question, and if we become cynical watching the promises discarded one by one, we may be for-

However, it is no part of the anarchist case that Stan Orme (for example) is 'a hypocrite' as alleged Trafalgar Square on Easter Monday. Stan Ornie, for all one

knows, may be an excellent chap but he cannot 'buck the machine' and the political machine is not concerned with the vices or virtues of its particular cogs unless their vices become too obvious, or their virtues too obstreperous. Expulsions from the Labour Party are not unknown but never do they become so widespread and necessary as to bring down the Government.

There is a charming theory about the present Government that now, having obtained its necessary majority, the Government will move leftward. This theory, needless to say, comes from the Left of the Party and has nothing to sustain it, except the supposition that Mr. Wilson is a frustrated 'progressive'. and free of all checks and spurs he will now proceed to his original objectives which were peace, prosperity and freedom.

The anarchists have never believed that any government could, by its very nature, reach these objectives.

Logically speaking all MPs should objectionable to anarchists, therefore Mr. Orme need not feel himself especially picked upon.

Why, if Mr. Wilson has no need to bribe his Left into loyalty, should be make concessions to them? Why if he is interested in Britain as a world power and solvent in the world's market economy should he be interested in any one of the 57 varieties of Socialism which the Left offers?

In fact, Mr. Wilson's programme

of Socialist nationalization bears a distinct resemblance to the ecor mic and social forms of N-1 nal Socialism. This is not to say that Wilson, or any member of his Government is a 'Fascist'. The word, in fact has very little meaning these days, it has become a mere political swear-word. All that one can say is that the pragmatic 'playing it by ear' approach to a mixed economic structure with numerous boards and assistance to private firms has a resemblance to the corporate state of Fascist Italy. At the same time with the growth of nationalization and the need to control the unions, overall control of 'the commanding heights of the economy' must give the Government more and more control. necessary with economic planning to block loopholes in the 'national plan'.

The questions facing anarchists which will loom largest in the next few months are these: If Wilson pushes the Rhodesian situation to the point of open warfare can one support such a war? In the event of Wilson supplying token forces in Vietnam can we remain non-aligned in the Vietnam war? Do we support the Unions if they oppose ikely anti-strike legislation? the possible event of the introduction of conscription or more likely. selective service what is the anarchist attitude?

This Government seems likely to minimize the menace of poverty, thanks to Keynes and technology. It may involve us in wars through sheer idealism. Its ability to deal with inflation seems doubtful. But individual freedom remains a personal problem which no Government can or wants to solve.

JACK ROBINSON.

# Who is on theLord's Side?

DRIVATE EYE'S fund raising show 'Rustle (Russell?) of Spring' has been postponed from May 1 to May 6, 9.30 p.m. 'at a West End theatre soon to be announced'. Private Eye carries a characteristic announcement that their show was 'cancelled by the Lord's Day Observance Society and the Lord Chamberlain. . . . We offer our apologies

I telephoned Private Eye's office for more information. Mr. Tony Rushton, their business manager, said that to raise the swingeing damages which Lord Russell of Liverpool was awarded in the recent libel case they started a fund and also arranged a gala show with many well-known entertainers, with tickets at swingeing 'charity' prices. Bernard Delfont gave them the use of the Prince of Wales Theatre. Unfortunately they had not reckoned with the laws of the English Sabbath, which do not allow 'cross-patter, variety acts, playlets, dancing and make-up' at Sunday performances. Instructively, neither the police nor the Lord Chamberlain would have bothered to stop the show. Mr. Rushton compared this 'with the present attitude of the police to "homosexual acts in private"; evidently the police will now investigate only if they are forced to do so by informers. In this case the Lord's Day Observance Society took it upon themselves to inform the Lord Chamberlain who, having been notified,

had to act by warning the theatre's licensee that this show must not take place on Sunday."

I then telephoned Mr. Sutton of the Lord's Day Observance Society to hear his side of the story. He said his Society was founded by a Bishop Daniel Wilson in 1830 with all denominational support, 'to remember the Sabbath day and to keep it holy'. They are a vigilant body with many members all over the country, one of whom noticed the announcement and asked the Society to bring it to the notice of the authorities. They did this and will do so at any time when anybody 'wishes to infringe the law of the English Sunday'. He said the 'Fourth Commandment applies to everybody' He acted from both religious conviction and public duty. 'A big issue is pending in Parliament,' said Mr. Sutton, 'the Crathorne Report on the English Sunday will soon be debated. When Lord Willis brings this up in the Lords we shall strenuously oppose it. If it were passed it would throw open the Sunday to commercialism, secularism, sport and entertainment.

When I telephoned the Lord Chamberlain's office, the story suddenly took a different shape to what appears above. Their Mr. Hill was rather perplexed by the whole thing. He said: 'All I can say is that I know nothing of their show, what entertainment Private Eye are prepared to offer or in fact what they are

This led me to the 'Maecenas' of the story, the good Bernard Delfont, who according to Private Eye offered them the theatre. I could not talk to him, but their Mr. Ingham assured me that he is still alive. Mr. Ingham said: 'There was no engagement at the Prince of Wales and never has been. We have a television booking there on the night."

What conclusions can one draw from this confusing story? There is a conflict between what the Lord Chamberlain says and what the Lord's Day Observance Society claim. We hope that Private Eye will get out of this sorry mess and that all will go well on the night.

It is a pity that the proceeds are not going to a worthier cause than Lord Russell of Liverpool.

JOHN RETY.

This is the text of a law against obscenity introduced in the State of New Jersey. It is hardly surprising that the law itself was thought to be obscene and there was a rush in the libraries to

STATE OF NEW JERSEY Introduced May 17, 1965 ASSEMBLYWOMEN HUGHES, BY ASSEMBLY WOMEN Assemblywoman Kordja, Assemblymen Curry, Brigiani, Lynch, McGann, Maraziti, Keegan, Sears, Assemblywoman Higgins, Assemblymen Doren, Tanzman. Halpin,

ASSEMBLY No. 768

Policastro, Addonizio and Burke. (Without Reference) AN ACT relating to obscenity with relation to the exposure, sale, loan, gift or distribution of certain publications, photographs, films and other materials to children under 18 years of age, and

supplementing chapter 115 of Title 2A of the New Jersey Statutes. BE IT ENACTED by the Senate and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey:

1. As used in chapter 115 of Title 2A of the New Jersey Statutes and chapter 166 of the laws of 1962, the word 'obscene', with relation to the exposure, sale, loan,

A GESTURE

States in Vietnam.

dying in a barbarous war.

c/o 25 Warrington Crescent, W.9

OF CONTEMPT

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, are

States flag to the ground and tearing it, at Westminster Abbey last Saturday, 16th April, 1966. We did this as a gesture of contempt at the immoral and bestial war being waged by the United

We bear no malice against the

DEREK A. JAMES,

ALISTAIR BUCKNELL,

MIKE SEAMAN, LYNDA A. CRADDOCK, JAMES NASH.

