

China—Queen to Rook Four

THE INDIA-PAKISTAN war drags on, and as usual in any war, the ordinary people being killed and injured, and the Governments responsible well in the rear busily murdering 'the truth'.

A third party has now thrown in its three-penny worth, China, with her Extended ultimatum to India. According to the press the Pakistanis are highly delighted at this turn of events, collusion is not impossible.

In the world of diplomacy anything goes, bluff, counter-bluff and outright bloody fiddling.

The big question is how far will China push if she pushes at all. All the big powers have fished in deep waters, for various reasons and at different times and China is no exception. Since the development of the Russia-China disagreement, both countries have done their utmost to court the allegiance of the newly independent or under-developed countries to their respective ideologies. In the last few months or so, Russia's policy has inclined to co-exist with the West, whereas China has declared all out psychological war, stopping short (to date) of physical conflict apart from the border incident with India earlier in the year. China's role in Vietnam has been one of back

stiffening and general flag-waving (thank goodness) in an attempt to oust Russia as the Communist messiah.

In this game of bluff the element of danger is always very strong, can or will 'wolf be cried too often'? Another aspect, through China's mouthings, will the 'China lobby' cranks in the States kid L.B.J., to have a 'go' at China through Vietnam? This possibility has to be considered by China, also it is not much of a recommendation to support her endeavours to join the 'Thieves Kitchen' (UN). In fact, she is an embarrassment to her supporters who believe her admittance to the UN will solve all the problems in the Far East.

This is the horrible picture of the world in 1965. Governments and vested interests play chess with people's lives, the powers that be may stop short at a nuclear holocaust, but local wars are good for trade, cold wars keep the arms manufacturers in business, bluff and counter-bluff are all part of the cold war strategy.

We, the Joe Soaps in Britain take the view it's far away, it couldn't happen to us. Unless we do something about it suffice to say 'I wouldn't like to bet'.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

CHAOS UNTIL ANARCHY WAS RESTORED

LAST SUNDAY, September 19, approximately 100-120 people arrived at 3 p.m. to protest against the detention of Political Prisoners in Spain and Portugal. The demonstration was intended to be a peaceful picket of the two Embassies in Belgrave Square. No organisation banners were carried, just a plain banner saying 'Release Spanish and Portuguese Political Prisoners'.

Each demonstrator wore a placard which gave the name of a prisoner and the number of years he has been sentenced to. The name of one prisoner, still rotting in Franco's prisons, had the sickening total of 72 years. Many had sentences varying between 15 and 30 years. So to draw attention to this monstrous injustice we marched around Belgrave Square in peaceful order.



DEMONSTRATORS OUTSIDE SPANISH EMBASSY

After three times around it was felt we should stop and stand for a few minutes outside the Spanish Embassy in silent protest and then go to the Portuguese Embassy and repeat the protest marching off to Hyde Park in conclusion.

However the very thought that a group of militants should stand quietly in close proximity to such a friendly

building produced a condition close to hysteria in the police ranks. They spontaneously resorted to violence and in the scuffles that followed anyone unfortunate enough to be surrounded was arrested. One, demonstrator X, was incensed by this behaviour and protested somewhat too loudly and was promptly 'nicked'.

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More Planned against than Planning

THE 'EVENING STANDARD' gossip columnist, writing of George Brown's Economic plan, reduces it (as gossip columnists will) to a personal level. Writing of Sir Donald MacDougall, Director General of the Department of Economic Affairs, he says 'he once told me: "I don't really plan my life. I am a bad personal planner. I prefer national planning".'

This is, of course, if true, a typical approach to planning. 'Them as can't, tell other people'. The frustration arising from inability to cope with one's own private life is usually the hallmark of a planner, organizer or world governmentalist.

AGAINST THE PLAN

Reactions to the published plan have been typical. There are those who seem to be against planning on principle. Graham Hutton (in the *News of the World*) is against the plan but in favour of 'action'. This kind of thinking is disguised planning. The right-wing opposition put their faith in the free-play of markets, the law of supply and demand plus a little judicious help from the government of the day. But any pre-conceived idea of overall planning is an invasion of individual freedom to exploit customers and workers.

The second category is a little easier to understand. There are those who do not want the plan to work since they are against the purportedly Socialist ideas it is assumed to contain. This category will no doubt contain the die-hard Conservative employer and the revolutionary Communist worker.

The third category claim that it will not work because it is (a) too revolutionary or (b) not revolutionary enough, this latter section includes the *Tribune* and *Daily Worker* critics who feel that it doesn't go far enough, and contains basic defects which make it unworkable.

A fourth category, joined by the Conservatives, is that which believes the whole thing is a 'gimmick', i.e. it has no real substance and is merely a showpiece to create the impression that something is being done about the economic and industrial position. Since the plan is only 'indicative', it lacks any power of enforcement.

A fifth belief is that the whole plan is part of a scheme devised by Harold Wilson to keep George Brown occupied with a futile task in order to keep him from interfering in other affairs. If the plan flops, as well it might, George Brown is left carrying the can and Harold has disposed of one of his rivals.

ANARCHIST PLANNING

One is tempted to find some validity in all five criticisms. Anarchists are regarded as opposing planning on principle; in fact the word 'anarchy' has been adopted as a synonym for disorder. This is not so, for anarchists believe in planning; unlike Sir Donald MacDougall, they believe in planning their own lives but not the lives of others. They believe in planning from the individual outwards, not from a centralized authority which will dictate to the individual what part he shall play in the great plan. As to the freedom to exploit one's fellow-men, anarchists realize that this is a more subtle form of slavery; slavery to the profit or power-motive. Anarchists would be glad to see Britain with a more balanced

economy, with less dependence on imports, with a scheme of priorities, with the elimination of needless work, and the elimination of the waste of labour, of produce, and of raw material. But this could only come with control by producers and consumers. We certainly want to see the evils of capitalism eliminated but we do not wish to supplant them by the evils of socialism (whatever that is).

