

DEEPER INTO THE CESSPOOL

THE WAR IN Vietnam has dragged on for eighteen years. Since the French were kicked out at Dien Bien Phu in 1954 America has been propping up South Vietnam to the tune of £200 million a year. In 1955 the Geneva Conference was designed to neutralise all of Indo-China. Vietnam was to be divided into north and south temporarily, and at a later stage general election and unification. Arising from the Geneva Conference an International Control Commission was set up. Their job ostensibly was to maintain the status quo, in this they failed miserably.

America paid lip service to the Convention, but in actual fact were choked with Britain and France for capitulating. America the big hearted champion of freedom and western democracy, supported the South Vietnam oligarchy with arms, money and men. All this, of course, was under the name of 'friends and neighbours'. The men were technical advisers, the arms were for defence and the money for the starving peasants. In reality the 'aid' was to actively fight Communism or Neutralism. America does not differentiate between the two.

The International Control Commission's job was to stop this build-up, this it failed to do thus the ground was prepared for the present situation.

War is a vile business, but it is possible to say that the war in Vietnam is one of the worst ever. Who exactly is the war against? It is against anyone who opposes the American puppets, they come and they go but provided they are prepared to continue the war they receive American support.

The rebels, come communists, come neutralists, are the Vietcong which was formed December 20, 1960 to combat American domination. By 1961 during the Ngo Dinh Diem regime, 10,000 of his troops had deserted and joined the Vietcong with their arms. Even the most biased opinion has to admit that the Vietcong has the support

of the peasantry, so much so that 'strategic hamlets' were instituted into which inhabitants of rural areas and existing villages were banded. They were like concentration camps surrounded by moats, barbed wired and guard dogs, according to W. W. Rostow, an adviser of the State Department. He suggested that Vietnam should be used as an experimental area for the development of anti-guerilla techniques and weapons by American forces.

The *Chicago Daily News* in its statement January 18, 1963 'The Government regards Vietcong hospitals as fair targets for ground or air attack. If Vietnamese commanders order an airstrike on a medical centre, the planes bomb and strafe it, even when Americans are along as advisers or instructors. When asked if Americans officially condone these attacks, a US military spokesman said: "There has not been a definite policy ruling for Vietnam". Planes of the Vietnamese Air Force are frequently piloted by Americans.' (MCF 'Vietnam and Laos').

A few weeks ago on British television the 'Vietnam Murder' was exposed for all to see. The so-called American advisers myth was blown sky high. South Vietnamese had to be shanghaied into the army, and the desertion rate was colossal. The ordinary Vietnamese people, the peasant whose only interest is to work on the land so that he is able to eat. The majority of peasants are 'share croppers', scraping a miserable existence. These people have never known peace, they are being slaughtered daily. For what?

Power Politics!

America is in this cesspool up to its neck, it's a war they cannot win, but must continue, to save face. If the Pentagon had its way North Vietnam would have been flattened months ago and this is still a possibility. President Johnson has ordered all American civilians to leave South Vietnam. 49 planes have just bombed North Vietnam as a reprisal for a North Vietnamese attack. If America's suicidal policy is pursued, both China, Russia and Britain could be involved in a full scale SE Asia war.

According to the ten Reports of the International Commission, the Geneva Agreements were faithfully observed by the authorities of the Northern Zone and were respected by China, Russia, France and Britain. But in the Southern Zone the Agreements were not only ignored but their implementation obstructed.

Can anything be done? The American people could force an American withdrawal from South Vietnam, before they set SE Asia aflame. Britain could demand the re-convening of the Geneva Conference, this may sound utterly hopeless, but let's face it, Power the ordinary people's, permission. Politics only operates with our,

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

Labour, Tories and Immigration

IN A STATEMENT to the House of Commons on February 4, Frank Soskice announced that restrictions on immigration from Commonwealth countries would be tightened up. The new Home Secretary is thus proving himself a worthy successor to the despised Henry Brooke, having already confirmed the deportation order against Bert Benson, and refused to allow General Delgado to speak in Britain. Naturally, the right wing Tories are delighted that now it is in office, the Labour Party is following their policy in every detail.

The conservative movement contains many people of whom it can be said that their prejudices and hatred against people of other races is a personal manifestation of a psychopathic condition endemic among the upper and middle class British, which is caused by sexual difficulties arising from a religious childhood upbringing. These people do not approach problems in terms of rational considerations, but are prepared to go to extreme lengths to defend the security of their little niche in bourgeois society however unsatisfactory it is, to protect their narrow lives from any new experiences and anything different from what they have become accustomed to.

Most of all they want to prevent anyone of unfamiliar colour or customs from sharing in the comfortable material standard of living into which they, by chance, have been born. People of that type have a lot of influence in controlling a party for which nearly half the British people vote. They would probably shrink from the violence of outright fascism, but would passively consent to and excuse it if it did take place. If it had not been for millions of people in Germany taking this attitude, law-abiding respectable and Christian people, Hitler would not have had more than a handful of followers.

These are the people who say that South African affairs are none of our business, and who react to racial violence by blaming it on those who get attacked. No wonder the *Daily Mail* could support Mosley for a time before the war, and fascist parties today decline to put up candidates at by-elections

because the Tory candidates' attitude is in agreement with theirs. The fact that Tories like these influence who gets elected to the talking-shop is only a part of the problem. Their social influence is far more vicious where it makes itself felt in local affairs, in bodies which control schools, welfare institutions and agencies, Labour Exchanges and social services, simply because people with this reactionary attitude are there.

However, the executives of the Tory party are more realistic. They realise that a certain amount of coloured immigration is necessary. Naturally they welcome students of government and law, so that when former colonies become independent they will be ruled by people who understand the system, so that it will be easy for the old and new ruling classes to co-operate when their interests coincide, as they frequently do. However, what they want particularly is a stratum of workers who are so glad to get away from worse poverty, that they accept wages, conditions and jobs that not many British workers would do.

Without them, capitalism would be in a very tough position. However, to satisfy the bosses of capitalist firms and government enterprises, the situation needs careful control. If there were too many immigrants dissatisfied with their lot, it would cause social unrest and disturb the placidity of the state. (A similar phenomenon contributed to American radical agitation 50 years ago.) Neither do they want to see British affluence with its corollary of contented employees detracted from by claims on the social services. What the realistic Tories demand is not prohibition but control.

