

# FREEDOM

AN ANARCHIST WEEKLY-4d.

NOVEMBER 21 1964 Vol 25 No 36

'No class of men who have possessed authority have been able to avoid abusing it.'

T. H. BUCKLE

# Bolivia!

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## The Anarchist Image

It is often argued that for a propaganda movement any publicity is better than none. There is something in the argument so long as one bears in mind its limitations and dangers. And this is of course particularly true so far as anarchist propaganda is concerned for it stands to reason that if the organs of mass communications are willing to discuss anarchism or anarchist activity they will do so in most cases in an unfavourable manner. What anarchists, at most, can hope is that among the public will be a few individuals who read between the lines of the garbled report, feature or what have you, and will want to find out more for themselves about what anarchism really stands for.

We can only judge the effect of this "publicity" from the new enquiries the movement receives as a result of it and this can be summed up in one word: "minimal".

It is not that we are opposed to mass communications in principle—any more than we are opposed to mass production—so long as such methods serve the needs of, without enslaving, mankind. But just as capitalist production does not serve those needs (millions of people in the world go hungry), why assume

that a capitalist press should be any more enlightened?

Our view therefore is that anarchists should discount the value of the capitalist Press as a possible propaganda outlet (except through paid advertisements) and that if anarchist ideas are ever to be accepted by large sections of the community it will be the direct result of our efforts as anarchists and through our propaganda reaching large numbers of people.

There are some anarchists today who, conscious of the publicity achieved by the sit-down movement in its early days, fondly imagine that our activity must be geared to catching the eye of the news-editors of Fleet Street with gimmicks, rather than influencing the minds (and hearts) of as many of our fellow beings as possible, with intelligent argument and activity, not once in five years, but week in week out.

Mass communications, once in a while, may feature radical ideas but day in day out they are "plugging" the Establishment ideas, capitalism, competition, Queen and cold-war, law and order. Any radical feature is a pin in a haystack—when it is radical, and "fair". And when it isn't it serves to perpetuate the prejudices about anarchists being either bomb-throwers or ineffectual

utopian dreamers.

It is true that for a decade or two at the end of the 19th century a number of anarchists (as well as non-anarchists) resorted to acts of terrorism—some praiseworthy others pathological. To portray the anarchists as bomb-throwers and baby-eaters, as did the gutter press right into the '30s, is as untrue and ridiculous as it would be to describe capitalism today by reference to the employment of child-labour in the mines and factories of Britain which was commonplace when some anarchists were answering back with bombs. (In our opinion history will, in due course, justify most of the anarchist bombs as human gestures as it will condemn the exploitation of child labour as the acts of inhuman monsters).

Anarchist propagandists have, as a result of the bomb thrower publicity given to them by the gutter press fallen-over-backwards for the past half-century to live down their "past" and to create the opposite "image". Sheer time-wasting in every respect if only we have the wit to draw conclusions from the results.

TODAY that same press which made every conscience-stricken

bourgeois tremble in his bed at the thought that the next anarchist bomb might be under it, is just as busily attacking the anarchists—but with the difference now that its purpose is to write off anarchism as the delightful but impossible dream of a crankish sect, cut off from the realities of life in the 20th century, etc. . . . ! If one is to draw conclusions, they are that the interest of the organs of mass communications in anarchism is to destroy rather than to further the chances of acceptance of the idea by a growing section of the public.

Because most anarchists have never pinned their hopes in, or expected, the capitalist publicists to further their cause, we have never been disappointed by what has appeared in the organs of mass communications about anarchism and very occasionally we have been pleasantly surprised! But not because we are prejudiced but because we think it ridiculous to expect those who firmly believe in authoritarian forms of organisation, and social and economic privileges, to favourably expose libertarian ideas which are as opposed to theirs as atheism is to Christianity!