We do not believe that this 'plan' will work because it ignores several factors which mitigate against its fulfilment. It is true that it is not revolutionary enough but, were it more revolutionary, this government would not be putting it forward. 'Socialists'—assuming George Brown to be of their number—are only revolutionary out of office.

It is easy to join the cry that it's all a gimmick, but we live in a world of 'non-events' and politicians going through the motions of exercising power are likely to be hypnotised into believing that they are actually putting in motion events which will influence the destiny of the millions they believe they govern. The dreadful thing is that Mr. George Brown and his cohorts actually believe in the plan. Of course, whether Mr. Harold Wilson does, or not, is another matter. Mr. Wilson went to LSE.

CODLIN AND SHORT

This plan, like all other plans, The Five-Year Plans of the USSR, the thousand-year Reich, whilst aiming to make life better for the citizen, is actually indifferent to the welfare of the citizen. In a week when it is revealed that industrial accidents are increasing, it promises acceleration of industrialization; in a week when the chances of being involved in a road accident are revealed as one in two, it promises to double the possession of cars; in a month when immigrant labour has been cut down, it seeks to increase the labour force; and in a month when social services have been 'axed', it promises increased services. It has been pointed out that these are hazards in any long-range planning. Subtler minds have pointed out the division between Dr. Jekyll-Brown and Mr. Hyde-Callaghan, but one can cite the more apt Dickensian duo, Mr. Codlin and Mr. Short, who got along in life very well by each blaming the other for shortcomings shared by both.

PEACE IS THE FAILURE OF THE STATE

The ultimate failure of this plan in present-day society lies in its lack of powers of compulsion. In a state of war—which was when Mr. Harold Wilson first tasted power—the lightest whim of any civil servant is binding. War is the health of the State but in peace-time it is impossible in a centralized anonymous society to govern except by compulsion. With the cowardice that marks all the actions of this government, Mr. Brown has stressed that his plan is 'indicative' only. A wise step for a government whose working majority declines almost day by day.

With supreme contempt for whatever remnant of socialism still lingers in the Labour Party, the plan says, 'Most manufacturing industry and commerce, is, and will continue to be largely governed by the market economy. . . . Care will be taken not to destroy the complex mechanisms on which the market

economy is based. . . . Sometimes Government action may be required to strengthen the forces of competition.'

The aims of the programme are for greater economic growth by an increase of output by 25%. It is not specified in what this growth will consist, presumably it will be in goods which we can sell abroad. There was the appointment of a civil servant to sell arms abroad. One presumes that this line of business would continue to show a growth-rate. Indeed, things being what they are, it might be substantially above 25%.

In the same way, to increase our exports we must thrust somebody else out of the market, with the aggressiveness characterizing capitalism . . . or are we going to dump goods?

QUALITY OR QUANTITY

There is no mention in the plan of the improvement of the quality of life. All its emphasis is upon improvement of quantity of consumption, exports, etc.; probably a decline in the quality of goods would help our export trade.

This sounds like an argument against 'materialism' but one feels that this plan is materialism gone mad, of things taking control.

Once the Labour Party stood for some other aims than a growth-rate. Today, the local paper informs us of the founding of a 'Golden Prize Club' to raise money, a lottery which is paid automatically with a banker's order. Automatically his allocated tickets enter for the draw and automatically the prizes are sent to the winner.

Bored with all this talk of economics, one turns to one of the old-style Socialists, R. H. Tawney.

'When they are touched by social compunction, they can think of nothing more original than the diminution of poverty, because poverty, being the opposite of the riches which they value most, seems to them the most terrible of human afflictions. They do not understand that poverty is a symptom and a consequence of social disorder, while the disorder itself is something at once more fundamental and more incorrigible, and that the quality in their social life which causes it to demoralize a few by excessive riches, is also the quality which causes it to demoralize many by excessive poverty. "But increased production is important" (1921) of course it is. That plenty is good and scarcity evil—it needs no ghost from the graves of the past seven years to tell us that. But plenty depends upon co-operative effort, and co-operation upon moral principles' . . . and later, 'At the very moment when everybody is talking about the importance of increasing the output of wealth, the last question, apparently, which it occurs to any statesman to ask is why wealth should be squandered on futile activities, and in expenditure which is either disproportionate to service or made for no service at all' and one final quote, 'That obsession by economic issues is as local and transitory as it is repulsive and disturbing. To future generations it will appear as pitiable as the obsession of the seventh century by religious quarrels appears today; indeed it is less rational, since the object with which it is concerned is less important. And it is a poison which inflames every wound and turns each trivial scratch into a malignant ulcer. Society will not solve the particular problems of industry which afflict it, until that poison is expelled, and it has learned to see industry in the right perspective. If it is to do that, it must rearrange its scale of values. It must regard economic interests as one element in life, not as the whole of life. It must persuade its members to renounce the opportunity of gains which accrue without any corresponding service because the struggle for them keeps the whole community in a fever. It must so organize its industry that the instrumental character of economic activity is emphasized by its subordination to the social purpose for which it is carried on.'

Thus spoke R. H. Tawney, Socialist of 1921. All he can present to Mr. George Brown of 1965-70 is the title of his book, *'The Acquisitive Society'*.

JACK ROBINSON.

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OR IS 'REVELLE' TRIVIAL AND DECADENT?

IN *Reveille*, that well known organ of culture, an article recently appeared by one 'Bunny' Lewis entitled 'PROTEST SONGS ARE TRIVIAL AND DECADENT'. Being one of the few people in the 'Peace Movement' who can't stand Bob Dylan or any of the rest of the folkie boom I hastened to read.

Mr. Lewis starts off by assuring us that: 'Nobody in their right mind wants war. Nobody of my mind worships at the shrine of the Establishment, but I do believe that ideals are worth dying for.'

And further on: 'For centuries men have protested against cruelty, injustice, poverty and ignorance, but this was not done against a background of financial gain.'

