

In the Wake of War

IT IS INDICATIVE of the mentality of left-wing Labour MPs and Liberal pressmen that, while they express grave concern at the US bombing of North Vietnam, they seem largely disinterested in the much worse bombing of villages in the South. US targets in the North have been, so far as can be discovered, of a military or communications nature, and much as one may deplore violence it is difficult to get steamed up over the destruction of barracks and the like. It would seem too, that destruction of anything other than military targets has been accidental while the case of the strafed fisherwoman was the work of an individual trigger-happy sadist.

The reason for the concern shown about the bombing of the North is that it has adverse political effects which, to a Labour MP or Liberal pressman, is a much more serious thing than the 'adverse effects' that US bombing in the South has on flesh and blood.

ATTACK

Reliable figures are unobtainable but it seems that scores, if not hundreds of South Vietnamese villages have been cold-bloodedly annihilated by the US. The *Illustrated London News* carried an article earlier this year describing an attack on a village at which their cameraman was present. It was officially described as a 'routine operation'. The particular village was not a Vietcong village, it was not known that there were any Vietcong there, but as the area was Vietcong held it was reasoned that there would be one or two Vietcong in the village. And so, the reasoning went, if the village were wiped out, any Vietcong would be killed.

Accordingly South Vietnamese paratroopers were dropped to form a cordon round the village. While they closed in two US helicopters, hovering over the rooftops, subjected the village to an intense machine gun barrage. Again and again it was raked from end to end. When anything that looked like a shelter trench was spotted a helicopter hovered vertically above and the brave heroes in it fired their machine guns vertically downwards. When the ground troops arrived the few villagers still alive were rounded up. They were people who had seen the helicopters coming and had managed to get into camouflaged dug-outs in time. There were a few men among the survivors and these were taken away for 'interrogation' (the cameraman wasn't allowed to photograph this), and if they were not Vietcong they were to be pressed into the South Vietnamese Army. They were deemed guilty of not being in the army already (there is universal conscription—except for the rich who buy exemption), but how they were supposed to get to the recruiting depot across Vietcong territory wasn't explained.

Then the glorious American and South Vietnamese troops who had just liberated the villagers from the horrors of godless communism flew away in their helicopters, leaving the surviving women and children among their shattered homes and dead neighbours. Every animal was dead except a couple of chickens, the water buffaloes, essential for working the rice fields, lay bullet ridden. What sort of future do these survivors face now?

There are five evils which plague man: fire, flood, storm, robbery and central government.

Viet-Nam proverb quoted by Senator Cabot Lodge at Oxford 'teach-in'.

Worse than bullets is napalm which burns flesh to shreds, worse still is white phosphorus, a tiny speck of which on the skin burns down through flesh and bone and nothing can extinguish it. All these vile weapons are regularly used on the people whose freedom is supposed to be thus defended. It is likely that the gas incident earlier this year, the announcement of which seemed so badly bungled at the time was, in fact, deliberately arranged that way to test world reaction to having unpleasant facts thrust in its face. So, soon we may be seeing in Vietnam, new gases, germs or some other devilish invention that the US equivalent of Porton (or perhaps Porton itself) has cooked up.

REFUGEES

What is being practised is akin to genocide. To commit actual genocide there must first be the intention of slaughtering a race. While this is not US intention, they are going the right way about actually doing it, as they almost completely exterminated the Red Indians a century ago.

If present techniques continue in South Vietnam the only Vietnamese left alive will be in the towns, the fat businessmen and ambitious generals, they will always be alive. The countryside will be empty except for soldiers, the peasantry dead or fled to the towns. Thousands of refugees have fled to Saigon already and the scene is the familiar one that follows in the wake of war. The hunger and squalor, the beggars, the child prostitutes hanging around the soldiers bars, the misery and suffering.

The organisation of relief for these people lags far behind the organisation of further death. The wealthy states of the world can, at a day's notice, ferry vast quantities of soldiers and equipment across the world. But the dispatch of simple food stuffs and medicines occurs in dribbles, if at all. However, relief measures do exist in Vietnam. OXFAM has a fund earmarked for Vietnam, and donations sent to OXFAM marked for that fund, will get there. This is something that can be done.

THE OUTLOOK

The outlook is grave as neither side shows any sign of winning the war nor any willingness to compromise. Already there are reports of Chinese non-military personnel being evacuated from parts of China adjacent to Vietnam—and also from Tibet. President Johnson proposes obviously unacceptable peace offers. Hanoi and Peking propose nothing.

The United Nations stand revealed in its utter impotence. The futility of believing that governments, which start wars, are going to stop them because of moral 'pressures'. If they were willing to do that they wouldn't start wars in the first place.

The Pope, and other religious leaders, make occasional pious noises, but anyone expecting mediation from that quarter should remember (to give just one example) that the last time gas was used in war (by the Italians in Abyssinia) it was to the loud cheers of the Catholic clergy.

Harold Wilson, the socialist, is in his usual, but unavoidable position, his face buried deep between LBJ's buttocks.

The scummy casuists of the Communist Party shriek on but they care not one jot for the sufferings of the Vietnamese but ask only that the Vietcong should win and the US lose.

Where is all this going to end? In Vietnam two rival and utterly unscrupulous imperialisms, the American and the Chinese, are in conflict and, as usual, the ordinary people are the main sufferers. R.J.

Mailed Fist with Olive Branch

FOR OVER twenty years Vietnam has been in a state of war. Why? The official reason is 'the prevention of communist expansion'. And for this reason America has been involved all through the piece. Whilst the French were involved in their colonial war in Vietnam, America paid more than fifty per cent of the expenses, with a little blackmail on the side.

At the peace conference at Geneva, in 1954, Dulles refused to sign the Geneva Agreements. He couldn't support the right of free elections because the communists would win. US promised not to violate the 'agreements', she just dug up and actively supported her puppet leader Dinh Diem. Every shade of opinion in South Vietnam with the exception of the influential die-hard right-wing Catholics, opposed the fascism of Diem. Vietcong gain support from the South Vietnamese as the only active opposition to Dinh Diem. Obviously Ho Chi Minh, leader of North Vietnam, actively supported the Vietcong. He wanted a united Communist Vietnam, one way or another. He certainly was not going to be allowed to get it through the ballot box.