How this prejudice operates can be observed at every stage. For instance, if one examines a journal,

## CALL TO ACTION IN THE BUILDING INDUSTRY

Last Thursday building workers received the second part of their three year tie-up pay raise. This was an extra 3d. an hour for craftsmen and 2d. for labourers. A 41-hour week is also being worked. Just previous to this, it was announced that the building trade unions had negotiated a sick-pay scheme which would probably come into operation next April and will give workers £3 per week benefit for sickness or injury, providing that prior to the claim there has been four weeks employment out of the preceding eight weeks. There particulars will be ascertained by means of the "holiday cards", which are stamped and paid for by the employers and provide the men with about two-thirds of their weekly pay for each week of their annual holiday.

One union leader has been full of praise for this sick scheme, calling it "the greatest step forward in benefits since the war." That is progress for you, and when one considers that the building industry has one of the highest, if not the highest, accident rate of all, this £3 is a mere pittance.

There is widespread dissatisfaction among building workers over last year's 3-year tie-up settlement and this has been increased by the amount of publicity now given to the building industry. Hardly a day goes by without some comment in the national press about new methods of building, standardisation of materials and system and industrialised building. Workers themselves see the changes taking place day by day. They use new tools, new materials and often there is continual pressure to speed up the job. From this they feel they are not getting a high enough return, and considering that for the second

quarter of this year output was up by 15 per cent over the same period last year, they are justified in this claim. This has been achieved with an increase of only 1½% in the labour force. Part of it is due to improved plant and a planned continuity of work, but nevertheless in the main it has been done by the ordinary building workers.

With this increased output, which is expected to continue, the workers are tied down to the three year agreement, ending next November with a paltry increase of 2½d. per hour for craftsmen and a miserable, insulting 1d. for labourers. In fact the labourers will only have got 5d. per hour extra over the whole three years.

By the very nature of the industry, it is very hard to organise on union lines. Men join on one site and drop out on the next. In fact only about half of the 1 million workers in the industry hold trade union tickets, and most of this has been achieved by unionists on the jobs. In the months preceding the strike last year, a few stewards got together and formed an unofficial grouping, calling it the Joint Sites Committee. It grew and became very representative of the organised sites in London, with contact with similar bodies in other parts of the country.\*

It is again getting down to putting the case for fresh demands from the employers. In a recent leaflet, "Call for Action", are listing five points for which the J.S.C. is campaigning. These are (1) Forty-hour week, (2) The balance of the 1/6d. per hour (for which we went on strike last year), (3) Three weeks annual holiday with full pay, (4) Sick pay that is realistic with the cost of living, (5) 100% Trade Union organisation on every job, site, shop, etc.

The leaflet goes on, "It is useless moaning and groaning about bad conditions, absence of proper welfare facilities, low pay, which means long hours to get a decent wage packet, if you aren't prepared to fight to get these conditions changed. The rates of pay for building workers are scandalously low. Yet the industry has never been so prosperous or so busy. We all know of the vast profits that the building employers are making."

This committee is holding a meeting soon to discuss their campaign and to get the views of other workers and to try to get them to take part in the work of the committee. This form of unofficial organisation must be extended to link up each site and shop. It is vital that other areas form similar groups and that they work together to make these demands a reality, for it is only by action by the rank and file that these five points will be gained. P.T.

\*This was reported in last year's July and August editions of FREEDOM.

## BALANCING THE BOOKS

THE first measures taken by the Labour Government far from confirming the alleged worst fears expressed by the Tory Opposition during the elections, simply confirms that if you run the economic life of the country with a Cash Book and a capitalist outlook whatever you hand out with one hand you must seek to recoup with the other. For the past 13 years the tit-bits distributed by successive Tory Chancellors have in the main gone into the pockets of the have-class. If our memory is not at fault when the Tories gave a few tens of millions in tax "relief" to the surtax class it was as an incentive to the executives, managers, super salesmen and technicians to pep-up the economy and raise productivity. As we know, the result was nil. So now the Labour Party take office and are informed by the same Civil Servants who advised their predecessors that the two columns of the Cash Book won't balance to the tune of £600m or more and that they had warned Sir Alec and Mr. Reginald but they had said it could wait because they had more urgent business on hand. Sir Alec didn't come back. Mr. Harold instead had to face the music and he did on the 20th day in office with the only measures he or any of his predecessors in the Tory gang know which were aimed at balancing the books. So all he did was to seek to curb imports of manufactured goods, most of which can be produced here anyway, by imposing a 15 per cent Import Tax, hoping that this "temporary measure" would not

upset the continental exporting countries that would be affected by these measures to the point of cutting down their imports from Britain! The 6d. on petrol and 6d. on standard taxation are presumably designed to bring to the Exchequer money which would otherwise be spent on goods, and so to that extent these taxes will reduce demand at least by one section of the community. The modest handout to the old and sick and the widows as far as we can see will be paid out of the extra National Insurance contributions which operate as from next March.

