

Stop the Escalator -I want to get off!

THE *Daily Worker* assures us we are at a time of rising protest on Vietnam. The *Mirror*, well-known for its opportunism, berates Harold Wilson on his silence on Vietnam and quotes (to assure its readership that this is no eccentric quirk on the part of the *Mirror*) that the *New Statesman*, the *Guardian* and the *Observer* are asking the same questions. There has been that verbal abortion, a 'teach-in' at University College, London, in co-operation with London School of Economics. We are promised two public meetings, one at Hackney Town Hall by British Council for Peace in Vietnam, with Hugh Brock, David Weitzman, Gordon Schaffer, and Pat Arrowsmith, on June 16, and an even more star-studded effort at Church House, Westminster, on June 24, with Isaac Deutscher, Kingsley Martin, Michael Foot, Ian Mikardo, and Lord Brockway in the chair.

Commendable as all these efforts are one cannot help wondering: why so late?

The *Worker* demonstrates its usual double-think, 'Four-Fifths of the Country is now liberated' is its headline on June 12. The *Mirror* has up to now displayed its quota of 'Vietnam troops questioning a prisoner' pictures without any show of pity; the *New Statesman* did its part in electing and supporting a Government which has never questioned the US standpoint. The *Guardian* and *Observer* have, up to recently, been content to stand by and 'tut-tut' from time to time.

One is forced to the conclusion that much of the official peace talk being heard today is based on one side from a steadily growing conviction that the Americans cannot win; on the pro-Communist side (Russian and Chinese) there is a conviction that although the Viet-Cong are winning, if the war goes on much longer the people of Vietnam will not obey whoever 'liberates' them. There also exists the thought that the important question is whether China or Russia become the 'liberators'. A home-made 'liberation' is undesirable for both types of Communism.

Coupled with the knowledge of American failure is a conviction that the Americans are inept as allies and a reinforcement, from right and left, of a chauvinism that affirms that the British are the best fighters in the world and they would not make the same crude

mistakes which the Yankees have done. (After all, it is argued, look what we did in a similar situation in Malaya—under a Labour Government too.) This anti-Americanism is the favourite stock-in-trade of the Communists.

True, the Americans have boomed atrociously but this is inherent in the nature of their search for power and stability, and is not due to some defect in President Johnson's character. Gold-water would, in fact, have done the same things and taken just as bad a tumble.

First, it was okay to let the Viet-Cong take the country so long as the Americans 'advised' in the towns. Secondly, the bombing raids would cut off the Viet-Cong supplies and hold up their attacks. Thirdly, the rainy season would immobilize these attacks. The Viet-Cong have virtual control of country areas and are now menacing the towns. Viet-Cong supplies are so minute and their transport is so largely by manpower and, furthermore, extra supplies are obtained from their opponents who are most generously equipped. Finally, the Viet-Cong being stripped down to bare essentials, can live 'rough' off the country, and their mobility during the rainy season is not affected in the same way that troops who depend upon large quantities of *matériel* and K-rations which has to be brought through hostile country by vehicles which bog down in the rain swamps.

In the face of all this, and of yet another change in the Vietnam Government, the Americans played one of their most dangerous cards. An implication that they would give active support to Vietnam troops. Up to now they have kept up the pretext that they were mere 'advisers'.

This seems to have upset the whole of the liberal left who seem to have been quite content with the pose of 'advisers' but felt that to stop pretending was going too far.

One wonders whether, if Kennedy, or Johnson had kept their promise to democratise Vietnam all this would have happened. One also wonders whether, if the French Communists who were then in the Government had kept their promises to the Viet-Minh, the French would have lost Indo-China.

One also wonders whether, if Johnson had succeeded in Vietnam, the left would have protested. Nothing succeeds like success and we have the example of Malaya where a Labour Britain has far more forces tied down than the US has in Vietnam.

Welcome as all these late recruits to the anti-Vietnam-or-Viet-Cong-War campaign are, it is obvious that the people of Vietnam are suffering and will continue to suffer whoever becomes their master.

The atrocity is war itself and war is the means by which a ruling-class, Catholic or Buddhist, Capitalist-Imperialist, Communist or Communist-Revisionist, can keep itself in power.

It is only to that extent one welcomes any attempts to end the war in Vietnam—North and South. One supports these belated peace movements, but further 'liberation' of Vietnam must be the work of the people of Vietnam themselves and 'a plague upon both houses of right and left'!

JACK ROBINSON.

Civil Government . . . is in reality instituted for the defence of the rich against the poor, or of those who have some property against those who have none at all.

ADAM SMITH.

Abolish the 'Homosexuality' Law!

HOMOSEXUALITY is one of those subjects, like abortion and 'colour', where rational thought is so clouded over with prejudice, that clear public discussion of the real issues is very hard to find indeed.

Add to this political expediency, especially at a time when slender majorities have to be carefully nursed, and there is small hope that the Labour Government will do other than play safe and will leave the law relating to male homosexuality exactly as it was introduced in the reign of good Queen Victoria. (The original Bill, incidentally, included female homosexuality within its repressive scope, but good Queen Victoria is said to have expressed such horror and disbelief that women could do that sort of thing, that the section referring to that was struck out! Thus it was that male homosexuality became an indictable offence, while lesbians have enjoyed immunity from legal prosecution.)

But now an odd circumstance has arisen, and those of our fellow-travellers who are very anarchistic between elections but trot out a variety of specious arguments for voting (Labour, of course) when the polling booths open, must be blinking owlishly at the spectacle of the House of Lords pressing for a reform while the House of Commons (half empty) rejects it!

A change in the homosexuality law has been hoped for, ever since the Wolfenden Report recommended that homosexual acts between consenting adults should not be punishable by law. The other half of that Report made suggestions for 'cleaning up' prostitution and some of us prophesied immediately that this section would be acted upon and the more liberal half would be ignored. How right we were! But then it is really not very hard to foretell; the governments will always act more quickly when repression is asked for than when a libertarian act is suggested.

It is now eight years since Wolfenden raised hopes that the cruel

Victorian law would be reformed, if not abolished. For seven of those years the Tories ruled us—and nobody thought they would do anything. Now, within eight months of Labour coming to power, things are on the move. And what things!

In the House of Lords, Lord Arran, an eccentric peer who looks a bit of a nut on the Telly, but has certainly turned up trumps on this issue, moved a bill for repealing the law against male homosexuality. Back-bench Tory peers and Bishops supported him! With liberal and enlightened speeches they surprised everybody, to the extent that poor old Labour Lord Attlee joined them—although he had not moved on the issue during his six years of office with a huge majority—and it was the Labour leader in the Lords who had to defend the existing law, in company with Viscount Montgomery and ex-Lord Chief Justice Goddard! Lord Arran's motion won a handsome majority.

The following week in the Commons, back-bench Labour MP Leo Abse moved a private member's bill on the same lines as Lord Arran's. Apparently our enlightened Labour representatives did not consider this an important issue, and didn't bother to turn up, so the Tories in the Commons, led by arch-reactionary Cyril Osborne, defeated the motion there, with a very small vote.