And so the war has gathered momentum. America has increased her forces to nearly 75,000 men, approval has already been obtained for 90,000 men. American bombing raids on North Vietnam have been stepped up, 'to force a "peace conference"'. To date this tactic shows no signs of having the desired effect, in fact probably it has just the opposite.

All the goats in power politics have shot their mouths off, using the

war in Vietnam as a rallying ground for their ideologies, and now they don't know which way to turn; it's either stalemate or nuclear war. According to James Reston (the *New York Times* 19.6.65) the American objective in Vietnam is not clear and was certainly not clarified by Secretary of Defence McNamara at his press conference on Wednesday, 16.6.65. Reston points out, 'At one point in his answers to questions, McNamara said the objective of the United States was to preserve the independence of South Vietnam. But at another point, he said the ultimate objective in South-East Asia was "to help maintain free and independent nations there in which the people can develop politically and socially according to patterns of their own choosing..." Does this mean that we are fighting for an independent South Vietnam, separate from North Vietnam? Or would the South Vietnamese be free, "according to the patterns of their own choosing", to talk to the Vietcong, to join with the Communists in a coalition Government of Communists and non-Communists, regardless of what President Johnson says?'

America's main target is China. She will support and prop up any reactionary right-wing government in South-East Asia in pursuit of her policy to contain Chinese Communism. China, on the other hand, is pumping in propaganda wherever she possibly can; it's the kiss

of death from either lover.

Britain is so close to America on the issue of Vietnam, that it is reported that Wilson is McNamara's first secretary. The British Government has never dissented on any aspect of American policy in Vietnam, they are one, and yet Wilson intends to lead the Commonwealth peace mission, with an *open mind*.

The latest statement from the Commonwealth Conference calls for the utmost restraint in military operations, as a step towards cease fire. Yet Menzies, the Australian Prime Minister, refuses to stop Australian troops from going to Vietnam. The intention is to present Hanoi with an *unbiased(?)* peace mission. If they refuse to discuss, then the failure is down to the Communists. How sanctimonious can one get? On the ground the Americans and South Vietnam troops, and the Vietcong, are bogged down by the monsoons, so militarily it is an opportune time to chat. That's why Johnson is vaguely in favour of the peace mission. If things were running his way from a military point of view, he would have told Wilson what to do with his peace mission.

Wilson has the left wing of the Labour Party on his back, and the latest move has stopped them dead in their tracks. How long for is anyone's guess.

Whichever way this stunt goes, Wilson must come out on top, good enough to go to the country as the man of peace. At least he tried, no man can do more. This will be on the Labour Party's next election address. Pardon me whilst I vomit.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

VIETNAM

PEOPLE AGAINST POLITICIANS

THE UPSURGE of libertarian activity in the United States, which found its feet during the Civil Rights struggle in the South, has recently made itself felt in demands that students should get a better deal at the Universities instead of being treated like automatons. Within the last month or so, the students and liberal minded faculty members have held so called 'teach-ins' at every campus from Berkeley to the East Coast, in protest against their government's activities in Vietnam. The result—President Johnson has sent teams of 'explainers' to the Universities—and more platoons of parachutists to Vietnam. The movement of protest is equally strong in Great Britain, and 'teach-ins' were held at University College, London and at Cambridge on June 11, to be met the following day by the announcement that American troops were to take up independent combat positions in the Vietnam war, and at Oxford on June 16, which was followed by the news that the US were to send in a further six battalions of troops and a helicopter division.

FINDING OUT

'Teach-in' movements are an excellent sign that students are beginning to feel a concern about politics, and in particular about foreign affairs, and we can only hope that the idea will spread in such a way that not only every college but every union branch and social organisation, every shop floor, building site and school staff room will be the scene of attempts to find all the truth about all possible aspects of what is going on throughout the world of politics, diplomacy and the power struggle. The truth can harm only the politicians!

However, apart from ritual statements of disapproval from right wing politicians, it can hardly be expected that they will act any differently merely because a group of professors spend an evening lecturing against them, any more than they take any notice of resolutions of protest from trade union branches or protest marches from Hyde Park to

Trafalgar Square. In order to be of any lasting value, the movements against the horrifying actions of the Americans in Vietnam must become conscious of two facts: (a) that the only effective way of stopping it is by action and that words alone will achieve nothing, and (b) that at the moment there is absolutely no chance at all of this action being mounted.

NO HOPE FROM POLITICIANS

Although anarchists insist on being realistic in evaluating the possibilities of governments being influenced by protest movements, it does not mean that they have any faith at all in so-called 'political realism' of the kind that would support the mission of Commonwealth prime ministers, whether led by Harold Wilson or anyone else. We have only to look at the record of post-war British governments in Palestine, Kenya and Cyprus, the French in Vietnam and Algeria and the Dutch in Indonesia, to see that governments are influenced by one set of considerations only, the economic interests of the ruling class which they represent, and that if it suits them to remain in a colony against the violent opposition of its inhabitants, they will stay there until they are either thrown out or manage to set up a sufficiently stable and privilege-minded indigenous government that will look after the economic interests of the ex-colonial power without the need for occupation. The Commonwealth prime ministers, who are such a heterogeneous group that they have already begun to show signs of internal tension, have no interests of their own in Vietnam other than a fear that hotting up of the war will harm international trade, and their views are unlikely to have any effect on any of the participants in the fighting. On the other hand, the interests of the people in Vietnam are opposed to those of the USA, China and Russia because they want to be free to live their own lives without being bombed and fought over, rounded up into hamlets by either army, or taxed to pay for the people who are plundering and killing them.