As to what effects all this will have on the economy is anybody's guess. The experts, the economists, are as usual not agreed. Some say it was an inflationary budget others that it is deflationary, which probably means that apart from balancing the books, and transferring a few crumbs from the cake of production to those desperately in need, nothing is changed.

At the Lord Mayor's banquet last Monday Mr. Wilson assured the assembled company of financial tycoons that his government was "ever willing to encourage invest-

THE ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS ARE SO DIFFERENT, DON'T YOU KNOW!



ment (though) I cannot say the same about speculation". A play on words surely for capitalism is speculation, not only with finance but with the labour of millions of individuals who are obliged to sell their labour power to those who control the means of production. And this speculation can only be ended when capitalism is ended.

## How are they Faring now?

MR. GEOFFREY RIPPON, former Minister of Public Building and Works, who lost his seat at the last General Election took his seat within the Bar at the Law Courts on his appointment as Queen's Counsel.

MR. REG MAUDLING, former Chancellor of the Exchequer has been appointed a working director with a firm of Merchant Bankers in the City. A spokesman of the bank emphasised that Mr. Reg. would be a working director attending the office every day. His general knowledge of financial affairs was expected to be of value to the banking side of the firm. No statement was made as to his starting salary or working hours.

## ANARCHY 45

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# BOLIVIA

Power House Co. It is an Anglo-Canadian company that supplies most of the country's electricity. Its machinery is old and power cuts are an everyday, or night, occurrence. There is a constant rationing. A German firm offered to install generators. Bolivia has many rivers and lakes. The Germans would build dams and supply the machinery to supply the whole country with constant electricity. They would provide the work and the money. Their only condition was that their company would reap the profits for the first fifty years. After that, they would deliver the whole business to the government. The Canadian director of the Bolivian Power House Co. gave 10,000 dollars to a certain politician. The Germans were told no.

In 1960, Paz Estenssoro came back from London to have himself elected again. One could notice a change in him. He now wore tweeds, smoked a pipe and his hat was very similar to the one worn by Macmillan shooting grouse. In his speeches, he did not use "liwiniñuñu" any more. 1960 was also the end of Falange Socialista Boliviana. In April, Falange attempted a *coup d'état*. Snipers shot from rooftops at women and children going to the market. The militia came out, as usual, spontaneously, without being called. Most of them do not defend politicians, but they do defend their Revolution,



which they have entrusted to politicians. It was a sad thing to shoot at a sniper and later discover one had shot a fourteen-year-old boy. It was a sad thing for a militia-woman to capture a sniper and slap his backside, weeping, telling him to go back to his mother. Those were the Falange "men" of that morning. The leaders who had convinced children to become killers, numbering 19, had been trapped at five in the morning in the barracks they had assaulted. They had shot several sleeping conscripts when a lieutenant appeared with a sub-machine gun. The barrack gates were closed and they were prisoners

trapped in a dormitory. The lieutenant disarmed them, stood them against a wall and machine-gunned them. Afterwards, he explained: "They made me angry because they killed my little soldiers." But the other "men" of the Falange, after having taken group photographs of themselves in cowboy hats, went to the rooftops around the markets. The leader of the Falange, Unzaga de la Vega, was hiding in a house waiting for news of victory. If the blow failed, he was to be brought a suitcase with 40,000 dollars to flee the country for a very long exile. But the subordinate with him, after the delivery of the suitcase, decided

that it was unfair for Unzaga de la Vega to go away like that. So he shot his boss, made it look like a suicide and fled, with the 40,000 dollars. The remnants of the Falange fled the country, or went to the jungle city of Santa Cruz. New elements came in, they organized guerrillas and took the jungle as their training ground. Today, they are a strong force, well armed, ready to act, perhaps with the help of the Brazilian Army. And undoubtedly with the help of the "safe" natives working in American Aid agencies.