Naturally they are backed up in this by their supporters. Middle class people who denounce the filling in of a single form, perhaps rightly, as 'socialist bureaucracy', are unmoved by the fact that someone of another race may have not only to fill in forms, but face hours of grilling by immigration officials in an unfamiliar language, and possibly be sent back to a life from which he had spent his life savings on a voyage away from.

What can be said about the

Labour Party, which opposed the Immigration Act when the Tories brought it before Parliament and promised to repeal it when it came to power, withdrew the pledge conveniently before the election and now proposes to intensify its operation? When anarchists attack all political parties, we do not necessarily imply that they all are equally bad in their motives.

Most Labour Party activists are probably human and friendly in their attitude to coloured people and support them as individuals and fellow workers, and are dismayed by 'their' government's anti-socialist activities. However, in the political sense, it has to act in this way. It could not stay in power for a day longer than the chiefs of industry and finance and the Civil Service agreed to its being there, and if it took a socialist attitude to the problems which coloured people have with the British, it would not even win an election.

What can be done in this situation? First of all the motives of the anti-immigrationists should be exposed ruthlessly, and their hypocritical claims that they have the interests of coloured people themselves at heart, should be denounced as lies. This might lead the minority of decent people who support the Tories out of ignorance, to withdraw their support. Secondly, support should be given to social groups such as the Notting Hill Housing Trust which are taking practical steps in a small way towards solving problems which confront people of all races.

Most important of all, however, is that working people of all groups should realise, and act in recognition of the fact, that they are united by their position as workers in a capitalist, authoritarian society, and that their interests will be attacked by the bosses, the state, and politicians of all parties.

When people do act together as human beings, it will obviously mean the end of Toryism. If it threatens the existence of the Labour Party, as it will, that is nothing to worry about either, because when the people become socialists, there will be no need for 'socialist' politicians.

P.H.

FRANCE

THE ALMOST GENERAL STRIKE

From our Paris Correspondent.

IT IS ALWAYS a tricky matter to sum up a complex situation, but there are some points in the present internal situation in France which can be brought to the fore.

As a direct consequence of certain events, such as the present congestion of the markets and the results of the No. IV plan, something really important has happened which will affect everybody here, i.e., the falling of the productivity index, which carries France toward a period of economic recession.

A fall in production means less sales and that signifies lower profits. We all know that the ideological basis of capitalism is to increase or at least maintain profit. The logical solution therefore would be to raise the selling price. Unfortunately (for the French capitalists of course!) that is completely impossible as they are faced with international competition (particularly American), which obliges them to offer competitive selling prices.

Under these conditions there is only one solution: the cost-price must be reduced. As the price of raw materials cannot be influenced, there remain two factors to play with: wages and methods of production. Wages must be lowered, or rather 'stabilized' while the cost of living rises, which amounts to the same

thing and production must be streamlined at all levels. This last point represents another advantage (as always, for the capitalists) in that the number of workers must be reduced. There were 109,000 unemployed in December, 1964 and the situation in the labour market is being 'eased' by the mass importation of foreign labour. With this threat of unemployment over them the workers are apprehensive of showing their disapproval.

So at the moment we are awaiting a stabilization (of wages), a reduction in working hours and growing unemployment caused by the closing down of workshops and factories. Another point we should mention is the American method of 'exporting unemployment', whereby they buy up factories abroad and close them down, so as to give work to the American workers.

For the capitalists, the success of the 'organized economic recession' depends on the workers' reaction to their decrease in wages, so at this point they have strategically organized the integration of the Trade Unions with the State. The three main French Trade Unions send delegates to all the expansion and development committees, which are in fact the means by which the State prepares and executes its plans. This tactic has effectively turned the Trade Unions into

a necessary cog in the capitalist economic machinery.

What significance therefore have the 'almost general strikes' of December 11, 1964 and January 27-28, 1965? They had a considerable amount of support, particularly the first one, but since the rank and file to a large extent followed the Trade Unions' directives, the strikes were organized in such a way that no positive benefits were gained for the workers. May one think then that these strikes were only organized as a means for the workers to let off steam without doing any harm? One can't affirm this categorically, but a significant thing to keep in mind is the proximity of the municipal elections. It seems likely that the SFIO, the PC and MRP (the political parties which rule the Trades Unions) have started this agitation, to increase social tension and then acclaim themselves as the magnificent defenders of the French working class.

'Every five years the French State claims to plan the national economy. The last one was intended to restrain internal consumption.

'CGT—directed by the communists (PC). CFDT—directed by catholics (MRP). CGT-FO—directed by socialists (SFIO) (this organization has a minority of anarcho-syndicalists and Trotskyites trying to fight against the executive).

Must Good Guys Always Lose?
asks

ANARCHY 48

in discussing

LORD OF THE FLIES

and the case of Mr. Duane
of Risinghill School

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Caravan Dwellers Fight Back

NASH CARAVAN SITE is situated two miles outside Newport and has been open approximately four and a half years! It was originally licensed as a site for employees, on the construction of the Spencer Steel works. When the contract was finished the men working on the site moved elsewhere to find other work. It was then rented out by St. Donats Holiday Estates Ltd., one of Julian Hodges Companies (Cardiff's first millionaire) as a residential site. The ground rent the residents were paying was 22/-. However, last November the management announced 3-5-7 shillings rent increases in various cases. The residents asked if having increased ground rents would the management take it upon themselves to improve conditions, to which the management replied 'the raising of rent was to increase the return on their capital assets (on this site there are 240 caravans paying at least 22/- a week, making a monthly income of approximately £1,000) and there would be no guarantee conditions would be improved, but rent increase would be forced.