So now, thanks to the vagaries of our democratic, two-chamber system, we have the intriguing spectacle of the House of Lords appearing to be more enlightened and reformist than the Commons under a Labour Government. Back to square one.

This would be a depressing, if cynically amusing, picture if we thought of social progress only as being represented by changes in the law. But we don't. In these matters

the law always lags considerably behind public opinion and, in the changed attitudes on sexual matters today, we maintain that there is a much greater tolerance of deviation from the norm in sexual behaviour. It would no doubt be false to say that homosexuals enjoy any kind of approval generally. In fact there may well be disapproval of what they do—or are thought to do—but no longer any desire among the general public to punish them for it, as long as their actions hurt nobody else.

This, after all, is the extent of tolerance that we can expect for any deviationists, and is the absolute minimum of freedom acceptable—and is the recommended extent of the change in the law by Wolfenden, Arran, and Abse.

It is little enough, and we do hope that we are not going to be denounced as bourgeois reformists, if we join in the demands for the abolition of the laws specifically relating to male homosexuality. That one section of the community (the unhappy half-million they were called in the Lords) should be selected for repression and punishment, when medical opinion shows clearly that their deviation is inborn or due to early conditioning rather than freely accepted, is as bad as racial discrimination at its worst.

For us, the issue is simple: it is the issue of personal sexual freedom. And this means the freedom of all persons—of boys not to be bugged against their wills, certainly; of girls not to be raped, of course—and of individuals not to be punished because their patterns of behaviour do not conform to that professed by the majority. Relationships freely entered into for the expression of love cannot be bad, and the extent to which we accept freedom for homosexuals is an important measure of the extent to which we have achieved truly libertarian thinking on sex. It is all part of the general sexual revolution, which still has a long way to go.

P.S.

THE ECONOMIC CIRCUS

EVER SINCE the accession of the Labour government last autumn, the newspapers have regaled us with horrifying stories of the imminent collapse of the economy, which was supposed to be a consequence of the international financial world's lack of trust in the 'socialist' government. Simultaneously, Wilson, Brown and their colleagues have been blaming every difficulty that might lead to loss of popularity with the voters, on the machinations of the 'gnomes of Zurich' who are supposed to be plotting their downfall out of fear and hatred of socialism.

Both of these lines are, of course, the currency of political mass journalism, on the basis of which our supposedly educated democracy forms its judgements. Firstly, the economy is not controlled to any important extent by the elected government, but largely by directors of companies like ICI, professional civil servants and manipulators of money in the City and, in view of that, the present government's policy is not, and cannot be, different in any substantial way from that of the previous one. Secondly, however much we dislike the activities of the gnomes of Zurich, they obviously have considerable knowledge and ability in making financial judgements, and they would not have risen to the top of their profession if they had seen a red revolution on the horizon every time a social democratic government was elected to office.

However, after eight months of hearing from Conservative politicians and the press that the import surcharge, the high bank rate, and the weakness of sterling,

due directly to the Labour government, have been leading the country to disaster, the news during last weekend was that business men who had been enjoying a boom for all this time, were beginning to wonder whether it could last much longer!

THE ROLE OF THE PRESS

The result of all this must surely convince anyone, or confirm those who knew it already, that the press is not out to create a well-informed climate of opinion in which democracy can flourish, but to confuse the issues in people's minds for the benefit of the political interests which it serves. This was the gist of George Brown's weekend contribution, in which he attacked the conspiracy against the government. However, instead of calling on the people to set up a newspaper which would not be under the control of capitalist finance, which would be the logical answer to the problem he raised, he ended his speech with a dramatic call to disbelieve any criticism of the Labour government that appeared in print, stop going on strike, and to refuse to buy goods for which the housewife knows she is being overcharged. In other words while the Tory press wants everyone to believe that their economic difficulties are due to the Labour government's policies, which they find uncomfortable, Brown wants everyone to believe that they are due to the particular thorns that are getting in his flesh.

All this propaganda takes it for granted that the most important contribution to the world's wealth is being made by the people who, either in London, New

York or Zurich, manipulate the stock exchanges and deal in currency and finance, or by politicians whose laws may affect what they do to a minor degree, and this notion is obviously reflected in the salaries that these people receive, compared with those of ordinary workers! If there were any truth at all in the idea that politicians and financiers have a necessary part to play in a rational economic system, then they have made a hell of a mess of the present one.

THE FAILURE OF CAPITALISM

The anarchist case is based on the fact that financiers and politicians are not only unnecessary, but that their activities distort the economic system and deprive the working people of the comfort, security and freedom, which could surely be available to everyone in this industrialised scientific and technological era which everyone praises so highly.

Sixty years ago, when the world's capacities for production of material goods was less highly developed, the Labour Party itself set out to convince the workers of this truth, and we suggest that the reason why it failed was not that the idea itself was wrong, but that the political path that the socialists chose, led those who had found their personal emancipation in governmental power, to confuse and deceive the workers, because having found a comfortable niche in capitalist society they were no longer eager to change it.

The real needs of the world's population do not fluctuate from day to day, except for emergencies for which adequate provision would be made in a

Continued on page 4

ANARCHY 52

DISCUSSES

The Limits of Pacifism

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

WHY GO TO FOYLE'S?

YOU HELP FREEDOM IF YOU GET YOUR BOOKS FROM US

NEW BOOKS
The Plough Boy Tony Parker 30/-
Collected Later Poems
William Carlos Williams 25/-
Science, Synthesis and Sanity
G. Scott Williamson and I. Pearce 45/-
Me and My Bike Dylan Thomas 35/-
The French Socialists and Tripartisme
B. D. Graham 40/-
Eros Denied Wayland Young 45/-
Left-Handed Liberty
John Arden 12/6, 5/- paper
Women's International League for
Peace and Freedom
G. Bussey and M. Tims 40/-
The Cuban Revolution and Latin
America B. Goldenberg 50/-
A Sad Heart at the Supermarket
Randell Jarrell 21/-
Jack London R. O'Connor 32/6
The Homecoming Harold Pinter 12/6
The Quest for Fellowship F. Zweig 30/-
The Anarchists
(ed.) Irving L. Horowitz
(limited quantity paper-back) 10/-
Rebel Voices (an IWW Anthology) 84/-

REPRINTS AND CHEAP EDITIONS
A Singular Man J. P. Donleavy 12/6
Wilkes and Liberty G. Rude 8/6
The Sexual Revolution
Wilhelm Reich 25/-
Sex and Society Alex Comfort 3/6
History of Western Philosophy
Bertrand Russell 20/-

INDIAN IMPRINTS
Anarcho-Syndicalism Rudolf Rocker 7/6
Anarchism and Other Essays
Emma Goldman 7/6
God and the State Michael Bakunin 6/6
Anarchism in Socialistic Evolution
Peter Kropotkin 1/3
Meet Kropotkin 5/-
Socialism and State Rudolf Rocker 1/3
Does God Exist? Sebastian Faure 1/3
Postage extra on order under £1.