In 1961, a certain anarchist was in La Paz searching for radio valves and any piece of cable he could lay his hands on. He is a determined man and the result of his search was the installation of 16 broadcasting stations in the mines. The miners had by 1963 a complete control of communications. They broadcast syndicalist news and plays, from Shakespeare to anything worthwhile to keep the revolutionary spirit alive. If there was any sign of trouble, generally army manoeuvres nearby, programmes would be interrupted with the dramatic announcement: "We are transmitting from the bottom of the mine. We are about to be attacked..." The manoeuvres ceased immediately.

Paz Estenssoro was elected again. Juan Lechín was his Vice-President. But Lechín did not last long. He had forced himself on Paz as vice-president, the Americans felt an identity with Paz in not liking him. Lechín was now beginning to realize that he could not commit himself to betray the miners entirely. So he was going back to old loyalties. General Barrientos was placed as vice-president and Lechín returned to the mines. General Barrientos is very loyal to the Americans. Only with their help was the Bolivian Army able to become a real Army again, for the workers had definitely destroyed it, said it had not to exist and tried to shoot everyone wearing a uniform. But Paz had convinced them that there are two kinds of Army: the bad Army and the good Army, and the good Army is always Revolutionary. He was able to convince because he made it a law that only adolescents from the working class could enter as cadets in the Military College, training under officers belonging to the MNR. Barrientos was one of them, but he was sad without tanks, planes and modern machine-guns. The Americans complied.

Kennedy was President of the United States. It was rumoured that Kennedy intended to make Bolivia a show-piece for the whole continent. Money would be poured in right, left and centre. A delegation of miners was invited to Washington. Their spokesman told Kennedy: "Do not send us flour, but tractors, so that we can plough our own fields and grow our own wheat. Send us machinery for the mines, not money. There is so much corruption that we never see either money or flour." Kennedy replied: "We are looking into the matter."

Lechín had to come out into the open in favour of the miners. He formed his own party to oppose the MNR of Paz Estenssoro. Controlling communications as they do, the miners intercepted a telegram to Paz signed by a well-known professional killer. In quaint argot it addressed the Chief saying that Lechín would be dead by nightfall. The attempts of assassination on Lechín were many and varied. The entire roof of his house was blown off in one. But, the attempts to assassinate General Barrientos, were also many but not varied. A bomb was usually planted under his bed.

But it was only Paz planting the bombs for Barrientos. The General was shoved on him by the Americans and he knew that Barrientos would succeed him as President. Paz would have liked to do another term, as by then, he considered himself a perennial Daddy like Franco.

To be concluded

## TENANTS IN DANGER

OH yes how can we as anarchists or radical pacifists engage the attention of thoughtful people towards housing and the need for groups of people themselves to challenge the rent collectors and their bosses who enforce eviction or increased rents? How can we remove this blockage about... the need for the government to act... how can we state our ideas in situations which need the attention, in present society, for existing government machinery to deal with landlords content only with making bigger and bigger profits? I believe one way is to follow up contacts and associations with those who are themselves struggling against such landlordisms as Audrey Harvey calls the whole business of profiteering from tenants' basic need of shelter! This strikes me as the real name "Landlordism" the root cause, not Rachmanism a symptom.

Of course we can help to set up fresh housing associations, combat evictions and organize resistance to property merchants and their evasions, deceptions and intimidations—but could we not carry out more surveys—practical surveys of local conditions; find out the position of elderly and poor families in order the better to know who—in our own area—is responsible for homelessness and illness due to street-fear... the fear of sleeping in temporary shelter, or public institution?

Trickery as the swindling landlord's work is called in the new Penguin Special (*Tenants in Danger* by Audrey Harvey, price 3/-) is but a natural element of the class of person who caring not one jot or tittle for the person who is forced to seek a room in some, one, person's house; then goes on to bleed the man or family for as much as he can for as long as it is sufficiently profitable, and when it isn't throws him out for one who will pay more.