VALERIE DICKSON,

American people, and are sorry to see both Americans as well as Vietnamese

responsible for dragging the United

gift or distribution of items or materials to a child under 18 years of age shall

a. Portrayal in still or motion pictures or similar representation of any person or persons of the age of puberty or older, posed or presented in such a manner as to exploit lust for commercial gain and which would appeal to the lust of persons under the age of 18 years or to their curiosity as to sex or to the anatomical differences between the sexes and which shows, depicts or reveals such person or persons:

(1) with less than a fully opaque covering of his or her genitals, pubic areas or buttocks, and, if that person is a female, with less than a fully opaque covering of any portion of the breast below a point immediately above the top of the areola, or

(2) engaged in an act or acts of masturbation, homosexuality, or sexual intercourse or in physical contact with another person's genitals, pubic areas, buttock or buttocks or the breast or breasts of a female, or

(3) in a posture or way that the viewer's attention or concentration is primarily focused on that person's or those persons' genitals, pubic areas, buttock or buttocks, female breast or breasts, even if those portions of the anatomy are covered, or

b. Any book, 'pocket book', pamphlet or magazine, phonograph record, tape or similar electronic reproduction of sound, containing details, descriptions, or narrative accounts of:

(1) the genitals in a state or condition of sexual stimulation or arousal, or

(2) acts of masturbation, or

(3) acts of homosexuality, or (4) acts of sexual intercourse, or

(5) acts of physical contact with another person's genitals, pubic areas, buttock or buttocks or the breast or breasts of a female, which contact is made in an act of sexual stimulation,

gratification or perversion, which details, descriptions or narrative accounts are written or presented in such a manner as to exploit lust for commer-cial gain and which would appeal to the lust of persons under the age of 18 years or to their curiosity as to sex or to the anatomical differences between the sexes and which are to be distinguished from flat and factual statements of the facts, causes, functions or purposes of the subject of the writing or presentation, such as would be found in bona-fide medical or biological text-

2. If any part or provision of this act or its application to any person or circumstances is for any reason adjudged invalid or unconstitutional by a court of competent jurisdiction, such judgment shall be limited in its effect to the facts involved in the controversy in which such judgment shall have been rendered and shall not affect the validity of the remainder of this act or its application to other persons and circumstances.

This act shall take effect imme-

A BETTER 'FREEDOM' DEPENDS UPON A BIGGER CIRCULATION

### **ANARCHY 62**

ON SALE NOW DISCUSSES **ANARCHISM** 

Freedom Press at 2s.

AS A THEORY OF ORGANISATION ANARCHY is Published by

on the first Saturday of every month

# books?

#### We can supply any book in print

**NEW BOOKS** 

The Dissent of Dominick Shapiro Bernard Kops 25/-Introduction to the New Existential-Colin Wilson 25/-A Miscellany E. E. Cummings 37/6 Warsaw in Exile S. Korbonski 42/-Love and Orgasm A. Lowen 37/6

REPRINTS AND CHEAP EDITIONS

Hedda Gabbler, The Master Builder John Gabriel Borkman

Henrik Ibsen 15/-The Devil's Disciple, Major Barbara, Saint Joan

George Bernard Shaw 15/-Collected Poems 1934-52 Dylan Thomas 15/-

War with the Newts Karel Capek 10/-My Life and Loves Frank Harris 12/6 The Destruction of Dresden David Irving 6/-

Collected Works Vols. 29-32 V. I. Lenin (each) 18/-Gulliver's Travels Jonathan Swift 7/6

#### SECONDHAND

The Bible Handbook for Freethinkers, (ed.) G. W. Foote and W. P. Ball 4/6: Thou Shalt not Kill, Igor Sentjure 15/-; Holy Deadlock, A. P. Herbert 3/6; Mornings in Mexico, D. H. Lawrence 4/6; Essays and Letters, Leo Tolstoy 4/6; Edward Carpenter, Edward Lewis 5/-; The Road to Maturity, (ed.) Edward F. Griffith 3/6; The Practice of Sex Education, Dr. Eustace Chesser and Zoë Dawe 4/-; Oil!, Upton Sinclair 5/-; Collective Insecurity, H. M. Swanwick 3/6; National Interest and International Cartels, Charles R. Whittlesey 6/-.

#### Freedom Bookshop

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

17a MAXWELL ROAD FULHAM SW6 Tel: REN 3736

#### FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM'

1952: Postscript to Posterity 1953: Colonialism on Trial 1954: Living on a Volcano

5 1955: The Immoral Moralists 6 1956: Oil and Troubled Waters 7 1957: Year One-Sputnik Era

8 1958: Socialism in a Wheelchair 1959: Print, Press & Public 10 1960: The Tragedy of Africa

1961: The People in the Street 12 1962: Pilkington v. Beeching V.ol 13 1963: Forces of Law and Order

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

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

E. MALATESTA Anaschy Paper 1/-

PROUDHON What is Property? cloth 42/-

ALEXANDER BERKMAN ABC of Anarchism paper 2/6

HERBERT READ Poetry & Anarchism paper 2/6 ALEX COMFORT

Delinquency 6d. PAUL ELTZBACHER Anarchism (Seven Exponents of the

Anarchist Philosophy) cloth 21/-RUDOLF ROCKER Nationalism and Culture

loth 21/-CHARLES MARTIN

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

Nineteen-Seventeen (The Russian Revolution Betrayed) cloth 12/6 The Unknown Revolution

(Kronstadt 1921, Ukraine 1918-21) E. A. GUTKIND

The Expanding Environment (illustrated) boards 8/6

GEORGE BARRETT
The First Person (Selections) 2/6

# SPORT, WAR & AGGRESSION

The majority of these, together with the majority of all others, did not resist conscription. They did not jump into uniform screaming 'On to Berlin!'; they did not resist army discipline either. It was easy in England for someone with that 'nonaggressive' Quakerish background to have his conscientious objection legalised; some did. But let us face it, the majority who resisted conscription, either by objection or indiscipline, desertion or struggle within the forces, were the aggressive types. Or, as the psychologists might have it, the 'delinquents'.

We do not know how people will grow up in a free society; we do know that those who will achieve it will be those who are rebels in this one. It is not the aggressive individual who causes wars (to talk of 'aggressive nations' has nothing to do with individual psychology and is bound up with economics); it is, however, the aggressive individuals who do not take part in them. The tragedy of the present day is not the determination of people to throw atomic bombs all over the place; it is the conformistic, obedient, unthinking movement of indifference to the abstract and nameless organisation that can ultimately drop the bomb. And in this light we can see what troubles another correspondent, Keith Nathan, in criticising the West Ham Anarchists. They have committed the unforgivable sin of treating politics like sport; of enjoying their opposition to the State; of aggressive disobedience. (He uses other words such as 'arrogance' and 'neurotic megalomania', by which he means exactly the same thing.) In 'expressing his disgust', he joins the ranks of the liberal-minded pacifist who might be a 'critical supporter of the ideals of freedom' but feels that freedom degenerates into a farce if you do too much about it.

