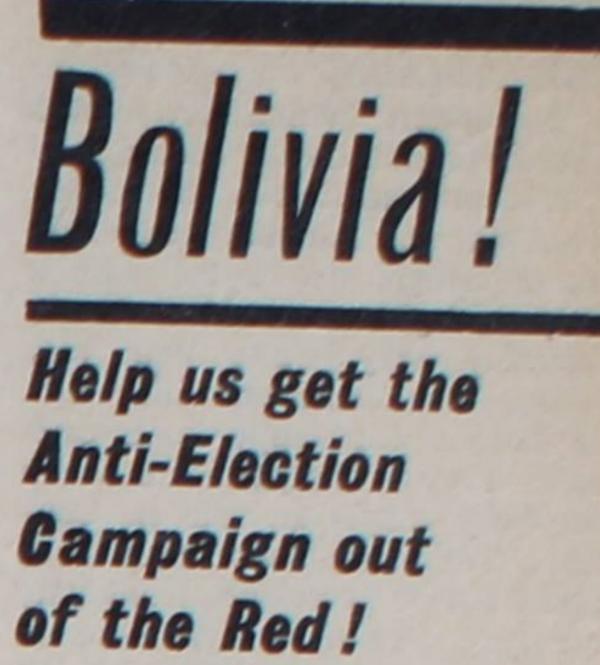


'No class of men who have possessed authority have been able to avoid abusing it.'

T. H. BUCKLE



AN ANARCHIST WEEKLY-4d.

NOVEMBER 21 1964 Vol 25 No 36

IT is often argued that for a propa-ganda 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.



of it and this can be summed up in one word: "minimal".

It is not that we are opposed to mass communications in principleany 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

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 echeme 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 twothirds 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 per cent over the same period last 15 year," they are justified in this claim This has been achieved with an increase of only $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ 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 2¹/₂d. 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 iving, (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.

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

THE first measures taken by the

confirming the alleged worst fears

expressed by the Tory Opposition

during the elections, simply con-

firms 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.

Labour Government far trom

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 babyeaters, 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

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 authori tarian forms of organisation, and social and economic privileges, to favourably expose libertarian ideas wit to draw conclusions from the which are as opposed to theirs, as

* TODAY that same press which made every conscience-stricken

atheism is to Christianity! How this prejudice operates can be observed at every stage. For instance, if one examines a journal,

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

For the past 13 years the tit-bits disupset the continental exporting tributed by successive Tory Chancelcountries that would be affected by lors have in the main gone into the these measures to the point of cutpockets of the have-class. If our ting down their imports from Brimemory is not at fault when the tain! The 6d. on petrol and 6d. on Tories gave a few tens of millions in 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-

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.

ANARCHY **NOW ON SALE, DISCUSSES** Anarchism Greek Thought

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

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

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 toe 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

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.

(Continued from previous issue) THE Americans are experts on corruption. When they wanted some concession on the mines, they got it from Juan Lechin, the miners representative. All they had to do was to dangle before his nose a lovely call-girl from New York, preferably very white and very blonde. She came and she went, and Lechín was happy for a brief while. For, as one politician whom everybody laughs at, said in Congress: "What we have to do is to import 10,000 prostitutes from Italy or France. Then we shall have no revolutions and wee shall all be happy."

Siles Suazo took over from Paz in 1956. The law specifies that no President can stand for a second consecutive term, so Paz came to London as ambassador. It is not so important as Washington, but it is the highest paid post in the diplomatic corps.



FREEDOM

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 vicepresident, 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

help corruption increase. Paz's government had been given a brief respite with the exploitation of oil. Under Siles, even that was failing. The mines were in the same condition, miners were idle but paid, as now they had the weapons. All that was needed was new machinery, new mines to be opened, to give them work. Rich deposits of tin were discovered in certain regions, on the surface of the earth. There is no need of expensive machinery, as the deposits can be exploited with a bulldozer and many men with picks and shovels working in the open air, where they would have a chance of not catching tubercu losis. But the MNR politicians could not get their fingers off the dollars. The resources of the country were kept a secret, their possible exploitation never mentioned. But a big hullabaloo was made to convince people accustomed to the cold of the mountains, to migrate to the jungle. The economy, they said, had to be diversified. A typical case of corruption is the Bolivian

Siles' government stagnated to director of the Bolivian Power House Co. gave 10,000 dollars to a certain politician. The Germans were told no.

and lakes. The Germans would

build dams and supply the machin-

ery to supply the whole country with

constant electricity. They would

provide the work and the money.

