

'Do not waste your time on Social Questions. What is the matter with the poor is Poverty. What is the matter with the Rich is Uselessness.'
GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

Making our Pressure Felt

Labour's 'Working Majority'

NO-ONE can deny that the new Labour Government has got down to the business of governing with expedition and confidence, and obviously this is the kind of image Mr. Wilson must create to survive on his (to our minds, surprisingly) small, majority of seats in Parliament. The Leader's favours have been widely distributed among Members—nearly a third of the Parliamentary Labour Party have been found jobs in the government, and all are as busy as bees settling into their offices, being briefed by the Permanent Civil Servants as to how they must dress and what they must say—that is, instructing them in the rules of the game.

The Conservative Opposition, with plenty of time on its hands, is taking things more easily. Morning clothes are giving way to tweeds and old school ties, and directorships, chairmanships are being discreetly prospected, while Party headquarters, the General Staff of the Party, are feverishly working on their plan of campaign to win the next electoral battle when it comes. To this end, it is obvious that some heads will roll in the dust; old faithfuls will be put out to grass either

in the Lords (by arrangement with Mr. Wilson) or in well remunerated prestige posts in the City. Obviously no-one is concerned about the material future of the Tory has-beens. Those who in the process of renewing the Tory "image" must face an old-age in oblivion (publicity-wise) will certainly not suffer the financial fate of most old-age pensioners.

The Liberals with their nine seats (and 3 million votes) which could unseat the government (though Wilson has made it clear that if he loses a vote in a debate he will certainly not automatically rush to the Palace and kiss hands and say good-bye!) must, all the same, put their successes at the recent Jamboree in proper perspective. In spite of their 3 million votes, both the Tories and the Labourites each polled four times as many. To console themselves with the thought that had there been proportional representation they would have some 70 seats, is only wishful thinking. It is obvious that if this system of allocating Parliamentary seats were adopted then instead of two main parties, plus the Liberals, Communists and the odds-and-sods, the Tory, Labour

and Liberal votes would be fractionalised, all the "wings" of these parties then having an opportunity of representation one would expect instead of the 2, 3 or at most 4 candidates in each constituency probably 10 or more. And since in action Government introduces policies which apply to everybody, irrespective of local or other conditions, a Parliament composed of members representing the interests of their respective Constituencies is an anachronism, a sop to an idea of democracy which is utopian and in reality phoney. For M.P.s vote in accord with the instructions of the Party Whips, and when they don't—that is, when there is a free vote, they are said to vote "according to their consciences". We fail to see where their constituents come into all this!

But to return to the Liberals. They are crowing about their 3,000,000 votes, and we would too, if we were Liberals and vote-catching our main task in life. But

even in this sphere, if Liberal memories were not so short, their recent showing—which they view as a "moral victory" if threadbare so far as victory in terms of "seats" is concerned—is not all that comforting! For while they may console themselves with having doubled their 1959 vote, they conveniently forget that in 1945 they polled 2½ million votes and in 1950 over 2½ million. And when their spokesmen declare that they are not afraid of a new general election in the near future they again conveniently forget that at the 1951 general election, that is a year after the 1950 elections (when the Labour Party in spite of polling 2 million more votes than their Tory rivals did not win a working majority in seats) the Liberal vote dropped to 730,000. And what makes these figures more interesting is that the votes cast in 1951 exceeded, at 28½ million, those cast the previous year by a couple of hundred thousand. So no excuse about a reduced electorate! We

have been unable to verify whether the Liberals contested fewer seats in 1951 than they did in 1950. But if this is so it indicates among other things the inability of the party to finance two general elections in quick succession. And this is no less a problem in 1964 than it was in 1951, a consideration which Mr. Wilson presumably has not overlooked in his calculations, and in his party's out-of-hand rejection of any proposals for a Lib-Lab entente which have been launched by that curious Wyatt-Donnelly set-up. (These two individuals alone make one realise how remote the Labour Party is from the ideas of Socialism).

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ALL the indications are that neither the Tory Opposition nor the Liberal Parliamentary group consider it politically expedient to provoke in the near future a parliamentary crisis which would necessitate new elections. Mr. Wilson's government is undoubtedly banking

Continued on page 3

COMING TO A HEAD

IT looks as if the issue of Rhodesia is coming to a head with the emergence of the Labour Government in this country, the referendum in Rhodesia itself on November 5th and the independence of Northern Rhodesia as Zambia on October 24th.

The Rhodesian Front Government in Rhodesia has now won the support of the majority of the white population in Rhodesia and with the deluded views the people seem to have about the Labour Party a clash between Smith's extremist régime and the Labour Government, with Sir Hugh Foot in favour, seems certain.