TOWARDS A RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

It is towards these people that the thousands of non-political individuals in the USA and Europe feel sympathy, and would like to be able to help. Because of the vicious way in which both the Chinese and American governments are prepared to exploit the sufferings of the Vietnamese peasants, whenever they find it in their interests to do so, the protest movement is stronger than those against colonialism of the more traditional style. The important fact that we should all realise is that it is not enough just to raise a protest whenever something particularly brutal like the Vietnam war happens to hit the headlines, because at that stage nothing at all can be done about it. The organisers of the 'teach-ins' have shown up one important fact, namely that none of the mass channels of communication, the press, radio and information services of the government, are interested in spreading the truth about the conflicts caused by world politics, and that some independent way of getting it by discussion and confrontation is necessary. Could this method not be generalised and used to inquire into all kinds of social and political issues where governments would prefer people to be ignorant and apathetic? The other, most important lesson, is that since it is too late to protest when the bombs are falling, movements like those behind the spontaneous waves of feeling against the war in Vietnam need to crystallise themselves into anti-governmental resistance movements. Dockers in Australia and Japan have refused to load arms for soldiers going out there, thus pointing in the right direction. Let everyone who attends a teach-in, who votes for a resolution of protest at a trade union branch, or who goes for a quiet march to Trafalgar Square, ask himself what can be done in the next few years to build a movement that could act against the next ghastly crisis and not find itself stuck with a protest!

P.H.

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FOUR YEARS AGO I joined a CND group in North West London. As luck would have it, it turned out to be one of the very few groups about which the smear allegations of the right wing press were correct, for it was communist controlled. I didn't discover this until I had been in it some time and had joined the committee, most of whom were members of the CP or YCL. At that time both East and West were conducting nuclear tests and some of the Russian bangs were the biggest ever and, in terms of fallout, the dirtiest and most dangerous. The committee roundly condemned the American tests but were strangely silent over the Russian ones and I was the only person to condemn all tests.

It wasn't that piece of hypocrisy that finally made me resign, nor was it after a party man called on me uninvited one evening and tried to argue me into joining the CP. What finally sickened me was the realisation that these people, the staunch slogan-thinkers of the CP and the idealistic, fervently anti-bomb, yet utterly ignorant youngsters of the YCL, were the direct and inevitable descendants of something which less than fifty years ago had seemed the white hope of the world. In so short a time has communism degenerated into such pathetic groupings of self-deceivers with their casuistical and hypocritical public arguments. And in the Soviet Union, once renowned as the Workers' State, the shining citadel from which equality and brotherhood were to spread around the world, what is the situation there?

COMMUNIST DELUSIONS

It is necessary to write on the true nature of communist countries from time to time because some young people, having become disillusioned with the capitalism of their own countries, often suffer from the delusion that worthwhile alternatives exist in the Soviet Union,

Where do Foyle's get their Books?

Continued from page 4 getting another job. A proportion of those remaining on the job are 'bosses men', but there must also be the situation of a foreign worker whose work-permit will not allow him to move from job to job. (It is comforting by the way to see that the strike-picket notices are in several languages.) Foyle's with its flair for cheap labour seems to have enrolled a proportion of loyal feudal workers by such methods.

The union executive has promised full support, but the same does not seem to apply to the multiplicity of unions upon which Foyle's depend for their wares. Some publisher's vans still seem to deliver, the post office merely leaves an open van outside the picket line (surely this is dangerous from a security point of view?), it is suspected that Foyle's van drivers, none of whom are on strike, are collecting books from warehouses or other depots where they are left by the publishers, and individual customers have been directed by Foyle's to individual publishers.

Foyle's control ten book clubs, the Catholic Book Club, Children's Book Club, Garden Book Club, Quality Book Club, Romance Book Club, Scientific Book Club, Thriller Book Club, Travel Book Club and Western Book Club. Cannot the highly organized printing unions stop these supplies at source?

JACK ROBINSON.

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 27 Anthony Grey
Homosexual Law Reform.

London Anarchist Group/2

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

Meeting 'Lamb and Flag', Sunday, July 4, 8 p.m. Report by Secretary followed by discussion.

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

Marxism: Myth & Reality

China, Yugoslavia or wherever it is. The reasons for such delusions are not far to seek. People are conditioned to think in authoritarian terms in this society, so when, for some reason, they become dissatisfied with it, they are rarely attracted to libertarian ideas, even if they come into contact with them, because they are unable to break the necessary thought barriers. Hence they look for their alternatives to capitalism among the authoritarian substitutes, and it is only natural that communism, with the fact of established communist countries behind it, with its abundant literature, its cheap holiday tours of East Europe, its sense (faded now but still real to some) of international brotherhood and last, but not least, the fact that Western capitalism is, at the moment, more antagonistic to it than to anything else—it is only natural that with all these attractions communism should have a fairly high appeal. They certainly make it more attractive than the pathetic Trotskyist sects whose main activities are vilifying each other and trying to attract each other's members. If only one young person, hovering on the brink of becoming a communist should be turned back by this article, then it will have served its purpose.

THE 'WORKERS' STATE'

What, then, of the Soviet Union, the first 'Workers' State'? It is today, 48 years after its foundation, the largest imperialism in the world, bigger than the Empire of the American dollar or the disintegrating remains of the West European colonial Empires. It is the most gigantic and elaborate bureaucracy the world has ever seen. It is one of the foremost capitalist countries for capitalism means the ownership and manipulation of wealth by a privileged minority for its own ends. It is second only to America in terms of military might. It has leaders who choose to squander national resources on prestige space programmes. It has turned equality, one of the original blazing slogans of the revolution into a bad joke.

The Soviet Union is ruled by a supremely powerful, highly privileged clique, answerable to nobody but themselves. Below this clique comes the less privileged managerial class and at the bottom are the under-privileged masses on whose backs the whole thing rests. Never have the ruling cliques of either the Soviet Union or its satellites, or any other communist country, come to power by popular consent, but by coups d'état or by brute force. Immediately after seizing power in 1917 the communist leaders began campaigns of liquidation. First were slaughtered Czarist reactionaries who were quickly followed by non-Marxist revolutionaries including the anarchists.