Freedom Bookshop

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

17a MAXWELL ROAD
FULHAM SW6 Tel: REN 3736

FREEDOM PRESS 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
Vol 7 1957: Year One—Sputnik Era
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
Each volume: paper 7/6 cloth 10/6
The paper edition of the Selections is available to readers of FREEDOM at 5/6 post free.

E. MALATESTA
Anarchy Paper 1/-

PROUDHON
What is Property? cloth 42/-

ALEXANDER BERKMAN
ABC of Anarchism paper 2/6

HERBERT READ
Poetry & Anarchism paper 2/6

ALEX COMFORT
Delinquency 6d.

PAUL ELTZBACHER
Anarchism (Seven Exponents of the
Anarchist Philosophy) cloth 21/-

RUDOLF ROCKER
Nationalism and Culture
cloth 21/-

CHARLES MARTIN
Towards a Free Society 2/6

JOHN HEWETSON
Health, Poverty and the State
cloth 2/6 paper 1/-

VOLINE
Nineteen-Seventeen (The Russian
Revolution Betrayed) cloth 12/6
The Unknown Revolution
(Kronstadt 1921, Ukraine 1918-21)
cloth 12/6

E. A. GUTKIND
The Expanding Environment
(illustrated) boards 8/6

GEORGE BARETT
The First Person (Selections) 2/6

Conscience First!

Dear Comrades,

As one of those 'intellectual acrobats' who think they can reconcile Catholicism and anarchism I read with great interest the article entitled *The Pope's call for servility* signed P.S. in FREEDOM, May 22, 1965. I may not be anarchist enough for P.S., but I was anarchist enough for the US Consul who had refused me an immigrant visa because I was an anarchist (not because I was a Catholic!).

But to the point: P.S. states: ... *The Pope himself has gone on record as favouring national service and opposing conscientious objection.* That scared me! How come? P.S. goes on to explain: *To an audience of 200 Belgian officers and men at the Vatican on April 21, the infallible old man said that there was nothing incompatible in serving one's country as a warrior and in serving Christ at the same time.* Is it all the old man said? I feel relieved. But I just can't see how it implies favouring national service or opposing conscientious objection. All the old man said was that if I want to be a warrior it's O.K. If I refuse it's also O.K. I am free to choose. Recently there has been a tendency among some Catholic pacifists to project a petition to the Holy Father urging him to condemn all war under any circumstances and forbid Catholics to take any part in it. Suppose he does? What an outcry against papal despotism and interference in politics would that raise!

I am sure there is a corner in Heaven for Catholic soldiers (just as there must be one for Catholic cops). They don't know any better and sincerely think they're doing a useful job. Perhaps the Holy Father was merely praising their good intention? Anyway, it doesn't really matter what he meant. The old man was not being infallible at the time. He very seldom is. (I am sorry to disappoint P.S.) Firstly, he is infallible only in the field of religion. In the field of politics, economics, the weather, anything outside the field of religion he is as liable to make mistakes as P.S. and I. Secondly, even in the field of religion he is not always infallible. He is infallible only when speaking *ex cathedra* which means solemnly invoking all his theological authority as Vicar of Christ to proclaim an article of faith to be accepted by all members of the Church. He is not infallible when he privately expresses his opinions to a group of Belgian soldiers or to the FREEDOM reporter.

P.S. goes on to quote Archbishop Florit: *The Christian religion is a religion of authority which is inscribed in the divine revelations. Obedience to authority is a moral obligation. Obedience to what is taught and commanded by the Sacred Hierarchy is a condition for being faithful to Christ's religion and in participating in all that God has done for the salvation of man.* Sounds bad, doesn't it? P.S. has a point here. Archbishop Florit's call for servility might have met more sense as a title for his article. *No ifs and buts there.* It's P.S. who says this, not I! Because I do have an if (or is it a but?): I am prepared to accept the authority referred to by Archbishop Florit in religious matters but not necessary elsewhere. I accept the authority of my doctor in the matters of bodily health. I obey him

when he forbids me to drink or smoke. I don't have to accept the doctor's views on war, capitalism or the state. I obey the Church in spiritual matters. I don't have to accept the Pope's views on war, capitalism or the state.

Do I ever intend to disobey? I can't imagine the Church explicitly ordering me to do something ethically wrong, such as killing people. The State may. Then I do intend to disobey. And I will remain a Catholic. Super-patriotic members of the clergy may not like my attitude but they can't excommunicate me just for disobeying the State.

Suppose, however, the Pope explicitly orders me to act against my conscience. I pray it will never happen. But suppose it does. I can't tell what I would do in a situation which I can't imagine. I can only quote a dogma cheerfully ignored by 99% Catholics. (I can hardly blame P.S. if he has never heard of it!): A man is bound to follow his conscience even if the judgment of his conscience be objectively false. In the case of a conflict between his conscience and Church dogma he must follow his conscience even if it means excommunication. No one has expressed it better than your countryman, Cardinal Newman who said he would drink a toast to Conscience first, to the Pope afterwards. Conscience first! What could be more anarchistic?

In Christ the Rebel,
Montreal JAN W. WERYHO.

LETTER

TOMMY LEYDEN

Dear Comrades,

On Friday, June 4, 1965, an old Glasgow comrade, Tommy Leyden, passed away at the age of 73. He was active in the movement for over forty years and remained so unto the end. Comrades jestingly said: 'Tommy is the best chalk printer in Glasgow', but the jest was, in a deeper sense, seriously meant. He took great pride in chalking the streets with slogans from the anarchist press and rightly so as he did it so well and so neatly. I remember during the strike of the apprentices against the Bevin ballot scheme I first encountered 'WAR COMMENTARY' FOR ANARCHISM printed in Brunswick Street with several slogans beneath or headlines of editorial articles of the paper. This was my first introduction to anarchism as I had stopped to listen to the speakers after reading the slogans. On the same evening I met Tommy and we soon became friends and comrades. Tommy, in spite of his age, had a way with the young as well as the old, for he always remained young in heart and so tolerant. He never seemed to exhibit any hostility to persons but only to political organisations and to dogma. Periodically he would speak with some hostility against the communist party because of his past encounters with them in his early days; when they assaulted him on a few occasions for propagating anarchism. But he knew it was the doctrine they adhered to so religiously which caused them to act in this manner and he never held it against young communists but tried to teach them the history of the party they were holding

allegiance to.

Tommy is the last of the old anarchists who graduated to anarchism from the old anti-parliamentary communist federation in Glasgow.

A few of his comrades were at his graveside with his relatives and friends. There was no service, for Tom was an atheist and his wife respected his views. His comrades said nothing at the graveside, but I'm sure they had much thought (as I had). He will be sadly missed but not forgotten, and we shall increase our efforts as a tribute and a living proof that his long years of activity will not be in vain.

This shall be his unwritten epitaph.

On behalf of Glasgow anarchists,
R. LYNN.