On the 23rd January two members of Cardiff Anarchist Group visited this site. The Front of the site is used as a display centre occupied by new caravans and presents a fairly respectable front. We had a fairly lengthy talk with a representative of the tenants and we were then shown the atrocious conditions to the

rear, a vast bog, into which the caravans are sunk. During heavy rain some occupants had to make wooden rafts to gain admittance to their caravans. There are eight blocks of toilets, the facilities look good on paper when listed, but for a large part are not functional, i.e. one block was swamped with water. The secretary of the tenants committee which was formed to negotiate with the management, told us that a list of complaints and a petition was drawn up and taken to the local council and the management of the site. They were then informed by the council that the site was illegal. When the committee found out the site was illegal they were told they could not bargain with the management to improve conditions as the licence for the site was for industrial use only. Therefore the only path open to them to gain satisfactory conditions was to refuse to pay rents, which they have done since November. The management then threatened that on January 22 at midnight electricity and water supply would be cut off, and the following morning at eight o'clock the caravans would be towed out onto the road and left. The management stepped down at the last minute, when they realised there would be resistance to this. We asked the secretary what form of action they envisaged and he expected it to be non-violent and in the event of any action by the management regarding supplies

of electricity and water supply they were prepared to become an autonomous body.

We then left the site which had an air of expectancy with men remaining on the site rather than going to work; the odd copper and tenants huddled in groups discussing the position. When we left the site we offered the committee our services and use of our duplicator.

It was announced Saturday night that the council had granted the management a permanent licence for the site provided they improved the conditions. However, the management does not recognise the tenants committee and all applications for tenancy must be made individually and whether this leads to victimisation of the organisers of the tenants committee we will have to wait and see.
K.E. & P.R.

P.S.

On Monday, February 1, a Newport judge rejected an application for an interim injunction that Mr. Harry Richards, chairman of the Tenants Association be made to quit the site. The representative of St. Donats Holiday Estates Ltd. claimed Mr. Richards was 'a troublemaker and leader of mob rule at the site'. 'There has been a lot of trouble at the site and Mr. Richards after threatening for some time to do so took over the site on Saturday and

2nd Class Citizens

THE FOLLOWING announcement appeared a week or so ago on the noticeboard of a women's teacher training college:

'I am given to understand that "X" got married during the holidays. I wish the College to know that this was neither with my knowledge nor sanction. This is particularly to be deplored since I have refused permission to those more honourable students who asked for it.

Under the circumstances, I shall be quite unable to support "X's" application for a post since I cannot vouch for her character. I am reporting the matter to my County Education Officer.
Signed: Principal.'

The dramatic sit-in at the University of California has focussed attention on the question of civil rights for students in America, but the continuing treatment of many British students as second class citizens is still being ignored. Last year six students were sent down from Oxford after taking part in demonstrations against the South African Ambassador. The sole result was an emergency motion at the NUS Conference. No other action seems contemplated. Partly this is because of the general apathy about which I have previously written,

JAZZ

AMONGST VISITING Americans on the local jazz circuit this winter is the gaffer of dixieland trumpeters, Wild Bill Davison.

Bill's fiery, loud yet lyrical, roaring has always been to me the acme of white jazz playing, an unflinching example of the difference between jazz and other musics; fortunately he manages to sustain this reputation no matter what company he is in.

Last week's performance particularly interested me as it provided a rare opportunity to compare abilities between Americans and locals on an unusually fair basis; all those involved have been playing for a lot of years, so that they should by now have complete command of their instruments; all have been dedicated to this particular type of jazz long enough to have a thorough knowledge of it; and most important, both locals and guest are at root playing an imitative form of jazz thus giving a greater parity than would be the case when locals work with a player such as Red Allen.

Much as I have enjoyed Freddie Randall's Band on previous occasions, this time it must rate as one of my most dismal jazz experiences. Rarely have I witnessed a group magnify their own shortcomings so embarrassingly. The childish, glazed eyed adulation of their guest, by a middle aged leader, well known for his authoritarian attitudes to employees, the public-bar musicianship of the main pianist and worst of all the inarticulate flutterings on clarinet by a man of proven international class, for so long the epitome of integrity yet here allowing his mental block regarding

partly it is because university students, Oxbridge apart, do not suffer quite so much from restrictive and authoritarian attitudes as do the inmates of the teacher training colleges, generally regarded, by graduate and undergraduate alike, as a lower form of animal life and therefore beyond the undergraduates sphere of concern.

SELF-PERPETUATING

Yet it is from the training colleges that the bulk of our teachers are drawn and it is in these institutions that the Victorian attitude to education is still most firmly entrenched. In the past I have written about the appalling extent to which corporal punishment still survives in English schools. It is hardly surprising, in view of the quotation which heads this article, that so many of our teachers still retain an authoritarian approach to the work of educating children, indeed it is surprising that libertarian concepts are making any headway at all. Coming from authoritarian schools the potential teachers enter authoritarian training colleges and thus re-enter the schools as teachers with no experience of any other type of regime. It is this self-perpetuating

STUDENT LIFE

process that is the major stumbling block to a more rational approach to education in the state schools to which the majority of children go.

The decision against integrating the training colleges into the university system does not only mean the present division of teachers into two classes will continue. It also means that the majority of teachers will continue to come from institutions where discussion of politics (in the broadest sense) is forbidden as it might 'lead to a distortion of textbook views', and where the regimentation of the classroom is maintained and perpetuated.

NO CRITICISM!

Two years ago this writer was hauled up before the Principal of a College of Commerce for pinning to the wall of the economics classroom a cutting about unemployment on Tyneside. 'You can't put this up, it's critical of the Government' was the reason given. The general feeling that this type of forced conformity is an American or Russian phenomenon is far from the truth. Many universities here are fairly lucky, the students have a considerable degree of autonomy, in the case of the majority of the training colleges this is not so. The case quoted at the head of this article should have become a national scandal. It hasn't and won't. Not until the students of this country are prepared to make the same stand as the Berkeley students will any progress be made.

JOHN MICHAELS.

Of Mice and Men

American superiority in jazz to render him into a pastiche of all the young 'blow and hope amateur jazzers'.

Fortunately when he reverted to alto, not usually a conventional Dixieland instrument, the group did manage to attain something approaching a professional cohesion; likewise the pianist's work on vibraphone was a very acceptable improvement.

All in all I was left with the feeling that if the 'jobs for the boys' approach of the agents responsible for the tour had been overridden in favour of giving the star and the audiences the best possible group, including some of Freddie's Band, some rewarding ensemble jazz would have resulted, and I, at least, would not hesitate about paying for a second hearing.

An entertaining contrast the following week was the McPeake Family of Belfast, traditional folk improvisors on Irish Harp, two Flageolets, Ulican Pipes and Voices; at the Troubadour, Old Brompton Road. A very satisfying evening containing many moments of great beauty and interest. The family, several times champions at the Welsh International Eisteddfod, span three generations, although the eighty-year-old grandfather was not present on this occasion, but will be accompanying them next month on an extensive American tour performing on

the pipes of which he is the foremost exponent in Ireland.