I wonder if Michael Woolliscroft knows how boxing, as we know it today, was introduced into England? It arose almost entirely out of Jewish immigration in the Regency period. Previously, the image of the Jews in England had been of rich merchants and bankers, some of aristocratic origin. Suddenly, a large lower-working-class and impoverished class of peddlers came in. All over London, Jewish peddlers were kicked and bullied (as they were in Germany). A number of Dutch Jews introduced the

art of self-defence, which had two effects: the anti-semitic agitation died down when Jews hit back (not out of fear but plainly out of respect); and the old English arts of self-defence were revolutionised. In Vienna, any number of middle-class Jews with goldrimmed spectacles proved the folly of antisemitism, analysed its causes carefully, and revolutionised the world of psychoanalysis. Anti-semitism as it was known on the Continent disappeared in London. It flourished in Vienna as a popular movement (Hitler merely imitated Karl

I am afraid it is true that in this competitive society people do not like the poor and unfortunate, and the poorer and more unfortunate they are the less they like them.

It is also well known that in the process of brain-washing, to surrender is to die. The State demands obedience. but the reward is often death Keith Nathan thinks those West Ham Anarchists were grown in a bottle by the Home Office to 'discredit' the Anarchists; I have often thought of some carefully disciplined youngsters how they might have been grown in a bottle by the War Office to serve the State; I think I would settle for the former any day even if it were not West Ham Anarchists but West Ham United.

of human liberty, and deeming it the

absolute condition of all that we admire

and respect in humanity, I reverse the

phrase of Voltaire, and say that. if God

really existed, it would be necessary to

I wrote that before the present age of

technical advance, of 'science', 'educa-

tion' and comparative affluence for

abolish him'.

A. MELTZER.

LETTERS

### **VOICE FROM THE GRAVE**

IT IS SUGGESTED by Michael

sport is wrong because it helps 'maintain

aggression, aggression competitiveness

and ultimately war'. He relies on the

findings of psychologists to show that

sport maintains aggression, but where is

the proof that aggression leads to war?

I suspect that psychology may today

be as much an opiate of the people as

was evangelical religion. Is it boxers

and footballers who declare war? Is it

even the despised sport-watchers who

declare war? Or is it meek, mild,

elderly men in striped pants, carrying

umbrellas? Most military leaders of

the Hitler type like to think of them-

selves in the same class as Olympic

champions, but the truth is Hitler was

much more like Chaplin's caricature

than he was like the 666 of popular

imagination (that is why he hated Chaplin

so much). Hannah Arendt was struck

with the banality of evil when she saw

Eichmann in Jerusalem. He was no

The psychologists, or at least their

popularisers, have too long identified

national and abstract trends with indi-

vidual characteristics. You cannot pyscho-analyse 'Britannia' or 'John Bull';

the nation is made up of vastly differing

individuals. The causes that lead to

war have nothing whatever to do with

individual aggressiveness. Indeed, the

contrary applies: it is precisely the ag-

gressive individual who does not make a

good soldier. For years the old-fashioned

liberal-pacifist sought to convince that

by training children in farm-toys and

not playing with forts, we would bring

up non-aggressive types who would

**Poetry Review** 

'28 POEMS', Peter Armstrong, View

Publications, 15/17 St. Stephens Street,

WITH the exception of recent books

son and Anselm Hollo, this beautifully

printed collection is probably the best

book of poems by a British writer to

appear for several years. It will elicit

few Hoorays from the Lit. Crit. set, for

it breaks too many laws of Academic

sacrilege, says too many forbidden

things. Yet Peter Armstrong has some-

thing rare among non-Academy poets:

a fine technique and economy, which

he combines with an acute ear for the

rhythmic qualities of the spoken word.

He has learned much from Carlos

Williams and Creeley, even from Donne,

Space prevents detailed analysis, but

almost without exception they have a

precision based firmly upon an uncom-

promising perception of a world which

he sees as sometimes crazy, sometimes

cruel, but never hopeless. Remarkably,

without romanticism or pretension, he

welds together the apparent opposites

of nature and industrial society. The

human condition is treated with no false

solemnity, but is affirmed with an

honesty which sometimes embarrasses

because it is hard to be honest with

ourselves. Peter Armstrong has the eye

of a scientist, yet he can write: "Kathy

laugh / always like that / throw your

head back / and laugh. / You are not

one / to unbutton your blouse / wearily

or / without love / though I bet you do

it / more often and easier / than most. /

The worse for them / if they can't see

what / makes your every gesture / an

lose in the unrewarding grind of politi-

Anarchist in the engagé sense, but his

poems reveal insights to which every

anarchic spirit should assent. They are

a refreshing change from the decadent

beatness and second-hand images of

straight to Betterbooks and buy them.

These poems have a spirit easy to

yet the poems are totally original.

by Basil Bunting, Charles Tomlin-

Cassius Clay.

Bristol 1. 4/6d.

Woolliscroft (FREEDOM 16.4.66) that

Most of you know me, a few of you don't. My name is Michael Bakunin and I am 150 years old, or thereabouts, for I begin to lose count. Many people think that I am very much dead, but, suitably stirred, I can still show some signs of life. I am stirred by modern trends in anarchism.

In my more active years it was no novelty to see friars and nuns begging publicly for money. They begged in the streets and went to people's homes in a most brazen manner to demand money, intimidating the ignorant and superstitious into contributing. But what the devil is this-a letter in an anarchist paper begging for money for some Catholic project in America-is it

The letter purports to be from a young woman who first asks-'why didn't I stay in England and open a house'. At first I thought this must be a piece of flippant bawdry, but the theme was developed. She is in contact with a group of Catholics 'who have a special interest in children', and has the brazen cheek to ask anarchists to send 'English cash, cheques or postal orders . . use international money orders obtainable at any post office. Or transfer through direct from your bank to my .'. The sheer effrontery of those working for bodies of the Catholic Church has always amazed me: the only non-Catholic who ever rivalled them was a man I once knew called Nechaev. He was like a Catholic in

In all seriousness, are any comrades taken in by this line of talk? The money is of course 'to help the poor'. The Catholics have been bleating this for centuries, yet we all know what their influence has been to keep the poor not only poor but in abject ignorance, and to use their wealth and power to buttress the State in every country. This 'Catholic Worker' line is different you may say, they have a real regard for the poor, they go among them, they cherish their children, they write to us 'in Peace and Love'. This is nothing new; Catholics have always gone among the poor, indeed they may be said to thrive upon poverty and cherish it. We anarchists hate poverty; it is our role not to wallow in it as in a sweet slush, dispensing charity, but to rouse men and women not to tolerate it, but to rise against it as a harsh and beastly evil. We have no words of sweet comfort to give, that there will be compensations beyond the bright blue sky: that is a cursed lie which makes the poor tolerate their ugly lot, and breed up more and more children in the acceptance of poverty.