Their only condtion 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

In 1960, Paz Estenssoro came back from London to have himself elected agan. 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 "liwiñuñu" 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 militiawoman 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

trapped in a dormitory. The lieutenant disarmed them, stood them against a wall and machine-gunned them. Afterwards, he explained: "They made me angry beecause 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 five in the morning in the barracks waiting for news of victory. If the they had assaulted. They had shot blow failed, he was to be brought several sleeping conscripts when a a suitcase with 40,000 dollars to lieutenant appeared with a sub- flee the country for a very long exile. machine gun. The barrack gates But the subordinate with him, after were closed and they were prisoners the delivery of the suitcase, decided

> 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.



OH yes how can we as anarchists or rent and tenancy, and what surely needs to be done by anarchists and libertarians In Danger, this Penguin is a good help radical pacifists engage the attenas a manual of tenants' rights, a guidetion of thoughtful people towards housing is to organize more carefully and willing our own local activities to allow all those book to the twisting rogues and Rachand the need for groups of people themwho so desire to participate in ideas mans, a definition of landlordism. It selves to challenge the rent collectors and activities designed to counter Landwill bring help to many, comfort to few and their bosses who enforce eviction lordism. or increased rents? How can we rewith no knowledge of such activities, and will create an awareness of the move this blockage about . . . the need Since it is often the poorest and least for the government to act . . . how can many devious way of treacherous landarticulate persons who become homeless lords. Put it in your library, on your we state our ideas in situations which or get thrown out of their rooms it bookshelf, in the way of your friends. need the attention, in present society, would help our own understanding, be-It may shake few business men in their for existing government machinery to sides giving such victims help, by fighting hearts. It will shake many business men deal with landlords content only with for these families and getting a house making bigger and bigger profits? in their pockets, for ideas spread and or old building of our own as a means the educated tenant cannot forget his believe one way is to follow up contacts to not only providing temporary accomknowledge. and associations with those who are modation but a coffee and discussion But listen to the property owner: " . . themselves struggling against such landcentre in our own area. Of course in the chairman of the National Federation lordisms as Audrey Harvey calls the some areas this can be done by the of Property Owners maintained that whole business of profiteering from tenpublishers of the poetry magazine; the ants' basic need of shelter! This strikes private landlords do, in fact, provide libertarian journal; the organizers of the a public service-and that this ought me as the real name "Landlordism" the local folk-club or jazz/record group and to be much more gratefully acknowroot cause, not Rachmanism a symptom. just as effectively-but if it does not ledged by government and public alike-Of course we can help to set up fresh exist it is probably due to the absence the occasion was not an altogether housing associations, combat evictions of any radical thinking persons in that happy one: he had just suffered a comand organize resistance to property merarea. pulsory purchase order on twenty of chants and their evasions, deceptions I think there is now a nucleus for his East London blocks of flats because and intimidations-but could we not anarcho-pacifist groups in many parts the rents charged had been found excarry out more surveys-practical surof the country and the only need is to cessive and repairs had not been done." veys of local conditions; find out the bring such people into contact more DENIS GOULD. position of elderly and poor families in order the better to know who-in our own area-is responsible for homeless-SHALL WE EVER LEARN? ness and illness due to street-fear . . the fear of sleeping in temporary shelter, or public institution? THE West End of London had a sec-End Tyranny. After the damaged cities, ond remembrance of the dead in the refugees, Hiroshima and The Bomb, Trickery as the swindling landlord's two world-wide and numerous other came the question "What abount the work is called in the new Penguin Special (Tenants in Danger by Audrey wars on Saturday, the 14th November. War to End Everything?" Harvey, price 3/-) is but a natural The 'soldiers' on this parade were the These tableaux illustrated the choice element of the class of person who motley band of pacifiste, anti-militarists between bombs and bread; barracks and caring not one jot or tittle for the person and nuclear disarmament campaigners colleges; and called for the scrapping who is forced to seek a room in some, taking part in the pageant organized of weapons and the turning of swords one, person's house; then goes on to by the Peace Pledge Union to depict a into ploughshares. The ways to this half-century of war. The tableaux (led bleed the man or family for as much end were represented by the Disarmaas he can for as long as it is sufficiently off by the A.F.B.'s crocodile) started ment Conference Table (can this, on its with a scroll of wars and crises in almost profitable, and when it isn't throws him showing over past years, be regarded out for one who will pay more. unbroken chronology from 1914 to 1946 unsceptically?); the sit-down protesters, A band playing tunes of the 1914-18 Audrey Harvey says of this typethe War Resisters behind bars for refusthe landlord-that "he will continue to period preceded a train of young soldiers ing to kill. The procession ended with exist-and so will homeless familiesleaving for the War to End War. Passa call to "Therefore Choose Life", via as long as land and rented houses reing through the mournful aftermath of the attractive appeal of a lorry load of main in private hands." And suggests this war, with its orphans, its young children-of-all-nations. that the government should be in congraves, the 'world fit for heroes' represen-On a dull Saturday afternoon in the ted by an unemployed soldier playing a trol, or rather the more permanent West End there were not great throngs machinery of state. Now whilst as an barrel organ, the procession traced the anarchist I do not like this idea overlining the streets to affirm their choice steps to the next war via the Versailles on the side of Life, and the television much I like even less the present free -Treaty [a "weatherhouse" inhabited in and press reporters were conspicuous by for - all - those - with - money - and one side by Britannia (whose thick black beard evoked an image of Mars), the their absence. But the interest and on property gang. Readers of FREEDOM will, I think, be other by a strutting Adolf Hitler], the occasion the displeasure of bystanders advocates of direct action and solidarity Spanish Civil War, the ever-present indicated that complacency had been for those struggling over problems of causes of war, onward to the War to punctured. M.C.