Whilst the subject matter, frequently in Gaelic, ranges over all manner of topics, including several brought back by returning emigrants from America, the music is a very personal creation of the family: several items were performed for the first time, at least in the variation offered that evening, thus requiring spontaneous ensemble improvisations, which were achieved exquisitely. The whole offering is presented in such an honest, unaffected manner that the maximum communication is achieved without any air of 'look how clever we are' or false modesty.

From the point of view of creative artistry at least our jazzmen could learn much from such people; as already several Americans like Roland Kirk and Sonny Rollins have realised.

JOHN JACK.

DOES THE LONDON FEDERATION STILL EXIST ?

Arthur Uloth has written that he is no longer the secretary of the London Federation of Anarchists. In fact he is of the opinion that the Federation has virtually ceased to exist.

ordered the barrier at the entrance to be put down to prevent entry by any one of the management.'

The judge said he would not grant the company's application as it would pre-judge an action against Mr. Richards due to be heard on March 11.

Meanwhile the Welsh Committee of 100 and Cardiff Anarchist Group in association with the unrecognised Tenants Association will hold a march and public assembly on February 13.

ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN

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

London Anarchist Group

'Lamb and Flag', Rose Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2 (near Garrick and King Streets: Leicester Square tube), 7.45 p.m.

SUNDAYS

FEB 14 Bob Coster
Rural Communities Today.
FEB 21 Philip Holgate
The World's Anarchist Press.
FEB 28 Tom Barnes
Roles, Rules and Rebels.
MAR 7 Ian Dixon
Subject to be announced.
MAR 14 Jerry Wilson
Life with the American Indians.
All welcome

NOTTING HILL ANARCHIST GROUP.

Secretary N.H.A.G., Flat 3, 5 Colville House, London, W.11. Meetings 2nd and 4th Thursday of each month at above address.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Details of meetings from Peter Neville, 12 South Grove, Erdington, B'ham, 23.

CAMBRIDGE ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact V. Madge, Newnham College.

DUNDEE GROUP. Contact Mike Mallet, 20 South George Street, Dundee. Meetings Saturdays 2.30 p.m.

EDINBURGH ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence Secretary: Douglas Truman, 13 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh, 3. Meetings every alternate Monday at above 7.30 p.m.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence: Joe Embleton, Thrush Villa, Commonhead, Airdrie, Lanarks. Meetings at Horseshoe Bar, Drury Street, Tuesdays at 8 p.m.

MANCHESTER GROUP. Contact Graham Leigh, 5 Mere Close, Sale, Cheshire.

MERSEYSIDE FEDERATION. Enquiries: Vincent Johnson's, 43 Millbank, Liverpool 13.

ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks. Next meeting Sunday, February 28, 2.30 p.m. at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.

SOUTH WALES. Irregular meetings held. Enquire Peter Raymond, 300 Whitchurch Road, Gabalfa, Cardiff.

VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA, CANADA. Anyone interested contact Bill Fletcher at 3743 West 7th Avenue, Vancouver.

CANADA: S.I.A. (Solidarité Internationale Antitotalitaire) Canadian Section. Anyone interested please write Jan Weryho, Montreal, Station B, P.B. 1145 or phone Montreal 845-2671.

PROPOSED GROUPS

EDGWARE-ELSTREE and District. Planning discussion meetings and activities. Contact Colin Seal, 8 Oakwood Drive, Edgware or Anthony Frewin, 31 Burghley Avenue, Boreham Wood.

THANET. For information contact Peter Davey, 14 Fitzmary Avenue, Westbrook, Margate, Kent.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rumbold Rd., S.W.6 (off King's Rd.), 8 p.m.
Last Thursday in month: At George Hayes', 174 McLeod Road, S.E.2.

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

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

3rd Saturday of each month at Sid and Pat Parker's, 2 Orsett Terrace (off Gloucester Terrace), Paddington, W.2, 8 p.m. (Please ring second bell from top.)

The Double-Headed Peseta

THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

A FEW WEEKS ago at a clandestine conference in the outskirts of Madrid a new political party was formed: the Union of Christian Democrats (U.D.C.). This brings together the majority of the Spanish Christian democrats who were previously divided into various groups.

The U.D.C. defines itself as an opposition party, refusing all collaboration with the present Spanish regime and with the structures, interests and pressure groups which maintain it, an authentic revolutionary party, believing in the values of Christian humanism and social, economic and political democracy. It wants to put an end to the division in Spain between the conquerors and the conquered, and wants a state constructed federally. It also demands the suppression of the present privileges that the Church enjoys in Spain. It supports neither a monarchy nor a republic, but believes in fact that the solution of the problems must be sought for in the free expression of the will of the people. It supports the nationalization of the banks and an agrarian reform, based on the principle that the land should belong to those who work it.

What has made the Catholics suddenly become so revolutionary? In spite of the demands for the lessening of the

Church's power, there can be little doubt that the U.D.C. which received telegrams of support from the President of the Christian Democrat Internatale and various Christian Democrat parties, notably, Italian and Chilean, has the support of the Church. According to *Le Monde's* special correspondent the right wing has been jettisoned in the hope that this loss would be more than compensated by the acquisition of a number of young Spanish democrats who have no desire to be hampered by socialist 'discipline'. What it appears to be in fact, is an insurance policy for the Church against any left-wing influence when Franco dies. The number of strikes and demonstrations over the past year or so has been growing, and obviously the Church feels that Franco's harsh treatment of the offenders will not be enough to put an end to the growing rebelliousness of the Spanish people. The Church has always been one of the first to suffer when there has been a swing to the left in Spain. The Jesuits have been in and out so many times that they must have wondered whether they were coming or going. Obviously they want to do all they can to prevent this happening again. They have decided that they must be the opposition as well as the government. Let's hope the Spanish people aren't fooled into accepting this double-headed peseta.

M.B.