Within less than a decade after 1917 began the odious and bloody reign of Stalin, one of the foulest dictators of history. This man was worshipped as a God, his every word and opinion was slavishly fawned upon by millions including, no doubt, some of the older members of my CND group. Under his iron dictatorship took place the last and most logical of the mass liquidations—that of the remaining REAL communists. They were executed for the most fantastic crimes but their only real crimes were

that Stalin saw them as threats to his power and made them scapegoats for his mistakes. In 1956, Stalin's successor, Khrushchev, now himself deposed, revealed the facts about Stalin and rocked the whole communist world. What Khrushchev didn't reveal was that as an important state official he had himself done some of Stalin's dirty work including the organising of deportations and liquidations in Poland. Also in 1956 the Hungarian workers gave the lie to the whole charade when they revolted and were crushed by Khrushchev's tanks. (The CP man who tried to convert me had no hesitation in describing the Hungarians as Fascists—see FREEDOM (1956) to find out what they really were.) A few years later came the seizure of Tibet by Chinese communism and, more recently, the engineered border war with India. The cynical contempt of communist rulers for their masses was well illustrated in the Korean war when, against all military common sense, the Chinese commanders launched their troops in huge, swarming infantry attacks and the resulting carnage was reminiscent of the worst battles of World War One. A desire by their rulers to reduce the number of Chinese seems to have been the motive. Mass slaughter is a method of population control of which no authority complains and, as it doesn't involve the use of artificial preventives to conception, the Catholic Church has no objection.

The rulers of Russia are worthy successors of the Romanovs as are the rulers of China of the Manchus. Proof that they are only interested in power and not in communism can be seen in the current rivalry between them. It is the sort of rivalry that is inevitable between two great and adjoining capitalist states.

THE FAILURES OF REVOLUTION

The whole tragic history of communism, from its idealistic beginnings to its present sordid and sorry state has been one of inevitability. The trend would have been the same, only the details would have differed, if communism had first seized power in the United States, or the SPGB in Britain or one of the Trotskyist sects elsewhere. For when a dogmatic, determined, revolutionary group seizes power certain things are inevitable. First, all opposition must be silenced. Secondly, it is found that the sort of society envisaged doesn't just establish itself but must be coerced into existence. Hence the whole apparatus of mass indoctrination, secret police, etc. Soon new problems arise, foreign entanglements, the needs of overseas trade, power struggles within the hierarchy. To be in absolute control of such a highly organised and disciplined state is a prize no power seeker can resist. If the nation is particularly unfortunate, a Stalin may climb to power. More likely the new leaders will be career bureaucrats to whom the original revolutionary ideals mean no more than does Christianity to the rulers of Britain.

Soon it is realised that the rigid patterns of life and work imposed on the masses in accord with revolutionary theory are actually a hindrance to economic efficiency so they are quietly dropped. Private trading becomes respectable again, much of the secret

police apparatus is disbanded and censorship is relaxed. The rulers realise that people work better under the illusion of liberty. New generations grow up to whom the revolutionary slogans are simply slogans. Foreign states lose their fear of the "terrible example" and the once revolutionary nation becomes respectable. And so, 50 or 60 years after the revolution the country reaches a stage approximate to what it would have reached if the revolution had never occurred. Except that millions of dead would still be alive.

All this has to a certain extent demonstrably happened in the case of the Soviet Union and will happen in the case of China unless its efficient nuclear arming occurs before its leader's 'revolutionary ardour' wears off in which case America will probably destroy it. Nuclear war will not now occur with almost-respectable Russia although hostility towards it will continue, but that will be because armament programmes are such wonderful boons to economies and not because its rulers hoped to build communism 50 years ago.

I hope this condemnation will not in any way be interpreted as support for Western states. All rulers have contempt for their subjects, all are primarily concerned with managing affairs in the interests of privileged minorities and all can, when necessary, behave as vilely as the rulers of so-called revolutionary states in their first flush of power. American behaviour in SE Asia is, to my mind, worse than that of China. American military methods are certainly more callous towards non-combatants, but a nation that treats its own coloured minority as second class citizens can hardly be expected to show concern for 'Gooks' 5,000 miles away.

I hope all this may convince someone that compared with capitalism, communism is going out of the frying pan into the fire, only to gradually reappear in the frying pan 50 years later. Anyone looking for real alternatives to capitalism will find them among the various forms of anarchism. The only sort of revolutionary group or society of any value is that which is completely voluntary and is founded on genuine co-operation. Nothing worthwhile can ever be imposed. R.J.

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.

Meetings at Horseshoe Bar, Drury Street, Tuesdays at 8 p.m. PROPOSED GROUP

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.

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

BARNET, HERTS. Libertarian action in the new London Borough of Barnet. Discussion at Tony Frewin's, 31 Burghley Avenue, Boreham Wood, Herts., 3 p.m., Saturday, June 26.

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.

Spanish Refugee Aid

Dear Friend,

The first of April marked the 26th anniversary of Franco's victory over the Spanish Republic and the Spanish people. In March there were widespread demonstrations against the regime by students and intellectuals in Madrid. Across the Pyrenees 100,000 Spanish refugees continued to express their opposition to the tyranny which exists in their homeland, by living in exile and refusing to bring up their children under a dictatorship.

The first of April also marked the 12th anniversary of SRA, the only organization devoted to helping the needy among these exiles. During the past year you gave us \$106,511 in cash contributions, the highest amount you ever gave us. Still, it is not enough. Our people are getting older and less able to care for themselves. Thus, when we opened the Foyer Pablo Casals in Montauban in October 1961, we distributed food packages to 69 people over the age of 60. This March, 228 men and women were helped. Our "adoption" programme is also increasing. We have 214 adopters, 26 more than last year, but we need many more people who are willing to commit themselves in this most personal and gratifying way.

Let me tell you about three items of special interest:

1. Pablo Casals has sent us \$6,500—\$5,000 was a first donation of the Pablo Casals Foundation and \$1,500 the fee he received for conducting El Pesebre in Budapest.

2. We are establishing a scholarship fund to honour our other Honorary Chairman, Salvador de Madariaga, on July 23rd, 1966, his 80th birthday. More about this in the fall.

3. Alexander Calder is giving us a number of signed lithographs (in 3 or 4 colours, 26" by 18", price about \$70) which will be ready in the fall, to be sold for the benefit of our refugees.

Please help again if you can and try to interest your friends. The need is great. We thank you for what you have done and what you will do.

HANNAH ARENDT, Chairman.

Spanish Refugee Aid, Room 406, East 11th St. New York NY USA

Centres of Anarchy-A Rejoinder

999 WEEKS TO DO.

I WOULD LIKE to comment on the article by Douglas Truman published in FREEDOM, April 24. Truman raises three issues:

(1) There are in present-day society a variety of voluntary associations, e.g., tenants' associations and cycling clubs, whose members carry out jobs of work without being coerced by rulers among their own number. Anarchists, Truman thinks, aren't much interested in these 'pockets of co-operation'. He is wrong: Kropotkin and Malatesta both stressed the fact that people do join together on the basis of shared interests to take action for the satisfaction of those interests. Many of the articles printed in *Anarchy* show that modern anarchists inherit this appreciation. But Truman is right in seeing these groupings as 'cells of anarchy', growing independently of the State and, at least in some cases, organizing themselves internally in a free and non-coercive manner.