But if material poverty is a harsh and degrading state in which to live, spiritual poverty is as brutish. A long time ago I wrote: 'The idea of God implies the abdication of human reason and justice; it is the most decisive negation of human liberty, and necessarily ends in the enslavement of mankind, both in theory and practice . . . a jealous lover

many. Have you learned anything since my day? Your paper is full of groups burgeoning here and there in England. I played at revolutionary groups in my vouth and know how slender an anarchist group can be. Probably you have more self-styled anarchists in England today than ever before in history. But in what does your anarchism consist? Have you grasped that anarchism is more than socialism, more than the syndicalism of industrial organization? If you can declare yourselves anarchists surely you recognize that the question of the dignity of human reason is not an empty one. You cannot be neutral on the question of religion. You can squirm and look embarrassed, and plead 'agnosticism', but your enemies do not share your confusion. They are out for the subjection of human reason to what they de-

clare is the will of God, and they will go to any lengths-yes even to good works in the Puerto Rican community in a New York slum-to secure the subjection of the human reason to the 'Credo quod absurdum'. If they can write to you 'in Peace and Love'-(and actually expect you to turn out your pockets for them!)-then indeed you are the subjects of mockery. Surely all I did, talked and wrote was not in vain. 'MICHAEL BAKUNIN.'

sist of only one sheet. Why not make it two? Your objection will probably be that all this would cost a lot of money, but then, for Heaven's sake, raise the subscription fee and/or appeal to all libertarian Socialists to collect the money necessary! If the paper is made better, then it will also get more subscribers.

In general, I should like FREEDOM to be more militant against US Fascism and the war criminal in the White House, as also against oppressors and exploiters everywhere in the world. And do not forget Religion and Catholicism, this obnoxious instrument for the mental enslavement of the world.

With best wishes,

#### **IMPROVEMENTS** NEEDED ?

Your weekly is not half so interesting as it might be with a little improvement. Do you mind my giving you some suggestions?

In the first place I think most readers cal activity. Peter Armstrong isn't an would appreciate the introduction of pictures illustrating the text. One good picture tells you more than a thousand words. A photo of, say, a Vietnamese family in the horrors of war has a far stronger emotional appeal than anything most of the poetry underworld. Go else. Demonstrators beaten up by the police should be photographed or else they have suffered in vain: nobody

cares. The gulf between privileged people and those dwelling in slum quarters might be effectively illustrated by means of pictures. A Swedish radical weekly of the new left recently had a photo of a Royal princess in gala attire, a lackey carrying the train. Under the photo one single sentence: Is this compatible with democracy?

Not only photos but also drawings would make the weekly more readable, and so would a better lay-out. More empty spaces between the articles would increase the surveyability. Then there should be more feature material, for instance informative articles about Indonesia, Ghana, and other countries in the centre of public interest, interviews,

A weekly of this size should not con-

Sundsvall, Sweden Sune Hjorth. EDS. WHAT DO YOU THINK?

### **Anarchist Federation of Britain**

c/o Freedom Press, 17a Maxwell Road, London, S.W.6.

### London Anarchist Group 1&2

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

APR. 24 Arthur Uloth Desert Islands

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

#### OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m.
Last Thursday in month at George Hayes', 174 McLeod Road, S.E.2.
3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald and Irene Rooum's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.
4th Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at David Bell's, 19 Aberdeen Road, Highbury, N.5.
WANDSWORTH LIBERTARIANS. Correspondence to Tony Cadman, 116 Tilehurst Road, Earlsfield, London, S.W.19.

#### REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

ABERDEEN GROUP, Meets at the Adelphi 2.30 p.m. every Sunday. Correspondence to M. Dey, 29 Springhill Crescent, Aberdeen. ARLESEY GROUP (M. Herts., S. Beds.). Meetings on first Friday of month. Correspondence to Peter and Maureen Ford, 102 Stotfold Road, Arlesey, Beds.

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

Kent.

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

BRISTOL FEDERATION. Enquiries to Ian Vine. 3 Freeland Place, Hotwells, Bristol, 8.
CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Mike Growley, 36 Whitaker Road, Tremorfa, Cardiff. COVENTRY ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence Secretary: Eric Harrison, 9 Hermitage Road, Wyken, Coventry.

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

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

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

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

Avenue, Epping.

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

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

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

Peter Gibbon, 22 Fosse Road Central, West End, Leigester.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Devon.

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

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

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

#### EAST LONDON FEDERATION

WALTHAM FOREST ANARCHISTS. Contact Lionel Donnelly, 322a Hoe Street, Walthamstow, E.17. Meetings every Thursday at above address. WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Contact Mr. Karl Taylor, 98 Clova Road, Forest Gate, London, E.7. Meetings every Wednesday.

#### PROPOSED GROUPS

EALING, LONDON, W.5. If interested contact Don Clarke, c/o 6 The Park, Ealing, W.5. NOTTING HILL GATE. Anyone interested in reviving the libertarian group get in touch with Brian McGrath, 27 Arundel Gardens, London, W.11. W.11.
BELFAST, IRELAND. Contact Peter Stringer,
7. Duffy Street, Belfast, 13.

#### ABROAD

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

2 p.m. USA, ALBANY, NEW YORK. Contact E Strauss, 230 Washington Avenue, Albany. Discus-sion group meets about twice a month.

### POINT COUNTER-POINT

IN BOTH Tribune and Peace News, the anarchists came in for considerable criticism for their actions on this year's Easter march. Yet neither of these papers mention the leaflet issued by the Conference of the Anarchist Federation of Britain, in which we explained our attitude to CND and to having a Labour MP speaking in Trafalgar Square. The leaflet said: 'You, the marchers will be expected to stand silently in awe to hear a speech made by a Member of Parliament, who pays lip service to Nuclear Disarmament while supporting with his vote a government dedicated to militarism.' Both Anthony Arblaster in Tribune and Bob Overy in Peace News chose to ignore the leaflet. In fact the decision was made to heckle the MP at the Birmingham conference and we anarchists do abide by conference decisions.

We felt, and this feeling was shared by other groups in the Peace Movement, that having an MP to speak from the platform was an insult to the marchers. It would have been different if Stan Orme had put his belief in Nuclear Disarmament first and had voted against the Government's defence estimates or his party's support of the war in Vietnam, but he has done neither.

At a preliminary meeting with CND. members of our editorial group expressed agreement to an MP speaker if he or she had voted against the Government on these major issues. Perhaps we should be grateful that we were not dished up with more MPs who put the Party before their beliefs. We, for our part, felt we were entitled to a speaker of our own. The editors in fact wrote to CND offering a speaker, but we are still waiting for a reply.

Also in a Sanity announcement it was emphasized that the anarchists were not all non-violent and they were opposed

Bob Overy says that considerable attempts have been made this year to reason with, and even control, the unruly groups. There was no attempt made to control any groups. What the groups tried to do was the limited action of trying to show our opposition to Stan Orme. In this, we feel we had some measure of success, although perhaps we should have gone further and cut the cable to the microphone.