Lausanne Library

February 1, 1965

FOLLOWING the regrettable expulsion of Piero Ferrua from Switzerland last year it was found necessary to reorganise C.I.R.A., the International Centre for Anarchist Research, of which he was the mainspring. The valuable historical manuscripts of the Library were confided to the Public University Library of Geneva for safe-keeping, and the Library was removed to a family mansion in Lausanne under the devoted care of Marie-Christine Mikhailov and Marianne Enckell. The address is 24 Avenue de Beaumont, 1012 Lausanne, where members of C.I.R.A. are requested to address their subscriptions and any timely contributions in cash or kind.

A fine big house and garden is thus the worthy centre of a highly developed centre of the international movement. Comrades making holiday in Switzerland should plan to include a visit in their itinerary. They are further invited to spend some days there if they will give a hand with the work of the library, which is far beyond the capacity of the managers. There is ample room for guests in the absence of resident students during the long summer vacation.

From C.I.R.A. Bulletin No. 10.

Small Presents?

SINCE 1953 the U.S.A. has spent \$550,000,000 dollars in building the Spanish navy. They have also given Franco a set of submarines, 32 warships and two troop ships which raises the sum to 1,000,000,000 dollars, all this was given in exchange for four strategic air command bases, whose installation cost about 340,000,000 dollars.

DURING THE match between France and Scotland in Paris while the band played the National hymns, four men got onto the field, and in front of the television cameras threw anti-bomb leaflets. Some people think that anarchists were not strangers to this affair, of course we won't believe them.

THE FRENCH anarchists are having a campaign for 'workers control', and against the elections (1965 will be for France what 1964 was for England, an electoral year). Send all documentation concerning anti-election propaganda to: Groupe des Liasons Internationales, 3 rue Ternaux, Paris 11.

TOMAS.

HAVE WE FORGOTTEN STUART CHRISTIE?

STUART CHRISTIE has now been in prison in Madrid for six months. Has he been forgotten by his friends and comrades? The Dundee Anarchist Group seem to think so. They have been holding a series of monthly demonstrations, ending in public meetings in the city square. At first the numbers were quite good, but the last two had to be cancelled for lack of support. The group feel that they will only organize another 'demo' if they are sure of getting support, so those interested please get in touch now with Ian Sutherland, Jr., 516 Holburn St., Aberdeen.

The Christie-Carballo Committee has been concentrating on lobbying MPs who pledged their support. They have been holding up plans for future demonstrations as they are still awaiting news of a possible appeal by Stuart.

Stuart sends thanks to those who have sent him letters and cards. He says he could do with some 'good English food', so we are arranging to send some food parcels via the British Consul, to avoid customs duty. Anyone willing to supply cash or food (non-perishable and unbreakable please) contact: M. Stevenson, 6 Stainton Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

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'Middle Classes First to Learn About Sex' - Guardian

A GREAT military leader was laid to rest. Trained at a military academy he served his nation well in the first World War, and his vigorous anti-Communist action in 1918-19 earned him commendation. At the time of his country's crisis in 1940 troops under his leadership fought well, and later he was regarded as an enemy by the Germans. Unfortunately, General Weygand was on the losing side and was denied a state funeral when he died at 98.

ACCORDING TO the *Daily Express* it is rumoured that Georges Brassens will take over Weygand's membership of the French Academy. The Prime Minister of Baden-Wurtemberg proclaimed the rehabilitation of Leutenant Kurt Gerstein of the SS who was found dead in a French prison in 1945. He was the origin of a character in *The Representative* who was an anti-Nazi member of the SS.

THE NORTHERN IRELAND Appeal Court dismissed an appeal against two years' imprisonment by a Cork soldier on a charge of disclosing information which might be useful to an enemy. The Lord Chief Justice said that the defence was that the court should have rejected police evidence, as the police were acting as agents provocateurs, who sought out the soldier whilst they were posing as agents of a subversive organization. The Lord Chief Justice said that detection by deception was a form of police procedure which should be used sparingly, but it was as old as the plain clothes policeman, and the Court could not hold that the deception was necessarily oppressive.

THE DAY THE PENGUIN on the Challenor Case was published, Joseph Francis Oliva, who had a previous sentence quashed after the Challenor inquiry, was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment for wounding a man in Soho. Wit-

nesses, including the man who was attacked said they were threatened by the police in this case to give false evidence. It was claimed that Detective-Constable Steger (a former associate of Challenor) had said 'he would make things bad for me in the West End' if the attacked man didn't name Oliva and another man as the ones who made the attack. A doorman at a club where the attack took place said that the attack was made by two men neither of whom was Oliva. The doorman said he was due to appear at Quarter Sessions the next day and he got the impression that Detective-Constable Steger would make things worse for him if he didn't do as he said. A youth in New York who was said to have confessed to two murders is now known to be innocent of the crimes. He wrote to his lawyer that the police 'beat me and then they told me what to say'. From Chicago the *Industrial Worker* reports that Joffre Stewart, an anarcho-pacifist was taken by the police to a station-house after beating him with their truncheons. He was held for over seven hours without any charge being made. His ears were pulled and twisted causing extreme pain. He was continually referred to as a nigger, son of a bitch, subversive communist, etc. Eventually he was transferred to the mental ward of the Bridewell Prison. Karl Meyer of the *Catholic Worker* visited him in jail and saw a policeman punch Joffre in the stomach in the presence of Meyer and the prison warden. Stuart is now out on bail. The Italian Supreme Court has been asked by the Public Prosecutor to send a man back to jail for a sentence for killing his brother so that he may be punished for assault since it was found out that his brother did not die but was in hiding. Italian law does not permit accused to be tried again for the same case. The French police uniform is to be redesigned so that their revolver holster and belt are worn discreetly under the tunic. British

police federation's secretary has protested about policemen going about numbered -like convicts. . . .

A JAMAICAN who admitted at Marylebone Court being in unauthorized possession of cannabis (Indian hemp) said he started smoking the drug as a substitute for tobacco. He said, 'I used to smoke thirty or forty cigarettes a day and I had a terrible cough. Then a friend introduced me to hemp. It got rid of my cough. It saved my life.' His defence counsel said that in view of numerous medical and scientific reports, it would seem that cannabis was far less harmful than ordinary tobacco and was not particularly habit-forming. The magistrate pointed out that Parliament's view of the matter was illustrated by the fact that the maximum penalty he could impose for drunkenness was a fine of £5. That for the possession of hemp was twelve months' imprisonment. 'I have come to the conclusion that my duty here is simple. As long as this remains an offence regarded by Parliament as a serious one and as long as people like you persist in breaking the law, it is my duty to do what I can to stop it.' The Jamaican was jailed for nine months. The Government has announced a ban on cigarette advertising on commercial television, since the number of deaths from lung cancer was growing.