(2) When Truman goes on to suggest

that we see ourselves as human beings, not as anarchists, he misses the point that the people who call themselves anarchists do so, not because they are human beings (so were those arch-statists Churchill, Stalin, Roosevelt, Hitler and Mussolini) but because they hold a body of ideas about human beings which conflict at some points with the bodies of ideas held by liberals or fascists or socialists. Thus, to revert to Truman's first issue, when an anarchist considers the case of a voluntary association, he not only sees that some people are joined together on a non-coercive basis to advance a common interest, but he sees that here is a way in which people can conduct all their affairs, doing away with the State altogether. That he sees this possibility at all is probably because he uncompromisingly opposes the spirit of oppression and inequality incarnated in the State. His support for freedom and equality logically implies resistance to the State, and resistance to the State seems to imply a critical interest in ways of getting things done without the State. Thus anarchists are led into study of primitive and peasant anarchies, of free associations within and across the boundaries of nation-states and of all manner of resistance and protest movements. Anarchists may also, of course, be found participating in these. In our own society (which I take to be politically based on parliamentary democracy and economically based on welfare capitalism), anarchists will be found thinking about and acting within associations or movements which range from groups within which there is no element of coercion (anarchist discussion groups are, I hope, of this character), to corporations within which there are always likely to be minorities critical of prevailing ideas and resistant to authoritarian encroachments (universities, trade unions and religious bodies are of this type).

(3) Because of hard and unpalatable facts over which they have no control, e.g., the growing power of the State and the diffusion of delinquent patterns of behaviour, anarchists are face to face with Chernyshevsky's question: What can be done? A few still believe that

revolution is imminent and will usher in anarchy. My friend, W. G. Langford-Dwyer, is of their number. Others hold that the most fruitful course is to recognize and foster seeds of anarchy within the existing State-centred society. Colin Ward and many of *Anarchy's* contributors are clearly of this persuasion. Yet others try to live as anarchically as possible—seeing this as task enough—without entertaining much hope that others can be induced to share in that enterprise. It is in Chernyshevsky's question that we can find the origin of the division into individualists, mutualists,

syndicalists and so on that Truman deplores. But how can these 'labels' (as Truman calls them) be abandoned unless the habit of critical thinking about social forces be abandoned also, since it is that habit that has led to these divisions of opinion. To accede to Truman's community-centre programme would be to adopt another particular interpretation of anarchism, which would then exist side by side with those other particular interpretations which look to Tolstoy or Stirner or Kropotkin or Nomad/Reich/Anderson for inspiration. Sydney, May, 1965 K.M.

★ LETTERS ★

Were you Active?

To the Editors of FREEDOM,

WE ARE carrying out a survey of all the people we can trace who have ever been active in the Committee of 100. This survey will be based on a questionnaire which has been published in the June issue of *Resistance*, the paper of the London Committee of 100.

May we appeal to those of your readers who have ever been active in the Committee of 100 but haven't received a copy of this questionnaire to

write to us for one? We shall, of course, treat all personal information as strictly confidential. 32a Fellows Road, London, N.W.3 NICOLAS & RUTH WALTER.

A Praying Anarchist

Dear Comrades,

I thank Jan W. Weryho of Montreal for the beautiful example of just such mental acrobatics as I referred to. The spectacle of an anarchist praying that the Pope will not order him to act against his conscience—this I would like to see. London P.S.

Abortion: Not enough

A BILL to amend the law on Abortion has been given its first reading in the House of Commons. Introduced by Mrs. Renee Short, Labour MP for Wolverhampton, the Bill provides for registered medical practitioners to terminate a pregnancy at the request of a patient or her guardian if this is necessary for preserving health or life, if there is a serious risk of a defective child, or if the pregnancy is the result of a sexual offence. (Our italics.)

Now this reform, welcome though it is, is going to have very little effect on the great mass of anxiety and misery that is bound up with the abortion problem—a problem that exists only because women are not given the right to decide for themselves when they should have a child.

As Mrs. Short herself said, when introducing this Bill in the House, it will put into statutory form what is already case law, and it will certainly remove the fears—and perhaps some of the prejudices—which today hold back many doctors from recommending abortions in cases where they are medically justified. Today most doctors just 'don't want to know' because the whole area is so fraught with danger for them, in spite of 'case law'.

So what the reform will bring is some easement in that many more women will be able to get abortions on the National Health if the above conditions prevail.

If they do not, then this will bring no change. The young girl or the married woman who finds herself pregnant, who does not want the child and who may have a wealth of perfectly good personal, social or economic reasons for termination, will have no more chance than she has now and will

be thrown back on her own resources. If she has plenty of money, she can find the qualified practitioners who are prepared to unearth psychological reasons for termination—at a fee. If she has no money, she must find the illegal abortionist or try to 'do it herself'. It is in the latter case particularly that terrible measures are resorted to by desperate girls and awful consequences can follow.

Mrs. Short's Bill is a piddling little step forward. Let us not amend the law but abolish it. Give women the freedom of choice! P.S.

PRESS FUND

PRESS FUND FINANCIAL STATEMENT WEEK 24, JUNE 19, 1965: Expenses: 24 weeks at £70: £1680 Income: Sales and Subs.: £1559 FREEDOM P. — Freedom — NINE

DEFICIT	£121
London, W.3.: R.D. 10/-; Detroit: Grupo Libertad £4 4s.; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; Brooklyn: O.A. 7/-; Surrey: F.B.* 5/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; California: D.J. £1 4s. 6d.; British Columbia: A.C. £5 11s. 6d.; Perth: J.M. 1/6; Los Angeles: S.S. £8 15s.; British Columbia: R.M. 3/6 Leeds: G.L. 1/8; Lulea: H.P. 5/-; Pittsburgh: L.K. 14/-; Hueclecote: W.D. 10/-.	
TOTAL	£23 7 8
Previously Acknowledged:	£486 18 3
1965 Total to Date	£510 5 11

*Denotes Regular Contributors

'Professor with Problem . . Sex in Space' - EVENING Standard

if elected) under the present Tory leadership.