The anarchists have been accused of using 'petty violence'. Yet surely one of the reasons for this is that our groups are usually accompanied by an extra large contingent of police. On Easter Monday, they made a huge gap between us and those in front and behind. Not content with dividing us from the rest of the march, we were followed closely by a coach load of police. Perhaps this is CND's idea of co-operation, but it is hardly the thing to lead to good relations between the anarchists and CND or the police, for that matter.

Surely the reason why Olive Gibbs 'capitulated' as Bob Overy calls it, is because we obviously had a strong case for a speaker. She knew of our offer and the discourtesy of herself and the rest of the CND executive in not reply-

As we wrote in last week's FREEDOM. some of the 'heckling continued at highly inappropriate times', but again in answer to Bob Overy's accusation of petty violence, we would repeat: 'At one point during the meeting the police suddenly made a violent attack on the crowd. Our comrades resisted and although some anarchist banners were snatched. the anarchists pushed the police back to their starting point.' Petty violence if you like, but if that is your opinion, we can only conclude that you have not taken part in any demonstration, taking a very detached and uninvolved view.

We have read in one paper that there was a scuffle with the police in Whitehall. As the anarchist groups made

Price 4d. Every Saturday except the first in each month. (40 issues per year.)

Freedom WEEKLY

1 year (40 issues) 22s. 6d. (U.S. \$3)

3 months (10 issues) 6s. (75c.)

BY AIR MAIL:

6 months (20 issues) 11s. 6d. (\$1.50)

SPECIAL RATE FOR 2 COPIES:

1 year (40 issues) 30s. (U.S. \$4.50) 6 months (20 issues) 15s. (\$2.25)

be made out to FREEDOM PRESS,

1 year (40 issues) 45s. (U.S. \$7)

their way straight to Trafalgar Square from Hyde Park, at least we cannot be blamed for this 'petty violence'. We must surely apologise for 'distracting attention from a silent vigil outside Downing Street', as Bob Overy puts it, by a handful of Committee of 100

Anthony Arblaster, writing in Tribune, thought our attitude towards Stan Orme was completely wrong since the presence of MPs saves both the Labour Party and parliamentary democracy from complete discredit among the marchers.' The presence of MPs on the march does not do anything of the sort, as our leaflet pointed out. It only shows what hypocrites they are. They march for one thing and vote for the opposite and that, quite rightly, is why they are discredited. As for those new MPs who joined the march, will they vote against the Government over Vietnam or the Defence Estimates when the time comes?

What is this parliamentary democracy? Did not Attlee say that the decision to make Britain's atomic bomb was made outside Parliament? So much for our elected representatives! We should like to echo Ron Bailey's words, uttered before he was pulled away from the microphone with a certain amount of petty violence on the part of the police. 'He has no right to speak here; he has not spoken in the House against nuclear weapons during the last 18 months.'

We have sent a copy of this editorial to both Tribune and Peace News.

### 'Vietnam Crisis Stops Bombs'-Daily Mail

A MOVE TO UNSEAT Pigeons at the Houses of Parliament began, a jelly-like bird repellent was applied to the Victoria Tower and the Sovereign's Entrance. A plague of rats was reported on the Welsh border. The Queen opened the

IT HAS BEEN DISCLOSED from a Buddhist nunnery in Formosa that a man has been living there for the last sixteen years. Nuns near Bournemouth have been provided with a high wire fence to protect them from golf balls flying over the local links. Twenty Vietnamese nuns and 60 Buddhist monks have offered to burn themselves to death if it would help overthrow Air Vice-Marshal

A FORMER SOVIET BORDER GUARD died after setting fire to himself outside the Lubyanka prison. He was depressed because he had repeatedly been refused permission to go to Vietnam and fight with the NLF. An American was prevented by police from setting fire to himself in protest against the war in Vietnam, in front of the White House. .

AFTER ANNOUNCEMENT of shortage of bombs in Vietnam the US Defense Department discovered that they were buying back bombs sold in West Germany as scrap at 12s., the US was now paying £7 10s, for the bombs which had been bought for the nitrate to use as fertilizers. The Pentagon admitted on Monday that 'a temporary problem of distribution of bombs within the country had developed'. On Wednesday the American Air Force claimed that an attack by B52 bombers on a mountain pass in Vietnam was the most powerful since the second atomic bomb was dropped at Nagasaki in 1945. Nearly 1,400,000 lbs. of high explosive was dropped. . . .

THE AMERICANS made a nuclear test. The US Department of Agriculture announced that in case of dangerous nuclear fallout strontium 90 could be washed out of wheat with a very weak acid solution, the wheat is then rinsed, drained, centrifuged and dried. . . .

1,750 TONS of contaminated earth were removed in drums from Palomares, Spain, to be buried in the United States. The US Department of Agriculture insisted on increasing the depth of burial owing to the risk of the presence of Spanish insects. . . .

THE SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTER is reported to be visiting Britain to discuss Gibraltar. The Telegraph reports that Stuart Christie now serving a 16-year sentence in Spain has been given permission to take General Certificate of Education examinations in his Madrid

SIX CND MARCHERS were remanded in custody on charges arising from a demonstration outside the American Embassy on Easter Monday after they had sung 'We Shall Overcome' in the dock. They were also refused cell visitors. A university lecturer who was in the dock denied having sung and was allowed bail. A male nurse appearing on charges connected with Trafalgar Square incidents was granted summonses against two police officers. . . .

IN AMERICA the draft boards are said to be introducing an intelligence test for student-draftees, only the 'less promising' students will be taken. A text-book giving a crash course has been published. The selective service system favours, says the Evening Standard, 'the clever, the rich and the lucky'. 'The number of conscientious objectors is not yet embarrassing but it may be soon.' The Guardian headlines an article on the same subject. 'Draft-dodging in US Now Socially Acceptable."

A 12-YEAR-OLD BOY in Utah wrote to a Senator: 'Would you please send me some pornography so that I can see what everyone is talking about?' . . .

SUB-HEADING FOR the People's feature 'The World of Crime' is 'a regular feature spotlighting the social problem that is, after famine, the most serious facing civilization today'. £2,500 has been spent on Chester Castle Civil Court for the hearing of the 'Bodies on the Moor' case next week. The undersheriff claims that they would have to make the improvements 'in due course'

DOCTORS AT LONDON HOSPITAL claim to have discovered documents proving that Jack the Ripper was not a practised JON QUIXOTE.

### **Bloody mindedness**

I would like to comment on some of the events during the CND rally in Trafalgar Square on Easter Monday.

While I think it only fair that the organisers should have allowed an anarchist speaker, the behaviour of some of the anarchist contingent was utterly negative and ridiculous. Disregarding the advice of some of us to 'save it for Orme', many comrades decided out of sheer bloodymindedness to heckle every speaker on the platform, and even the folk singers. (I'm surprised they didn't try to heckle the puppet Wilson!) This continued even after the demands for an anarchist speaker were met. However much one may oppose the hypocrisy of the church, to cheer when Guy Carawan mentioned the burning of American negro churches implies approval of the incineration of children-something the demonstration was supposed to be against-and is the act of a cretin.