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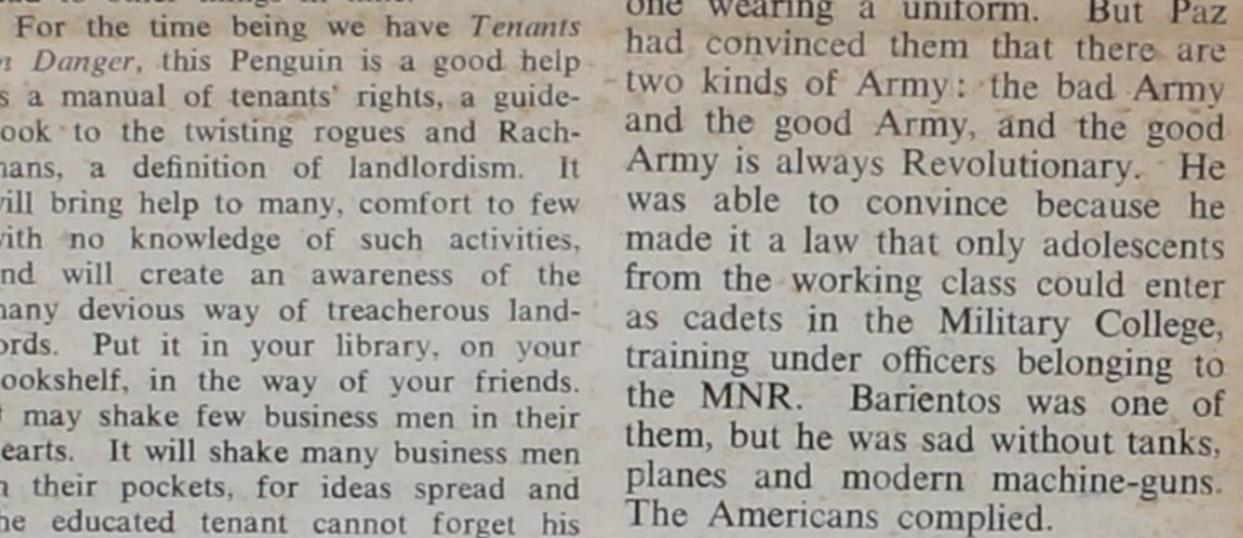
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Kennedy was President of the United States. It was rumoured that Kennedy intended to make Bolivia a show-piece for the whole continent. Money would be poured in right, left and centre. A delegation of miners was invited to Washington. Their spokesman 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 Barientos would succeed him as President. Paz would have liked to do another term, as by then, he considered himself a perennial Daddy like Franco.

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To be concluded



November 21 1964 Vol 25 No 36

THE ANARCHIST IMAGE

Continued from page I

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.

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.

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."



West Germany, U.S.A., etc. A U.S. citizen in Israel picketted the U.S. emfence 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 coastguard cuitter he succeeded in lobbing 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 thseat of Indonesia. Indonesia announced her imminent acquisition of atomic weapons. . . .