THE VATICAN NEWSPAPER *L'osservatore Della Domenica* replying to a reader asking how the Church viewed income-tax evasion. The newspaper writer Monsgr. Ferdinando Lambruschini opined that Italian income-tax was so complex that it was only natural that a compromise assessment should be made between collector and taxpayer and, 'No moralist could in good conscience demand of the taxpayer a scrupulously exact declaration that would cause irreparable damage to himself and his firm'. He concludes however, 'In fact, if the tax evasion is exorbitant, we should not hesitate to say that the citizen is being seriously irresponsible towards his community and he also would be guilty before God, the principal and source of all legitimate authority'. It was recently announced that Moral Re-armament had moved from the canton of Caux, Switzerland to another canton where tax assessments were more favourable.

JON QUIXOTE.

Individualist Questions

Dear Editors,

I like the new look of FREEDOM but am unhappy that a whole page is devoted to industrial matters. Will someone answer the question many ask: as anarchism is about freedom of what relevance are wage disputes? The following points are relevant:

1. I know that before any constructive libertarian progress is possible people must reach an income standard that could enable a healthy and dignified life. This income standard has already been reached by most British people and their constant demands for more leads to an undignified life, enslaved by admen and their own greed—the antithesis of libertarianism.
2. Pensioners, unemployed, nurses, etc., are unable to strike so they will always be badly off if present attitudes continue. Why not urge that workers in key industries use their strength on behalf of their less fortunate fellows?
3. The above argument applies even more forcibly when poverty stricken, undeveloped countries are considered. A

wretched African or Asian peasant doesn't distinguish between capitalist and worker when he contemplates the piggery in the affluent western nations. And then people wonder why there is race hate. So why not urge strikes on behalf of Oxfam, etc?

4. Packard, Galbraith and other modern economists point out that mindless mass greed is essential in advanced industrial countries if the vast amounts of goods produced are to be consumed. Hence incomes will continue to rise; even (slowly) for nurses and pensioners; forcing the pace a bit only gives you today what the bosses were going to give tomorrow anyway.

As I said before anarchism is about freedom. So if you have news of real steps towards workers' control or of strikes on behalf of pensioners, etc., then let's by all means hear. Otherwise let's fill page four with items connected with anarchism.

JEFF ROBINSON.

LETTER

Contact Column

Delinquency, Maladjustment and the Community. Homer Lane Society series of Lectures, Conway Hall, 7.30 p.m. Tuesday, February 16, Mervyn Turner. Tuesday, March 23, Joe Benjamin.

Demonstration. Australia House against conscription, February 25 (Thursday), 5 p.m., starting Trafalgar Square, London. Anti-Conscription Committee, Poster-making Committee of 100 office, Tuesday, February 23. Committee meeting February 16, P.P.U. office, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

Driver/Teacher/Manual Worker needs well paid job. French and German languages besides English. England or elsewhere. Dennis Gould, Borrowdale, Carriage Drive, Frodsham, Cheshire.

Agony Column. Will A.A.G., Melbourne, Australia, send us his ADDRESS? Freedom Press.

Vietnam Study Group. 7.30 p.m. at 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. on February 18. All interested welcome. London Committee of 100.

Country Job Wanted. English Anarchist girl, with love for children and experience with them; Animals, light farm work, clerical, seeks job in Country with Anarchist family of sorts, where own daughter (15 months) would be welcomed, for six months or longer. Apply Fauser, 246 Leggatts Rise, Watford, Herts.

Committee of 100. Social Evening at Lord Nelson, Carburton Street (off Gt. Portland Street), Saturday, February 13, 7.30.

Room Speaks! On the Challenor Case. Benson Hall, Magdalen College, Cambridge. Tuesday, February 23, 8.15 p.m. Cambridge Anarchist Group and Cambridge C.N.D.

Anarchist International. The above to be produced by Birmingham Group for the AFB. Copy for Conference to Tom Jackson, 10 Gilbert Place, W.C.1. Group and International news to Martin Bragg, 5 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham, 23.

Angles 3. Peripheral Propaganda. Now available 9d. 9 St. Paul's Road, Colchester.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

Three Days Off?

PARLIAMENTARY SOCIALISTS are continually emphasising the power of Parliament. It would be of interest to know what they think about the closure of Parliament for three days because of Churchill lying in state.

I wonder what would happen if the S.T.U.C. asked the workers to stay at home for three days and drink beer, whiskey and partake of haggis as a tribute to Rabbin Burns. Parliament may close for a few days or a few weeks but if government workers remained at home for a few days as the French government workers are doing as I write, this is undoubtedly noticed and shows effects.

In modern times small sections of key workers, e.g., electrical power workers can illustrate how important they are by a mere withdrawal of their labour. Without their co-operation the country could be crippled.

Unfortunately too many workers as yet are unaware of their full importance and unfortunately there are still too many parliamentary socialists assisting in clouding reality.

R. LYNN.

APB Conference

London, Weekend Mar. 20-21
Details next week

PRESS FUND

FINANCIAL STATEMENT
WEEKS 4 & 5, FEBRUARY 4, 1965:

Expenses: 5 weeks at £70:	£350
Income: Sales and Subs.:	£342
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1965 Total to Date	£145 0 1

*Denotes Regular Contributors.

AGAIN! Pittance for Busmen

BUSMEN EMPLOYED by municipal and private companies have submitted wage claims for parity with London Transport country service busmen. This section of the bus industry have always been the cinderellas as London busmen will be the first to agree. London Transport country service drivers earn £13 6s. The general provincial rate is £11 11s. 3d. The provincial employers offered a cash offer of 8s. 6d. per week, leaving a £1 6s. 3d. gap. When London busmen are under attack from the public and certain political pundits, we always hear the cry 'get the private buses back on the road, the old bus companies knew what they were doing'. Now we know how they did and continue to do it, by paying the busmen peanuts.

Municipal and private company busmen negotiate separately, but usually the private companies fall in line with the municipal award.