Regarding those awful but relevant words 'public image', the behaviour in the Square can only have aroused the hostility of all non-anarchists present, and given the impression of a lot of irresponsible children to the general

Although I acted in support of those who were attacked by the police (I don't like seeing comrades beaten up, even when they ask for it), I really don't see that anything great is achieved by provoking them with screaming, chanting and waving banners in their faces. Just a mention of Challenor can achieve the same effect without the expenditure of energy.

One old cliché worth repeating is that any fool can start a fists-and-feet fight with the British police who are among the most restrained in the world. It takes a bloody sight more courage to face tear gas, clubs, machine guns and possible death which militants in most countries have to contend with. Continued provocation such as some anarchists are indulging in strengthens the hands of those reactionaries who want

Anarchy MONTHLY

1 year (12 issues) 26s. (U.S. \$3.50)

BY AIR MAIL: 1 year 47s. (\$7)

1 year 42s. (\$6), 6 months 22s. (\$3) 3 months 11s. 6d. (\$1.50)

2 COPIES OF EACH:

Price 2s. (2s. 3d. or 30c. by post) Appears first Saturday of each month.

JOINT SUB. FREEDOM/ANARCHY:

1 year 63s. (\$9), 6 months 31s. 6d. (\$4.50)

## Letters

to increase the power of the police. Present encroachments upon civil liberties are bad enough without their becoming regular national policy, and the libertarian left is in no position just now to combat any increasingly totalitarian steps.

Finally, if comrades were fed up with the Aldermaston-type ritual, they could have taken the trouble to go north to the Scottish march which, for all its faults, was a slightly more imaginative Easter project. This would have been more constructive than trying to break up the London one. I suppose it is asking a bit too much of some people to think beyond London and the Midlands in the scope of their activities. The true freedom which is Anarchism rests essentially upon the self-discipline of the individual (let's face it, we're not perfect and some discipline is necessary in running our lives) instead of that imposed by the State, and there has been precious little of it this Easter.

Yours fraternally, Aylesbury, Bucks. FORBES BROWNE.

#### Back to Serious Business

Just a few points to add to FREEDOM's Easter reports.

A very successful small scale action took place on Ealing Common. A YCND meeting was being held. Speakers had been invited from 'Young Guard' and 'Keep Left' although neither of these 'Trotskyist' groups were present in anything like the numbers of the anarchists. Since no anarchists had been invited Mervyn Rice (YCND chairman) was approached. When he turned down our request for a speaker the anarchists occupied the speaking area and held an impromptu meeting at which we told a large crowd what we were marching for.

Generally the anarchist meetings at Southall Park, Ealing Common and Hyde Park were very encouraging. After the stupid attempt by a small group to lead the march, the democratic and reasonable conduct of these meetings was a welcome indication of the commonsense of most of the anarchist

Another refreshing sign is that anarchist banners appeared to be far less

prominent at this year's stupid stunt at the US Embassy than they were at last year's stupid stunt at Downing Street, It seems that some comrades are realising that the job of anarchists is to talk to the people and not to compete with kiddy Stalinists in shouting slogans at deserted buildings, unseen by the public.

Finally a couple of notes on the rôle of the bureaucracy. Monday's Evening Standard reported that the anarchists attempted to bar the way of the march. Since this statement is, of course, absolute rot it would be interesting to know if Duff & Co, fed this line to the press as they did in 1963.

Secondly, the part played by Tony McCarthy is worthy of record. Longknown in YCND as front man for the Duff-'Sanity' clique, he excelled himself this Easter. After co-operating with the police in the arrest of Del Foley, when CND had allowed an anarchist speaker, McCarthy followed our comrade by saying 'back to serious business' (i.e. giving a platform to MPs).

Yours fraternally, Southall, Middx. ROGER SANDELL.

#### New Federation

Dear Comrades.

Wandsworth Libertarian Youth and South-East London Anarchists feel that there is a necessity for better co-ordination between the Libertarian grouping and individuals in South London, and we propose, firstly, a federation of Southand South-East London Libertarians, and secondly, the publication of a bulletin called 'CATALYST',

We hope all comrades will co-operate with us in this. So could all comrades send any ideas to the address below.

Yours fraternally, (on behalf of WLY and SE London Anarchists)

15 Broughton Street,

#### Police brutality is rampant, they use Battersea, S.W.8

WEEK 15, APRIL 16, 1966; Expenses: 15 weeks at £80:

PRESS FUND

Income: Sales and Subs.:

DEFICIT £371

California: T.R. 3/6; Reading: D.K. 10/-; Bristol: P.B. 1/5; Glasgow: A.J. 1/11; London, W.C.1: A.J. 3/-; Essex: C.P. 8/-; Oxford: Anon\* 10/-; Hessle: G.T. 4/-; Altrincham: C.R. 14/-; Chelterh m: L.G.W.\* 10/-; Lincoln: J.W. 5/-; Los Angeles: F.L. 4/6; Scarburough: J.F. 3/-; Richmond, California: F.B. 10/6; Arlesey: P.F. 5/-; London N.7: 3/-; Manchester: A.G. 16/-; Birmingh m: N.B. 8/-; Ipswich: N.T. 3/-; Cro + R kham: P.C. 14/-; Redbridge: N.C. 10/-; Watford: J.R. £1; Lancashir : D ? Manchester: M.G. 18/-; St. Cland: M.A. 66/6/-; Blackburn: D. & T.C. 4/-; London,

Previously Acknowledged:

£289 0 1 E305 14 0

£16 13

### REPORT ON PROVO

ENGLAND FIRST HEARD of 'Provo' at the Royal Wedding in Amsterdam when extensive press and television coverage was given to the demonstrations against the unpopular marriage of Princess Beatrix and an ex-Nazi. As we already know these demonstrations were the same as the 'Frederika demonstrations' in England plus smoke bombs, but with even more police brutality. This demonstration was carried out by an organisation of young people called

In England the majority of people who knew anything at all thought of Provo as a Dutch anarchist group along with De Vreje: I, too, thought somewhere along these lines until I came to Holland. Now, what do I think? I don't know, how can I when Provo themselves don't know. What I have done is to gather facts and put them together to try to

form an opinion of Provo. Provo is an organisation of beatniks and students who are deliberately setting themselves out to provoke the State and the people. Unlike the 'Scots against War' who use direct action as a means of bringing about an end, provocation and sabotage is the end for the Provo. There is no organisation in Great Britain that could be compared with Provo, but they could be defined as 'political Mods and Rockers', Although some call themselves anarchists, they know nothing about anarchy and have certainly never heard of Bakunin or Malatesta. Provo also has leaders who no selfrespecting anarchist would tolerate. I interviewed Provo members from Holland, Belgium and France and received different ideas of what Provo was from each one. Although there are a small minority who are genuine pacifists and anarchists, the majority are simply

troublemakers (the word Provo is an abbreviation of Provocateur), but even after this criticism they must not be condemned.