LIBERTARIAN YOUTH SUMMER CAMP

THIS YEAR'S CAMP will be at Aiguilles-en-Queyras (Haute Alpes), close to the Italian Border. The camp site is situated approximately halfway along the road between Aiguilles and Abriès.

ROUTES: Train to Gare de Montdauphin (via Paris-Briançon), with a connection by coach to Abriès.

ROAD: Route Nationale 202 to L'Esteyere then No. 547 for 10 km.

We have only been sent one prospectus. We shall duplicate some and send them to people who want further details if they enclose stamped and addressed envelope.

ROUND THE GALLERIES

but a demonstration of the length of the chain.

In the introduction to Neizvestny's work the names of Archipenko, Tatlin, Goncharova, Larianov, Picasso, Leger, Zadkine, and Henry Moore are offered as the revolutionary forerunners of this work on display yet, with the exception of Leger, I would dismiss them all as having any influence. One name is missing in this roll call of the unprotesting ancients, and that is that of Wyndham Lewis, for if Neizvestny's drawings evoke any emotional memories of the past it is that of the English nineteen twenties, the age of Blast, mental muscle building and the dehumanizing of the human form into totemic characters, for here is a voice from the past claiming if anything a resurgence of the old Vorticist-dumb ox school of middle class protest.

Like unto Lewis's armoured men of the twenties, Neizvestny's nude figures twist and freeze in the unwieldy grace of armadilloed American football players caught in a camera's lens for the muscles and the bone structures of these contorted bodies achieve an ineffectual effect by the deliberate exaggeration of the isolated parts for which the strip cartoon character Popeye could stand as a fair example of the style. Yet if Neizvestny must be judged it must be by his sculpture and there is displayed within this gallery a number of small pieces not mentioned in the catalogue. These are his 'Horror of War' group, yet their horror lies only in their title, for without foreknowledge they appear no more heartrending than a muscle bound version of the Ballets Russes. They stand passive and unemotional, a play upon planes, faceless moulds of clay evoking neither hate nor anger, pity or terror, as empty of emotion

as a child's faceless doll.

If one is bitter at this exhibition it is because it is offered as the work of 'one of the most brilliant and individual young sculptors in Russia' and the name of Henry Moore is included in the catalogue as an influence, yet there is nothing of Moore's monumental grandeur in this minor work, nothing of Epstein's figures of tragic glory in these cute exercises. Take them for what they are—a Hemingway in chalk and clay. Toughness in the abstract by a continual reiteration on the mechanics of strength, but never about the intellect or the emotion that balls the fist to attack or resist. Yet in the abstract one can still evoke fear and this is what the Israeli sculptor Ezra Orion at the Mercury Gallery at 26 Cork Street, W.1, has succeeded in doing. His broken and twisted shards of welded metal have the black evil of exhausted shell fragments and the eyeless horror of pierced armour. Silent within this silent gallery they rest, the residue of dead flame, the end-product of hate, while across the road at the Waddington, at number two, Mr. Frost, Heron, Hilton and Wynter die a little and sigh a little according to the canvas involved. Here is the fin-de-siècle of the thirties, so pretty that who dare protest at these inoffensive colours cuddling like kittens for our pleasure. E. M. Forster once observed that to break a butterfly upon a wheel is a delicate task, and who would be cad enough to accept the task, for these paintings are all that is left to remind the world of today of the death of Valmouth and the late Cardinal Pirelli, and of the frightened giggle that tried to mock the beating of the drums and the stamping of the marching feet.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

London Anarchist Group/1

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

SUNDAYS

JUNE 20 Sam Fanaroff
Plainly Speaking.

JUNE 27 Anthony Grey
Homosexual Law Reform.

London Anarchist Group/2

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

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.

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

ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN

Co-ordinating Secretary: Frank Hirshfield, 4 Albert St., London, N.W.1.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Details of meetings from Peter Neville, 12 South Grove, Erdington, B'ham, 23.
BRISTOL FEDERATION. Regular fortnightly meetings. Details from Ian Vine, 3 Freeland Place. Hotwell, Bristol, 8.

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. Contact Douglas Truman, 13 Northumberland Street.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence: Joe Embleton, top Left, 11 Baliol Street, Glasgow.

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.

Meetings at Horsehoe Bar, Drury Street, Tuesdays at 8 p.m.

MANCHESTER & SALFORD ANARCHIST GROUP. For information contact c/o 4 Ouse St., Waste, Salford 5, Lancs. Open air meetings Sundays at Old Shambles, Victoria St. at 8 p.m. FREEDOM selling Saturday afternoon, Central Library.

OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION GROUP. Every Wednesday at Jack Geraghty's, 8 York Road, Manchester, 21.

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

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

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

SURREY ANARCHISTS are invited to meetings on the first Thursday of every month at Chris Torrance's (63 North Street, Carshalton, Surrey—please ring three times) and on the 3rd Thursday of every month at M. Dykes, 8 Court Drive, Sutton, Surrey. Both meetings 7.30 p.m.
SOUTHALL ANARCHIST GROUP. Get in touch with Roger Sandell, 58 Burns Avenue, Southall, Middlesex.

PROPOSED GROUPS

NORTHOLT ANARCHISTS. Projected formation of group contact Jim Huggins, 173 Kingshill Avenue, Northolt, Middlesex or Miss Jean McLean, 6 Epsom Close, Northolt Park, Middlesex.

NOTTINGHAM. Anyone interested contact Peter Bowden, Flat 2, 11 Rectory Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham.

SOUTH BEDS., NORTH HERTS., HITCHIN, LETCHWORTH, BIGGLESWADE, BEDFORD. Anyone interested forming a group contact Peter and Maureen Ford, 102 Stotfold Road, Arlesey, Beds.

NORTH-WEST ESSEX. Close to W. Suffolk, S.E. Cambs. and N.E. Herts. Contact Robert Barltrop, The Old Vicarage, Radwinter, near Saffron Walden.

HULL & YORKSHIRE (East Riding). Anyone interested in forming anarchist group contact R. A. Baker, 6 The Oval, Chestnut Avenue, Willerby, E. Yorks. Phone: Hull 58543.

SUNDERLAND (Co. Durham). Proposed Anarchist Discussion Group. (Syndicalists welcome) at Geoff. Edwards, 'Side House', St. George's Terrace, Roker, Sunderland, Co. Durham.

WHAT CAN A MAN DO?

IN AN ISSUE OF FREEDOM recently we reprinted a 'piece' unashamedly taken from *Manas*. It was by Milton Mayer. At an LAG meeting a frequenter said 'I never heard of Randolph Bourne and you've given a lecture on him'. It was pointed out that only by such raids upon the unknown could the frontiers of his knowledge be extended—or his ignorance pushed back.

Milton Mayer is no anarchist. In his book *What Can a Man Do?* he is described as a professing Jew, working for the Quakers and identifying with them so closely as to be mistaken for one. He is a frequent contributor to such American magazines as *The Progressive*, *Harper's*, and *Common Cause*, and the book is a selection of essays from these magazine pieces. Some are mere trivialities but even those are redeemed from the commonplace.