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 appealed in Peace News for assistance to the Hiroshima Families Appeal who help ailing and elderly survivors of the Abomb 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.I., 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". . .

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 journa! 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 of plenty" is no longer the utopian Statesman review, by a Mr. Philip dream of socialists and anarchists Williams, is headed "All or No- of the 19th century but a technical thing" and opens with this figment possibility. That millions of people

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 authoritarjanism without the determined efforts by those who are prepared to do more than pay lip-service to them.

\star

THE New Statesman's reviewer

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 Defenc Minister were censored by Pravda. A Committee of 100 member 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.

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 W.R.A.C. "According to an Army controlled. Bishop Hannon of Wash- spokesman," says the paper, "It was the ington 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

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 tests at Harwell have revealetd the probability that Naponeon was poisoned. . . .

IT IS REPORTED that military history was made when a Lt.-Colonel in the Gloucester regiment married a Lt.-Colonel in the first time that two serving colonels had married in peacetime."

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

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

JON QUIXOTE.

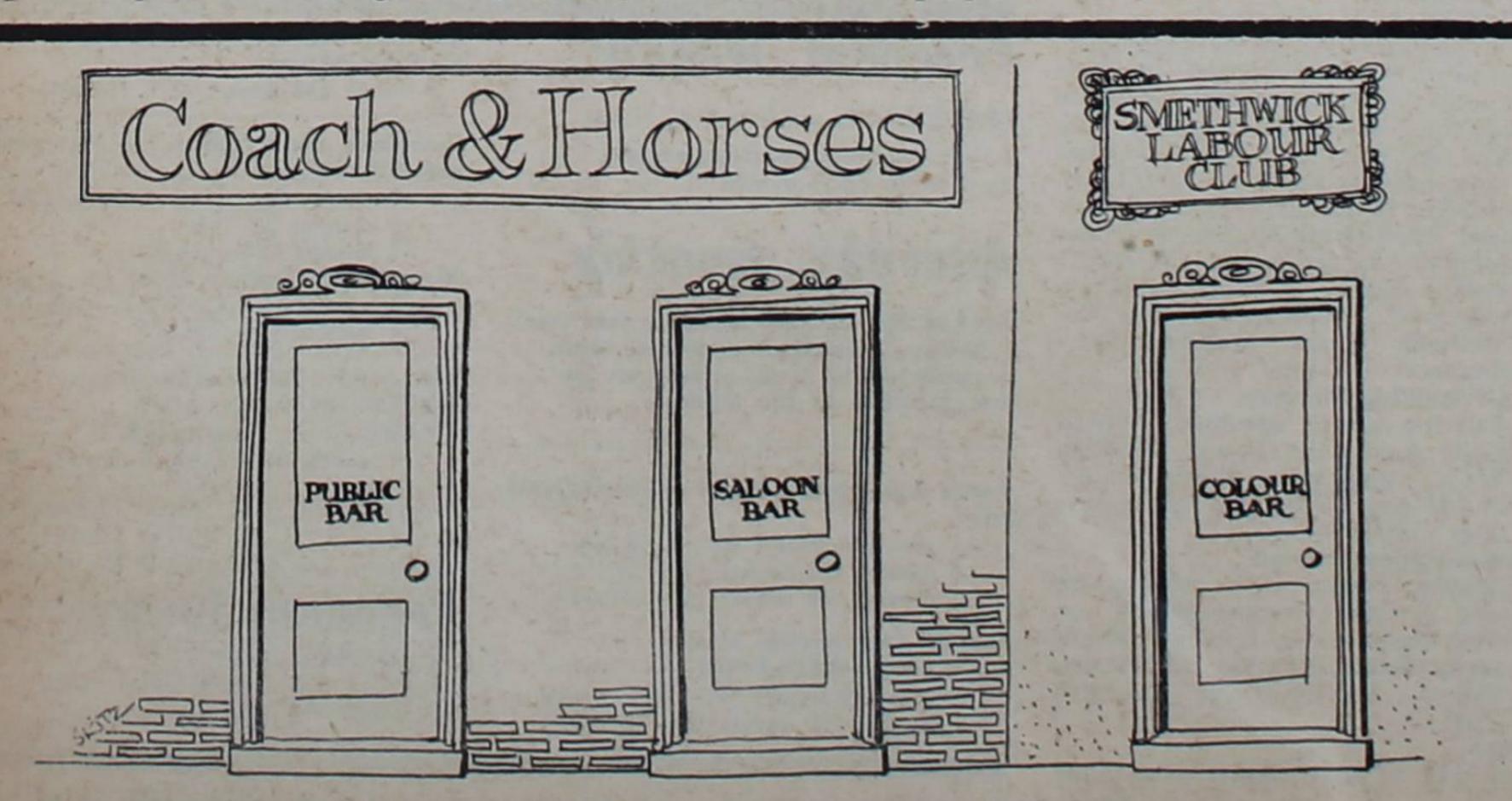
in the world are nevertheless starving, does not disprove this contention but simply underlines that the capitalist system of production and distribution is far from being efficient in serving the needs of mankind. Anarchism it seems to us has the valid arguments for solving the problems of our time 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