These young people live in a narrowminded, Calvinistic nation. Their upbringing is extremely sheltered and on top of this they live in a police state which makes English police seem gentle in comparison. Can we blame them for breaking away?

guns, sticks, and steel-edged whips. Since the Royal Wedding, Habeas Corpus has been dropped and you can be imprisoned for three days without reason. Last year at a sit-down protest at a military base the police sadistically kicked the demonstrators and stacked them four deep in lorries. A pregnant woman was kicked in the stomach and Fascist youths were allowed by the police to participate against the protesters with knuckledusters. When the Easter march in Holland reached Amsterdam they intended to hold a rally but it was suppressed by an army of policemen equipped with every type of small conventional weapon available. Did the Allies get rid of the Nazis in Europe for Holland to appont its own? Can you blame these youths for being frustrated, for resorting to vandalism, violence and hooliganism against such a Fascist state. If Provo realise it is demonstrating in the wrong way it will one day become a first-class organisation with a genuine case.

I would like to point out, in order to avoid confusion, that these Provos are not to be connected with the Dutch magazine Provo and its small group of followers who are genuine anarchists.

Cheques, P.O.'s and Money Orders should crossed A/c Payee and addressed to the

BY POST:

MAKE SURE OF YOUR ANARCHIST JOURNALS BY SUBSCRIBING

FREEDOM by AIR MAIL, ANARCHY by SURFACE: 1 year 65s. (\$9.50)

Freedom Press

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

RONALD GEAVES.

\*Denotes Regular Contributor

Printed by Express Printers, London, E.1. Published by Freedom Press, 17a Maxwell Road, London, S.W.6

# Ford's Honeymoon Ford's Honeymoon been their proud boast, that since been their proud boast, that since the proud boast is the proud boast that the proud boast the is Over

developed a new method of attack against their workers, it is attack because they are attempting to contact them, not with the union but despite it.

Ford's managing director has sent letters to 48,000 hourly paid workers explaining why the firm wants to change its wages structure. Discussions between management and unions have broken down on this issue after many lengthy sessions

The Ford plan is to invite independent consultants to prepare a completely different wage structure. The present set-up is four grades of workers: skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled and women. I suppose women come under the category of 'No coloured or dogs need apply'

#### **Contact Column**

Job/Girl/Country. 16-year-old comrade not student) with (working-girl, problem parent (widow) seeks per-Preferably manent job in country. near some Peace/Political Activity evenings and weekends. Anything considered. Contact through Peter Neville, 12 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham, 23, urgently.

May-Day outing. Spanish comrades taking coach to Woburn Abbey. Telephone S. Portales, WIL 1076.

Anarchist Badges. Red and Black Nuclear Disarmament badges 9d. each, 12 for 5/-, 50 for £1, all post free from Birmingham Anarchist Group. Gordon Causer, 27 Upper Gungate, Tamworth, Staffs.

North West. Regional Conference and May Day Demonstration in Manchester, April 30 and May 1. Social on Saturday night. Accommodation available. All interested, please write for full details. Ian Smith, 20 Nora Street, Salford, 7, Lancs.

Underground Poets. Jim Burns, David Chaloner, Dave Cunliffe, and Tina Morris reading 8 p.m. Monday. Morris reading 8 p.m. Monday. May 2, Milton Hall. Deansgate.

Accommodation Offered. To responsible person in return for taking child to school some days and a (very) little housework. Write 15 Pennine Mansions, Pennine Drive, Golders Green, N.W.11 or phone MEA 1872

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

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

has been charged at WEC Policestation or heard at Marlborough Street, write Box 26 giving details of (a) Prosecuting officer, (b) nature and circumstances of offence, (c) dates, (d) name of Magistrate, (e) plea, (f) findings. Thank you.

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

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

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

REL 5224.

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

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

W you wish to make contact let us know.

Some of the unions are opposed to the Ford proposals on principle probably because they doubt the word 'independent'. Others want the 3d, an hour differential recently paid out to some sections, paid to all, then start talking about a new wages structure. A further point was made that all increases resulting from the enquiry should be retrospective to which Ford's were opposed.

As a result of the length of the negotiations with no progress, industrial action is again creeping up on the Ford management. It has militants were sacked, industrial relations have improved 100%. For four years Ford workers have more or less buckled under to the Ford management because, let's face it, a kick in the guts that they took in '62 needs four years to effect a

In the last four years the management at Ford's have strengthened their front-line defence, they have laid special emphasis on improving the quality of their shop floor supervisors. In other words they have reinforced their 'right to manage' This, the unions welcome as it relieves them of the responsibility of discipline. Only when the 'right to manage' is challenged by the workers in any way no matter how insignificant, will any real progress

#### LITTLE SWEDEN

ON LOOKING at the proposed procedural agreement for Fairfields I thought for a moment that this shipyard had been transferred to Sweden.

Thirteen unions are involved at Fairfields, why thirteen or in fact why any has me puzzled. The management to all intents and purposes intends to keep a paternal eye on the workers, even to the extent of collecting their union dues. this ensures that the union coffers are up to strength. I will admit it terrible responsibility having to pay one's union dues every week

Promotion to foreman or higher supervisory rank will be the management's prerogative, but it is pre-pared to consult the unions if they feel it is necessary-Big Deal.

The management has also decided to take an important part in the training of shop stewards, including paying their wages and expenses while they attend courses or even seven-day schools. Shop stewards will also be given a room of their own and will be allowed to leave work to deal with union

A new central joint council is to be formed with one executive-level

#### EQUAL PAY NOW

AT WEYMOUTH on April 29 at the annual conference catering for women workers the hardy annual equal pay will be the foremost issue on delegates' minds. In its election pledge of 1963 the Labour Party promised to introduce equal pay; now they are being called upon to implement this promise

Ray Gunter is discussing the problem with the TUC on April 21 and with the employers' Confederation of British Industry on May 5. It is expected that the issue will rate a mention during the Queen's Speech in the form of a concession to the principle of equal after that the Government will claim it is on their list of priorities.

'Equal Pay', like the proverbial penny, is always 'turning up'; why should this One of the main reasons is that the male members of the species have until recently always opposed 'equal pay spirit if not actively. Rightly wrongly, and wrongly in my view, they saw it as a threat not only to their jobs but also to their status.

If the majority of men really sup-ported equal pay women would have received it years ago, now is their chance to make amends by forcing their own particular employers to face up to their responsibility. This form of cheap labour has gone on for long enough.

#### VICTORY IN SIGHT

VICTORY has been gained, by one of V the most poorly paid sections of America's workers, the 'casual farm

In California the Independent Farm Workers Association forced one of the largest growers, Schenley Industries, to accept IFWA as the only negotiating body for its 450 field workers.