After going to arbitration municipal crews were awarded 15s. a week, double the employers' offer. Arbitration Tribunals are noted for giving bugger-all away, municipalities are misers when it comes to paying wages (they pounce on the fact of local labour). So the busmen must be well pleased with their

award. Union circles were reported to be lukewarm about the award, personally I would be bloody freezing cold.

Private company employers to date are sticking to their 8s. 6d. offer, they argue that agreements relating to London busmen should not be taken as a precedent for other areas. This is pure bull! And the argument about cheaper living outside London is a fallacy. Why

INDUSTRIAL NOTEBOOK

WHAT WE HAVE WE HOLD

THE ETU IS striving to secure negotiating rights at Vauxhall Motors. Frank Chapple ETU assistant secretary claimed there was no basis for TUC intervention but more important still he stated 'Our dispute is with the management, not the other unions.' Obviously then if the AEU and NUVB, state clearly to the management that they are not negotiating on behalf of the ETU the management would have no alternative but to recognise ETU negotiating rights.

The present situation dates back to 1941 when Vauxhall agreed to negotiate with only two unions. The ETU wants a sort of factory federation so that unions at factory level will have full authority to negotiate with managements.

On January 1, the TUC Chairman Mr. Collinson and Mr. George Woodcock heard cases put by leaders of all three

the difference? The answer is simple, London employers want labour, in the provinces labour is easier, therefore the employers hold the whip hand and can hold wages down. The response to the stoppage has been good, also it is heartening to note that it has been widespread—from the Midlands to Torquay.

Public transport of any kind has difficulty in gaining public support in any dispute, one is not inclined to be sympathetic walking home from a day's graft. Why not run the buses as normal and deduct the required increase from the takings? Or run the buses and collect no fares? Either way the employer pays and could be jerked to his senses.

unions. The AEU, and NUVB, made it quite clear they intended to preserve negotiating rights exclusively to themselves. They also complained to the TUC about the 'unconstitutional' overtime ban enforced by Vauxhall 'sparks'.

On January 4, an ETU deputation met the management. No conclusions were reached. This is a fantastic situation exposing the fallacy of sectional unionism.

ONE OUT ALL IN

THE 15-MONTH DISPUTE at the William Denby & Sons works near Bradford, has cost £81,000 in strike pay. 114 men and women have been out since October, 1963. The firm has been running on scab labour with the assistance of craftsmen from the AEU and ETU. This issue was raised at the last congress of the TUC. The TUC advice was very militant and constructive, they implied that the National Union of Dyers, Bleachers and Textile Workers should forget the whole affair. The NUDB & TW have invited the company to submit the dispute to conciliation. Another black episode in the history of working class solidarity drags on. What has happened to the (so-called old-fashioned) maxim? An injury to one is an injury to all.

ASSURED 100% SUPPORT

A WARNING that 15,000 tax officials may 'go slow' because of a delay in settling their pay dispute. Tax officers have rejected a pay offer after long negotiations on a pay research unit report.

B.C.

FREEDOM For Workers' Control

FEBRUARY 13 1965 Vol. 26 No. 5

Why Labour Lost Votes

THE 7,000 Nuneaton workers who last week withheld votes from the Labour Party are disillusioned.

In the 1920's a great meeting of miners (on strike) proved to be a mass conversion to Labour—the whole town has been solid.

Now, they say (among themselves), 'The Labour Party is not ours any more. It is not a workers' party. We created it—someone else has pinched it'.

They asked Cousins to get the railway from Nuneaton to Coventry kept open. It closed last week. 1,000 or so men had to struggle to work in snow and ice as best they can. *Thousands of votes lost.*

Aircraft workers know that the Labour Party is about to 'do a Beeching' on the great aircraft factory at Coventry and 5,000 people will lose jobs this year. Technicians and highly skilled specialist fitters are already on the way to U.S.A. Many (the majority) older men, like myself, will not work again. 350 apprentices who are taking advanced courses at techs and colleges part time, have no future. They feel bitter. They dreamed, as I did, that they would be building air freighters and buses which would relieve road chaos and open up the world. The Labour Party is selling out to U.S.A. Buying American aircraft. *More votes gone!*

The Bank Rate is 7%—everything goes up, especially mortgages. W. German Bank Rate has just gone up—to 3½%! The Labour Party is 'compelled' to vote moneylenders a 2% rise—pensions and allowances have to wait. *More votes lost!*

Modernisation, discipline and wage restraint are demanded and it becomes obvious that the Labour Party is cast to be the instrument of change, i.e. technological unemployment (as in U.S.A.). Regulation of people at work,

and the fixing of wages, by order. Workshop democracy, i.e., having a say in working conditions, etc., is to be out. Control is to be by experts. *The vision of this lost more votes.*

The personalities of Cousins (and G. Walker) have little to do with workers. 'It is not what they say that matters—it is what they do.' And the doing is, whether they realise it or not, anti-worker.

This sudden disillusion is, however, a good thing as workers will be thrust on to their own initiative—and they can be very resourceful when need arises. The grape vine has been working overtime lately and ideas spread. Nothing obvious or visible will happen—yet.

The Labour Party and New Stateman type intellectuals will go on and on insisting that they have all the answers and that they can save capitalism (only they won't call it capitalism!). And the workers will continue to cohere at work using every official and unofficial means. The Coventry Gang System is still going strong and quietly spreads to more firms. It exists in embryo (or fully developed unofficially) long before it is openly adopted. Firms using it are forging ahead—even under capitalism!

An amusing contrast in workers' methods and those of intellectuals came to mind recently when reading reviews of a book by sociologists dealing with a large scale redundancy in the car trade. Six years of research went into it and conclusions and proposals have been reached. But the workers didn't wait six years—they had sorted themselves out into other jobs in weeks! They didn't wait for intellectuals to tell them! Even had there been no jobs they would have gone on living. I know—I've done it!

REG WRIGHT.

ANARCHISM AND INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES

ON ANOTHER PAGE in the paper is a letter, which while praising the new look of FREEDOM, is nevertheless unhappy about there being a whole page devoted to industrial matters.

When I first came into the Anarchist movement, one of the things that surprised me was that industrial and trade union matters received only scant coverage in FREEDOM. From this one would have thought that anarchists, no matter what secondary label they tag on, were not interested in, or that our philosophy had nothing to offer the industrial worker. But if one reads anything of the history of anarchism or even the basic theory and practice, this conception is completely knocked for six.