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, productionfor-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 unanimousin 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 ally interpret the anarchist-the means which can be seen to be libertarian- approach and sociorealistic in the long term assuming economic argument. Which is what the successful growth of the move- we started off by arguing.

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 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 anarchit argumeents 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 ave of making the authoritarian Press -yellow or quality-sympathetic-



For nearly four months now, the workers at the Rootes factory at Linwood, Renfrewshire, have been working a four-day week. Now the management wants to return to five-day working, but at the price of 400 sackings. This offer has been turned down by the 2,600 workers at the factory. This decision was reached at a mass meeting of the The chairman of the shop men. stewards' committee, Bill McLean, said, "The workers have unanimously decided that work sharing should continue with no redundancies.

When Rootes first decided to build their new plant at Linwood, they were them all. hailed by union leaders as the benefactors of the workers, bringing employ-The company has always been less ment to Scotland. However, since the first "Imp" rolled off the assembly lines. the workers have had to fight for every pay increase or betterment in conditions. After all, it was not this easing of unemployment that was the object of Rootes when they decided to build the factory at Linwood. It was the government handout and the wage rates that were lower than others in the car inmust have horrified the management. The workers' rejection of the five-day dustry that made up their mind for them. So the workers at Linwood have tried working is an expression of solidarity



to bring these rates in line with those of all other car workers. All the time, Rootes have tried to increase production, 3,000 cars per week being their aim, but this target has never been reached party due to poor organisation and coordination of parts on the assembly lines. In any case, even if that number could be produced, Rootes could not sell

successful than the other big car manufacturers, but things are beginning to change for them. In fact on the day prior to the talk of sackings, the management announced a profit of nearly £2 million. So far as Rootes is concerned, it is better, financially of course, to work a five-day week with a smaller labour force. All those idle assembly lines

which has grown from past struggles with the management. The employees are saying that they want to make the decisions concerning the number of hours to be worked and the size of the labour force. For too long now, the managements has used sackings to rationalise their production and have avoided the obvious, though more costly. remedy of short time work.

If the workers at Rootes can defeat the management on this issue, it will

ANTI-ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

SOUTHALL

During the election campaign in Southall, Middx., local supporters distributed about 1,700 leaflets and 250 stickers. Candidates were also questioned at their meetings. (Answers given disclosed that the Labour candidate was in favour of the war in Aden and thought that a large official advertising campaign should be launched to increase Army recruiting. When pressed, he refused to say whether or not he would be in favour of conscription). Part of the anti-election campaign was carried out in neighbouring Ealing where, at one meeting we attended, the Labour candidate read from the "Hazards of Voting" leaflet the passage about "taking a greater interest in local affairs" and said the way to do this was to vote Labour. In spite of the limited scope, the campaign was fairly successful. Full and fair reports appeared in the local press and there was a brief mention in the Southall constituency survey in the Guardian (Sept. 18). Also our questions seem to have been quite effective to judge from the chairman of one Labour meeting who refused "to take our questions on the grounds that as we were anti-parliamentary we had no right to

be a step forward in the struggle for the control of the job. Already at the Pressed Steel plant across the road from Rootes, where the "Imp" bodies are made, a meeting of 6,000 workers have voted against any redundancies at their factory. According to other reports, there is talk of 600 sackings. If this is true, then it is vital that workers at both factories join together to fight these proposed sackings. As it is, there should be liaison between them so that co-ordinated action can be taken if the necessity arises to struggle against the attempts of their employers to sacrifice men and jobs to further the rationalisation of production.

