

Rhodesia-So What?

ONE OF THE STOCK headlines for FREEDOM is (or was) 'Phoney (Blank) —Crisis'. One is rather tempted to insert the word 'Rhodesia' in the blank these days. But one can speculate that so precariously are events balanced and so preponderantly able are armaments to shift that balance that one hesitates to point out that it is another mere crying of 'Wolf'.

However, the Rhodesian situation has all the elements of a created event adroitly stage managed by Harold Wilson and Ian Smith for their own purposes. Mr. Wilson has proved how much more patriotic and loyal to the Commonwealth he is than the right-wing of the Conservative Party. Mr. Ian Smith has demonstrated how tough he is. Lord Salisbury has demonstrated how he is looking after the interests of the City and Mr. Edward Heath has demonstrated how reasonable and 'with-it' he is. Everybody seems to be satisfied except the people of Rhodesia who will have to labour in the tobacco fields and the copper mines regardless of whether they are in a Commonwealth, a Kingdom, an Independent Republic or a People's Republic.

It is held that under independence by Mr. Smith's party the natives would be oppressed. In some strange way it is felt that Dominion status prevents discrimination, apartheid and exploitation. The aura of the Great White Queen would be sufficient to protect the natives who would survive to bless her name and that of the Great White Chief from the London School of Economics.

It will be remembered that the onset of apartheid in South Africa preceded their withdrawal (or expulsion) from the Commonwealth. Apartheid, when it came, came slowly, step by step, and neither the British nor the African politicians, nor the Cape Coloured, saw fit to unitedly question any step taken. In the same way, Smith, Welensky and Co. have ruled and will rule in Rhodesia, inside or outside the Commonwealth.

As to the intent to apply sanctions, this would seem to be a mere pious hope. Grey-headed cynics among us will remember the empty threat of League of Nations sanctions against Italy in her war against Abyssinia. Whatever the sanction proposed, there was (and no doubt will be) some saving clause, some commercial contract that, in the way commercial contracts have, overrides the ideals of international law, commonwealth preservation or mere humanity.

Trade may follow the flag but Mr. George Brown seems determined to follow trade and a keen business man like Lord Brown, now in charge at the Board of Trade, will not be balked from selling to Rhodesia by such puny considerations as our failure to buy from them, even should such a thing as

sanctions occur.

Smith, and Welensky who preceded him, are too experienced politicians, and the stakes are too high for them to take the risk of threatening something they cannot perform. The African political leaders, waiting in the wings, surely do not believe that they can rouse 'their' people to revolt by pointing out the irrevocable loss that seceding from the Commonwealth would mean to them. After all the Boston tea party was not held for the benefit of the Red Indians.

Winston Churchill once declared that 'he had not come into office to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire'. History proved him wrong and Harold Wilson cannot prevent this happening even under Socialism.

JACK ROBINSON.

Mobs Do Not Riot in Wolverhampton

SOME YEARS AGO FREEDOM published an article entitled 'A million children not murdered today' (*Freedom Selections*, Vol. 7, 1957). This attempted to put into proportion the situation in regards to the incidence of sex and violent criminal acts in society. This I think it did, and this article attempts to follow suit about racialism. We have read the 'other side' both in the Press and more recently in the letters and articles in our paper.

First of all I feel I must state that this is a subjective but factual article written about the situation as it is in Wolverhampton, whether it is similar in other parts of the country I don't know. I hope it is, and I hope it is/will be better in time all over.

Just as mutual aid exists side by side with the rat race so integration exists with racialism. For my purpose I will divide these into two which, for lack of a better phrase, I will call conscious and unconscious integration.

To take the latter first, this is individualistic, usually unorganised and there for all to see (mostly it appears, by rabid racialists of both sides). I write of intermarriage and the resultant families, love affairs, school, work and gang alliances, deep friendships of like-minded people and neighbourliness. On the conscious organised side we have the Wolverhampton Racial Harmony Committee, which consists of members of all the organisations imaginable, from the Roman Catholic Church down to the Communist Party of GB.

This committee recently issued a statement condemning the role played by the Press and TV during the racial disturbances here. Two Labour Councilors, Reg Dorsett and Jim Woodward, have won a battle with both racist petitioners and the town planning sub-committee in their fight to open a multi-racial club in some derelict school buildings. The Methodist, Seventh Day Adventist and Congregationalist churches in the town centre are multi-racial and the council employ an Indian and West Indian as immigrant liaison officers whose job it is to advise immigrants on many of their problems.

In this article I have stuck strictly to the verifiable facts, and these I believe show that despite all the many obstacles to integration it still goes on, not as fast as anarchists would like, but still it goes on, organised or not. The conventional press sensationalise the negative aspects of immigration problems, and the 'left' press have a tendency to neglect the positive aspects I have outlined. I hope that I have managed to remedy both extreme positions and bring about a sense of proportion to racialism. J.L.

Revolt Against Power Politics!

THOUSANDS RALLIED against the war in Vietnam all over the world. There were demonstrations last weekend in Japan, South America, Holland, Italy, Germany, Sweden, Dublin, London, Glasgow and at 73 cities in the United States.

This is a tremendous achievement for the student organisers in Berkeley, California whose own effort brought 10,000 people out. Jerry Rubin at Berkeley said in a speech that he is gratified by the response. On Fifth Avenue again 10,000 people marched despite the taunts of jingoists. The Washington correspondent of *The Times* says that the Johnson administration is now worried. Thousands of Londoners also took part in demonstrations organised by the BCPV and the Committee of 100.

The concerted action started with the YCND rally at the Mahatma Gandhi Hall where Bertrand Russell tore up his Labour Party membership card in protest against the war. Other speakers included Cecil Balfantine and George Clarke. There was a capacity audience. Warbey, MP, who was scheduled to speak when the crunch came, did not and walked into political wilderness or a waiting cabinet post.

SUPPORT THIS ACTION

The Anarchist movement is being called upon to support these points:

1. The campaign must continue.
2. We must protest against this police state within the state.
3. A Defence Committee must be formed at once.
4. LAG/2's next Sunday meeting is open to these discussions.
5. A 'Demonstrate Against War or Pay Up' Fund must be started as this is going to be a long campaign.