Well, well, here is a man who writes in a weekly paper that can certainly not purport to being radical (and I take it that he is being paid for his work) being very outspoken in defence of liberty and principle. Hold on a second, though. The article starts off in fine form but it goes on:

'I think that songs like *The Universal Soldier* written by Buffy Sainte-Marie are not only effete but a gratuitous insult to anyone who has fought for his beliefs. For instance three lines go, "And he knows he shouldn't kill, and he knows he always will kill you for me, my friend, and me for you".'

It is a very strange thing, but when a patriot talks of war it is always something that no one in his right mind wants, but he's very quick to leap to the defence of the only people who base their whole lives on it. Notice he says 'Fought for his beliefs'. Not killed for them.

However he goes on: 'And there is more to come. One about to be a hit in America is called *Home of the brave, land of the free*. It sneers at almost everything the average American holds dear.'

'Of course democracy is weak, therein lies its strength. Of course there are rules some of them irritating, but without them there could be only anarchy.'

Democracy is not weak, old son, it's non-existent. Ask the negro sharecropper in the Southern States what he thinks of democracy, or the overcrowded slum dweller in Harlem or Chicago, ask him what democracy has done for him. Ask the Vietnamese farmer who's just dug his dead wife and child out of their bombed home what he thinks of the American brand of democracy.

But there's more: 'Does it really serve any purpose to exhort people to lie around in Trafalgar Square and occupy the already overworked police whilst every villain in London has a field day?'

'Finally should artists who have achieved popularity through the medium of entertainment use gramophone records as a plium to air their sociological and political views to influence a lot of children at their most vulnerable age?'

Well, well, well, here is a man who tells us that he is not one who worships at the shrine of the Establishment and he has not noticed that children are taught at school to sing *Hearts of Oak*, *The British Grenadiers*, *The Queen*, are taught that 'our' soldiers are always good, and never lose (after all we all know that Britain's greatest victories were at Balaclava and Dunkirk and

America's at The Alamo). Has he never heard of artists doing shows for 'our boys' or raising money for the war effort? Doesn't he know that in America stars like Frank Sinatra, Sammy Davis, John Wayne, Marlon Brando, James Stewart, Cyd Charise and many, many others use their fame to help one political cause or another (some good, some horrible)? But it appears it's only wrong to use your stage personality in the cause of passive resistance. Songs like the oldie *Your King and Country need you* are a joke now but they were propaganda for war at the time they were published. Still all this can be forgotten by those who will not see.

Personally I find the protesters a drag because (a) they appear to have no talent, either in singing or playing musical instruments, and (b) when a song is blasted out day in and day out it becomes background noise. Nobody really cares what it's about anyway. How many kids are going to refuse to go when the time comes because they heard the protest song that was buried in a morass of teen-age self-pity, written for the teen-age market, that rolls off the assembly line every week. To be cheered on no doubt by the record critics of papers like *Reveille*.

Meanwhile, the same three hundred people that protested against war, the colour bar, suppression of the freedom to hold public meetings, and so on, will be in limbo. However THEY are the ones who would be the first in the fight for the free speech that Mr. Lewis holds so dear. Who would they have to fight to preserve this freedom? Why Mr. Lewis's poor overworked friends, the police. Who is it that breaks up public assemblies? Who was it that beat up the crowds in Trafalgar Square on that Sunday long ago in 1888 when our right to speak was won? Who is it that wants your name if you speak in the park? Who is it that searches the houses of members of the 'Peace Movement'? Who is it that mingles with the crowds on demonstrations, listening? Members of this overworked minority were not so overworked that they could not spare a little time to put a few bricks in the pockets of pacifist demonstrators, or a great deal more of time to whitewash what they had done.

There will never it seems be a shortage of people who will be willing to earn a shilling attacking the poor old pacifists, whose only crime is that they feel that something more than a few self-righteous phrases should be given to the cause of world peace. People who can get a platform in a paper with a large circulation and be so self-righteous that it's not true. And will the millions who read this trash in *Reveille* see through it? I doubt it.

JAFSIE.

Chaos

Continued from page 1

Two more demonstrators were also arrested for attempting to stop the Black Maria taking off its load. Finally one young man was dragged across the road for goodness knows what reason.

However, despite the disturbing and belligerent influence of the blue-headed gentry anarchy was restored. One or two words were spoken by comrades, both those in exile and the London movement. The meeting then resumed its march and proceeded in good order to Hyde Park where a meeting was continued into the evening.

Amongst the organisations represented were the CNT in exile, the Mujeres Libres, the FIJJ, the SWF, LAG 1 and 2 and one London YS group and the ILP,

whose paper's editor, Doug Kepper, was amongst those arrested. Also the London Mobile Crime Prevention Squad (which looks uncommonly like a riot squad) also Insp. Wilkinson and PC 826 who shall not be forgotten. I feel, however, that they do have some justification in their grievance that the anarchists compel their attendance. It is only a pity that we do not compel more attendance by the Metropolitan Police. This, it seems, can only be achieved by attending in adequate numbers such demonstrations.

One girl was fined 50 shillings and the six others remanded until the 30th at Bow Street, and demonstrator X was remanded in custody for a medical report.

What did it achieve? Well someone in a Spanish cell rotting his life away for what you and I believe in might hear of it and feel a little less forgotten. That for me justifies everything.

M.W.

PRESS FUND

WEEK 37, SEPTEMBER 18, 1965

Expenses: 26 weeks at £70:	
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*Denotes Regular Contributor.

Letter

Jörg Christian Fauser thanks for all the trouble comrades have undertaken

to label him. They all have given him a good many laughs, especially the 'Trotskyist' one, as this is exactly the label he has got so far from Social Democrats, Labour Left-Wingers, Communists, Social Crediters and Pacifists. He would indeed meekly accept it, if the very Trotskyists he is constantly pushed to would open their ranks to him. Unfortunately, they do not do so; they have given him another label that he reluctantly bears now: Beatnik.

All the best,
JÖRG CHRISTIAN FAUSER.