MR. GOLDWATER, defeated American presidential candidate, announced the formation of a Free Society Association to focus the political activities of all the people who voted for him last year. This is not the nucleus of a party, it will have 'no organisational tasks, no precinct, district or other political subdivision tasks'. A reporter on the *Sunday Mirror*, investigating the activities of the Ku Klux Klan in the Midlands, interviewed a Mr. Pat Webb of Coventry, an ex-follower of Colin Jordan, who once said of Jordan, 'He is the only leader whose word means anything'. Now he says of him, 'He's a no-good has-been'. Mr. Webb went on to say, 'I am anti-anything as long as there are kicks in it. I'd join an anti-police party if somebody started one'. The reporter goes on—'When somebody suggested he was an anarchist Webb bridled aggressively—until the meaning of the word was explained to him'.

ACCORDING TO the *Evening Standard* (quoted in full): 'A new police service has been set up here to direct a crusade against crime throughout New Zealand—Reuter.' On the other hand, the *Daily Worker* reports the conviction under a summons of a Liverpool policeman for eavesdropping; he was found naked in a

back-kitchen. The magistrate at Clerkenwell gave an absolute discharge to a man charged with assaulting a police-constable. The man appeared with his eyes blackened and sticking plaster on his face; he alleged that he had been beaten up at the police-station. The magistrate said, 'I am quite satisfied he did assault the officer, but I think he has been sufficiently punished'. Lionel William King, said by his solicitor to have been one of the victims in the Challenor scandal, was fined at West London for being in unauthorised possession of pop-pills. His flat was raided by the police and the tablets were found 'hidden in envelopes and in an electric fire'. Asked about them, he said, 'I'm an addict. I bought them'. His solicitor said that King's wife had attempted to commit suicide and was now in a mental hospital and King had to give up his job to look after the child. A prisoner serving a 21-month sentence for indecency slashed his throat with a razor blade in the dock when found guilty of robbery with violence. He said the evidence against him had been fabricated by the police and he was not guilty. After being taken to a hospital for treatment, he was returned to court and was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. The appeal was dismissed of an 18-year-old Brighton girl for using threatening behaviour by striking a police-horse during Easter disturbances at Brighton, she was put on probation for two years. Mr. Len Gibson, a witness for the Prison Reform Council at the Royal Commission on the Penal System in England and Wales, said that from his own experience in prison 'you cannot say very much out of place without physical violence being used against you'. Bad conditions were often responsible for prison warders losing their tempers.

JOHN HERSEY, author of *Hiroshima*, attending the Festival of Arts at the White House said, 'The step from one degree of violence to the next is imperceptibly taken and cannot easily be taken back. And the end point of these little steps is horror and oblivion'.

JON QUIXOTE.

Contact Column

Room Wanted—London. Shift worker would like room with mod. cons. South, or West Kensington. Box 11.

SOS. George King please contact Sid Frisby, 212 Herbert Road, London, SE18.

North Africa. For four weeks in August by Minibus. £25 basic plus £15. Four-eight sets spare. Write Christine Segalini, Coleg Harlech, Harlech, Merioneth, Wales, or phone Harlech 271.

Fifteen-Year-Old Comrade from Paris wants to stay with family (including someone of similar age) for the month of August. Write Box 12.

Kirkdale School. South London's new co-educational and progressive day school offers skilled teaching by qualified teachers, small groups and modern methods to children of 3½ to 13. 186 Kirkdale, S.E.26. Tel.: SYD 0149.

Minus One. Individualist anarchist review. No. 8 now on sale, 9d. post free, from Freedom Bookshop.

Anyone interested in a camping holiday in North Wales, July 10-24, contact S. E. Parker, 2 Orsett Terrace, London, W.2.

Leicester Accommodation. Unfurnished cheap weather-proof accommodation wanted by mature (?) student, wife and two children. Any proposals (sharing, etc.) considered. Mike Radford, 90 Westfield, Harlow, Essex.

L.A.G. Two. Barn/Studio/ Basement wanted to house meeting place, library, etc. for LAG II. Suggestions, ideas, details and details of rent required to J. Rety, 10 Gilbert Place, W.C.1.

Libertarian Kibbutz. Student looking for one of these to work at in the Summer. If anyone can recommend one, either agricultural or industrial, please tell George Matthews, c/o University Union, Park Place, Edinburgh 8.

Accommodation—London. Anarchist 18, seeks cheap accommodation with others. West London preferred. Contact A.M., 28 Sun Street, Haworth, Keighley, Yorks.

London Accommodation. Couple and son (two years) seek 2/3 unfurnished rooms, North London. Box 8.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

LAG/2 and Freedom Sales

London Anarchist Group Two has got off to a flying start, at least with FREEDOM sales! On Whitsun weekend they sold on Saturday, Sunday and Monday 50 copies of FREEDOM, and the week-end June 13, 56 copies in addition to several copies of *Anarchy* and the *ABC of Anarchism*. These sales were made at Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park, but other sites in other towns might yield up equal sales. For example, comrades have taken copies to sell in Bath and sold fifty. The present public interest in Vietnam and the meetings being held up and down the country may help FREEDOM to sell in YOUR town. Why not try it? Copies can be supplied on sale or return and bona fide groups will be allowed a discount to help their funds. Write to Freedom Press: If we could double our circulation we could double our size.

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2 COPIES OF EACH: 1 year 63s. (\$9), 6 months 31s. 6d. (\$4.50)

by SURFACE: 1 year 65s. (\$9.50)

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Unofficial Strikes Attacked

THE RECENT STRIKE by BEA porters has brought a spate of renewed attacks on unofficial action. We know that these denunciations are not new but they are becoming intensified. Measures for stopping the unofficial action are being voiced by a number of people and newspapers.

Because the strike affected the travel arrangements of the public, the attackers felt they were on much firmer ground. In fact they felt they were sympathising with the very people who suffered, rather than openly speaking for their own invested interests. But this was phoney, for they were more concerned with their invested interests, make no mistake of that.