OUR LEADERS MUST BE ACTORS

ANARCHISTS IF they read the more irritating trivia of the daily press at all—namely the gossip columns, must do so with a mixture of amusement and boredom. One would not expect Charles Greville to say anything very original or pointed about our lop-sided social order, so his statement in the *Daily Mail* (issue of 12.10.65), that our leading politicians are first-rate actors every bit as much as politicians, putting on a carefully contrived face for every occasion and situation, helps to dispel the myth which some people still hold dear, that there is a shred of sincerity in anything the capitalist spokesmen do, either by motive or gesture.

Compared to Ramsey Mac's day, today's political leaders have television to contend with—and they turn it into a decided advantage. The FREEDOM editorial of October 9 gave readers a summary of our leaders wily and less endearing traits, though I think I ought to point out one particular mannerism which they omitted to mention—that of the furrowed brow accompanied by the 'look of concern'. The undoubted champion of this ploy is none other than Harold Wilson, who has brought this particular facial trick into play exclusively for television one assumes. The studio lights blazed away, the furrow grew deeper—so deep in fact, I thought it would be possible to run a tractor along it.

Whether they are sufficiently convincing actors or not, all politicians, by their combined efforts down the years, have made sure of acting in a third-rate play—though never of course to their own disadvantage. The scenery is defective, but will not fall on their heads, while crocodile tears shouldn't make their make-up run, especially where television appearances are concerned, and whilst some actors dislike playing in farces, the Westminster Players jostle each other for the leading roles; they

More than 1,500 people attended at the Trafalgar Square rally on Saturday where speakers from all sections of the peace movement were reinforced by Sid Senior, General Secretary of National Union of Post Workers and Joe Thomas of NATSOPA. There were many London Anarchists in the demonstrations, amongst them the newly formed West Ham Anarchist Group. A supporting march from the Festival Hall included Joan Baez who sang and spoke a few words. Among the poets taking part in the supporting rally was Pete Brown, Mike Horowitz, Tom McGrath and Adrian Mitchell who read his poem, 'Tell me lies about Vietnam'.

More than 2,000 marchers converged on the United States Embassy on Saturday night. Some carried banners saying, 'Who loses in Vietnam — always the people'. One section chanted 'Who's Wilson?—Johnson's Poodle'. This crowd dispersed quietly leaving the all-night vigilers behind who were constantly molested by the police.

When about midnight the Young Communists' torch-light procession arrived on Saturday, the police went berserk and beat the little boys and girls up. This was awful to watch and both West Central and King Street should account for this. Typical that the *Daily Worker* forgot Monday morning to protest against police brutality and blithely said that marchers joined the all night vigils. Limping on crutches and with broken ribs, no doubt. Comrade journalist, must you lie to save the skin of a King Street bureaucrat?

The climax of these days of peace activity was to have been a Public Assembly in Grosvenor Square but this was arbitrarily stopped by the police. Altogether 78 demonstrators

were arrested. Monday morning those that appeared in front of Mr. Leo Gradwell are having difficulty as the cases are being remanded and Mr. Gradwell set fantastic sums for bail. As we go to press 17 comrades are still in jail.

In conclusion, I wish to quote a poem by Dennis Gould, 'The War Game'. It takes its reference from a passage by H. G. Wells.

J.R.

THE WAR GAME

'We are in revolt against this game of Power Politics which seeks to monopolize all this world for the triumphs of such poor fools as these leaders we have examined. We are not concerned in their infernal wars. We are in open and plain rebellion against them.'

H. G. WELLS, 1939.

(From 'The honour and dignity of the free mind')

THE WAR GAME

For those who use nonviolent resistance and those who just refuse to wear uniforms and kill
Another game in Vietnam's towns
For men in khaki uniform
Another game with napalms frowns
For men poor and uninformed
Another country conscripts her young
Without choice or democracy
Her name is known to immigrants
Australia 'land of the free'
Another man blames Chinese plots
For socialist ideals raw
But who stops to think one sides
Bullets bold are braver than the law?
And who now believes 'law' to be justice
After Eichmann, Christ and Evans
That Evans who died on Christie's rope
For policemen, lawyers, judges:
christian heavens.
And you like me may have served the queen

In khaki or in law
Whilst now we sit down on another scene
Civilians jailed, fined, sacked

and more . . .
For not playing the game: war.
dennis gould

Christmas is not so far away and the Westminster Players are producing a pantomime. The show is full of killings and robberies, a chief whip and much sado-masochistic grovelling, but the Lord sado-masochistic grovelling, but the Lord Chamberlain has passed the show without hesitation for both adults and children, so long as Dave Cunliffe is not commissioned to write the lyrics. George Brown is the bad Baron, while Callaghan is a kind of Robin Hood figure robbing the poor (assuming they are worth robbing since taxes are very high). But you mustn't hiss the villains as you are liable to be ejected by a policeman. The pantomime is almost plotless, near impossible to follow, and evil triumphs hands down at the final curtain; seat prices are, of course, higher than last year, as is to be expected. I am sure you won't enjoy the show.

RON PEARL

P.S.—Apropos of Rhodesia: there were rumours that if Ian Smith decided to go ahead with his plans and declare UDI, Parliament would assemble early because of an emergency. I was waiting to hear the first politician of either party make a reference to 'cutting our holiday short', though they would have said it jokingly to the press boys. In an Anarchist society it might be possible to have 11 weeks holiday and perhaps a 4-day week, as useless mass-produced materials simply wouldn't be manufactured. Parliament is the only concern which gives itself nearly a three month recess in the summer in a capitalist society and during that recess those Party Conferences are held, presumably so party members can applaud each other, and make sure their voices haven't gone rusty. Is anything ever resolved at these Conferences? I doubt it. It would have been the funniest joke of the silly season if politicians had had their abnormally long holiday cut short!