Audrey Harvey says of this type—the landlord—that "he will continue to exist—and so will homeless families—as long as land and rented houses remain in private hands." And suggests that the government should be in control, or rather the more permanent machinery of state. Now whilst as an anarchist I do not like this idea over-much I like even less the present free-for-all—those—with—money—and—property gang.

Readers of FREEDOM will, I think, be advocates of direct action and solidarity for those struggling over problems of

rent and tenancy, and what surely needs to be done by anarchists and libertarians is to organize more carefully and willing our own local activities to allow all those who so desire to participate in ideas and activities designed to counter Landlordism.

Since it is often the poorest and least articulate persons who become homeless or get thrown out of their rooms it would help our own understanding, besides giving such victims help, by fighting for these families and getting a house or old building of our own as a means to not only providing temporary accommodation but a coffee and discussion centre in our own area. Of course in some areas this can be done by the publishers of the poetry magazine; the libertarian journal; the organizers of the local folk-club or jazz/record group and just as effectively—but if it does not exist it is probably due to the absence of any radical thinking persons in that area.

I think there is now a nucleus for anarcho-pacifist groups in many parts of the country and the only need is to bring such people into contact more

often—not necessarily to become pamphleteers but simply to be able to share ideas and thoughts... for this is stimulating in itself and would surely lead to other things in time.

For the time being we have *Tenants in Danger*, this Penguin is a good help as a manual of tenants' rights, a guide-book to the twisting rogues and Rachmans, a definition of landlordism. It will bring help to many, comfort to few with no knowledge of such activities, and will create an awareness of the many devious way of treacherous landlords. Put it in your library, on your bookshelf, in the way of your friends. It may shake few business men in their hearts. It will shake many business men in their pockets, for ideas spread and the educated tenant cannot forget his knowledge.

But listen to the property owner: "... the chairman of the National Federation of Property Owners maintained that private landlords do, in fact, provide a public service—and that this ought to be much more gratefully acknowledged by government and public alike—the occasion was not an altogether happy one: he had just suffered a compulsory purchase order on twenty of his East London blocks of flats because the rents charged had been found excessive and repairs had not been done."

DENIS GOULD.

## SHALL WE EVER LEARN?

THE West End of London had a second remembrance of the dead in two world-wide and numerous other wars on Saturday, the 14th November.

The 'soldiers' on this parade were the motley band of pacifists, anti-militarists and nuclear disarmament campaigners taking part in the pageant organized by the Peace Pledge Union to depict a half-century of war. The tableaux (led off by the A.F.B.'s crocodile) started with a scroll of wars and crises in almost unbroken chronology from 1914 to 1946. A band playing tunes of the 1914-18 period preceded a train of young soldiers leaving for the War to End War. Passing through the mournful aftermath of this war, with its orphans, its young graves, the 'world fit for heroes' represented by an unemployed soldier playing a barrel organ, the procession traced the steps to the next war via the Versailles Treaty [a "weatherhouse" inhabited in one side by Britannia (whose thick black beard evoked an image of Mars), the other by a strutting Adolf Hitler], the Spanish Civil War, the ever-present causes of war, onward to the War to

End Tyranny. After the damaged cities, the refugees, Hiroshima and The Bomb, came the question "What about the War to End Everything?"

These tableaux illustrated the choice between bombs and bread; barracks and colleges; and called for the scrapping of weapons and the turning of swords into ploughshares. The ways to this end were represented by the Disarmament Conference Table (can this, on its showing over past years, be regarded unacceptably?); the sit-down protesters, the War Resisters behind bars for refusing to kill. The procession ended with a call to "Therefore Choose Life", via the attractive appeal of a lorry load of children-of-all-nations.

On a dull Saturday afternoon in the West End there were not great throngs lining the streets to affirm their choice on the side of Life, and the television and press reporters were conspicuous by their absence. But the interest and on occasion the displeasure of bystanders indicated that complacency had been punctured.

M.C.