However, the bulk of the book is excellent. The essay *What Can a Man Do?* does not appear in this book but the title is aptly chosen. It is a question which frequently agitates the anarchist, particularly the new 'recruits', fresh (or worn out) from political movements, who need activity or even instruction. The title is echoed by Tolstoy, by Chernyevsky, and even by Lenin. These have been incitements to action.

The progressive movements (to use a cliché which they thoroughly deserve) are absorbed by 'action'. To them truthfully can be applied Nietzsche's saying 'Action has no sense; it merely binds us to existence'. Ethel Mannin once diagnosed the sickness of the Left as 'gawdsakitis'. 'For gawd's sake do something!'

Milton Mayer is untouched by this mania. He is of the American quietist school of Thoreau and appreciates that there are many occasions when doing nothing is doing something. For example Milton Mayer was a conscientious objector in World War II which may seem by some to be a negative attitude which, as events develop seems to be a positive action.

His philosophy is summed up in a Latin tag '*Principis obsta*' which he himself introduces in an arch manner (his only stylistic fault) and which means 'Resist the beginnings'. Basically this is the only anarchist/pacifist answer to the question, 'What would you do about Hitler?' This is one of the questions which baffled many humanitarians and libertarians during the last war; faced by the dilemma what to do about the totalitarian monstrosities at large in the world they opted for the lesser evil and in the words of one of the ex-radical poets 'fought for the bad against the worst'. Mayer's answer, which I think should be the answer of anarchists, is to resist totalitarianism in its beginnings wherever one comes directly into touch with it.

The choice of the lesser evil of Wilson and Johnson with their gas and napalm in Vietnam in comparison with Home and Goldwater with their hypothetical wars is no choice at all and in fact, is not a choice which anarchists should make.

Mayer faces up to this question in many spheres. He declined to fill up a passport form when handed one at Berne to affirm that he was not a member of a Communist organization. Milton Mayer discovered that he need only sever his organizational connection with the party, in short, he could be a supporter of the party but need only sign a paper saying he was not a member, to travel freely. This resistance to authority is pointed out by Mayer as 'a game which even a pawn can play'.

A further essay 'The Tribute Money' gives an account of his conflict with the Inland Revenue when he declined to pay 50% since it was buying 'things not fit for human consumption with it'. (As I said Mayer is no anarchist.) He writes,

'But how can a million old men who themselves will not decline to hire the killing expect a million young men to do it? How can I urge others to do what I do not care to do myself? Of course the government doesn't want me for military service. I am over-age, spavined, hump-backed, bald and blind. The government doesn't want me. Men are a dime a dozen. What the government wants is my dime to buy a dozen men with. If I decline to buy men and give them guns, the government will, I suppose, force me to. I offer to pay all of my taxes for peaceable purposes, the only purposes which history suggests will defend democracy; the government has, I believe, no way, under the general revenue system, to accept my offer. I like the out-of-doors and I do not want to go to jail. I could put my property in my wife's name and bury my money in a hole or a foreign bank account. But I am not Al Capone. I am, as Veepings himself said of me, an honest man. And I am not mathematically minded; if I did try deceit, I'd be caught.' This essay testifies to the bewilderment of the official mind confronted with something they do not understand—which means most things.

Even the great corporations are not exempt from Mayer's defence when necessary. In the real American individualist tradition he defends Maxwell House Coffee against government seizure of fifty-four hundred jars of Maxwell House Coffee for varying the weight content of its 'Giant Economy Size' in breach of regulations by the Food and Drugs Administration. Mayer writes 'I shall be told that I sound like Senator Goldwater, and I shall reply that if I sound like Senator Goldwater, Thomas Jefferson, H. D. Thoreau, and Hugo Black, so much the worse for all of them to be seen in each other's company and mine. Men may be scared to death of government for different reasons, and the issue is not the man but the issue'. It may be remembered that Wilhelm Reich was prosecuted and persecuted by this same Food and Drugs Administration.

Another essay starts, 'I do not know whether it is treasonable to discourage recruitment to the United States Army in peacetime—I don't even know if this is peacetime (1947)—but one way to find out whether an act is treasonable is to commit it and see what happens; which, with your kind permission, I shall proceed to do here'. And he does so. His essay is called 'The Army Builds Men' and replies 'The army builds dead men and has never built anything else—any army, anywhere in the history of the world.

The proper business of every army everywhere is killing. Its proper business is not physical training, or education or travel, or companionship, or the life of Reilly; it is killing. Killing, and nothing else, is what the army is for, and the only thing it can properly build is killers and killees.'

He deals among other things with a meeting in Pomona where right-wingers in the audience insisted on enforcing a mass loyalty oath on the meeting and how a speaker (not Mayer) shamed the audience nearer to a true understanding of the nature of loyalty and pointed out the harm caused by people who were afraid to be thought disloyal. He has an essay entitled 'The Tomb' on an air-raid shelter. There are essays on A. J. Muste, Roger Touhy and Robert Morse Lovett. His most interesting essay and one that, in the Quaker phrase, speaks nearest to our present condition is one 'The Issue in Miscegenation' in which he examines the ultimate in racial tolerance at which many liberals baulk. This essay pushes the point now being conceded in Selma, Alabama to a further point which is what a man must do.

JACK ROBINSON.
What Can a Man Do? Milton Mayer. The University of Chicago Press 1964.

'Vietnam: Mr. Wilson accepts LBJ Move' - Evening News

THE THEORY THAT the world has always been here (i.e. 'the steady-state theory' of astronomers) was seemingly weakened by evidence demonstrating that the world began with a bang not with a whimper. Western diplomats, according to *The Times*, have hinted to the Chinese that any attack by her upon South Korea in retaliation for North Vietnam raids will be followed by nuclear attacks upon China. Climbers erecting a 37 ft. banner reading 'Peace in Vietnam' in letters five feet high on the 140 ft. pinnacles of King's College, Cambridge, complained to the Dean of the dangerous condition of the stonework on the pinnacles and concluded 'unless work is effected immediately the safety of future climbers of your chapel is in grave jeopardy'.

ROBERT LOWELL, the American poet, wrote to President Johnson: 'When I was telephoned last week and asked to read at the White House Festival of Arts, I am afraid I accepted somewhat rapidly and greedily. I thought of such an occasion as a purely artistic flourish, even though every serious artist knows that he cannot enjoy public celebration without making subtle public commitments. After a week's wondering, I have decided that I am conscience bound to refuse your courteous invitation. I do so now in a public letter because my acceptance has been announced in the newspapers and because of the strangeness of the administration's recent

actions. Although I am very enthusiastic about most of your domestic legislation and intentions, I nevertheless can only follow our present foreign policy with the greatest dismay and distrust. What we will do and what we ought to do as a sovereign nation facing other sovereign nations seems to hang in the balance between the better and worse alternatives. We are in danger of imperceptibly becoming an explosive and suddenly chauvinistic nation, and we may even be drifting our way to the last nuclear ruin. I know it is hard for a responsible man to act; it is also painful for the private and irresolute man to dare criticism. At this anguished, delicate and perhaps determining moment, I feel I am serving you and our country best by not taking part in the White House Festival of Arts'.