ANARCHY 56 Woman

DORA RUSSELL
HARRIET UNWIN
EMMA GOLDMAN

IN A MAN'S WORLD

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

books?

We can supply
any book in print

NEW BOOKS

- Garibaldi and His Enemies
Christopher Hibbert 45/-
Arthur Miller: the Burning Glass
S. Huftel 30/-
Equality and Power... R. V. Sampson 35/-
Sociological Aspects of
Homosexuality M. Schofield 35/-
Eagle and Earwig: Essays on Books
and Writers Colin Wilson 30/-
Deadman's Hill: Was Hanratty
Guilty? Lord Russell of Liverpool 18/-
Let Me Count the Ways
Peter De Vries 25/-

REPRINTS AND CHEAP EDITIONS

- The New Course Leon Trotsky 12/6
History of Political Thought in
Germany 1789-1815 R. Aris 50/-
Collected Works, Vol. 27 V. I. Lenin 18/-
Collected Works, Vol. 28 V. I. Lenin 18/-

SECONDHAND

- Ah, Wilderness! Eugene O'Neill 3/-; The
Story of an African Farm, Olive Schreiner
3/6; Eastern Approaches, Fitzroy Maclean
4/-; Contradictions: Documents from
Peking (Published in Hong-Kong), 4/-;
The Small Family System: Is It Injurious
or Immoral? C. V. Drysdale 5/-; Com-
monsense About Sex, Leonora Eyles 4/-;
Men in May, Leslie Paul (1936) 4/-;
Bigger and Better Murders: the Great
American Band-Wagon (1928), Charles
Merz 3/-; Finistère, Fritz Peters 3/6; Red
Virtue: Human Relationships in the New
Russia (1933), Ella Winter 4/-; Europe
Since the War 1918-1939, J. Hampden
Jackson 3/-; Vote Labour? Why? (1945),
Lincinius 3/-; When Smuts Goes, Arthur
Keppel-Jones 3/6.

Freedom Bookshop

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

17a MAXWELL ROAD
FULHAM SW6 Tel: REN 3736

FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

- SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM'
Vol 2 1952: Postscript to Posterity
Vol 3 1953: Colonialism on Trial
Vol 4 1954: Living on a Volcano
Vol 5 1955: The Immoral Moralists
Vol 6 1956: Oil and Troubled Waters
Vol 7 1957: Year One—Sputnik Era
Vol 8 1958: Socialism in a Wheelchair
Vol 9 1959: Print, Press & Public
Vol 10 1960: The Tragedy of Africa
Vol 11 1961: The People in the Street
Vol 12 1962: Pilkington v. Beeching
Vol 13 1963: Forces of Law and Order

Each volume: paper 7/6 cloth 10/6
The paper edition of the Selections is
available to readers of FREEDOM
at 5/6 post free.

VERNON RICHARDS

Malatesta: His Life and Ideas
cloth 21/-; paper 10/6.

E. MALATESTA

Anarchy Paper 1/-

PROUDHON

What is Property? cloth 42/-

ALEXANDER BERKMAN

ABC of Anarchism paper 2/6

HERBERT READ

Poetry & Anarchism paper 2/6

ALEX COMFORT

Delinquency 6d.

PAUL ELTZBACHER

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

RUDOLF ROCKER

Nationalism and Culture
cloth 21/-

CHARLES MARTIN

Towards a Free Society 2/6

JOHN HEWETSON

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

VOLINE

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

E. A. GUTKIND

The Expanding Environment
(illustrated) boards 8/6

GEORGE BARRETT

The First Person (Selections) 2/6

THE YEARS HAVE not dealt kindly
with the memory of George Bernard
Shaw. To the young he is old hat, and
square, to the older libertarians his ideas
are tarnished with Fabianism, Stalinist
propensities and the outpourings of an
insufferable dotage.

It was then with some delight that
one revisited the Periclean stream of the
1911 Shaw at the Mermaid unmodified
as he was then by the life force,
monarchism, or the Soviet system and
see the purity and sparkle of wit which
is the gift of Shaw and, they would
have us believe, the Irish to the world.

Fanny's First Play is encumbered, as
The Taming of the Shrew can be, with
the cumbersome device of a play within
a play, in this lapse we witness one of
the signs of the coming weakness of the
'clever-clever' Shaw but in even this
device we are made to swallow a propa-
ganda point of the play.

The opening is the drawing-room of
Count O'Powda who is putting on a
play by his daughter Fanny, a student
at Cambridge. He has lured the leading
critics of the day to see the play and
has concealed from them the identity of
the author. This scene is one of the
most tiresome, containing as it does,
shafts of satire at critics who now few

ONE MAY HALF listen a thousand
times to a pop folk song or a negro
spiritual, musing awhile at the pleasantry
of its rhythm and the naivety of its lyrics,
then forget it within the hour. But comes
an occasion of isolation, when the cold
wind whips the banners and the police
outnumber those who protest, then from
the packed and ragged ranks comes a
voice singing a song of defiance. It is
caught up by other voices and one is no
longer in isolation but part of the van-
guard united by the battle songs that
mocked and defied authority in a dozen
countries and a hundred towns.

True it is not an appeal to reasoned
judgement or rational discussion yet, for
good or ill, there comes a moment when
the song, the poem, and the painting
becomes an emotional gauntlet transcending
its technical incompetencies as it
marshals the half-realized questions of
the questing heart. It is that emotional
involvement of the artist with his
creation that differentiates between the
majesty of a crudely painted canvas by
Ben Shahn and the brilliant and easily
forgettable advertisement in the Town's
plush magazines, for one is the crude
heart-catching slogan demanding your
attention and the other the brilliant cali-
graphy pointing the way to the GENTS.

And here is the work of Brett Whiteley
at the Marlborough, at 17 Old Bond
Street, W.1. An inferior synthesis of
the work of Bacon and Rauschenberg yet
Whiteley uses the founding work of
these two men to produce 14 paintings
that have the amoral hammerblows of an
18th century jail broadsheet. From 1945
on John Reginald Christie murdered seven
or eight women and for that he and the
near-mental defective Evans were killed
off by the State. It is accepted by many
that Evans was innocent of causing any
death, but you cannot punish the State
for it is a 100,000 headed and can
write out its own pardons, so that all
that the officially innocent dead can
ask is that they be allowed the social
status of a grave outside the prison
walls.