TONY SMYTHE

Comrades will be sorry to hear that Tony Smythe who had a car crash at the Libertarian Summer Camp is still seriously ill in hospital in Briançon. Although thought to be coming out soon, Tony has recently had a relapse and we have no idea when he will be fit. Jeanne and Tony's brother are with him at present and the children are in England with friends and family.

Anarchist Federation of Britain

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

London Anarchist Group 1&2

'Lamb and Flag', Rose Street, off Garrick Street, London, W.C.2. (Leicester Square tube) 7.45 p.m. All welcome. Sundays.

SEP 26 Syd Parker
Anarchism vs. Socialism.

OCT 3 Desmond McDonald
The Entertainment Industry

OCT 10 Brian Leslie
Anarchism and Education

OCT 17 Jack Stevenson
Anarchism-Communism

Public Meetings every Sunday Hyde Park 3 p.m. Correspondence to: D. Bell, 10 Gilbert Place, W.C.1.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rumbold Rd., S.W.6 (off King's Rd.), 8 p.m. Last Thursday in month: At George Hayes', 174 McLeod Road, S.E.2. 2nd Friday at Brian Leslie's, 242 Ames-

bury 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.

First and third Tuesday of every month at 8 p.m. Arthur Uloth's, 30 Arundel Gardens, W.11. (Top bell.)

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

ILFORD LIBERTARIANS. Regular meetings and direct action contact W. E. Rodgers, 4 Sheldon Road, Dagenham, Essex.

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

WEST KENT LIBERTARIAN ALLIANCE. Anybody interested contact Peter J. Clarke, The George, Frant, Sussex.

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

NORTH-WEST ESSEX. Close to W. Suffolk, S.E. Cambs. and N.E. Herts. Contact Robert Baritrop, 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.

LEEDS LIBERTARIAN ALLIANCE. Anybody interested please contact Roy and Frankie Todd at 15 Clarendon Place, Leeds, 2. Telephone 24282.

GALASHIELS AND BORDER. A meeting will be held on October 3 at 31 Scott Street, Galashiels to discuss forming an Anarchist Federation and the selling of FREEDOM.

NEW ZEALAND. Auckland Anarchist Group. Public Meetings every Sunday in Myers Park at 2 p.m.



Demonstrators spreading out across road to Embassy.

HERE IT WAS that the painter Turner, rebel and recluse, hung his hat and Anna Pavlova lived, dined and danced when she was eating high on the hog, but it is now a world for small committees, a place of echoing rooms, wet lawns and darkling shrubberies. A world where but a hundred yards away the middle class in their cutaway tweed jackets and the twin set pearls drink halves of bitter at the bar of the "Old Bull and Bush" and sedately croon the cockney music hall songs of a race long banished from this heath for this is Hampstead, safely locked in the chains of an accepted mythology and the house where Turner and Pavlova broke bread is now Ivy House, the new College of Speech and Drama, North End Road, N.W.11.

Those who remember, with passionate anger, the unrecorded legions of children trained for the profession of temple prostitute or physically mutilated to provide the castrati to glorify a loveless God in the cathedrals of the west should do well to remember that they still have a legacy of perversion in these human stables wherein the young are trained and twisted to fill the bastardized role of a prancing animal pandering to the cultivated and the jaded appetites of whoever can pay the price of admission, for whoever hawks his natural talents on the public market degrades both himself and the buyer. And with weaving hands I emptied my mind of its spleen as I paced the empty dancing rooms with Ian O'Hagan, ex-banana-planter, gaucho and headmaster, and now lecturer at Ivy House, for it was his paintings and Jesse Watkins' sculptures that brought us together in this house, mocked by our own reflections in the huge training mirror that blanketed the wall. At this point in the film one should become fulsome over the paintings of O'Hagan but one cannot, for by his own credo he fails. His involvement with Einsteinian space fails, for the lack of tonal qualities still offer the spectator a two dimensional world when the painter has, in canvas after canvas, tried to capture the touchable yet infinite beauty of space. Raphael and Holbein bathed their madonnas in it. Rembrandt and Gainsborough planted their landscapes within it and Fragonard's royal peasants swung their painted swings through it, but Ian O'Hagan has let it slip through his twentieth century fingers. Then through the wide windows and onto the wet lawn where Jesse Watkins' shards of sweating iron, bend and freeze in a chorus of graceful poses, against a background of rain-dripping evergreens. One bid the softly-spoken O'Hagan goodbye and walked wet-footed across the lawn pausing for a single brief second to run an inquisitive finger across the acetylene scars of Watkins' rain-wet 'space' sculpture, then back to the familiar ratwalks of Bond Street and Mayfair and there was so little to offer. Dalwood at Gimpel Fils at 50 South Molton Street, W.1, offers sculpture that ranges from work as earthy and as primitive as a new dug potato to work as bulkily bourgeois as a horse-hair sofa, huge slabs of crudely sliced clay cast in bronze and overawing the spectator by their sheer mindless brutality. Slette-mark's oral eroticism at the Woodstock at 16 Woodstock Street, W.1, carries the cachet of a minor riot in Oslo.

The Norwegian Association of Young Artists have the legal right to exhibit one painting a month in the square near the Oslo parliament building and Slette-mark's painting of American action in Vietnam, with its bloodstained US flag and burning baby, became the picture of the month to the annoyance of the

Norwegian right who three times attempted to destroy the painting. The Association of Young Artists stood on their legal rights and the Minister of Justice gave this anti-American polemic a police guard proving exactly nothing. Slette-mark's work can now be viewed at the Woodstock. From coagulating bellies of death white plaster, his crudely fashioned wax faces, penises and tongues mock the spectator. They irritate, offend, disgust or amuse according to the mood of the passer by but they hold the eye and irritate the mind and by that standard they succeed in their purpose.