FREEDOM

ANARCHIST FEDERATION **OF BRITAIN**

Co-ordinating Secretary: Tom Jackson, 10 Gilbert Place, London, W.C.1.

London Anarchist Group

"Lamb and Flag", Rost Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2. (near Garrick and King Streets: Leicester Square tube), 7.45 p.m. NOV 22 Ted Kavanagh on: Kronstadt.

NOV 29 John Rety on:

Anarchist Federation of Britain: What Next?

DEC 6 A. Rajk on:

P.T.

The Myth of anarchism and revolution. DEC 13 Maurice Goldman on: Another look at Reich. JAN 10 Philip Sansom

DEC 27 To be announced.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

CHRISTIE-CARBALLO REPORT

Last Thursday at a very badly attended meeting, a report was given on the work done by the Christie-Carballo Committee. Those who did make the effort to get to Denison House heard about the activities of Libertarian comrades in other countries who demonstrated their support for these two imprisoned comrades. There have been demonstrations in America, France, Uruguay, Italy, Sweden and the Netherlands. As well as demonstrations held in London, there have been others held in Glasgow, Bristol, on Merseyside and on Tyneside. All the candidates in the General Election were circularised for support, and about 20 responded. Several of the London branches of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers have sent



protests to the Spanish Embassy and some have given financial support.

Stuart is receiving good treatment, by prison standards, and is able to learn Spanish, Japanese and printing. He is allowed to receive books as long as they are not of political content or liable to stimulate sexual desires. According to the British Consulate in Madrid, this rules out all newspapers. The Committee have sent clothing and books, but at the moment it is doubtful that he has received these. He is allowed to send two letters per week but can receive any number himself. He has expressed that he would like to hear from friends and comrades, especially by postcard as he is making a scrapbook of these.

It is essential that the Christie-Carballo Committee carries on with its work of sending relief to Stuart, and it is hoped to Carballo as well, as well as the work of pressing for an early release. The latter, it was felt, could only be done through official channels. as much as we regret this as anarchists. The Members of Parliament who gave their support are to be lobbied and from this it is hopeed that a pressure group of M.P.s might be formed. Everyone was in full agreement with this type of work through the official channels as it was felt that it would be the only way to achieve results. If the work of the Committee is to be continued, and let us face it; it will be a long job, then it must have money. Please send any donations to the Christie-Carballo Committee.

another old lady who, while we were leafletting a local meeting at which Earl Attlee spoke, said that we mustn't heckle Attlee as he was a gentleman.

My chief personal memories of the

campaign are of one old lady who asked

me if a "Refuse to Vote" poster I was

displaying meant refuse to vote Labour

or refuse to vote Conservative and of

'Unit N'

question candidates'.

DEAR COMRADES,

A direct action group recently formed in the new University of Lancaster known as 'Unit N' late on Saturday night (7th November) successfully scaled a three hundred feet gasometer in Lancaster to affx a forty foot banner reading "Lancaster University condemns South African apartheir murders".

This group which is anarchist in tone plans to bring controversial issues before the public in ways that will attract their attention and interest. Moreover by using dramatic means of propaganda the views we support are publicised in the national and local press. Without such action many issues are ignored by the commencial Press.

We urge that other anarchists especially in the Universities, undertake this form of militant propaganda more frequently to supplement the more usual means of communication such as meetings and leafleting.

T.J.R.

Lancaster, Nov. 8.



Birmingham Group

Peter Neville.

12 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham, 23.

Bristol Federation

Irregular meetings enquiries to c/o Martin Howells, 7 Richmond Dale, Clifton, Bristol 8.

Dundee Group

Contact Rod Cameron, 6 Westfield Place, Dundee.

Edinburgh Group

Enquiries to: Douglas Trueman, 13 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh 3. Meetings every Monday, 7.30 p.m. All welcome.

Glasgow Federation

Enquiries to Ronnie Alexander, c/o Kennedy, 112 Glenkirk Drive, Glasgow,

Hayes and District

Contact Mike Wakeman, 12 Hoppner Road, Hayes, Middlesex.

Manchester Group

Meetings alternate Tuesdays. Details from Graham Leigh, 5, Mere Close, Sale, Cheshire.

Merseyside Federation

Enquiries: Vincent Johnston's, 43 Millbank, Liverpool 13.