The paper which supported the Rhodesian Front in Rhodesia, and was financed by influential figures in that party, entitled "Newsfront" once held that Harold Wilson was a Communist and Sir Hugh Foot is not likely to

win the confidence of the settlers having resigned as the British representative at the United Nations over the Conservative's policy (or lack of one, according to Sir Hugh) towards Southern Rhodesia.

Real evidence that Smith is set on a unilateral declaration of independence is the sacking of Major-General Anderson, the commander of the armed forces in Rhodesia. Anderson claims that his dismissal was caused by his refusal to obey the Smith Government should it act unconstitutionally. However, Anderson has claimed "I think I have the support of some members of the other services and the security forces in my attitude," so either Smith must remove these people or launch his country into a civil war.

The African opposition to white minority rule in Rhodesia is largely incarcerated and the African people are not well enough organised to put up much of a resistance to the independence grab now under serious consideration by the Rhodesian Front Government. However, outside pressures might well bring the Rhodesian whites to their knees in a matter of months should a rebellion be launched. That November 5th has been chosen by Smith for his referendum is possibly nothing to do with his plans for treason, on the other hand it is probably an infantile way of declaring the chosen path of the minority European settler Government.

This writer hopes that the Rhodesian Front will declare independence unilaterally. At one time I feared that independence would be followed by the implementation of an apartheid system in Rhodesia. I am now fairly sure that after the rebellion the Rhodesian Front would not last six months. Incidentally this figure of six months is the one Colin Legum gave when I discussed this question with him recently.

It is now apparent that rebellion in Rhodesia will be the spur to set into motion a series of events that will shake the capitalist-fascist oligarchy to its foundations.

J.W.

INDUSTRIAL NOTES

Leaders of the dockers' union have now decided on strike action, commencing December 1st, in order to gain wage demands of 25/- a week for time-workers and 5% increase for piece-workers. At their meeting last week with the unions, the employers still stuck to their offer of 12/6d. for time-workers, 3½% for piece-workers and an increase in the fall back rate from £7 16s. 9d. to £9 per week. The only increase they offered was a small one of just over 3% for the dockers who earn under £12 per week.

Usually the details of these union/employer meetings are kept secret until the dockers' delegate conference which follows within a couple of days. This time, however, the offers were announced immediately and strike action was decided on. Again, this official decision of strike action would have normally been taken at the delegate conference, but knowing that unofficial token action had been planned, the decision was made earlier.

Mr. Gunter, the new Minister of Labour, had attacked those who had planned unofficial action for the day of the delegate conference. Part of Mr. Gunter's statement reads, "In the circumstances, unofficial action is a negation of the whole principle of collective bargaining and can only lead to anarchy. I strongly condemn such action, which can benefit neither the men nor the industry to which they belong."

Jack Dash, Chairman of the unofficial Royal Docks Group liaison committee, said, "The decision has been made and the one-day unofficial strike on Thursday will take place as planned. We are not stopping negotiations by holding it. Our claim is just, and we don't fear intimidation."

As we know, the decision of official action did change things, and at meetings, the dockers decided not to go ahead with their token strike. In comparison with those addressed by union officials, these unofficial meetings have been well attended. Mr. Freeman, divisional official of the Transport and General Workers' Union, who addressed a meeting of only about 500 men, spoke of "irresponsible groups" who were taking unofficial action, at which point about 200 men walked out in disgust.

Docks: Rank and File Action Needed

Mr. Gunter has been very quick to intervene in the dockers' dispute. This is nothing new for the Labour Party. Mr. Attlee, head of the last Labour Government, used to make broadcasts condemning any unofficial action. In fact he states now that this firm policy should be continued. This shows Labour's intention, as they boast, to run the capitalist system better than the Tories.

This firmness can only enforce the stand of the employers on their present wage offers and the National Association of British Manufacturers' executive council has given the Government its support. Their telegram states, "warmly welcomed your prompt intervention in docks dispute and expressed earnest hope that early solution would be found to current difficulties which are seriously impeding our export effort."

Already there is talk of a Court of Inquiry, no doubt welcomed by the employers, to go into all aspects of the docks dispute and an interim pay sweetener. The employers would bring out the already rejected plans for the decasualisation of the docks, for they want to get rid of what they call "out-of-date labour practices". These, they say, make the docks inefficient. There is a strong possibility that the unions would accept such an inquiry. They could point out to their members that with the Labour Party in power, they have nothing to fear.

The new Ministry of Technology is concerned with these problems in industry and it is significant that the man who heads this ministry is Mr. Cousins, now given leave of absence from his position as leader of the T. & G.W.U. Both Mr. O'Leary and Mr. Jones, who have been leading the union since Mr. Cousins' departure, have been very cautious about a Court of Inquiry. They know full well that the rank and file would not like it one little bit.