Across the Town at the New Vision, at 4 Seymour Place, W.1, Alima Ritta offers work of slight and passing beauty. A child of Israel, she offers abstracts woven from the sun-burned colours of her chosen soil and one knows that the greater pleasure of these paintings lay in their creative act. Yet these are bleak weeks for the art hucksters flat-footing the Bond Street rat-walk bankwise. With action, hardedge and pop art in temporary retreat, the sucker money is being tempted by the saccharine pastel geometrical abstractions oozing from the mother womb of the Kasmin Gallery. As cloying and as sickly as tinted condensed milk, this type of work has been the residential ploy of Kasmin and has provided his gallery walls with a background without a subject. It has now spread and all that the masochist needs is a fast bicycle and a taste for the banal and the mawkish. The AIA gallery, at 15 Lisle Street, W.C.2, has plastered their walls with this gauche rubbish. The Molton gallery, at 44 South Molton Street, W.1, offers Alfred Young's version of this striped Brighton rock type of painting, while Gimpel Fils are again hawking the 78-year-old Josef Albers 'homage to the square', with the same sugary colours leaning one against the other like elderly drunken women and with Peter Coviello at the Hamilton galleries, at 8 St. George Street, W.1, offering the same old rhubarb with rings instead of squares. It is left to the Waddington, at 2 Cork Street, W.1, to add the final fey Barrie touch with Michael Bolus's three dimensional version of nothing in particular. One can walk around Bolus's work and view it from any angle, but to refer to these painted children's play blocks as sculptures, is to elevate a packet of Daz soap detergent to the level of a Michelangelo 'Moses'.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

Reply to A. S. Neill

Dear Comrades,

I am surprised that my intentionally frivolous article on the National Anthem (FREEDOM, 28.8.65) should have raised the hackles of A. S. Neill enough to provoke him to write such an immoderate and earnest reply. I suppose I should be honoured too, in some way or other, but being an irreverent sort of person I can only respect him for running 'Summerhill', not for defending royalty.

I will answer his points seriously. I do not claim to be consistent in all that I do, but perhaps I am more so than he would give me credit for. 1) I do not raise my hat when I meet a lady. This is not because I have no hat, nor because I know no ladies. It is because such a gesture is inappropriate to anyone with a post-Victorian mind who doesn't believe in dishonest gestures.

2) If I had a coal merchant I would address letters to him 'Dear Sir' as it is

'Wilson Plea to End War Fails'—Daily Telegraph

A PUBLIC OPINION survey has disclosed that 4% of the West German voters would vote for Hitler if given the chance. A survey 12 years ago showed a poll of 15% for him. Dr. Ehrhardt's party won the German elections. Herr Hitler did not stand. . . .

THE CONSERVATIVES nominated a Labour member for Speaker of the House of Commons. Liberals are hoping to move to Smith Square, Westminster—in which the Labour and Conservative Parties already have their headquarters. Bishop Kampe of Limburg, West Germany, advised his parishioners to 'vote for the man, not the party'. He pointed out that the platforms of the political parties are very similar, especially in regard to foreign policy. Bishop Kampe did not urge people to vote for the Christian Democratic Party, noting that a choice between that party and the Social Democrats is harder to make than in the immediate post-war period. 'In a bid for Catholic support, the German Socialist Party,' says *The Universe*, 'recently issued a booklet detailing the similarity of its aims with those of the church.' . . .

THE FOURTH and concluding session of the Vatican Ecumenical Council opened with some soul-searching on religious liberty. The Archbishop of Palermo thought that religious freedom would allow the communists to challenge the privileged position of the church in Italy. He insisted that in countries where the State recognised the Church and her rights nothing should be done to permit change. The Feed the Minds campaign alleges that faked scriptures have been distributed in the Far East. The covers consist of a counterfeit 'Gospel of St. Luke', the inside consists of anti-American cartoons. The material was prepared in North Korea and the camouflage of identical covers made it virtually impossible for the customs or bookshops to detect the forgeries. . . .

MR. JUSTICE STABLES said at Shropshire

Quarter Sessions that the law was becoming so complex that it would be better to repeal the lot and go back to the Ten Commandments 'perhaps slightly enlarged to deal with modern situations, such as motor-cars and so on'. He was speaking to 21 newly-sworn magistrates. . . .

A MAGISTRATE was fined £125 for stealing money from the Conservative Club of which he was treasurer. A policeman at Leeds was sentenced to eighteen months imprisonment for two offences of breaking and entering. He joined the police after committing six offences of dishonesty, mainly breaking and entering. A part-time deputy sheriff in Hayneville, Alabama, was indicted on a manslaughter charge for the death of a civil-rights worker, Jonathan Daniels. . . .

THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH in 'News in Brief' prints the following (in its entirety): 'Defence from Crime West End business-men have been invited by London police to a briefing on how to reduce the chances of attack by *Dollar Affluence* Personal incomes of Americans rose \$1,000 million (£357 million) from July to August.' . . .

A NEWSPAPER STRIKE in New York prevented the *New York Times* from producing a 780 page issue containing one million lines of advertising and weighing over seven pounds. . . .

PRESUMABLY AS an earnest of George Brown's plan, the weight of sixpenny and ninepenny bars of chocolate is being increased substantially. On the other hand, the cost of apples is such that the General Dental Council is only able to offer to supply halved or quartered apples to schools to help preserve the children's teeth. Apples can be supplied at tenpence a pound, each school could be given a small hand-machine which cores and quarters them, and a supply of ascorbic acid to act as a preservative. Nevertheless butylated hydroxytoluene which is used to keep baby-food tasting fresh is to be banned. It is suggested

that cows should be fed more 'concentrates' and allowed to chew on rubber. . . .

A REPORT OF the Vegetarian Congress in *Peace News* quotes a speaker that 'the basic materialism which is so disastrously affecting the Indian government at present is allied with vested interests which now operate through the World Health Organization. Although many of the cabinet ministers in New Delhi are vegetarians, they are being urged to introduce large scale production of meat in order to feed the starving in their country. This will involve a vast amount of propaganda in order to turn the mass of the people from their traditional reverence for life—particularly their reverence for the cow. . . .