PUBLICATIONS

SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM'

Vol 2 1952: Postscript to Posterity Vol 3 1953: Colonialism on Trial Vol 4 1954: Living on a Volcano Vol 5 1955: The Immoral Moralists Vol 6 1956: Oil and Troubled Waters 7 1957: Year One-Sputnik Era Vol Vol 8 1958: Socialism in a Wheelchair Vol 9 1959: Print, Press & Public Vol 10 1960: The Tragedy of Africa Vol 11 1961: The People in the Street Vol 12 1962: Pilkington v. Beeching

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EXPENSES: 45 weeks at £70 INCOME: Sales & Sub, Renewals: £ Weeks 1-44 1,985 Week 45 71

Contact Column

Glasgow Club

Would Glasgow comrades please note that a fund has been set up with a view to acquiring premises for a Libertarian Social Club in Glasgow. 2/6 weekly contributions. Enquiries and contributions to. Joe Embleton, Thrush Villa, Commonhead, Airdrie.

Meetings

'Religion in the School'. National Secular Society. LONDON, S.W.1., Alliance Hall,

Caxton Street (St. James' Park Underground, Monday, November 30th, 7.45 p.m. Speakers: Knight, Pinter, Tribe, Collis.

Spanish Festival

Organized by Federation "Mujeres Libres", Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1., Saturday, 28th Nov., 7.30 p.m. Admission 5/6. Jazz Band, Piano, Ballet, Guitar, Flamencos, Dancing.

Hospitalized

Fred Grocott of Gosport (old friend of Matt Kavanagh) is in Homeopathic Hospital, Queen Square, London, W.C.1., and would like visitors at 7-7.30 Mondays, Tuesdays and Fridays, 2 p.m.-3.30 p.m., Thursdays and Saturdays, 2 p.m.-4 p.m. Sundays. Odd Jobs

Cleaning, painting, re-decorating. Anywhere in London area. A. W.

Notting Hill Anarchist Group

Secretary N.H.A.G., 5 Colville Houses, London, W.11.

Open meeting. First Friday each month, 8 p.m., British Oak, Westbourne Park Road, W.2.

PROPOSED GROUPS BRADFORD

Anyone interested in Anarchist discussion group and folk-singing contact Sid Frisbee, 100 Bierley House Avenue, Bierley, Bradford.

WATFORD-HERTS

Anyone interested get in touch with Ian Roxborough, 44 Tanners Hill, Abbots Langley, Watford.

NORTH WALES

Anyone interested, get in touch with Richard Graham, c/o 26 Bryn Llwyd, Caernarvon Road, Bangor, Caernarvonshire.

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.

Tunbridge Wells Group Meets 1st and 3rd Thursday in month at J. D. Gilbert-Rolfe, 4 Mount Sion, Tunbridge Wells, Sussex, 8 p.m.

Tyneside Federation

Enquiries: David Douglass, 6 Laski Gardens, Wardley, Gateshead, 10.

BRENT, MIDDLESEX

Enquiries to Jeff Nichols, 115 Slough Lane, Kingsbury, Middlesex.

BEXLEY, KENT

Enquiries to P. J. Wildish, 2 Cumbrian Avenue, Barnehurst, Bexley Heath, Kent.

CANADA

VANCOUVER, British Columbia

Monthly Forum-Last Sunday of each month. Enquiries to Bill Fletcher, 104 West 11th Avenue, Vancouver,

3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald & Irene Rooum's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.

Orpington Anarchist Group

Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks. Next meeting, Sunday 6th December, 2.30 p.m. at "Greenways", Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson's.

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Uloth, 30 Arundel Gardens, London, W.11.

New Zealand

Federation of Anarchists. An embryo attempt to co-ordinate groups and individualst in New Zealand. Articles urgently required for the Australasian magazine "The Red and the Black". Will forward same or send direct to Jack Grancharoff, 58 Rainbow Street, Kingsford, New South Wales. Will also forward donations for Freedom's Deficit Fund. Overseas anarchists welcomed. Address: P.O. Box 5455, Wellesley Street, Auckland Netw Zealand.

To All Building Workers

Call for action. Meeting. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London. W.C.1., Wednesday, December 2nd at 6.30 p.m. Organised by the Joint Sites Committee.

Accommodation Wanted

Student couple with two-year-old seek furnished accommodation, any sort, anywhere in London. Reply: Jenny James, Caravan 53, Hawley Manor, Hawley, near Dartford, Kent.

London

If you wish to make contact let us know.

2nd Friday at Brian Leslie's, 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).

Freedom weekly

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