Now dockers know exactly where they stand. They know that their union leaders really don't want to take action

or upset the newly elected Government. They also know that this new Government will not be standing in the wings like the Tories, but taking swift action to prevent any strike. But if these demands are to be gained, then action will have to be taken by the rank and file.

Recent token strikes have shown there is strong support for unofficial action, but at the same time, there seem to be divisions. At last Saturday's unofficial Ports Liaison meeting, called to coordinate the proposed token strike, there were no delegates from Liverpool and Southampton. There is also some conflict over what type of action to take. Tilbury favours the work-to-rule, while the Royal Group are inclined to a withdrawal of labour. If these were merely differences of opinion over tactics, fair enough, but there seems to be the question of certain docks, including the Royal Group and West India, losing their piece-work earnings if they work-to-rule. With a withdrawal of labour they must think they can get a quick victory.

There has been a tendency to try to push the union leadership to take action, when all the time I think that the rank and file has been willing to have a go without leadership. I think the former stems from the constitutionally-minded Communist Party influence. They usually take the line of backing the unions, putting pressure here and there, and only taking any real action when it is often too late.

Do the dockers really think the unions will carry out their strike threat? I don't think they do, but action will have to be taken. The organising for this action must start now, support being sought from all port workers throughout the docks. As this will be unofficial action, I think a work-to-rule is the best method of struggle. As the Tilbury dockers' pamphlet on this type of action says, "It is far better to take home £9/9/- (fall back pay) than stand out with

Continued on page 3

ANARCHY 45

OUT NEXT WEEK, DISCUSSES

Anarchism in Greek Thought

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

REPORTS ON ANTI-ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

Making our Presence Felt

ANTI-ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN FULHAM.

The anti-election campaign carried out in the Fulham constituency started some months prior to the General Election. As there is no actual anarchist group for the Fulham area, our campaign has mainly been the work of four or five people, some of whom came some distance to take part.

Our main task was to ensure that every house in the constituency got at least one anti-election leaflet through the letter-box. We achieved this object by regular leafletting every Monday evening, and in fact we wandered over into the Barons Court area and a little into Chelsea. The leaflet which was most widely used was the "Hazards of Voting". In some areas of the constituency we used "Vote What For? It's all a Big Fiddle", and some streets, especially those near the bookshop, were covered with the leaflet, "Why Vote? It gets you Nowhere."

When the date of the Election was announced, we started fly-posting. This was very successful, although our first efforts soon got covered up or pulled down. Later on we had more success in keeping them up, helped I think by a stronger paste, some of them remaining up right through to Election Day. In all, about 130 large posters were put up, with a sprinkling of Election Guyed posters and small ones which were produced by one of the comrades. Stickers were also widely used.

On one occasion we were fly-posting, we met the Tory candidate for Fulham at a cockle stall outside a pub. We decided to have a plate of cockles ourselves, and on recognising the candidate, one comrade asked him if he would "like to kiss his baby". Grylls, the Tory candidate, took a dim view of this, and we left as we had work to do, but not before we had put a few stickers on his Landrover.

We gave out leaflets at a Labour Party

AND WE'RE STILL IN THE RED!

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meeting at the Town Hall. Mr. Brown was speaking in support of the local candidate, Michael Stewart. There was quite a bit of heckling, but I'm afraid the loudspeaker was really too powerful. At the Tory meeting at the same place. Arthur Moyses, who has a very powerful voice, stopped the meeting a number of times and the Young Tory stewards got very annoyed. Grylls could not really make us out at first because we attacked nationalisation, but when Arthur put him and the audience in the picture when he stood up and said we were members of the London Anarchist Group.

From the two press releases that were sent to the papers, together with copies of leaflets, we got a certain amount of newspaper coverage, especially in the local ones. In an edition of the "West London Observer" they quoted whole chunks of the "Hazards of Voting". The "Daily Telegraph" and the Glasgow Herald carried quite good, although small, pieces two days before the election and the "Chelsea News" mentioned the "Election Guyed" and its free poster "Refuse to Vote".

On Election night, some of us went round to hear the results at the Town Hall. The Labour candidate was returned, with an increased majority of 2,002, but both the individual and overall vote was down compared with the

THE ANTI-ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN ENFIELD.

Enfield is rather an awkward area to cover because as well as covering a large area it is divided into two constituencies—Eastern Enfield which is mostly industrial, and Western Enfield which is a suburban residential district. As our group is small we decided to concentrate our leafletting on the East.

There was a very crowded programme of meetings and so some had to be missed, but I think we covered the most important ones. The first meeting was of the Liberals at which Jo Grimond and the two prospective Enfield M.P.'s were speaking. It was a very lively meeting, especially after a scuffle when two comrades tried to put up a banner and leaflets were scattered over the balcony. Afterwards we helped to stack the chairs and pick up these leaflets. Mackie, the Labour M.P. and landowner was next on our list. This was a very small meeting which was dominated and it was suggested that if we cared to contribute to the cost of the hall we could speak from the platform.