Here is Whiteley's comedy of errors
with its cast of Christie, Rita, Cathleen,

Fanny's First Offence

have heard of. Shaw has almost sur-
vived them all, and this somehow con-
tains a lesson for *Private Eye*. Satire
directed at persons is transient but satire
at institutions is lasting. The value of
Fanny's First Play for us today lies in
the reflections on police behaviour and
on the effects of imprisonment.

Margaret, the girl who has been im-
prisoned for hitting a policeman, says,
'I'm not hardened, mother. But I can't
talk nonsense about it. You see, it's all
real to me. I've suffered it. I've been
shoved and bullied. I've had my arm
twisted. I've been made to scream with
pain in other ways. I've been flung into
a filthy cell with a lot of other poor
wretches as if I were a sack of coals
being emptied into a cellar. And the
only difference between me and the
others was that I hit back.' How often

have we heard this non-romantic view
of the police given today after demon-
strations? Many thought it was some-
thing new, but Shaw had heard it all
before from suffragettes and victims of
Trafalgar Square's 'Bloody Sunday'.

And on prison. The strange *cama-
raderie* that grows between those who
have been 'in' that sets them apart from
those that haven't, the realization that
nothing is quite the same again. Margaret's
father exclaims, as fathers
are apt to do, 'My daughter in Holloway
Gaol!' and Margaret replies, 'All the
women in Holloway are somebody's
daughters. Really father, you must make
up your mind to it. If you had sat
in that cell for fourteen days making up
your mind to it, you would understand
that I'm not in the humour to be gaped
at while you're persuading yourself that
it can't be real. These things really do
happen to real people every day; and
you read about them in the papers and
think it's all right. Well, they've
happened to me; that's all.'

This will be enough to show that
Fanny's First Play despite the dragging
opening is worth seeing. A younger
(and better) Shaw gave the following
advice to the young in his preface.
'Nowadays we do not seem to know that

there is any test of conduct except
morality; and the result is that the young
had better have their souls awakened
by disgrace, capture by the police, and
a month's hard labour, than drift along
from their cradles to the graves doing
what other people do for no other reason
than other people do it. . . . Is it any
wonder that I am driven to offer to young
people in our suburbs the desperate
advice: Do something that will get you
into trouble?' This is vintage Shaw as
the devil's advocate. Go along and see
it at the Mermaid Theatre.

JACK ROBINSON.

EUROPEAN YOUTH CONFERENCE?

THE EXTERIOR delegation of the
Iberian Federation of Libertarian
Youth has contacted the Anarchist
Federation with suggestions for a Euro-
pean Youth Conference. The idea was
proposed by the Italian Federation of
Anarchist Youth, who suggest that it
should take place at Carrara at the end
of this month, immediately preceding the
congress of the Italian Anarchist
Federation.

The object of the meeting would be
to carry on, in a more constructive form,
the co-ordinating work which has been
developing at the Libertarian Summer
Camps, but restricting attendance to
active militants. The French comrades
have agreed to take part, and the Dutch
groups have been contacted. Any groups
or individuals from the British movement
who would like to take part should write
to Frank Hirshfield, 4 Albert Street,
London, N.W.1 for further information.

The Spanish comrades also give en-
couraging news about the campaign to
free the comrades from France and
England who have been arrested and
imprisoned while in Spain. Two French
anarchists, have already been released
by the Spanish government, and some
of the lawyers in Madrid have expressed
the opinion that campaigns abroad have
enormously facilitated their task.

Mutual Aid Wanted! THE PLAGUE IN BLACKBURN

AN OUTBREAK of the 'distortions of
ingrown virginity' appears to have
struck Blackburn concomitant with the
delayed visit of Princess Margaret and
the prosecution of Dave Cunliffe of
Screeches Publications. Please help to
stave off the spread of this emotional
plague with donations to Golden Con-
volvulus Defence and Aid Fund, 11
Clematis Street, Blackburn, Lancs.

TONY SMYTHE

Tony Smythe is now home, but he
has still to pay hospital fees of over
£300. A fund has been set up to help
and donations should be made out to
Tony Smythe Fund and sent to:

Howard Cheney,
Aylemore Farm,
Shipton-on-Stour,
Warwicks.

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.

OCT 24 LAG/2

Business Meeting: Vietnam

OCT 31 Social (in aid of Spanish and
Portuguese Political Prisoners' Fund)

NOV 7 George Melly

Censorship

NOV 14 Philip Sansom

Just Talking

NOV 21 Axel Ney-Hoch

Join the Police Force!

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 Rum-
bold 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.)

THE LONDON INDIVIDUALIST
ANARCHIST GROUP meets the second
Sunday of each month at 10 Churton
Street, Victoria, S.W.1 (off Vauxhall
Bridge Road) at 8 p.m.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

BEXLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Cor-
respondence to Paul Wildish, 2 Cumbrian
Avenue, Barnehurst, Kent.

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

BORDER FEDERATION OF ANAR-
CHISTS. Correspondence: John Stark,
39 Scott Street, Galashiels.

BRISTOL FEDERATION. Enquiries to
Ian Vine, 3 Freeland Place, Hotwells,
Bristol, 8.

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. Con-
tact Mike Crowley, 36 Whitaker Road,
Tremorfa, Cardiff.

DUNDEE GROUP contacts: (1) Bob
and Una Turnbull, 44 Peddie Street,
Dundee. Saturday meetings to continue

at Peddie Street, 2.30 p.m. (2) Sheila
Whittaker, 64 Polepark Road, Dundee.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP.

Correspondence to Robert Lynn, 2b
Saracen Head Lane, Glasgow, C.1.

Freedom and Anarchy Distributor, Joe
Embleton, 11 Balliol Street, Glasgow, C.3.

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

MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP.