A MATADOR in Almeria was fined £30 for refusing to kill his second bull. Spanish workers demanded the right to strike after four were detained. It is believed that charges will be made based on the fact that they are members of the ASO. A seventeen-year-old Dorset schoolboy was gaoled in Spain for allegedly insulting General Franco. He was bailed out by his parents. The United States Secretary of Agriculture has signed a \$35 million trade agreement enabling Spanish agricultural cooperatives to buy 600,000 tons of American cereals over a three-year period. . . .

EX-PRESIDENT EISENHOWER disclosed that he was thinking of giving up the Presidency in 1957 after he suffered a stroke. He had a temporary loss of memory of his vocabulary. He decided to test himself by attending a conference of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Paris. If he could successfully participate in the strenuous activities of the conference, he would stay on as President. If he felt the results were not satisfactory, he would resign. By the time he returned from France to the United States, he had abandoned all doubts about continuing in office.

JON QUIXOTE.

a convenient abbreviation for writing his full name. If I was on bad terms with him I would omit the 'Dear', but in the normal way it is an indication that I consider him a human being as well as a merchant.

3) I do not write 'Yours sincerely' if I don't care a damn about whom I'm writing to. I have a remarkable selection of words which I insert after 'Yours' as appropriate to the situation and person.

4) I have not called anyone 'Sir' since leaving school, and had I been fortunate (i.e. wealthy) enough to go to A. S. Neill's school, I would probably have not done so there.

5) It may not be worthwhile protesting against symbolic actions when they don't offend your conscience and are little or no inconvenience. Symbolic actions are essential to any coherent society, authoritarian or anarchist—but the words and sentiments of the National Anthem are obnoxious to me.

6) I am not, unlike A. S. Neill, interested in saving the queen. Her sort of freedom doesn't appeal to me and is only gained at the expense of the unfreedom of many other people.

7) I do protest against our educational system, barbarous criminal code, attitudes to homosexuals, colour and Jews. Maybe I can't do as much as A. S. Neill can, but then I don't have his reputation to help me.

8) I cannot take seriously A. S. Neill's argument 'Most people want to have royalty, so why protest against it?' Most people in Germany between the wars wanted Hitler.

If these replies seem rather hard it is because I expected better of someone for whom I have immense admiration. Perhaps I am also a little indignant at being referred to as 'Vine' in A. S. Neill's letter. The omission of the christian name or 'Mr.' signifies either that the person referred to is a household name, or else that the writer is being unpleasant. Since the former is inappropriate I can only assume that the latter applies. Perhaps the 'Mr.' was dropped on the assumption that I have no time for politeness. This is untrue. Anti-royalists need not be inconsistent if they uphold civility, rather I would think an anarchist has more responsibility to be civil than anyone else, since part of his belief is a recognition of the essential worth and dignity of men, however many facets we may dislike. For me 'please' has a genuine, if much abused, significance.

I am pleased that A. S. Neill thinks it would at least be worth my while to hit out at 'our glasshouse training for delinquent youth'. It is for precisely this reason that I am taking a degree in psychology and will go on to work

among delinquents when I am qualified. Perhaps on this point we can see eye to eye and extend a hand across our distance. I would hate to make an enemy of a man whose ideas I myself champion! And can I once again repeat my plea made in the same issue of FREEDOM as the offending article—let us conduct our controversies calmly and without hysteria or bitterness.

Your sincerely,

Bristol 6 IAN VINE.
13.9.65

The moment we invade liberty to secure equality we enter upon a road which knows no stopping-place short of the annihilation of all that is best in the human race.

BENJAMIN R. TUCKER.

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Who killed Lincoln?

ON NOVEMBER 22, 1963, President John F. Kennedy of the United States was shot and killed allegedly by Lee Harvey Oswald, and Lee Harvey Oswald was in his turn shot and killed by Jack Ruby on November 24.

So much speculation was abroad as to the manner of the President's death and of the killing of Lee Harvey Oswald that a Commission was set up to investigate the assassination. This Commission under Chief Justice Earl Warren claimed that their report was 'the result of the most massive investigation in the history of the world'. It included 25,000 interviews all of them summarized in the score of volumes of evidence. This enquiry, like many enquiries before and since, was calculated to reassure the public and stifle the many rumours.

This, according to Mark Lane, a New York attorney, it did not do. He was not the only one to be dissatisfied and there has been set up a 'Who killed Kennedy?' Committee to sponsor and publicise enquiries on this topic. A meeting was held at Better Books, on Wednesday, September 15, to publicise the fact that Mark Lane's book has been accepted for publication in England by Bodley Head and Penguin Books. Not surprisingly, Mr. Lane has not found an American publisher.

Mr. Lane alleges that the Warren Commission refused to hear several important witnesses, and readings from the volumes of evidence disclosed that many witnesses were silenced on the witness stand at points when they were on the verge of disclosing important evidence which did not support the official sponsored version.

It has indeed been claimed by a member of the Commission who has written a life of Oswald that the Commission's relation to the Nation was that

of an attorney and client. Whether the nation-state-client was guilty or not guilty was not stated but certainly 'his' confidences have been respected. However we need not worry, the full testimony made before the Warren Commission will be made available to those of us who are curious enough—and alive—in seventy-five years time!

By that time we may know, says Mr. Lane, whether Oswald was an FBI agent, whether Kennedy was shot in the back or the front, from the book building or from the railway car-park; whether he was shot by a Mauser as originally claimed or an Italian carbine as later amended; we may even learn whether Oswald was a good marksman or not; whether any one man could have fired all the shots; we may learn definitely how many shots there were; what was the package that Oswald brought to work.

But for the moment Mr. Lane's own findings, based upon research and checking of the Commission's own evidence and not upon preconceived theories or gossip, is that every single basic conclusion of the Warren Commission is untrue and refuted by the Commission's own witnesses; the only reliable conclusion is that Jack Ruby killed Lee Harvey Oswald, but this was seen by millions on television.