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## THE ANARCHIST IMAGE

Continued from page 1

such as the *New Statesman* which many FREEDOM readers take every week (as our Survey showed) and consider as an enlightened organ of mass communications, it may come as a surprise to them to learn that the *New Statesman* has never reviewed a FREEDOM PRESS publication even when we have published original works by Comfort, Read, Woodcock and Marie-Louise Berneri though the same writers have been invariably reviewed in that journal when they have been published by commercial publishers. Either their writings published by us are inferior or our imprint, because committed to an idea, is taboo. The first alternative must be discarded because certainly Comfort and Read published with us essays which later were included in volumes noticed at length by the *New Statesman*.

Again, the same journal, which observes the traditions concerning the "jubilees" of such reactionary organs as the *News of the World* could not find an inch of its valuable space to mention FREEDOM's 75th birthday in 1961 (after all, it is the oldest—and we hope, the most forward-looking—radical journal still published in this country) nor to note that in addition, the anarchists have for the past four years published ANARCHY, a successful monthly. Yet the *New Statesman*, last week, had ample space to review Mr. Joll's fanciful history on *The Anarchists* which follows Woodcock in his mission as obituarist of the anarchist movement. And, needless to say the *New Statesman's* chosen reviewer had not even a spark of sympathy for the anarchist cause, even assuming that he has the knowledge (which in our opinion he hasn't) to assess Mr. Joll's work in terms of scholarship.

And the *New Statesman* approach is that of all the so-called quality Press; of getting the blind to lead the blind. A book is published on Anarchism by a Fellow of St. Anthony's College, Oxford which is full of factual errors, false assumptions as well as significant omissions for which there can be no excuse except that they all help to build up the author's particular prejudices about the anarchists. The volume is then reviewed by a group of reviewers who know even less about the subject than the author and who in the course of their reviews distort facts and interpretations one stage further. The *New Statesman* review, by a Mr. Philip Williams, is headed "All or Nothing" and opens with this figment

of Messrs. Joll and Williams' combined imaginations:

Anarchism was a movement doomed to fail in modern societies, since it repudiates them totally. Essentially a peasant movement, though it appealed also to some uprooted and downtrodden workers and to some skilled artisans, it always looked forward to a peasant utopia without modern luxuries to corrupt a life of austere virtue and simplicity.

It is not our intention here to analyse Mr. Joll's book (this will be done at length in ANARCHY) but simply to point out once again that the publicity we can expect from the Press is, on balance, harmful. And that to rely on it to boost our activities means playing its game at the expense of our real task which should be on the one hand to build up our own organs of communication and on the other to extend our influence by direct contact with the people through workers' organisations, discussion circles at meetings and demonstrations and, not least, when the tension between Authority and groups of working people is greatest. Ideas never make their own way unaided; and libertarian ideas will certainly never penetrate the iron curtain of authoritarianism without the determined efforts by those who are prepared to do more than pay lip-service to them.

★  
THE *New Statesman's* reviewer after reading Mr. Joll's "elegantly written book" concludes that "the dustbin of history contains some attractive scraps". We must leave the historians their dustbins and let them go on fighting over the scraps and the bones of contention (they are, as we write, wanting to exhume Napoleon to check a theory that he died of poisoning, with a view, presumably to writing new histories).

What we anarchists in 1964 must be concerned with is the future not the past. Of course the experiences of the past have valuable lessons for us today, but only when we can observe the same chain of cause and effect with our own eyes in the present. Irrespective of the past we see that today anarchism could be a social and political force, of far greater significance than it was at any time in the century since the founding of the First International, for at last Man has at his command the technical know-how to satisfy his material needs with at the same time potentially the leisure necessary to give meaning to Life. A "world of plenty" is no longer the utopian dream of socialists and anarchists of the 19th century but a technical possibility. That millions of people