Jeff Robinson writes that 'as anarchism is about freedom, what relevance are wage disputes?' It is true that anarchism is about freedom, but it is also about co-operation, a thing which not only escapes Jeff Robinson, but also many other comrades. It seems to me that this very basic tenet of anarchism is put into practice when workers take action in a wage dispute. Industrial action involves all sorts of individuals of differing views and temperaments, but they can co-operate together to run and win a dispute. This very often brings out initiative and organisational ability, which up until then had never shown themselves.

HUMAN DIGNITY INVOLVED

No doubt, to someone outside the trade union movement, industrial disputes seem always to be about higher wages. This is true in most cases, but quite often many other things are involved which do not get highlighted. Many disputes arise out of what workers consider to be inhuman demands on them by their employers and the question of their dignity as human beings becomes the important issue.

Incomes might be high enough for 'most British people' and it may appear that the struggle for higher ones is 'undignified'. 'Modern economists point out that mindless mass greed is essential in advanced industrial countries if the vast amounts of goods produced are to be consumed' and you would think from this that the employers would gladly pay up, but as we know this just doesn't happen. Anyway our correspondent

might be satisfied with his wages, but perhaps he has only himself to keep. Far different from most workers with a wife and kids to provide for. Is it some sort of anarchist crime to seek goods which can make life easier or bring pleasure to the family. And is Jeff Robinson taken in by what the employers say about wages being the cause of higher prices and so tending to put the blame on them when the cost of his needs goes up? If so, I think he should seek other reasons than pay increases, for even some employers are honest enough to admit this.

HELP THE LESS FORTUNATE

I'm all in favour of strikes on behalf of Oxfam or workers contributing part of their wages to this organisation, as well as industrial action for nurses and the old age pensioners. If Jeff Robinson had read the first issue of the new FREEDOM he would have seen that a lack of action for these 'cinderellas' was lamented. On the other hand although no positive action has taken place, nevertheless there have been petitions circulated throughout the trade union branches for immediate increases for old age pensioners. For all Jeff Robinson knows, some of the people who contribute to Oxfam may very well be industrial workers. These actions don't make the headlines, but there is still a considerable amount of help given to people less fortunate than themselves and often through the trade union branches. If Jeff Robinson was a trade unionist he would know this.

By reporting industrial disputes, we can point out not only better methods of gaining demands, but also urge ways of getting more control at the point of production. By doing this we can assist workers in dispute, and also point the way in which more important demands should be directed, i.e., workers control. I feel that the back page of the new FREEDOM will give the industrial workers a better introduction to our ideas, which affect not only the time he spends at work but also his personal relationships. We have to try to change people's attitudes to an anarchist direction. We can only hope to achieve this if we can get the paper to the people who are affected by these disputes.

P.T.

ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM THE WORKERS' NEXT STEP 4

REMEMBER, that a syndicate would exist by, and to express, the will of the rank-and-file of the workers. If some action is determined upon—a strike, for example—a committee would be delegated by the rank-and-file to carry out their wishes. If this entails a loss of wages greater than that of the other workers, the delegates' expenses could be refunded—but why should they get more than if they had remained at the bench? And when they have fulfilled the function delegated to them, why should they not return to the bench? And next time, somebody else can do the job. In this way, no privileges are accorded to those who, for whatever reason, are given an organising job to do by their work-mates.

If a delegate does not carry out the job in accordance with the workers' wishes, he must be subject to immediate recall, to be replaced by somebody else. There must be no privileged jobs in the syndicates, or their holders will begin to think more of defending the jobs instead of the interests of the workers. Don't just hope your organisers will not be led astray; make sure your form of organisation does not allow them to be. Don't trust your leaders—don't have any!

INTERNATIONALISM

Since Anarcho-Syndicalists are opposed both to Capitalism and to the State ('the executive committee of the ruling class'), it follows logically that they are prepared neither to use them nor to defend them. Socialist arguments that the State can be used for the emancipation of the workers have been shown to be false. Patriotic arguments that the workers must defend the 'British way of life' (i.e., capitalism) have also been shown to be false. For the workers have no interest in common with their rulers, who manipulate wars in their struggle for power but who do not themselves fight them.

Syndicalists do not look for allies among any ruling groups; they know their real friends are among the workers of other nations. British, American and Russian workers have more interests in common with each other than they have with their own governments, and the internationalism of the Anarcho-Syndicalists is based on the knowledge that fundamentally only international action by workers everywhere will rid the world of the shadow of war and the disease of capitalism.

ANTI-WAR

For wars are fought by workers. Battleships, tanks, guns, bombs and bombers are all made by workers—and used by them against the workers of other lands. But there is much truth in the old saying—'Whoever wins a war, the workers always lose!' and the Anarcho-Syndicalists ask the question: 'Is it not about time we stopped sacrificing ourselves at the behest of our rulers?' Wherever we go nowadays, we hear the same remark: 'The ordinary people don't want war'. The question then is: 'Why on earth do they continue to support it?'

The productive capacity of the world to-day is greater than it has ever been. But we don't benefit from that because production is geared for war, and it is no longer possible to think of war as an isolated accident in the capitalist world. It is not. It is part and parcel of that world. We are on a permanent war economy.

Anarcho-Syndicalists long ago realised the inevitable conclusion: that who opposes capitalism must oppose war, who opposes war must oppose capitalism. Trade union leaders in all countries lead in the cries for more sacrifice from the workers in 'peace and in war'. But the Syndicalists urge that the workers in all countries should refuse to make armaments for their own destruction, and should join hands across the frontiers in the common struggle against their rulers. They should refuse to fight for those who exploit them.

NO POLITICAL ACTION

This cannot be done by political action. For politics is the art of government, and however idealistic and high-principled a political party is when struggling for power, when it gets into power it has to govern the same as any other party. Syndicalists reject political action as being absolutely useless in the achievement of the classless society. Socialist governments may oust the old ruling class, but they only establish themselves as the new one, and this is undoubtedly very nice for the politicians, but the workers find they are in exactly the same position as before—at the bottom, doing all the work and getting very small rewards and even less say in the organisation of their own lives.

P.S.

(To be continued)