MR. STEPHEN SPENDER, British ex-left-wing poet, has been appointed Consultant in Poetry in English to the Library of Congress. Dame Rebecca West received an honorary Doctor of Literature degree from New York University. The United States Information Service in its handout states 'in *The New Meaning of Treason* she has illuminated the meaning of civilised community, and the tragedy of alienation from it'. Mr. Albert Finney, the actor who claimed to be a failure at school, received an Honorary Doctorate of Letters from Sussex University. The

Beatles were made Members of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire and Violet Carson and Jack Warner (both of whom are understood to be television entertainers) were given the Order of the British Empire. There was some confusion when the Dame of Sark was made a Dame, but some simplification when it was decided that knight-hoods take instant effect without having to wait to be tapped on the shoulders with a sword. There were no political peerages in the Birthday Honours List but Mr. Harold Wilson (an ex-treasurer) was elected honorary member of Oxford University Liberal Club 'as a mark of appreciation for his past services to the Liberal Club and his present services to the Liberal Party'. An honorary degree of Doctor of Science was conferred at Cambridge University on Dr. Barnes Wallace, inventor of the bomb which made it possible to drown 1,217 people all at the same time.

THE MELBOURNE HERALD described the firing of a twenty-one gun salute for the Duke of Edinburgh's birthday as 'an outmoded piece of nonsense' and complained of other salutes as being 'pointless ritual' and 'futile cannonading'. The chairman of the Urban Council of Chertsey, Surrey, has refused to become a magistrate. He says he would not be able to sleep at night if he had to send people to prison.

ALL RANKS HAVE been abolished in the Chinese Army, soldiers must now address each other by name and title such as 'Comrade Chang'; by name and job, such as 'Company Commander Chang'; by 'Comrade' and job, such as 'Comrade Company Commander' or just as 'Comrade fighter'.

A SPOKESMAN for the Johns Hopkins Applied Physics Laboratory has disclosed that the earth is in fact, slightly pear-shaped and the equator is elliptical. Mr. Samuel Shenton of The Flat Earth Society speaking of the photographs taken by spacemen said, 'The only thing that keeps me going is the hope that the younger generation will some day throw out the great mass of falsification we have been taught all our lives'.

JON QUIKOTE.

CND CONFERENCE

THE ANARCHIST contribution to this year's Easter March was once more the subject of debate at the Whitsun CND conference. Leeds CND had submitted a resolution calling for marshals to refrain from co-operating with police against marchers on future demonstrations.

The executive, plainly embarrassed, only permitted a brief debate after which Cecil Ballantine, Easter 1965 Chief Marshal, gave his version of the events of the march. He praised the co-operative behaviour of the police and never mentioned (let alone condemned) the unprovoked attack on anarchists in Victoria Street on Easter Monday.

In addition many comrades who marched at Easter will be surprised to learn that Mr. Ballantine claims to have tried to speak to the anarchists on Easter Sunday and Saturday but says he found that they would not co-operate.

After this conference rejected the Leeds resolution but passed another one calling for better marshalling arrangements next year and asking all marchers to co-operate with marshals.

All other radical resolutions which found their way on to the agenda were also defeated. Bristol University CND's call for CND to advise its supporters not to vote was overwhelmingly lost.

(However it is an encouraging sign that according to the Bristol delegate this motion had originally been proposed by a local CND member who was a Labour election worker last October.)

The Stoke Newington CND resolution, reminding conference of the effectiveness of industrial action against the bomb, fared rather better. In spite of a hysterical contribution by Walter Leach, of the executive, to the effect that CND must not 'blackmail a democratic government' was only defeated by the narrow margin of 41-32.

After the Whitsun conference the position is quite clear. CND started in the streets as an attempt to break through the political impotence of the ordinary man. The executive has succeeded in dragging the campaign out of the streets back into the corridors of power. The emphasis for future activity is not on breaking out of the old political channels but on going deep into them (i.e. lobbying MPs, campaigning for summit conferences). The executive presumably expects the active campaigners to accept this.

If the number of people behind the anarchist and Committee of 100 banners at Easter, and the solidarity shown last month with the soldier arrested at the Vietnam demo are any indication, they may find it more tricky than they expect.

Stuart Christie

BARBARA RENSCHAW, 4 Clarence Road, Devonshire Park, Birkenhead, Cheshire, has copies of a petition to the Prime Minister. She says previous protests may have helped to save Stuart's life; further protests may help get him released. Please help protest by collecting signatures for the petition. Barbara also sends an extract of a letter from Stuart: 'I am in the best of health and have plenty to occupy me both spiritually and physically. I work most of the day (5½ days per week) and study in the evenings so time has lost all meaning and importance for me, living, as I do, in a social vacuum.'

Mrs. Christie has just returned from Spain. She was allowed to see Stuart for one hour each of the five days she was there, and on two occasions in the Governor's office. He has only just received the parcel of food which the Christie-Carballo Defence Committee sent several months ago via the British Consul.

Apparently he is looking very fit and well. He is still working as an assistant to the Prison Dentist and is studying hard. Arrangements are being made for Stuart to take 'A' levels while in prison. He still wants books on history and English literature.

According to Stuart's lawyer the time is not ripe for an appeal. This may be due in part to the fact that he (the lawyer) has not been paid. We hope a donation towards his fees will help the situation.

The Porton Fast

ABOUT 20 people took part in the 48 hour fast, organised by the London Committee of 100, at Porton over Whitsun. The fast began with a public meeting, following which eight of the fasters went up to the gates of Porton where they stayed for the 48 hours, spending the nights in tents. The other fasters stayed by the Guildhall steps during the day and slept in a private house at night.

It was hoped that some of the Porton scientists would come to discuss with the fasters the conversion of the establishment to peaceful use, but the only Porton employee to come visiting was the security officer, Mr. Church.

The fast was broken at midday on Whit-Monday with soup and bread. A public meeting followed during which several copies of the Official Secrets Acts were burnt. The ashes of these Acts have been sent to Mr. George Wigg.

EDDY HILLMAN.

PRESS FUND

FINANCIAL STATEMENT	
WEEK 23, JUNE 12, 1965:	
Expenses: 23 weeks at £70:	£1610
Income: Sales and Subs.:	£1511
DEFICIT	£99

Newry: J.H. 1/9; Macclesfield: P.B. 15/-; Oxford: F.E. 5/-; Croydon: J.B. £1 10s.; Southampton: P.W. 10/-; Shrewsbury: J.G. 5/-; Surrey: F.B.* 5/-; Windsor: M.G. 10/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Shoreham: J.K. 5/-; Edinburgh: A.R. 10/-; Birmingham: C.H. 9/6; Falkirk: E.B. 2/6.