BRINGING IN MIS

One of the most vicious of the attacks came from Sir William Carron, President of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. His article in the *Sunday Mirror* is headed 'Wildcat Strikes' (that term is back in fashion again) and 'MIS Could Probe these Industrial Thugs'. He starts off on the right foot with, 'I believe the right to strike must remain inviolate. It must be jealously guarded, used wisely, used effectively, and ONLY AS A LAST RESORT'. Then because of his position as a leader of a union he says, 'But an unofficial strike hits at the very roots of our collective bargaining system. It strikes at union, constitution, organisation and discipline (my italics). It is the negation of law and order in industry'. Carron says that many of the shop stewards' organisations in

industry are 'Trotskyite and Communist-inspired', and he would like to see their activities examined by the Ministry of Labour or even the MIS. Carron, in fact, wants it both ways because, while wanting to get rid of these 'subversive elements', he later says that the Trade Union movement wants as little State interference as possible.

It has been suggested in a *Sunday Times* editorial that a 'prolonged period of notice' of intended strike should be given in the case of public utilities. Only when this was not done would the strike be illegal. They go on to say that if there is no provision made along these lines, then the extreme measure of legislation should be considered, and quote Holland as an example, where in 1903, a law was passed prohibiting strikes in public utilities. But this amounts to the same thing really, for to be effective, it is necessary to take immediate action.

OUR LIBERAL FRIENDS?

Even that upright Liberal pillar of our society, the *Observer*, says, 'There may be a case for making unofficial strikers liable to fines, as in Sweden'. They also lament the fact that the Transport and General Workers' Union lost control of its members at BEA. In the House of Commons the Tories are urging legislation to make contracts legally binding on employers and employees. They did not dare to do this themselves when in office.

Considerable pressure is mounting to place restrictions on workers who wish to take action for themselves, but moves in this direction must be resisted by the rank and file. It can also be seen that, in many cases, the leaders of the

unions will support these moves, for they know that any unofficial movement in the union (by this I mean one which has gained the support and participation of members and is not just a small discussion group), is a threat to their position. Managements, of course, will welcome any restrictions on unofficial action, for this form of action breaks the cosy procedure that has been worked between them and the unions over the years, the aim of which is to put off and prevent action by workers. If union leaders are really honest, they will admit that both they and the employers would not mind some form of legislation which would legally bind members to contracts.

SIGNED AND SEALED

Usually the members have no say in what is going to be put to the employers by the unions, although in theory this should be decided by the rank and file at conferences. However, their decisions are often ignored by union executives and, following talks with the management, often just go ahead without any report back to members until an agreement has been negotiated, and all is signed and sealed. Some blame the lack of 'communications' between union leaders and members as a reason for unofficial strikes, but most of the time the members' views are ignored, so it is no wonder that the rank and file take the matter into their own hands and act for themselves.

The State is now playing an increasing role in industrial affairs, as companies grow in size to monopoly proportions. Union leaders see themselves as heads of organisations, which have become big business, for organising people. Their role has become a disciplinary one of keeping the membership in its place. As this aspect of trade union leadership increases, more and more of the rank and file realise that, instead of having an organisation for their own interests, they are in fact just being organised. What is needed is organisation, but from below, by the rank and file, working towards a system that does away with profit motive in production and produces for needs alone.

P.T.

Freedom For Workers' Control

JUNE 26 1965 Vol. 26 No. 20

WHERE DO FOYLE'S GET THEIR BOOKS?

THE STRIKE at Foyle's moves into its second month with the accolade, not only of Union recognition but of 24 Labour MPs (18 in another paper) signing a Commons motion urging a Government inquiry into conditions at Foyle's bookshop. The motion says that 'some of Foyle's employees are paid wages substantially below the Wages Council minimum in breach of the Wages Council order'. This has been denied by Foyle's. The motion also alleges that the firm has dismissed young foreign workers without due notice or holiday pay, and that it has subjected them to 'disgusting working conditions which contravene the Offices, Shops, and Railway Premises Act'. A Foyle spokesman said in rejoinder to a question in the House that an inspector at Westminster City Council had inspected their premises within the past three months: 'He was shown all over the premises and expressed himself as perfectly satisfied'.

For some curious reason one of the newspapers reported that the MP's motion had asked for investigation of

West-End bookshops in general and not just Foyle's in particular.

The executive of the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied workers said it was giving 'full support' to the strikers at Foyle's. The union executive extended its 'appreciation' to all participating in the dispute, and congratulated them on their unity and determination. The union claims that they have 90-100 members on Foyle's staff but Foyle's say, according to *The Bookseller* that the total number of staff still on strike is 59, of these, 19 are foreign students, seven others are over 21, four others are 21, and 'the rest are minors'. This is a typical smear-technique, I do not know the exact figures but it is irrelevant, and not a little prejudiced to detail nationality and ages. The implication that those on strike are young and hence irresponsible, is as untrue as the implication that since the majority of Aldermaston marchers were young the issue was not fully understood. Too well we know that the older worker has more family and debt responsibilities and exists in fear of not

Continued on page 2

SOLIDARITY WITH VICTIMISED MEN

THE DISPUTE AT Bernard Sunley's site in Horseferry Road, London, has now ended with victimised workers getting their jobs back. When I wrote about it two weeks ago, the men had gone back to work, after a two week strike over the sacking of a carpenter in the first six days' employment period, which is written in the industry's Working Rule Agreement, Rule 2B. The firm said that he was unsuitable, meaning that he had a militant trade union record.

After the men went back to work, there were moves to get the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers Executive to call out the carpenters officially. When the executive met, all they did was to refer the dispute back to another national commission, knowing full well that Sunleys had already ignored the recommendations for negotiations put forward by the two previous commissions. This sort of move was to be expected, but I am afraid the strike committee took it very hard and a lot of the executives' ears must have been burning. However, other moves were afoot and at a London district meeting of the ASW, the management committee decided to go against the national executive and make the dispute official, instructing the District Secretary to bring the chippies out.

WORKING FOR THE BOSSES NOW

On the same day that the dispute was made official, two or three stewards from other sites went along to address a lunch time meeting on the Sunleys job. The management did not like this one little bit and with the help of their 'labour officer', a Mr. Wells, ex-TGWU organiser, made it extremely difficult for the stewards to get anything organised. Mr. Wells always has had something up his sleeve and, of course, knows all the answers. The Federation steward, who called the meeting, despite the Company's order, was sacked. His union, the TGWU as well as the building unions federation took up his case.