IF THEY SURVIVE until March 29, 1965, old-age pensioners will receive 12s. 6d a week more bringing the old-age pension up to £4 a week if Mr. Harold Wilson's government survives until March 29th. Whether this government survives or not, proposals that M.P.s should get an extra £1,250 a year making their salaries £3,000 a year and ministers will get an extra £3,500 a year making their salaries £8,500 are likely to be accepted since M.P.s have not had a pay rise for six years. The *Sunday Mirror* headline guesses "M.P.s MAY BE FREE TO VOTE AGAINST THEIR OWN PAY RISE." Austerity set in at Downing Street with the sacking of a cook. A spokesman said, "Mr. and Mrs. Wilson intend to live simply. They feel they do not need a full-time, highly qualified cook for their own needs." The Wilsons have decided that they will not hold private parties on the same scale as Sir Alec Douglas-Home. For official functions, outside caterers will be hired. Mr. Jeremy Thorpe was discovered at the *New Statesman* party at the Stationers' Hall. He said "I am here to mark the occasion of the new Government not to celebrate it. I read the wording of the invitation most carefully."

A FORMER LABOUR M.P. for Smethwick, Sir Oswald Mosley complained in *The National European* that the Labour slogan "Make Britain great again" was obviously a line taken from the old British Union marching song, "Britain shall be great again". The title of the Labour manifesto "The New Britain" was taken from the literature of the New Party of 1931. It was also complained that the proposals to make housing "a war-time operation" and to harness science to government were both planks stolen from Mosley's platform. The Liberal candidate for Chelsea has refused to stand again. He said, "The ideal politician is a man of private means who is obsessed by power. I have no private income, and I am not obsessed by power".

REMARKS REPORTED here last week made by Marshal Malinovsky, the Soviet Defence Minister were censored by *Pravda*. A Committee of 100 members in Bedford who tried to stand with the British Legion in Remembrance Day ceremonies with a placard saying: "No Third World War", has his placard taken away by a police member of the Legion. The War Resisters' International (88, Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex) has available a list of 'prisoners for Peace' to whom greetings can be sent on December 1st (Prisoners for Peace Day). It includes 40 French C.O.s, eight Americans, six Yugoslavians (serving between them 49 years) and scores of Jehovah's Witnesses in Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands,

in the world are nevertheless starving, does not disprove this contention but simply underlines that the capitalist system of production and distribution is far from being efficient in serving the needs of mankind. Anarchism it seems to us has the valid arguments for solving the problems of our time which depend on the acceptance of new social and political values and which arguments many are accepting without labelling them anarchist.

But acceptance of new values and their implementation are two distinct yet indivisible aspects of the same question. For action without the direction given to it by ideas is blind, just as ideas are sterile if not



West Germany, U.S.A., etc. A U.S. citizen in Israel picketed the U.S. Defence Minister were censored by *Pravda* he should have registered for selective service. Israeli police asked him to move. He moved into the Embassy where he distributed leaflets. Paul Salstrom, an American conscientious objector who had served two years imprisonment was arrested again for violating the terms of his release by engaging in work for the peace movement. Tom Rodd (18), another American C.O. who had been sentenced to five years imprisonment or probation was released to work for the American Friends Service Committee in Philadelphia. A boat *The Spirit of Freedom* was blockaded by the American coastguards when it was attempting to travel to Havana on the for Peace. A sympathiser swam out to the besieged boat with food which even though he was intercepted by a coast-guard cutter he succeeded in lobbying over to the boat. A boat has been offered to the group of New Zealanders planning to enter the French nuclear testing area in the Pacific. The Australians introduced selective conscription for two years national service and three years in the Reserve, this was to offset the threat of Indonesia. Indonesia announced her imminent acquisition of atomic weapons.

THE VATICAN COUNCIL discussed nuclear weapons in the light of the 'just war' doctrine. The Council had proposed outlawing all nuclear weapons. It was pointed out that Pope Pius XII and Pope John XXIII had condemned any weapons whose effects could not be estimated or controlled. Bishop Hannon of Washington said, "It is simply rhetorical to affirm that all nuclear arms are uncontrollable and that their destructive power is of such proportions to be unimaginable". The Archbishop of Liverpool supported him saying that "There may well exist objects which in a just war of defence are legitimate targets of nuclear weapons, even of vast force. To attack a ballistic missile or a satellite missile

in the outer atmosphere would, for example be a legitimate act of defence. If, as I think is correct, legitimate targets for nuclear weapons may in fact exist, the Council should not condemn the possession and use of these weapons as essentially and necessarily evil." The Archbishop concluded by saying, "To turn the other cheek is a counsel of perfection addressed to individuals not to governments, who have a grave duty to defend citizens entrusted to their authority. Ira and Edita Morris appeared in *Peace News* for assistance to the Hiroshima Families Appeal who help ailing and elderly survivors of the A-bomb who are among the eighty thousand survivors in the Hiroshima area. Anyone wishing to contribute should send a cheque or money order made out to CND, 2 Carthusian Street, E.C.1., with envelope marked "For Hiroshima Families Appeal".