Contact: Graham Leigh (tel.: PYR 2433),
5 Mere Close, Sale. Meetings: alternate
Tuesdays, 8 p.m. at the Lord Nelson,
Chapel Street, Manchester and socially:
week-ends at the Rising Sun, Albert
Square, Manchester.

ILFORD LIBERTARIANS.

Regular
meetings and direct action contact 212
Vicarage Road, Leyton, E.10.

MERSEYSIDE FEDERATION.

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

ORFINGTON 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.

WEST HAM ANARCHISTS.

Contact
Mr. Karl Taylor, 98 Clova Road, Forest
Gate, London, E.7. Meetings on Wednes-
days.

PROPOSED GROUPS

CORNWALL ANARCHIST GROUP.

Interested? Please write Derek Toman,
46 Weeth Lane, Camborne, Cornwall.

NORTH-WEST ESSEX.

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

NORTHOLT ANARCHISTS.

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

SUNDERLAND (Co. Durham).

Proposed
Anarchist Discussion Group. (Syn-
dicalists 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.

ABROAD

NEW ZEALAND.

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

TORN CARDS ON THE TABLE

A SLIGHTLY malevolent smirk crossed the wrinkled features of Earl Russell last week when, utterly disillusioned by the Labour Party's Vietnam policy, he terminated 51 years of party membership by publicly tearing up his party card. At the same time he called for 'a new party more like that for which Keir Hardie struggled' and as the 93-year-old philosopher and Nobel Prize winner finished speaking 'Vietnam Rebel', Labour MP Mr. William Warbey, emotionally upset by Earl Russell's destruction of a scrap of paper, stalked from the room.

It bodes ill for the future of Earl Russell's hoped-for party if the attitude of 'left-wing rebel' Warbey should prove to be typical of the disillusioned radicals Earl Russell would like to attract. To Warbey, as to all supporters of impersonal organisations, political or not, emotional attachment to label, symbol, myth and abstract cause is, together with career and ambition, consciously or unconsciously the prime aim. Even if a new party were formed of saints it would in time end up as the present Labour Party, for the realities of power lead inevitably to compromise and expediency. And one would think there was already in existence sufficient Trotskyist sects and sub-sects to cater for the sort of 'need' Earl Russell pointed to.

Meanwhile, in Vietnam, Operation Gooksmash (search and kill) continues and caught between the brainwashed guns of Genghis Khan the Second in Peking and the hired guns of the dollar and power worshippers of America the Vietnam peasantry suffers. Up to a few months ago the Vietnam war was headlines everywhere but that was because it was feared that it would spread. But now that there seems every chance that the slaughter will be confined to Vietnam, nobody is the least bit interested except for a few humanists and pacifists,

the Hampstead phoney poets and intellectual 'folk'-singers exploiting the emotional atmosphere for cash and mental onanism and the bleating double-thinkers of the Communist Party. In such a situation the martyrdom of a peasantry and the general extermination of 'gooks' and 'wogs' is something that can go on apace, with absolute impunity unless, that is, they happen to be shrill nationalist politicians with friends in *New Statesman* type circles.

Faced with such a state of affairs there comes the urge to simply cry that nothing can be done. This is the idea that because one cannot do everything, one need not or should not do what one can. This an anarchist, communist or syndicalist, whose sights are set on nothing less than universal anarchy, will object to, as a letter in last week's *FREEDOM* showed. The one man revolution of the hermit, tramp, beat, dope addict, neurotic or suicide failing to see that, pathetic and destructive as such revolts often are, they are the essential actions of people who want a way out now and can't wait for some theoretical future.

Similarly there are individualists who say that nothing can be done in any context larger than one's own life. I refer to those individualists who adopt their stance for logical reasons, and not to the self-styled 'egoists', who talk as though it is big and tough to show indifference to the suffering of others, although I suspect that, like most people who theoretically scorn all ethics, they would walk five miles rather than leave a three-penny debt unpaid and in no circumstances could they bring themselves to hurt a fly. (Really ruthless people don't advertise the fact or make a philosophy out of it.) The former type of individualist, i.e. the logical, non-egoistic type, may be right in thinking that either original sin or the monsters from the id have got the human race in an iron grip and that only one-man revolts are possible, but he overlooks the fact that, in the context of an international event like the Vietnam war, it is not impossible to send a postal order to War on Want or one of the other relief agencies trying to alleviate the suffering of the Vietnam peasantry and this will do more good than any 'new party' of Earl Russell or anyone else. N.B.

'World Now Aware of Vietnamese Situation, says Rusk'—US Information Service

MR. HAROLD WILSON in an interview with Ian Waller in the *Sunday Telegraph*, speaking of the Conservative Party Conference, said 'Fair's fair. We had our conference. They are entitled to theirs. Indeed, in the last few days I tried to stop news coming out of departments so as to give them a fair run.' The sporting spirit was underlined by Mr. Wilson paying a loyal constitutional visit to Balmoral and being more Commonwealth minded over Rhodesia than Lord Salisbury. Mr. Enoch Powell was positively Left-wing in his desire to cut down commitments East of Suez. In Aden Mr. Wilson continued to show the flag. A correspondent in the *Sun* wrote, 'It was one of my main regrets when I turned to Labour that I had to give up my membership of the Young Conservatives'. This was a tribute to the rich social life of the Young Conservatives which is unmarred by the unseemly concern with politics which disfigures the activities of the Young Socialists. In a small second-page item in the same paper it was duly noted that Bertrand Russell had publicly quit the Labour Party and the 'rebel' Mr. Warbey had quit the platform. . . .

what is natural and nothing artificial.' Mr. Heath vigorously rang the chairman's bell at the end of the Tory Party Conference. Lord Brown, director of several engineering companies, joined the Government as Minister of State for the Board of Trade. Mr. Greville Jones, a former Liberal candidate, has applied to join the Labour Party. He is a partner with Mr. Jeremy Thorpe, Liberal MP for North Devon, in a firm called External Development Services. . . .