Not wishing to leave out the Tories, we attended a meeting at which Iain Macleod and Chris Chataway were speaking. This meeting had its fair share of hecklers but the honourable gentlemen on the platform had the wind knocked out of their sails when Jack asked if a Conservative government would adapt the Union Jack which draped their table to incorporate a man, naked, except for a mason's apron, brandishing a whip.

RESTRAINED RADICALISM

"PRESSURE POINT".

London Pavilion.

A NEGRO psychiatrist working in an American prison during the last war is faced with the task of dealing with a "pure White Christian" Nazi who has been sent to prison for advocating the violent overthrow of the American Government. It is the interaction between Sidney Poitier as the easy going doctor and Bobby Darin as the internally sick and vicious Nazi which provides the centre piece of the film. Bobby Darin is especially good and both maintain the atmosphere of often unspoken dislike and fear very well.

Stanley Kramer has directed the film with sensitivity and care but the one element lacking in "Pressure Point" is real guts. When the Nazi takes up the challenge that his ideas cannot win through because they are based on a lie, he counters with the reply that America is already based on a lie—there in the Constitution all men are said to be equal yet Negroes are not treated equally; they live in ghettos cannot enter certain cinemas and stores are segregated from schools and universities. It is a good challenge and I rather feel a Negro today would hesitate

last General Election. The Labour vote was down by 1,737 and the Tory by 3,739 votes. Major Braybrooke, candidate for the third party represented in Fulham, the Patriotic Party, got 632 votes. His manifesto was a mixture of withdrawal from N.A.T.O., stopping immigration, "Mono-rail to be introduced into Britain, no diplomatic relations with Communism, the restoration of Merry England and to bring the delightful sight of a public with a smile on their lips and a song in their heart." Actually we didn't go to their meetings, because we didn't want to double the attendance.

We asked the chap who posted up the Fulham result, how many spoilt papers there were, but he just looked blankly at us. On enquiring later at the Town Hall, this request was refused and it seems that the public has no actual written right to know these figures.

It is hard to gauge the exact effect of our campaign. I am told that there has been a number of inquiries about anarchism coming into Freedom Bookshop from all parts of the country. Perhaps some sort of follow-up will be needed on exactly what the new Government has done and showing that nothing really changes, even when you put the other lot in power.

P.T.

After putting up fifty posters on the following Sunday, we were interrupted by the police. During the chase two comrades were arrested. Next day they came up in front of Mrs. Macleod (Iain's wife)—how shocked she was to see them and how shocked she was that they objected to her presence on the bench. They were fined £3 between them.

During the campaign we investigated a rumour that Enfield Labour Party were financed by a property company—three directors of which are prominent local party members. On investigation we verified the rumour and discovered that the company has mortgages on three properties in Hampstead and that they had developed some land on which the old Labour Party offices stood to offices which have remained half empty for at least eighteen months. When we tried to raise this fact at a meeting of the Western Enfield Labour candidate, but we were conveniently kept quiet. At another meeting of this candidate a reference was made by him to greater co-operation between private enterprise and state enterprise, a little man wearing a big rosette with "Vote for Hale" on it who had tried to stop us getting into the meeting, came up to us and said, "Doesn't it make you sick, if I thought he had a chance of getting in I wouldn't be here."

In all we gave out 7,000 leaflets, put up about 800 stickers and 60 posters and got mentioned in the local papers on three consecutive weeks. Although we did not have an overwhelming effect I think we made our presence known.

ROY MYERS.

FILMS

to contend whether success cannot be based on a lie. They might even suggest, as this writer would, that success in the modern world demands lies and hypocrisy.

However, the fascinating depiction of the young Nazi's background is convincing and the sympathy one must feel for the conditions that made him a Nazi is aroused without feeble excuses being meekly offered. By implication capitalism is mildly criticised with a more direct and incisive rebuke of the system might well have been voiced.

All in all the film is worthwhile and will do useful work in an unpedantic way. It is rather cagey in attacking America, its radicalism possibly somewhat restrained by memories of McCarthy. The radicalism in the film also rather gives the impression of being laid on to suit the American image of dislike for racial intolerance. With American help for fascists in Portugal and Spain, and with large American support stabilising South African apartheid one rather feels, especially with Goldwater lurking in the wings, that the American image of racial tolerance and abhorrence for fascism is rather far from the truth. A lie, in fact. J.W.

EDINBURGH ANARCHIST GROUP ANTI-ELECTION CAMPAIGN, 1964.