THE POPE, presented with a first folio of Shakespeare to admire, misunderstood and thought it was a gift, however, he returned it when the matter was explained to him. The Pope has decided to donate one of his papal tiaras to be sold for the benefit of the poor of India. This was given him at his coronation last year and like all papal crowns it has three tiers each one encircled with diamonds, emeralds and rubies and is worth about £4,000. The *Guardian* underlining the Pope's sacrifice says, "Since it weighs half of what the other tiaras weigh, it has been Pope Paul's preferred monarchical headgear for long ceremonies".

MRS. MARY WILSON, wife of the Prime Minister, has sent one of her husband's ties in red and silver stripes for sale at the Autumn bazaar of the women's section of Hastings Labour Party. Mr. Arthur Lewis (Labour, West Ham North) is to ask the Prime Minister if he will arrange broadcasts for himself at regular intervals so that he can speak on the progress of the country's economy. Atomic stability at Harwell have revealed the probability that Napoleon was poisoned.

IT IS REPORTED that military history was made when a Lt-Colonel in the Gloucester regiment married a Lt-Colonel in the W.R.A.C. "According to an Army spokesman," says the paper, "It was the first time that two serving colonels had married in peacetime."

A FULL PAGE colour advertisement in an American magazine reads "Protest Against the Rising Tide of Conformity" but concludes "Serve Booth's House of Lords, the non-conformist gin from England".

JON QUIXOTE.

accompanied by practical proposals for their implementation.

In our time the characteristic that distinguishes the anarchists from the Left in general is not the ends but the means. The Left today seeks to achieve the classless, production-for-need and "from each according to his abilities—to each according to his needs"—society, by parliamentary, legalitarian means. The anarchists are alone and unanimous in rejecting parliamentary and legal means, but while they will probably be unanimous in saying that their alternative is revolutionary action, it is clear that they are not unanimous in what they believe this to imply. For most of us revolution is the overturning of the existing regime and the values it defends with violence by the violence of the people in arms. It is on this definition that we know we are inviting passionate disclaimers from those anarchists who will declare that their means, their revolution is based on non-violent direct action. Yet it is on the means we propose, that anarchism, as a way of life, will also be judged by those to whom we direct our propaganda. The issue of violence and non-violence may at this stage in our existence as a movement appear academic, but the fact is that to build up a movement (as distinct from a body of sympathisers—needed as well as the movement!) which is capable of acting as well as thinking demands means which can be seen to be realistic in the long term assuming the successful growth of the move-

ment. In the course of building up a movement it is as, if not more, difficult to retain the support of those one has won over to the cause as it is to win them over in the first place. And it is because while we can convince many people so far as the idea is concerned we tend to be less sure, or less frank, as to the means by which the idea will be brought about. Yet if we are unanimous in rejecting the parliamentary, legalitarian roads to socialism—this clearly indicates not only a lack of faith in authoritarian institutions but an awareness of the dangers that stem from conferring on individuals power over the lives of their fellow beings. We live in a world in which this exists *de facto*. What observable reasons are there then for believing that those who have the power will give it up except when faced by a force superior to the force they can command to defend their privilege? For if they are amenable to reason then all the anarchist arguments against parliamentary elections, government, etc. . . . must inevitably fall to the ground, and we should be seeking our means through the machinery of government—revolutionary government! Indeed we have as much chance of persuading ourselves or others of changing society by means based on strictly non-violent direct action as we have of making the authoritarian Press—yellow or quality—sympathetically interpret the anarchist—the libertarian—approach and socio-economic argument. Which is what we started off by arguing.

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