Crawley, Sussex; or those in other countries should get in touch with the War Resisters' International, Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex. In the US, a handbook of advice is available from both addresses but meanwhile one may sign on the classification questionnaire a clause, 'By reason of religious training and belief I am conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form and for this reason hereby request that the local board furnish me with a special form for Conscientious Objectors (SSS form 150). It is suggested that non-pacifist objectors should strike out the words 'in any form'. It has also been held by the Supreme Court that non-belief in a Supreme Being is no bar to conscientious objection. A final word of advice to objectors on filling up forms is, 'Answer fully, but concisely state what you do believe not what you don't believe. This is a key question. Note whether your opposition is to participation in all wars.' . . .

POLICE WITH RIOT STICKS and tear-gas sealed off the University of Brasilia, Brazil, after the rector suspended classes. He said the university had been transformed into a 'centre of agitation and anarchy'. A Brazilian police-chief was jailed accused of shooting dead a man who would not let him into a football match without paying. . . .

OBJECTORS to the war in Vietnam are said to be increasing in the US. On the other hand in North Vietnam (according to the *National Guardian*) 2.5 million volunteers have signed up to fight in South Vietnam if called upon to do so by the NLF. Ralph Di Gia, administrative secretary of the War Resisters' League said, 'My first word of advice to a kid who's against the war in Vietnam but doesn't know how to avoid the draft is to stop listening to his friends [or parents—J.Q.]. The chances are that they don't know any more about the situation than he does. He should seek expert guidance, and do it quickly, because once he's received his order for induction he has lost his case.' In the United States, any objector should contact the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors at 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19103, or War Resisters' League at 5 Beekman Street, New York, 38, New York. In Britain, uniformed men who find themselves objectors should contact the Continuing Committee of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors at 5-7 Langley Lane, Infield,

JOHN WILCOCK in the *Greenwich Village Voice* (NY) comments on the Judge's remarks on sentencing David Mitchell, a 22-year-old objector, to 18 months imprisonment for refusing to be drafted to Vietnam. The Judge said, 'Fortunately his views appear not to have cut any ice whatsoever in this country, or in this community.' John Wilcock says, 'If the judge is correct, and not merely the presumptuous fool that he sounds, there is less hope for this country and this community than I had thought.' Dr. Erwin Stengel, Professor of Psychiatry at the University of Sheffield, told a symposium on suicide at Washington that demonstrators who stage sit-down demonstrations in Whitehall or at the White House are really expressing the death-wish. 'The only difference between them and the Buddhist monk who burns himself to death is in the degree of self-destructive impulses and the level of their manifestation.'

JON QUIXOTE.

Plea for a Disunited Front

RECENTLY A QUESTION was asked at a Secular Society meeting, addressed by an anarchist, as to whether one of the obstacles to mankind achieving freedom was the wide diversity of views, and whether it was because of this it was necessary to set up rigid authoritarian societies in order that men would not quarrel and destroy each other. Furthermore, in view of this, was it not necessary for all progressive peoples to join together, forget their differences and work together for peace and freedom.

This, in various forms, is a common question and is held in fact to justify the sinking of all anarchist activity and the forming of 'popular fronts'. Unfortunately, with the widening of anarchist activities, this question has posed itself within anarchist groupings, and there has been a quest for the one anarchist activity which will be most useful and to concentrate the pitifully small forces available, and a consequent criticism implicit, or overt, of those whose activities manifest themselves in other directions or seemingly fail to manifest at all.

Answering questions is not easy. Sometimes one is tempted to reply in the tones of Mother, 'ask silly questions and you get silly answers', or one is impelled, as one anarchist speaker was when a questioner complained he was not satisfied with the answer he got he was told: 'I cannot give you satisfaction, I can only give you an answer'. Many answers leave further questions in their wake.

The answer the speaker gave to the

Secular Society question was 'it is because mankind is so diverse in activities, interests and opinions that freedom is necessary. Were mankind united in its activities, interests and opinions a free society would not be desired, in fact a totalitarian ant, or bee society would be there in the making'.

The most common example of the diversity of human activity is in the nature of man's work but this diversity is not only observable in the varieties of work which men may do but in the variety, and the function of work within the life of the individual man. A man may, when he leaves his workplace indulge in no work whatsoever, he may on the other hand, 'work' strenuously or unstrenuously at play or hobbies, or work for his voluntary interests, or take part in domestic work. In this simple example we see the complex nature of man, not all kinds of work are the same. He may figuratively be 'a different man' at the bench, on the football field, at the dog track, on a committee or washing-up. Man is pluralistic and diversified by nature and so is his society.

Anarchism is the consideration of man in all his aspects. According to our interests we can examine or appeal to man in all those aspects. Syndicalism is the examination of man, primarily as a worker. Things being what they are, it is concerned with wages and conditions and, ultimately, with control of the job. But this is only part of a man's life, some would say a great part, and some would say too much. However, what happens

to a syndicalist when he leaves the factory? Is he a frustrated lover? A father? A repressed citizen? A suppressed artist?

Those who do not see anarcho-syndicalism as the be-all and end-all of anarchist activity have a point. There are some who would not go near a private employer (or even work itself), and there are those who reject the industrial system, and there are those that feel that the struggles of workers to raise their wages from £16 to £16 10s. a week possess only academic interest to one who has never needed (or got) more than £10 a week. Who is to say that this limits their anarchist usefulness or interest?

There are also those who have no time for compost growing, cinema verite, 'obscene' poetry collections, Sibelius, Spanish refugees, CARD, CND, town-planning, The Peckham Experiment, TVA, Free radio, Wilhelm Reich, Max

Stirner, NCCL, A. S. Neill but, somewhere along the line, all these ideas, persons, organisations, activities impinge upon the anarchist image. In the same way that a cross-hatching of straight lines can be drawn to produce a circle, anarchism is in the still centre of all those manifold straight lines. To limit the definition of anarchism to any one activity is to break that circle.