There has been much talk and "organizing" of an anti-election campaign ever since March, but it was not until a shop just down the road had been turned into a Tory Committee Room that our imaginations were fired. Without any preparation or organizing two of us went out with a pot of glue and some old posters. Propelled by our own enthusiasm (it was quite encouraging to see the stoically poised lamp posts in Princes Street wounded with a "Don't Vote" leaflet), we made the midnight outings a regular activity, and within two weeks we had pasted up 500 leaflets, 55 posters, and consumed 12 blocks of pipe clay for chalking. This activity was backed up by door-to-door leafletting and literature selling. Although we "peaked" our campaign too early, Freedom Press

sent us stickers and leaflets the day we ran out, and we were able to carry on right up until the last minute.

Obviously we did not expect any success as far as spoilt ballot papers were concerned, but the publicity would have made people think more closely at the act of voting, which in itself is a good thing. Also well over 2,000 leaflets were sent out with our address stamped on them.

We still have a few posters left over for the next Election, probably within the next year. It seems very much as if this month's rather insipid, rather boring cockpit for Cabinet positions is only a dress rehearsal for the real thing. As the heat of discontent will grow more intense with the months of Socialist betrayal passing, our message will show up like invisible ink in front of a fire, quite clear, and quite correct.

BILL JAMIESON.

What it's all about

ANARCHISM if it is really to be effective and to grow to embrace all, or a large majority of the population of this country (that is those outside the peace movement), must show itself to be more than just a vague hope that if enough people resist the state and eventually overthrow it, all will be well.

Anarchists have always shied away from giving blueprints of how a really free society would work, because they cannot say how people in such a different kind of world would conduct their affairs, and quite rightly so too. But we do know that for an anarchist society to work properly, there must be co-operation and people who care about others (whether it is in their own interests or not).

People who are in revolt against things in general will be of no use in such a society, as they are of little use now.

Certainly there is a deal of co-operation in the present movement between comrades who have been in it for some time, and for this reason some newcomers talk of an "in-group".

I think that the overall emphasis should be changed and the anarchist movement should be a movement of co-operation now.

I know that this would lose the movement some of the militant demonstrators (though some of these are, from my experience some of the most militant co-operators) but we must have something to show other than revolt.

We do need militancy but we should realize that if people sit down, walk on, march, demonstrate, with or without red and black flags they will be known for this only, and I think that this has happened.

I think that this has little or nothing to do with anarchism, the carrying of banners sitting down or walking on etc. This has to do with resistance, and all political groups engage in this (at least when they're out of power).

Anarchism is first and foremost, co-operation and anarchists should be more

constructive, they should start building the new society now in the shell of the old.

During this lull that has fallen over the "peace movement" and for a time the "Libertarian Movement", we should consolidate anarchism so that we will still have a movement when the next upsurge of militancy occurs.

We must try to link the groups closer together to share each other's problems, giving advice (if it's asked for) and help if we can.

I would for example like to see groups entertain each other so that people are not just names, but human beings, not just those in London, but the far-flung outposts as well. We must get to know each other. This may lead to arguments, but in the end it would be of use to all of us. We all have different problems and it would be easier if we solved them together.

For a start I would like to see more articles in this paper from people outside London. We don't have enough correspondents outside London. We don't want the paper to be an internal "News from groups sheet".

We have built the movement up out of demonstrations and protest (and of course this must go on), we have some of the best protesters in our movement, but protests are not enough. They are not a good enough foundation on which to build a better and freer society.

Protesters are often frustrated. Frustration leads to a feeling of impotence, which in turn leads to hate. Hate for the enemy, the government or the establishment. Which, because hate has a way of growing (you can't turn it on and off like a tap), leads to struggle in the movement itself often over questions of personality (that have to be justified in ideological terms), and are a complete waste of time because you cannot base a humanitarian society on hatred.

Co-operation is the answer, more and more of it, and this is what anarchism is all about.

JACK STEVENSON.

JAZZ NOTES

THE GREAT PEE-WEE

LAST week I visited a rather small Jazz Club about forty-five miles from London, to be precise "The George and Dragon", Bedford.

My reason for going was to see a musician who has at a very late age suddenly become "The critics choice" in American jazz polls. He name, Charles Elsworth Russell, affectionately known as "Pee Wee".

The tiny club was packed, and people had come from London including many musicians. Russell was accompanied by the very fine Alex Welsh band which played even better than usual, but Pee-Wee Russell though he only played about nine or ten numbers was so superb that no description could possibly do him justice. To those who have only heard his records I say "You can have no idea how much better he is in the relaxed atmosphere of a club."

He stands behind his clarinet gazing down at the keys as if he were watching his fingers playing by themselves.

His style is so different from the normal jazz clarinet player that he could be playing a totally different instrument. His phrasing is so beautifully, so carefully chosen, and so wonderfully simple that it amazes one. Not for him the fast runs and arpeggios a la Benny Goodman.