The final ironic twist to the Government's management of this case came when recently the newly-married Marina Oswald wished to sell her late husband's rifle (the alleged murder weapon) to a collector. The government appropriated it by placing a tax lien upon it. Thus it is impossible, as Mr. Lane had hoped, to borrow it to make some real tests.

By the way—who was responsible for the murder of President Lincoln?

J.R.

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TU BUREAUCRATS DECIDE

AT A MEETING of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering unions, the Executives of 31 unions accepted the wishes of the Amalgamated Engineering Union that the present five-night shift-work agreement be re-negotiated in order that the engineers can work the present number of hours in four nights. The AEU National Committee agreed to leave it up to the District Committees to decide whether or not the four night shifts are worked in their areas.

This little wangle by the AEU is to give the impression that it is they who have given way to rank and file pressure and so they have placed this decision in the laps of the District Committees, knowing full well that once the Confederation re-negotiates with the employers on this matter, there will be demands for the working of the four-night shifts.

A LONG WEEK-END

In fact, since the 40-hour week was introduced last July for engineers, there has been strong pressure from the night shift, especially in Midland car plants, for a four-night week instead of four nights of nine hours each and a

short night of four hours on Fridays. This pressure has been brought to bear by about 20,000 workers coming in for four nights and staying home for the fifth, making it a long week-end. In some factories or sections employers have agreed to a four-night week, but in most cases the men just have not turned up for work.

In view of the fact that in many cases the employers have accepted the will of the rank and file in working a four-night week (incidentally they are breaking the agreement), they are likely to accept demands of other night shift workers who also want a long week-end off. After all, the meeting of the Confederation was only really putting the official seal on a thing which was already being achieved unofficially. As Derek Robinson, Chairman of the AEU shop stewards' committee at the BMC works at Longbridge said that they would put in their demand for four-night working straight away. At Longbridge, the management has accepted this for 3,400 men on the assembly lines, but are not agreeable to it in the case of the machine shop, and 4,000 men there refuse to work on Friday nights. The four-night working is a victory for common sense. Surely it is better to work an extra hour each night than have to come in just for four hours on Fridays, especially as in many cases it entails travelling a number of miles.

GUNTER AGAIN

Other items on the agenda at the Confederation meeting were the Government's recommendations for improving 'industrial relations' in the car industry. These stemmed from the meeting between the Prime Minister, the unions and the employers at which Wilson stressed that not enough had been done in this direction and that the Government was going to step in if some-

thing was not done.

The employers, for their part in the deal, might be willing to accept a 'closed shop' if the unions will discipline those active in unofficial disputes. Mr. Gunter, Minister of Labour, suggests that the method of discipline that could be used should either be the withdrawal of the union card or a ban on working in the car industry. Either alternative is not very savoury. In the event of the first, the man might not be able to get a job because he had no ticket, and in the second, he would be known by every employer in his district and they would not want to give a job to a militant who had been sacked. Apparently Mr. Gunter is after a pool of unemployed militants.

While it seems that the Confederation will not act upon these suggestions, they are obviously worried by the threats of Governmental intervention if they are unable to achieve an improvement in 'industrial relations'. If the 'closed shop' was agreed upon by the unions and employers, which union would win in the undignified scramble for the men who had not got a ticket? As for Mr. Gunter's two alternatives on the theme of sacking, I don't think the unions are strong enough to do this at the moment. I hope they never will, or that the rank and file will never give them the chance. The unions are more likely to try out the idea of 'flying squads' of investigators who would look into any dispute immediately it started and try to get a return to work.

The Labour Government really looks as if it means business, aiming at a peaceful, docile labour force which will accept all that is handed out by employers and unions alike. Other steps to this end are the possibility of legislation for an Arbitration Board for the industry and a Government inquiry into 'industrial relations'. The warnings are plain to see and now is the time to organise against these plans by forming a national shop stewards' movement which will be controlled and elected by the rank and file along the lines shown elsewhere on this page.

P.T.

Freedom For Workers' Control

SEPTEMBER 25 1965 Vol. 26 No. 30

STEWARDS' COMMITTEE FOR CAR INDUSTRY

IT HAS BEEN urged many times in these columns that shop stewards' committees should be formed throughout all industries on a national scale. This week we learn that the Communist Party is trying to do just this in the car industry.

Apparently the CP has not been achieving very much in this industry of late and its industrial organiser, Mr. P. Kerrigan, has come in for some attacks from his party bosses. The decision to try to organise such a national movement was taken in the light of this decline in influence in an attempt to remedy it. The Party's Executive wants this committee to be broadly based and to include not only paid up members and fellow travellers, but also to be open to all those who hold shop steward credentials. Stewards from most of the car manufacturers have attended meetings at Oxford, Birmingham and Liverpool. Party members who are branch officials in industries connected with car manufacturing have been told to get a list of all Communists who work in the car industry.

This idea of a committee of shop stewards embracing all car and component manufacturers is a welcome one, for it is long overdue. With the proliferation of unions representing workers in the industry, it needs a form of organisation which cuts clean across these and draws all the workers in the industry together. The shop stewards, by virtue of working side by side with the men who voted for them, know the problems that face the men on the shop floor. They are the representatives of the men and if they fail in this, they should be recalled and replaced by

someone else.

What has to be faced is that many CP members are only too willing to take on the job of shop steward and many do this well, but because of this dedication and the numerical strength of the stewards, the CP as a political entity is likely to gain control. If this does happen, then I am afraid we will get the same story we have had before. The CP is after positions of power and will use a stewards' committee to gain these ends within the trade unions. From this it follows that the Party will try to get this and that policy passed within the union structure and will seek official recognition of disputes by unions.