This is not a plea for tolerance. Tolerance is a much misused word. In many cases it merely means indifference or even a contempt for powerlessness, and there are things that no one should tolerate, for example, racial hatred and cruelty. 'Tolerance' has another and more precise meaning in the engineering sense, referring to the amount of stress a construction will take. In this sense an anarchist group should be able to tolerate a great deal of divergence and its very flexibility should assist it to take strains which would wreck a more rigid

structure.

One of the other cliches about tolerance is that 'to understand all is to forgive all'. One may understand why Comrade X is so obsessed with syndicalism and the class-struggle, or why Comrade Y is so 'sent' with folk-music and Wilhelm Reich, but forgiving is not in our department. As Spinoza said (or words to that effect), 'You can understand a horse being a horse, but nevertheless he still remains a horse'. So Comrade X is a dead-loss as far as sexual psychology is concerned and Comrade Y is always absent from the picket line.

Surely what must be done, and what must be done if a free society is to be free, that Comrades X and Y must go their own sweet ways—as they will do anyhow—and express their anarchism in the way that suits them best.

There is a unity in the essentials of anarchism, let us have diversity in the non-essentials. JACK ROBINSON.

HALLELUJAH!

Dear Editors, I HAVE no strong feelings on the subject of 'bums', so I suppose J.C. of Bristol (*FREEDOM*, 16.10.65) will classify me as one of those who, while not shaming him in company, will 'tolerate' bums nevertheless. To me, however, anarchism can neither be tolerance nor intolerance—both are the reverse sides of the coin, as Emerson put it. (Tolerance is liberalism, not anarchism.) You are not 'tolerant' because you 'allow' or 'see no objection to allowing' Scotsmen to live in Great Britain!—if you assume that you are tolerant because you allow or see no objection to allowing immigrants, for instance, this implies that you regard yourself as having rights which they have not; in other words, you equally accept the nation-state with the 'intolerant'. In the case of the Scotsmen, you accept their rights, as you must; in the case of the immigrant, the possession of rights implicit in the nation-state enables you to be (as you see it) easy with your power or not, as you think fit. Anarchism aims to abolish power, not go easy with it.

As I do not see I have any power over 'bums', I have no reason for toleration or intolerance. I cannot agree, however, that they make no contribution to the State. The myth that the State supports anybody is one that anarchists at least must expose. Most workers are like J.C., I admit, in resenting the layabouts that they see at the corner, while not one-tenth as indignant at those who flash past

in a Jag. My resentments are solely against the upper-class 'bums'. According to bourgeois economics, taxation enables the rich to support the poor!—but this is nonsense. The contributions levied by the State are to reduce your consumption, and if J.C. gets less in his pay packet, his production of—say—bicycles has not been miraculously turned into heroin for the beats on the NAB! And even the bourgeois economist would grant that their consumption of beer and cigarettes would yield a taxable return at least equivalent to their subsistence from the NAB; more, their popularisation of drugs may yet yield a highly profitable capitalist industry which, once the moralising is got out of the way, the State will be as happy to tax as cigarettes!

This is in no way a defence of the 'beats' (they might regard it as an attack). I understand J.C.'s meaning. Whilst as an economic liability, the case against them is overstated, they can be a liability on an anarchist movement simply because it is a minority and if they turned up at our meetings, we would be classified with them. My experience of the anarchist movement is pretty considerable but I have not met personally more than half-a-dozen beats in all. I think J.C. confuses anarchism with a wider field, anti-nuclearism. He is wrong in assuming that the grass is greener the other side of the fence: alas, not only the 'British contingent' of the so-named 'anarchist international' faces this problem in one form or another. His very use of the American word 'bum' acknowledges that the IWW, a workers' organisation

LETTERS

by definition, faced this problem—'hallo-lujah!' Even his Spanish reference reveals an illusion—the problem also existed there (see novels by Baroja, Ibañez and Sender), but the main point is, of course, that where you have mass unemployment few people willingly become layabouts. This was the British experience, too. In the thirties, most of us 'working anarchists' were unemployed (the first to go) but we rarely encountered many who preferred it that way, and did not see that we were 'living on the state without bearing our share of the burden'; we felt we had too much of a share of the burden, and fought against it. The 'beats' may not be opting out of the capitalist system, as J.C. says, but at least out of the Welfare State, or at any rate, giving its tail a twist. The socialists do not even do that.

I hope J.C. doesn't think I regard him as entirely wrong—in saying he will 'break away from the anarchist scene', he probably is right since if his experience is what he says he is on the wrong scene. Whatever group happens to be around at such-and-such a time or place is not the only conceivable one or of semi-apostolic descent, and no organisation can be infallible and libertarian at the same time: the cut-and-come-again policy is one I can personally recommend. London A.M.

Love Thy Capitalist!

Jafsie (some nut) writing in *FREEDOM* says we shouldn't hate the capitalists. I've heard everything now. London, E.C.1 A. MCCARTHY.

MAKE SURE OF YOUR ANARCHIST JOURNALS BY SUBSCRIBING

Freedom WEEKLY

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

BY POST:
1 year (40 issues) 22s. 6d. (U.S. \$3)
6 months (20 issues) 11s. 6d. (\$1.50)
3 months (10 issues) 6s. (75c.)

SPECIAL RATE FOR 2 COPIES:
1 year (40 issues) 30s. (U.S. \$4.50)
6 months (20 issues) 15s. (\$2.25)

BY AIR MAIL:
1 year (40 issues) 45s. (U.S. \$7)

FREEDOM by AIR MAIL, ANARCHY

Anarchy MONTHLY

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

BY POST:
1 year (12 issues) 26s. (U.S. \$3.50)

BY AIR MAIL: 1 year 47s. (\$7)
JOINT SUB. FREEDOM/ANARCHY:
1 year 42s. (\$6), 6 months 22s. (\$3)
3 months 11s. 6d. (\$1.50)

2 COPIES OF EACH:
1 year 63s. (\$9), 6 months 31s. 6d. (\$4.50)
BY SURFACE: 1 year 65s. (\$9.50)

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

Freedom Press

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

Transport House to the Rescue!