Whitney Balliett, Jazz critic of the "New Yorker" has said that he plays "with an overall hesitancy, which suggests that, if he played any note wrong, Russell feared he might irreparably

damage it."

His tone is so emotionally loaded that one is drawn to him by it. He played "Pee-Wee's Blues" to a packed club, his clarinet a whisper and the Welsh rhythm section about as loud as a ticking clock. I have never heard such a moving performance by anyone, and I have seen Armstrong.

To those who love "Good Jazz" I say "See him at any cost, you won't be disappointed."

JACK STEVENSON.

PEACE PAGEANT

A "Peace Pageant", organised by the Peace Pledge Union will take place in London on Saturday, 14th November.

Twenty tableaux, mounted on lorries, will illustrate the causes and effects of two world wars. The crowd scenes will include troops of soldiers, refugees and unemployed and peace-marchers with banners and posters. This noble idea is well supported by P.P.U. cash but what they need is people as they envisage a cast of about 500.

This is an invitation to you to take part. The procession will assemble at 2 p.m. at Norfolk Crescent Car Park (near Edgware Road).

Members of the London Federation have been asked to take part. If you wish to do so get in touch with P.P.U., 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1. (EUS 5501).

FREEDOM

October 31 1964 Vol 25 No 34

WILSON'S MIDDLE COURSE

Continued from page 1

on this, and on having thereby the time to produce the kind of results which will give him an opportunity, in due course, to call for new elections and justify his expectations of an overwhelming majority. And, incidentally, in such an election we have no doubt that Mr. Wilson will look for the votes he needs among those who have now voted for the Liberals. And because of this the Liberals in the coming Parliament cannot afford to make one wrong step in the way they vote in debates! (Contrary to popular belief, Liberal intervention in the last elections, drew more votes away from Labour than from the Tories. It would follow from this that if the Liberal Parliamentary group play the Tories game at the expense of the Labour government, and are instrumental in precipitating another general election, they will pay for it with the transfer of Liberal votes back to Labour.

At least Mr. Wilson knows what he is doing, within certain limits. And within limits, we respect Mr. Wilson who we consider by far a more formidable adversary than say Macmillan, Churchill, Chamberlain, that uninspired triumvirate of the hereditary ruling class. (Yes, we know all about Churchill. Time will debunk the Churchill myth). Mr. Wilson as well as having a brilliant brain (university trained in the best sense of the word) is also an "orthodox" socialist. The two combined have produced an authoritarian—rather than a libertarian—socialist; a possibilist rather than a revolutionist; a parliamentarian rather than a direct actionist.

★

MR. WILSON'S first announcement about the economic situation makes it clear that his horizons are circumscribed by his capitalist-economic theories and politically by his intention of attempting to steer a middle course, between the demands of the boss class on the one hand and the Trades Unions on the other.

As we write he has announced the measures the government is taking to deal with the balance of payments crisis which is apparently worse than even they had imagined. (Incidentally, while aware that he is legally within his right to do so, we would nevertheless draw the attention of those who pin their faith in the democratic system, that here is the government announcing at a Press Conference measures which will be applied more than a week before Parliament has even been convened!). But all Wilson can do is apply a financial expedient to deal with a financial "problem". It is quite clear that what is produced by the working population in this country in terms of goods and services is more than those same people consume. The fact is that an ever-growing section of the population lives parasitically on the work of others without providing anything, not even a useful service which any reasonable person would be prepared to justify on the grounds that it contributes to our comfort as a community. It is also clear that we do not use our natural resources to their full extent: that production is not geared to needs; or that the best use is made of our productive potential; and all this

because the economy is based on capitalist values (production for profit) and not socialist ones (production for needs). Now Mr. Wilson, as a socialist instead of declaring at the Press conference this week that the £700m. estimated balance of payments deficit could be solved by gearing our economy to needs and not to finance—which would mean a re-appraisal of the use both of our natural resources as well as of our industrial- and man-power—contented himself with financial measures so orthodox that even Mr. Maudling—the former Chancellor of the Exchequer—could not oppose them "in principle" whatever he may have mumbled about "examining them in detail". Obviously he cannot, for the surgery proposed by the Labour government—discourage imports by imposing a tax on manufactured goods and "stimulating" exports by removing taxation from the raw materials thereby making export prices more competitive (about 1½ per cent less than present prices) is so pedestrian, that even the City uttered a sigh of relief, and shares recovered when the government's measures were known. We realise that these are described by the government as "short term" measures to get the economy into a healthier condition. And they might well be shown to produce the results if restricting imports were only to affect Britain's finances. But since it has been admitted that it will above all affect the Common Market countries, U.S.A., and the EFTA group who are also Britain's principle outlets for exports how long will it be before some or all these countries announce their counter-measures?