It seems that the ASW management committee and the District Secretary did not want to go too far for all they have done is to keep eight 'chippies'

on the picket line and have told the rest to find other jobs. The other unions have kept their members at work, but there are no carpenters on the job and because the continuation of work depends on them, the job is slowly coming to a halt. Those still working were getting paid for doing practically nothing.

WINS THE DAY SYMPATHY ACTION

The final stage of this drawn out dispute came this Monday, when Sunley's management was greeted by a mass picket of about 100 building workers. These had taken the morning off to give support and show their solidarity with the sacked men. They came mostly from the Paternoster site and the Wimpey's job in Euston Road.

The picket was mainly an attempt to show the management that those who had been sacked were not alone and that they were getting support from other jobs. The police did not like the idea of 100 men standing outside the site entrance, especially as the job is within a mile of Parliament and therefore comes under the Procession and Assembly Act. The 'law' pointed this out and asked for six pickets, with the rest dispersing, but as our numbers increased, the Superintendent did not press the point too much.

The National Commission was also meeting on the Monday and about 30 of us went along to give support. They decided that the Federation Steward should get his job back on his immediate application and the carpenter who had been sacked under Rule 2B should also be taken back, but in four weeks' time when, as they put it, the labour relations have improved.

What has made the employers change their minds and the commission state quite clearly this time that they recommended re-instatement? I think it shows that solidarity does work, for they saw that the men were prepared to give this. It is a step towards getting rid of Rule 2B; direct action and solidarity having made it possible.

P.T.

ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM THE WORKERS' NEXT STEP 13

11. THE CHANCES FOR TODAY

CONTRARY to the pessimistic 'Everything is useless' and 'The workers are hopeless' point of view, the situation to-day is a favourable one for the propagation of Anarcho-Syndicalist ideas. Although whether those ideas are accepted is another matter!

The workers are finding themselves in a difficult situation because the Labour Party and the Trade Unions have both turned out to be completely useless. Wherever one goes to-day one finds the supporters of the Labour Government on the defensive—and where is the worker who is satisfied with his trade union leadership? There is more criticism of the unions nowadays from the rank-and-file membership than from their supposed enemies, the employers, while the nationalisation which was the trade union alternative to private capitalism has shown that it only glosses over the problems of capitalism.

But which way are workers to turn? The Liberals, the Conservatives and the Labour Party we have had in this country—including coalitions of all three. Germany, Italy and Spain have shown us the face of Fascism. The tyrannical creeds of the Communist States are attracting fewer and fewer thinking workers—even attracting fewer unthinking workers! The political systems have shown themselves all to be the product of class-division and the authoritarian attitude. They have represented what seemed in many cases the easy way out—perhaps they seemed the only way out—but they have all turned out to be no way at all, but just another way in to the non-stop performance of exploitation and war.

The Anarchists and the Syndicalists could, if they chose, feel very smug and say 'We told you so' to every worker who now stands disillusioned and bewildered as the prospects of the future unfold before him. But there is small satisfaction in that. There is more satisfaction in looking for signs of the re-emergence of a fighting spirit among the workers, and they are not entirely lacking.

The most hopeful signs of the post-war years have been the creation of rank-and-file unofficial committees and the resurgence of Syndicalist methods of struggle. The unofficial committees among the dockers, miners, air-line workers, in the motor industry and many others when the occasion arose, have shown that the ability to spontaneously organise has not been lost under the pressure of legality and the 'constitutional' official unions.

And the fact that, faced with the failure of their unions to represent them, they have quite naturally turned to various methods of direct action, shows how deep-seated, how traditionally right, are those methods. As I write, recent incidents spring to my mind in which railwaymen, exhibition workers and Post Office workers have used the 'work-to-rule' method with complete success. And the many strikes that have taken place as protests against workers being declared 'redundant' have shown a clear enough grasp of the principle 'An injury to one is an injury to all.'

Most of the problems the workers are faced with now have no solution under capitalism. Mechanisation is one such issue. While the introduction of labour-saving machinery means the standing-off of workers, they are naturally going to fight it. But would it not be better to fight for the reduction of hours and increase in leisure that mechanisation could bring? This, however, would create chaos among wage scales. We should all be wanting such benefits—and why not? But the solution could not be found within the wage system and the profit economy. No employer is going to spend money on machinery simply to provide an easier life for his employees. He wants more production and more profit in return. Only the workers themselves have the social incentive to introduce labour-saving machinery—and they will not be able to do that until they have established workers' control.

No matter to which of the problems of society we give thought, if we approach them with an unprejudiced mind we are inescapably brought back to the Anarchist or Syndicalist solution. Capitalism, whether private or State-controlled, cannot satisfy the needs of humanity, nor can governments radically alter the authoritarian structure of present-day society because they depend upon it. Our own direct experience shows us this, and the experience of workers in other countries—in Russia in the early days of the Revolution, in Spain in 1936, in Italy in 1920—shows us what can be done by ordinary working people when once they realise their strength.

Up to the present time, the strength of the workers in this country has not been fully tried out—and will not be as long as they hand over their power to those who use it against them. But when the workers by hand and brain, in industry and on the land, decide that they have had enough of the perpetual shortage and war or war preparation which governments ensure, and decide that they are going to establish a sane and reasonable society in place of the State, there is no power that could resist them.

The issue before us is clearly this: Either the means of production are controlled by capitalists for their private profit, or by politicians for the purposes of the State (war is chief of these), in which two cases the workers are mere wage-slaves; or they are controlled by the people who actually do the work, for the benefit of society as a whole, in which case the workers achieve their human dignity and social responsibility. There are no other alternatives before us.

I have not tried to make the task seem easy. It is not. We have to start again from scratch, for there is in Britain not more than the nucleus of a revolutionary movement and not even the beginning of a genuine industrial organisation with a conscious Anarcho-Syndicalist aim. There is a job to be done, not for the power and glory of somebody else, but for the satisfaction and well-being—and maybe the very existence—of ourselves and those we care for. The building of a Syndicalist movement is the workers' next step.

P.S.