TOTAL	£5 18 9
Previously Acknowledged:	£480 19 6
1965 Total to Date	£486 18 3

*Denotes Regular Contributors

SELLERS WANTED FOR ANARCHIST LITERATURE

Support Open-air Meetings, Hyde Park on any Sunday

MAKE SURE OF YOUR ANARCHIST JOURNALS BY SUBSCRIBING!

Freedom WEEKLY

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

BY POST:

1 year (40 issues) 20s. (U.S. \$3)
6 months (20 issues) 10s. (\$1.50)
3 months (10 issues) 5s. (75c.)

SPECIAL RATE FOR 2 COPIES:

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

BY AIR MAIL:

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

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

Anarchy MONTHLY

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

BY POST:

1 year (12 issues) 25s. (U.S. \$3.50)

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

JOINT SUB. FREEDOM/ANARCHY:

1 year 40s. (\$6), 6 months 20s. (\$3)
3 months 10s. 6d. (\$1.50)

2 COPIES OF EACH:

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

Freedom Press

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

Cheques, P.O.'s and Money Orders should be made out to FREEDOM PRESS, crossed A/c Payee and addressed to the publishers:

The Courtauld's Strike

ONE OF THE accusations laid by British workers against immigrants, especially coloured, is that if there was a slump, they would work for lower than the recognised rates of pay. In fact, they are sometimes suspected of doing this even now. However the recent strike by immigrant workers at the Courtaulds factory at Preston is an example, and there have been others, that they are just as ready as anyone else to take action to defend their interests.

These 800 men downed tools, on May 24, in protest against a new agreement between their union, the Transport and General Workers Union, and the management. This agreement laid down that in future in the tyre cord spinning department, two men would operate three machines between them as opposed to one man to one machine at present. For this, their pay would go up by 3d. an hour. Quite a good return for Courtaulds, a 50% increase in the production norm for about 10/- extra a week in wages.

Mr. Roberts, one of the English shop stewards at Courtaulds, described the agreement as 'fair and reasonable'. Not by any stretch of imagination could the agreement be called this and Mr. Roberts must be talking out of the back of his head.

UNOFFICIAL MEETING

The strikers complained that there were no adequate consultations between them, the shop stewards and the union. According to a report in last week's *Peace News* both Roberts and Page (the local TGWU organiser), 'contend that the workers were adequately informed of the new scheme. Negotiations about it started eight months ago; and the

management, at the shop stewards' request, made special arrangements for briefing sessions with small groups of workers during working hours. Individual stewards, according to Roberts, made it their business to explain the new scheme to the men in their department.

'But the strikers insist there was no proper prior consultation with the men on the shop floor and that the stewards "sold them out" to the management. On April 26, they pointed out, there was a unanimous vote against the scheme at a mass meeting. The stewards had therefore agreed that it should not be implemented, but had then gone back on their word. Mr. Roberts, when questioned about this, replied lamely that it had been an unofficial meeting, the workers should have taken the trouble to attend the branch meeting in order to put their case.'

Obviously this so-called unofficial vote is of far more importance than the branch meetings where the notice of the agreement was given to members. Apparently these branch meetings are very badly attended as is common throughout the trade union movement. As a shop steward, Mr. Roberts knows this only too well, and one wonders what sort of pressure came from the TGWU for the agreement. At the same time, the shop steward representatives of the strikers are hardly doing their job if they ignore a vote of this kind.

The Courtaulds factory at Preston employs about 70% coloured labour, though there are conflicting views on this figure. 90% of the men employed on spinning are coloured, which includes Indians, Pakistanis, Africans and West Indians. Other workers employed in a productive capacity are 'European Aliens'. As for the English workers, these, says the *Peace News* article, 'did not join in because, with few exceptions, they have the easy or supervisory jobs in the plant and are quite satisfied with their conditions.'

BAD WORKING CONDITIONS

This situation does not extend to the spinning department, where the strikers object to working in an unhealthy environment, with acid fumes causing skin and chest complaints, as well as making breathing difficult and giving rise to headaches.

It seems that shop stewards and the TGWU officials have not taken the trouble to explain this agreement. Language difficulties do not help, but apparently the notices relating to the new manning arrangements, which were not posted until an hour after the start of the afternoon shift, came as a surprise to the workers. After all, if you voted against the agreement at a factory meeting, you do not expect to find it foisted on you just like that. Their views were just ignored. This could be bad representation or even a certain prejudice on behalf of the parties to the agreement, who probably felt that the immigrants, both coloured and white, did not matter so much and that they would accept the agreement without any fuss.

The divisions that obviously exist at the Preston plant can only benefit the management. As one striker said, 'They are making big profits from us. Now they want to make more.' If agreements of this kind are accepted, a precedent will be set. In this case the English worker may well be affected and will find himself 'in the cart', having allowed the management to get away with it in the cord spinning department.

'COLOURED ONLY' UNION?

Mr. Sawl, an organiser for the Racial Adjustment Action Society, has suggested a union for coloured workers. Although it is understandable that these strikers should feel let down by their union, forming a separate 'coloured only' union would be a big mistake, only serving to divide the white and coloured workers and giving the management one more weapon to split their employees, a situation in which all workers lose.

The Action Committee of the strikers has seen this, and are endeavouring to straighten out the misunderstandings which have arisen. They appeal to 'all trade unionists in this country to send representatives to understand and investigate the case and to help to resolve the deadlock. The Committee also appeals to the TGWU to send a team of its expert investigators to find out if the local branch of the Union has not, through indifference, apathy and discrimination at local level, made matters worse.'

The divisions which now exist between workers at Courtaulds must be closed. An organisation at rank and file level which represents all the workers must be built up, for it seems that the TGWU sees nothing wrong in this type of agreement, and it is likely that similar ones will be negotiated in the future. Mr. Page, the TGWU organiser, said that his union's policy was to get increased productivity provided that the workers 'got a share of the cake', and this from a representative of a union whose executive voted against the incomes policy.

If this is the sort of thing that the TGWU is going in for, then all workers, whatever their colour or country of origin, had better get together to make a stand based on common understanding and brotherhood, rather than taking part in a dispute where men are divided. The strikers have returned to work now, accepting a new time and motion study formula.

P.T.

DOES THE WORKING CLASS EXIST?

Dear Brothers,
PETER CADOGAN PERSISTS in discussing Marx as if anarchists (or some of them) were Marxists. My last letter was largely devoted to pointing out that despite Marx's excellent analysis of society his conclusions were opposed by anarchists because of their authoritarian nature. But, principally, I was concerned with Cadogan's attack on workers' control and his association of this with Marx.

'"Workers' control" is bunk', he wrote. So also might Marx have written. But, apparently, Cadogan's opposition is based, firstly, in his denial of the existence of the working class and, secondly, on his insistence in 'small-group responsibility'.