★

WE have no doubt but that during the next twenty years the price of food, because of demand exceeding supply, will rise to a point where countries such as Britain will be obliged, as well as finding it "profitable", to develop their agriculture to its limits. The Labour government in excluding imported foodstuffs from its emergency tariffs has not convinced us that it is concerned with giving agriculture the priority it needs and must have. Mr. Fred Peart, Minister of Agriculture speaking at the lunch of the Guild of Agricultural Journalists in London said that although it was not mentioned in the Government statement "British agriculture must make a major contribution towards the solution of our serious balance of payments problem" and that it was his task in consultation with the industry to see that it can make major efforts and major contribution". (Stop Press Evening Standard, Oct. 26).

We are convinced that the future of Mankind, our happiness and "prosperity" lies not in the continued development and growth of industry, and automation and technology, as applied to industry, but in the co-ordinated development of the land, of agriculture, on a world scale. And it will be those countries such as Britain who are importers of food who will be the first to be forced to face the grim "facts of life". And because of this, anarchist propaganda should be paying more attention to the problems of the land and to establish closer relations with land workers and working farmers.

THE CONSOLATION PRIZES were handed out with very few complaints, a Korean boxer staged a three-quarters of an hour sit-down because he did not win, Bessie Braddock declined to serve and Mr. Cronin, a surgeon, sulked because he didn't get a post in the Ministry of Aviation. . . .

AN ANXIOUSLY-WAITING Britain was told on the Express front page that the Wilsons will be taking Co-op milk at 10 Downing Street. A Christian-Socialist candidate for Dulwich who lost his deposit claimed that he should never have been allowed to stand and now wants his deposit back because at the time of standing he was taking treatment at the Maudsley Hospital (Mental). Camberwell Town Clerk said: "He has not got a legal leg to stand on as far as I can see. My only concern is to see that nomination papers are filled in correctly with a proposer, a seconder and eight others. So long as a candidate hands in his £150 deposit, there is very little I can do about it. I have no powers of adjudication over whether a candidate is fit to stand. Even if I had known he was taking treatment it would still have made no difference." A Home Office spokesman, according to the South London Press agreed with the Town Clerk's ruling. "The law says that only those who are certified insane are barred from taking a seat in the Commons. The candidate has never been certified." "In practice," said a local election agent, "someone who has been certified could not be stopped from standing. He would have to be challenged if he was elected and barred then."

THE "NEW STATESMAN" commenting on a recent election says, "Nevertheless, the Prime Minister's position is a strong one—and there is every sign that he appreciates the fact. The nation has shown itself indecisive and hesitant in conferring power upon him. But for this very reason he has an over-riding duty to exercise it in all its plenitude." Among the exercises of power were the appointment of Mr. H. F. R. Catherwood to be chief industrial adviser to the Department of Economic Affairs. Mr. Catherwood is the managing director of British Aluminium and has been seconded to the new department by Tube Investments. He is a member of the



Council of the British Institute of Management, the Northern Ireland Development Council, the Council of Chatham House and the Federation of British Industries, Overseas Committee. Professor A. K. Cairncross, economic adviser to successive Conservative Chancellors since 1961, is continuing as head of the Government's economic service. Mr. Alun Gwynne-Jones, defence correspondent of the Times has been appointed Minister of State at the Foreign Office to deal with disarmament, and is to be created a life peer and a privy councillor. . . .

MRS. PEGGY DUFF of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament said, "We are not in a position to state at the moment the number of unilateralist M.P.s. There are so many different gradations of unilateralism and different people within the campaign have their own interpretation of what the word means". . . .

SOUTH VIETNAM Government forces state that they lost 11,215 dead or wounded during the past eighteen weeks nearly equalling the casualties for the first six months of the year. Vietcong casualties for the same period were 5,335 compared with 9,000 for the first six months of the year. But an estimated 75% of the Vietcong casualties were fatal whereas only 25% of the Government casualties were killed. Rhine Army chaplains started an exercise entitled "Parson's pleasure" to learn, as non-combatants "how to stay highly mobile in war-time". They will have maps, compasses, first-aid kits . . . and prayer of course. The Ecumenical Council voted to restore Hell to the doctrine on "The Church". In

a previously discussed draft Hell had been omitted as a possibility awaiting the fallen. In Paragraph 48 of chapter 7 one is exhorted to goodness and watchfulness, "lest, like the wicked servant we go to eternal fire". . . .