For the past seven months vineyard workers have been in dispute against 33 growers in the Delano area, and finally Schenley gave in. The support for the strikers has been very good in terms

member from each union, three representatives from the management and a chairman nominated by the management. There will also be a standing sub-committee of the joint council which will consider any dispute involving two or more members within a maximum time of ten days. The sub-committee's main function will be to deal with demarcation disputes.

Fairfields management have agreed to closed shop union membership for all newly recruited labour. The price to be paid for this set-up is the guaranteeing by the unions that production will not be stopped or hindered in any way until the procedures laid down have been exhausted. I do not know the full procedure, but will hazard a guess that it has many twists and turns, so that an official stoppage in practice is virtually impossible. It probably looks all very democratic and proper on paper.

The general secretary of the boilermakers section of the Boilermakers Society describes the agreement as 'revolutionary'. I suppose it is but the 'selling of souls' gradually becoming the fashion, in the printing industry it has become the high priest of fashion.

of sympathy outside the industry. Hundreds are still on strike hoping to

force the smaller growers to fall in.

The AFL-CIO took part in the discussions between IFWA and Schenley and they would like IFWA to affiliate to their farming section. Affiliation would mean strength in numbers, but the price to be paid would be enormous.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

# For Workers' Control

APRIL 23 1966 Vol 27 No 13

# Nationalisation and **Workers' Control**

been a revival and a renewed discussion of workers' control. From our point of view, as Anarchists, I feel this is a welcome development, but at the same time, one must view this discussion with a great deal of scepticism and suspicion, for the ideas being put for-ward are different from the Anarchist interpretation of workers' control.

'Left Wing' publications such as The Voice, The Week, and Newsletter are peddling the same tune of nationalisation under workers' control. Another group with their paper Labour Worker for 'public ownership under full workers' control'. To Anarchists, this term workers' control, means a replaceof the capitalist industrial system and the abolition of the State, the latter being paramount to Anarchists.

#### NATIONALISATION A FAILURE

This is not the first time that Socialists or conceal the total failure of nationalisation. In fact the Bolsheviks did the same thing and this only turned out as State control of industry. The contradiction that Socialists fail to see is that the State, by its very nature, cannot legislate for workers' control. The very term itself is self-explanatory.

The Voice group have drawn up a policy for the docks. They say that the ownership of a single national port authority, which would have the power the docks. With this industry should be brought under the nationalisation, the 50% of the seats now occupied by private employers on the National Dock Labour Board would disappear. A structure of councils, elected by the trade unions, would take over the functions and power of the NDLB. Further to their policy, they say, 'That the NPA and the trade unions (would) be responsible for negotiating wages and conditions in the industry. That the workers' councils, in addition to their direct and complete self-management powers in the area previously occupied by the NDLB should be given complete access to all delibera-

with powers and duties to report back to the port workers, and with power of appeal to Parliament against decisions of the NPA.

The thing that stands out like a sore thumb in all this is the power of the NPA. Who will make up this authority, are they to be elected and will there be any right of recall? Nothing is mentioned about this. The workers' councils might be able to have 'complete access to all deliberations', etc., but even after all this has failed, we are back to Parliament again.

This scheme will not achieve workers control, only a certain amount of job But as with all forms nationalisation, whether under 'workers' control' or not, power is concentrated and wielded by one strong employer namely the State. Some advocates of nationalisation say this is a step towards workers' control and that it brings certain benefits, such as a proper set of safety regulations in the coal mines. Fair enough, but strong union organisa-tion could bring the same thing. Nationalisation can never lead to workers' control because no State machine is going to give up its power just like that. The State does not wither away it has to be overthrown and abolished.

#### NOT JUST AN IDEAL

The aim of workers must surely be to work towards a society where they run and control the industries they work in. This is not just an ideal or something in the far, distant future, but something to work towards now. No political party or trade union leadership can bring it about. It has to be done by workers themselves at their jobs, for here is the place to build up strong union organisation, which does not rely on officials and procedure but is based on the rank and file and the shop

It is up to these rank-and-file-based organisations to gain as much job control as possible; for more control over the actual work processes brings not only better conditions, but also a whole change in relationships. There should co-operative instead of a competitive motive, which, given hard work and propaganda, could lead to a movement among workers which sees not only the benefits of job control, but also wants workers' control and no boss.

Workers in fact run industry and society at the present time. If the pro-ductive worker was to disappear tomorrow, then society would soon grind to a halt. But workers and the means of production and distribution are controlled by a minority. Further nationalisation of certain industries, such as the docks, will only serve to strengthen this ruling class, for it only concentrates monopolistic power and furthers capitalism. A Labour Government would not want to nationalise the giant monopoly of ICI, but it would certainly consider doing it in the docks, with multitude of employers. Although the Devlin Committee did not recommend nationalisation, that being outside their terms of reference, they did recommend drastic reduction in the number of

Nationalisation and monopoly industries only unite and strengthen the ruling class, as I have said previously. The alternative is a movement to achieve workers' control. I feel there is an unconscious desire for this, which is expressed in the very large number of disputes which involve issues of job control. It is our job, as anarchists, to change this to a conscious desire for workers' control.

P.T.

#### FREEDOM IN THE CITY

YOU ARE NOW ENTERING BUSY-HAM—KEEP LEFT—B1127143 BUSY-HAM WEST—NO THROUGH ROAD.

As our car crawls into Busyham the traffic-lights turn red. Our guide had warned us of these hypnotic signals. The natives are either scared of them or worship them or both. They are quick to obey them in any case.

KEEP LEFT—ONE WAY STREET

But that's the opposite way to which we have to go! Watch out for that man blowing a whistle! What's that sign say? NO WAITING FROM 9 a.m. TILL

Well, we can't stop to ask directions Our car crawls on into the metal and concrete jungle.

3d. OFF. BUY SOME TODAY! Whatever for? We can't stop the car anyhow. Hey! There's a turning to the

POSITIVELY NO ENTRY.

Our car ploughs onward. There's a parking space! Quick, stop the car! PUT TWO SHILLINGS IN SLOT. Maybe it'll give us a map or some-

Nothing. Must be out of order. Hey look at this! Two shillings entitles us to so much parking time! Big deal!

I say! Can you tell us how to get to . . . oh, it's only a statue. PLEASE GIVE GENEROUSLY. THANK YOU.

No, driver, you'd better not try to get your two shillings back out of that thing, the natives might not like it.
'Hey, you! What're you trying to do
to that meter? Stop!'

Told you the natives wouldn't like it. Back in the car and hurry!

PLEASE KEEP YOUR DOG ON A LEAD.

30'? What does that mean? '30'? Oh! I see, a speed limit.

Our car gains speed on the open stretch of road but still we are not going quite as fast as the three black behind us. They appear to contain bluecoated natives of the same kind who were annoyed about the meter. almost out of Busyham but the threeeyed one glows red. We ignore it and whisk past, but the natives screech to a halt and wait until it shows its green eye Now they start again they are way be-hind. We have lost them now that we have passed the last tall building and are heading straight for the ship

'What have you to report?' queries Captain Z. One word,' I say, 'Chaos!'

MARTIN DACE