Even two thousand odd years ago Aristotle wrote that the principal dividing factor in society was its division into 'haves' and 'have-nots'. And the 'haves', being possessed of the power of government, form a vested interest protected

Freedom

For Workers' Control

JUNE 19 1965 Vol. 26 No. 19

MEMO TO Mr. GUNTER

'A Still Tongue Keeps a Wise Head'

RAY GUNTER stranded at London Airport—terrible calamity. He was choked—understandably so—then came the vicious diatribe against the airport workers who were on strike. I have always been led to believe that Gunter was a trade unionist and therefore should appreciate the situation. Not likely, Gunter dives in head first and in the words of the TGWU organiser John Cousins, 'A ridiculous thing to say. It simply exasperated a very delicate situation'. Not a word about the employers, no hesitation about who was in the wrong.

As was to be expected Gunter received the praise of the National Press. The *Evening News* editorial (8.4.65) describes him as 'one of the most clear sighted members of the present administration'.

The London Airport dispute was not an isolated incident; maintenance men and engineering workers have had to struggle to make progress. Obviously on this occasion the BEA management were determined to have a showdown. BEA porters are among the lowest paid workers in the Corporation. Their demands in the past have either been ignored or have been lost in the archaic negotiating machinery. As for striking at an inconvenient time—what a lot of clap-trap! You strike when the opportunity is there for you to win, i.e. peak travel, not when it's slack, when a dispute would not hurt the employers at all.

The points that stuck out most in this dispute, were the frustration of the workers, the criminal stupidity of Gunter and the identification of John Cousins with the rank and file. We can rest assured that the TGWU will keep an eye on young John in the future. Identification with the rank and file is not for full time officials.

This BEA dispute has provided the union reformers another hook to hang their hats on. The *Sunday Telegraph* congratulates Gunter and Milward on their tough attitude. Everyone is right bar the workers. Funnily enough though when the workers stop the job stops, and the Gunters and Milwards can scream until they are blue in the face and the situation will be the same for a long time to come.

UNOFFICIAL INDUSTRIAL ACTION
THIS UNOFFICIAL industrial action is really catching on. 5,000 workers at Tate and Lyle refinery have imposed an overtime ban in support of their claim for a pay rise of 9d. an hour (12%). If this has no effect on Mr. Cube, then the men will start a campaign of fortnightly 24 hour stoppages. Officials of the NUGMW are rather upset because they told George Brown that they supported his Wage Freeze Policy. Tate and Lyle also identifies itself with the Government's policy on prices and incomes. The sugar workers have a fight on two fronts.

The employers offer 3d. an hour (4%) and arbitration on the rest of the claim. At one stage the workers modified their claim to 6d. an hour but when the company insisted on arbitration for the amount over 3d. they returned to their original demand. Tate and Lyle claim that group results have dropped from £8.7m. in 1964 to £6.5m. this year. Maybe they should reduce their subs to 'Aims for Industry'.

FORDS TRY IT ON

EVERY TIME FORDS open up a new plant, they try for a cheaper rate than Dagenham. When they set up the new factory at Halewood, Liverpool, the workers were on a cheaper rate for a period of time. It took them three years to get the same rate and then only after strike action last month. In the meantime Fords made £20 million profit.

Fords are developing in Wales and the cheap rate has been negotiated again by the NUGMW. Their excuse: Fords have to train men so they cannot be expected to pay the rate for the job. Scotland had better look out—Fords are coming your way!

EQUAL PAY 'NOT ON'

THE GOVERNMENT is opposed to equal pay in principle at this time. A woman delegate pointed out at the ETU conference that after the 'package deal' a woman's pay would still be 18s. 10d. below the male labourers rate. Of course, equal pay would certainly blow sky high Brown's wages policy; it's better that women should work at cut rates. Equal pay will have to be fought for—it certainly won't come by resolution.
BILL CHRISTOPHER.

LETTER

possession or lack of material wealth. Maybe in Cambridge this fact is not apparent but in Bolivia (today) or Spain (1936) it is and was inescapable.

'Small-group responsibility' is fine—but not always practicable. We are living in a world of three billion people. To satisfy their material needs large industry is necessary. The intelligent anarchist not only faces up to this fact but realises that the anarchic society will be the most highly organised because the organisation necessary for social existence will come from 'below' rather than 'above', viz. people will vitally and actively participate in the organisation of society by equally sharing in the management of their profession or industry (Worker Control) rather than have the decisions made by the few—government and/or employers.
Auckland, N.Z. W. G. LANGFORD.
May 31, 1965.

STUART CHRISTIE STILL HAS 1,000 WEEKS TO DO WHAT ARE YOU DOING?

THE ECONOMIC CIRCUS

Continued from page 1
rational society, but should either remain fairly constant or show a gradual rise as people learn to demand more from life. Consequently, if production were planned to meet these needs, which we emphasise could be met without any difficulty or sacrifice on anyone's part, there would be no need for crises, no worry about booms and slumps and no problem of the weakness of sterling. The crises of production that do occur are solely due to production being geared to profit and competition and, in the international capitalist world, a nationalised company is just as much concerned with profit (and uninterested in providing goods and services where they are needed) as a private firm.

It is natural, within the context of capitalist economics, that financiers and shareholders do not ask what is needed by the world, in which case there would be far more food produced and power status luxuries, more easily built houses and fewer luxury flats, but what is likely to sell. Since several of them get the idea at the same time, someone is bound to be left with a factory equipped to produce goods that cannot be sold, and the easiest excuse is to blame it on lack of competitiveness in the export market, high labour costs, or anything to deflect attention away from the fact that capitalism is an extremely wasteful and inefficient system. If it were only the shareholders who suffered when they came out last in the draw, as it would be if textbooks on economics were to be believed, we would shed no tears, but the tragedy is that ordinary people are always the losers in the competition between financiers. When there is a crisis in the motor car or

airplane industry, the cars and obsolete planes lie out in the dumps while the workers get the sack, and millions of other people are living in the slums of our big cities which would have been eliminated years ago if the skill of these workers had been employed on solving this problem.

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

What we would like to get across to the workers of Britain and the world is that the pseudo-problems caused by fluctuations in dollar reserves and sterling strength are not basic to the real problems of producing enough for a good standard of living. They are purely ripples on the surface which may favour or hurt an individual capitalist, and in the latter case bring out a wordy denunciation of the current government. It will certainly hit groups of consumers and wage earners and affect their voting allegiance, but that they are in themselves only the constantly recurring symptoms of the fundamental sickness of capitalism.

The abolition of the system based on production for profit is not mentioned as a possible solution by any of the major political parties (or any other party within sight of power), and can in fact only be carried out by workers acting together in their own interests independently of politicians.

That obviously lies a long way in the future, but for the present let us make our contribution by following George Brown's advice and disbelieving what we read in the press, but go a little further and disbelieve anything that politicians tell us, and build up movements suitable for dealing with the realities and not the superficialities of social and economic life in our society.

P.H.

SELLERS WANTED FOR ANARCHIST LITERATURE

Support Open-air Meetings, Hyde Park on any Sunday