THE "VILLAGE VOICE" comments on Madalyn Murray's feud with the American Atheist that whilst Madalyn Murray may have brought their cause into disrepute by publicity-seeking "the heromartyr role is indispensable to every successful revolution". . . . "Fundamental change is always the result of some initial, illegal, irrational, dishonest means". "The Negroes" states John Wilcock "unsuccessfully tried the legal, rational route for ten years until less patient, more active organizations such as CORE and SNCC came along". "What the Freethought Society of America seems to have overlooked is that Madalyn Murray, whatever her personal habits or morals, has brought the cause of atheism—and its tax-the-churches suit—more attention than its mealy-mouthed intellectual theorists could have achieved in a lifetime". . . .

JOHN WILCOCK quotes later a California Supreme Court Judge Mathew O. Tobriner who dismissed a peyote charge against some Navajo Indians (who are now allowed to use the drug in their religious ceremonies). "In a mass society which presses at every point toward conformity, the protection of a self-expression however unique, of the individual and the group, becomes ever more important". . . .

THE PHYSICAL death of Herbert Hoover ex-President of the United States was reported. Of him H. L. Mencken has said "Hoover is one of the most adept politicians ever heard of in America. He has a natural instinct for the low, disingenuous, fraudulent manipulations that constitute the art and mystery of politics under democracy. He knows precisely how to posture as a Good Man without doing anything to justify the name. He has a strong nose and can stand stenches without blenching. He is immensely liberal with other people's money. His so-called ideas are the safe, sonorous, meaningless platitudes of an editorial writer on a bad newspaper." This was written before the Stock Market crash at which Herbert Hoover presided. JON QUIXOTE.

Election Anthology 13

(For Americans who still have to endure it).

POLITICAL rights do not originate in parliaments; they are rather forced upon them from without. And even their enactment into law has for a long time been no guarantee of their security. They do not exist because they have been legally set down on a piece of paper, but only when they have become the ingrown habit of a people, and when any attempt to impair them will meet with the violent resistance of the population. Where this is not the case, there is no help in any parliamentary opposition or any Platonic appeals to the constitution. One compels respect from others when one knows how to defend one's dignity as a human being. This is not only true in private life, it has always been the same in political life as well.

All political rights and liberties which people enjoy today they do not owe to the goodwill of their governments, but to their own strength. Governments have always employed every means in their power to prevent the attainment of these rights or render them illusory. Great mass movements and whole revolutions have been necessary to wrest them from the ruling classes, who would never have consented to them voluntarily. The whole history of the last three hundred years is proof of that. What is important is not that governments have decided to concede certain

rights to the people, but the reason they had to do this. Of course, if one accepts Lenin's cynical phrase and thinks of freedom merely as a "bourgeois prejudice" then, to be sure, political rights have no value at all for the workers. But then the countless struggles of the past, all the revolts and revolutions to which we owe these rights, are also without value. To proclaim this bit of wisdom it hardly was necessary to overthrow Tsarism, for even the censorship of Nicholas II would certainly have had no objection to the designation of freedom as a bourgeois prejudice.

If Anarcho-Syndicalism nevertheless rejects the participation in the present national parliaments, it is not because they have no sympathy with political struggles in general, but because its adherents are of the opinion that this form of activity is the very weakest and most helpless form of the political struggle for the workers. For the possessing classes, parliamentary action is certainly an appropriate instrument for the settlement of such conflicts as arise, because they are equally interested in maintaining the present economic and social order. Where there is a common interest mutual agreement is possible and serviceable to all parties. But for the workers the situation is very different. For them the existing economic order is the source of their exploitation, and their social and political subjugation. Even the freest ballot cannot do away

with the glaring contrast between the possessing and non-possessing classes in society. It can only give the servitude of the toiling masses the stamp of legality.

It is a fact that when socialist labour parties have wanted to achieve some decisive political reforms they could not do it by parliamentary action, but were obliged to rely wholly on the economic fighting power of the workers. The political general strikes in Belgium and Sweden for the attainment of universal suffrage are proof of this. And in Russia, it was the general strike in 1905 that forced the Tsar to sign the new constitution. It was the recognition of this which impelled the Anarcho-Syndicalists to centre their activity on the socialist education of the masses and the utilization of their economic and social power. Their method is that of direct action in both the economic and political struggle of the time. By direct action they mean every method of the immediate struggle by the workers against economic and political oppression. Among these the outstanding are the strike in all its gradations, from the simple wage struggle to the general strike, organized boycott and all the other countless means which workers as producers have in their hands.

RUDOLF ROCKER.

Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism.

Docks Dispute

Continued from page 1

nothing and go back with nothing." The method of struggle is just as effective as regards the back-log of cargoes, as an outright strike, although of course it takes a little longer to build up.

Every effort should be made to gain the support of lorry drivers, who are also members of the T. & G.W.U. If there is any attempt to bring in troops, as the Labour Government did in 1945, support from other sections of the working class would be vital in the gaining of the dockers demands. It is the time to organise for this struggle, further delays can only strengthen the hand of the employers and the Labour Government in making a deal with the union leadership. P.T.

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