WHAT HAPPENED AT FORDS

We have seen this happen at Fords when Bill Francis was sacked. The rank and file's immediate reaction was to down tools. If the men had remained on strike, Bill Francis and the other sacked militants would still have been working at Dagenham today, but the shop stewards' committee relied on the trade union officials to bring the men out officially, which they never did. The way the committee thought is illustrated by the following extract from one of their statements at that time: '... each union must insist on all back immediately. Failing agreement on any individual, then the Union should refer the case to the NJNC (National Joint Negotiating Committee) on the basis of previous declarations to take action if all members are not taken back.'

This attitude is further illustrated in their pamphlet *What's Wrong at Fords*. 'We regret, as any Trade Unionist must, that there have been unofficial stoppages because they show there is a gap between the members and the Union Officials. We also feel that if National Officials had taken a stronger attitude on some of the outstanding problems there would be less cause for strike.'

If this is to be the attitude of any committee of shop stewards in the car industry in the face of disputes, then there might as well not be one. I say this because this is certain to be the trend if the CP gets control. If on the other hand we have a truly representative committee which expresses the wishes of the workers on the shop floor, then I feel we are getting somewhere. If this had been the case at Fords, then the PTA plant would have stayed out on strike in support of Bill Francis as the rank and file voted 5,317 to 6 in favour of this.

This and other disputes have shown that it is fatal to rely on the trade union bureaucrats, as well as being a complete waste of time having stewards who want these bureaucrats to come in and run things. It is for the workers themselves to make the decisions and their elected stewards to carry them out. Let us hope this new committee leads to a movement based on this.

P.T.

ANARCHY 55

DISCUSSES

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Hull—Accommodation. Painter-teacher, man, wants lock-up living/working quarters (reasonable rent) from beginning October. Unfurnished if possible. Central or other busy district preferred. Box 12.

Secretary Wanted. London Committee of 100. Post vacant end of September. Enquiries and applications to London Committee of 100, 13 Goodwin Street, London, N.4. ARC 1239.

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Youth Against War in Vietnam. Glasgow YCND March, Saturday, October 16. Contact Alan Sinclair, Flat 3a, 39 Mallaig Road, Glasgow, S.W.1. GOV 3995.

New Zealand Federation of Anarchists. First Annual Congress, December 26 to January 6. Enquiries Box 5455, Auckland CI, NZ.

Vietnam Posters. 'Who Loses in Vietnam—Always the People'. 4d. each. 30/- per 100. Orders to Freedom Press.

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

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.

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

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 years. 186 Kirkdale, S.E.26. Tel.: SYD 0149.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

When a Squeeze is not a Squeeze

IT IS REPORTED that Fords at Dagenham and Halewood will operate on a five day week from the month of October. This is a surprise decision because as far as one knows the credit squeeze is still on and this was the very excuse for Fords going onto a four day week. In actual fact the four day week has not yet been introduced at Halewood because the strike of delivery men created a back log of orders. That's one way of preventing Fords going mad on the assembly line.

Nearly 200 Ford workers are demanding 2s. an hour increase for all hourly-paid workers together with a guaranteed 40-hour week. Car workers are prepared to support their claim with a complete overtime ban and, if necessary, a strike at the end of October. Ford workers are the lowest paid men in the motor car industry, Vauxhalls pay production workers 8d. per hour more than Fords, and BMC 5d. an hour more, women workers are the worst paid of the lot. It does appear that Ford is heading for an almighty blow-up, their attitude to their production workers has always been one of a slave driver not only here but on the Continent and in the States.

Rank and file workers at Fords should again press their idea for an INTERNATIONAL LIAISON COMMITTEE OF ALL FORD WORKERS. Ford management knows what each tentacle is doing, therefore the workers should be in the same position.

THE LTB PULL A STROKE

LONDON BUSMEN are again being forced to take direct action to make their working conditions bearable. Several depots have imposed an overtime ban in protest. The LTB have countered by a revision of schedules, geared the existing number of staff so that revised

services can be fully worked by them without the need for overtime. This should improve the service no end. I wondered why the LTB had introduced the country service of one bus per day in the London area.

STINKING WAGES FOR STINKING CONDITIONS

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTYTWO thousand workers in the chemical industry are involved in a pay claim. This is just in time for the TUC's vetting committee.

The present basic rate for a general chemical worker is the fantastic sum of £10 8s. 4d. per week and the women's rate is in the super tax class of £7 11s. 8d. a week. Their last pay settlement was in May '64 so they are well overdue. Some of the jobs in chemical firms are the world's worst in terms of working conditions, maybe George Brown and his wage-freeze committee should think in terms of a 20% increase for these workers as the chemical industry is making a fortune.

NO HELP HERE

I NOTICED an interesting piece of news from Aden. Seven Aden trade unions have cabled Mr. Wilson to request the Aden State Government to withdraw a bill on trades' disputes which provides for compulsory conciliation and arbitration. The union said the bill fettered the workers' right to strike as a last resort. It certainly looks as if Wilson and Gunter may be taking a leaf out of the Aden State Government's book.

REUTHER II

JIM CONWAY, General Secretary of the AEU, is off to the USA later this year to study American organisation.

A three week trip is at the invitation of Walter Reuther, the American auto workers' chief. Conway has made no secret of his admiration for the American set-up, his ambition is to merge the 36 unions in the engineering industry into one union; in other words, he wants to become Reuther the Second. One hopes Conway is not in favour of America's anti-labour laws, if he is he is in for a big shock from the British engineering workers.

B.C.

LETTER

To all Building Workers

Sir,
Several people in the building industry in the Glasgow and Edinburgh areas, among them architects, joiners, bricklayers and terrazzo workers, have been discussing the ideas of 'workers' control in the building industry' with a view to setting up an informal grouping in Britain to further the case for workers' control, among our fellows in the industry. We are therefore extremely anxious to contact building workers throughout Britain who favour the idea. Would civil engineers, quantity surveyors, tradesmen, labourers, estimators, clerks, technicians, architects and town planners who are interested please contact me at the address below.

Yours faithfully,
GEORGE WILLIAMSON.

33 Kelvingrove Street,
Glasgow, C.3