BRISTOL DOCKERS are still standing firm despite the efforts of the T & GWU National Docks Officer, Tim O'Leary, to get them back. He addressed a mass meeting of dockers and informed them that if they would go back to work he would start negotiations on a new agreement for handling packaged timber. Regarding the original issue which started the dispute (rate for unloading packaged timber on the Gloucester City), Tim O'Leary said the rate had already been agreed for that job, and negotiations could not be resumed. The dockers' reply to this was to walk out of the meeting.

As was stated on the back page of last week's **Freedom**, there is a vast difference in negotiating the rate for the job in an office, by people not

doing the actual job, and negotiating with people who do the actual job. Obviously the union negotiations vastly underrated the job, plus the fact that the management kidded them that their members could earn £20 a week out of the job. According to reports, available earnings were as much as £4 and £5 less than the mythical £20.

Bristol docks officials are due to report the situation to top T & GWU officials on Monday (18.10.65). The dispute has been on for 17 days now, that in itself proves that the agreement negotiated must have been a right 'stitch up'. The rank and file have and must keep the initiative, maybe union officials will consult the men on the job in future before pricing a job.

FIRST TRICK TO GEORGE BROWN

GEORGE BROWN has kidded the three railwaymen's unions to accept the British Rail package deal. Earlier this month the unions turned the offer down flat and decided to put the whole issue before the Railway Staff National Tribunal. The unions were hoping that on the basis of the Guillebrand procedure, they would get a bigger increase than offered and an earlier implementation of the 40-hour week. The Guillebrand procedure linked railway pay on the basis of 12 other industries. On the comparison railwaymen are about 10% behind other workers.

Brown's proposal is for the unions to argue their case for the better offer

before the Prices and Incomes Board. Strange as it may seem the British Rail offer is in line with the Government 3 1/2% wage freeze.

Brown has stepped in where angels have never dared to tread, intervening in wage bargaining procedure before the settlement.

For a major union to allow government intervention is suicidal, not only for them but for everyone else. When Brown tried to interfere with the print unions, their reply was 'mind your own business' and this should be the policy of every union, unless they want the Government to run the union.

Left in, Right in, Both Out

INDONESIA the land of plenty in terms of the materialistic world, gold, silver, oil, coal, rubber and quinine. Once a rice surplus area now imports 150,000 tons of rice a year thanks to power invested in leaders, no wonder the Dutch were reluctant to leave till 1945.

Indonesia is reported to have the largest Communist Party in the world not in power. It claims to have between

2,500,000 and 3,000,000 members. Ideologically they support the Chinese, practically they support the Russians because Russia supplies the arms.

Power is spelt with a capital 'P' in Indonesia and to date that Power is invested in President Sukarno. After crushing a Communist take-over bid in 1948 Sukarno has never really looked back until now.

Contact Column

- Meetings.** 13 Prince of Wales Terrace, Kensington, W.8, 7-9 p.m. Thursday, October 14: 'Sexual Freedom for the Young'. Thursday, October 21: 'Community Living in London'. Friday, October 29: 'Forming "intentional" families'.
- Harlow Demo.** For Peace and Disarmament. YCND Assemble 10.30 a.m. Epping Church. 11 a.m. March to Harlow. Re-assemble 2 p.m. Town Hall Square for Public Meeting. Date: Saturday, October 23.
- FML Spanish Lessons** commence Wednesday, October 13 at 6.30 p.m. till 8 p.m. at 159 Ledbury Road, W.11 read).
- New Poster**
- | | |
|-------|------|
| War | Want |
| Waste | Why? |
- Politics!
- 3 1/2d. each plus postage. Orders to Bill Sticker, c/o 17a Maxwell Road, London, S.W.6.
- Sex, Anybody?** The Sexual Emancipation Movement promotes personal freedom and rational attitudes to sex, opposes State and other interference. 2/6 (blank p.o.) for details. Box 15.
- Vietnam Posters.** 'Who Loses in Vietnam—Always the People'. 4d. each. 30/- per 100. Orders to Freedom Press.
- Japanese Pen-Friend.** Ex-teacher. Dismissed for political ideas would welcome English correspondent on peace and anti-bomb ideas. Masaky O. Fukuda, Isar Bara, Nakamura-Shi, Kochi-Ken, Japan.
- New Zealand Federation of Anarchists.** First Annual Congress, December 26 to January 6. Enquiries Box 5455, Auckland CI, NZ.
- If you wish to make contact let us know.**

At the tail end of September Indonesia hit the headlines 'Sukarno had come a cropper'. Lt. Colonel Utang, commander of Sukarno's bodyguard, had taken over with a 45 member revolutionary council. Sukarno was in protective custody. The suggested reason for the coup was to prevent an attempted coup by right wing Generals allegedly supported by CIA. A day or so later the news came out that the left-wing plot had been crushed and forces loyal to Sukarno had regained control. Confusion followed confusion and at the end of it all it appears that Sukarno has still come out on top but maybe only just, six violently anti-communist army leaders were killed in the attempted coup.

At the moment Sukarno keeps the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and the Indonesian army under General Nasution, from tearing at each other's throats, because along side the PKI the army is a major political force. How long Sukarno can play the 'third man in the ring' is anyone's guess, this could depend on outside influences. Anti-communist agitation is being whipped up by Moslem students chanting pro-American slogans. They seek revenge for the killing of the six army leaders.

The President is the big 'I am', he wants to be the leader of the Afro-Asian world whereas in fact he has less influence outside Indonesia than Noddy.

Indonesia is another classic example of a stamping ground for power politics. The PKI did not openly support the attempted left wing (?) coup. Sukarno is at the moment sorting out some of the PKI leadership, at the same time as Russia is sending Sukarno their best wishes.

The power seekers are having a ball but what about the ordinary people, who suffer through the whims and fancies of power seeking politicians. They, as usual, have no say, no chance, and yet we are still proud of this wonderful world we live in.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

THE YORKSHIRE SMELL

WILLIAM DENBY and Sons were praised for their strike breaking activities when they reported to their shareholders. Denby & Sons were involved in an industrial dispute for 17 months and won the day.

The Chairman, Mr. Wright, and the directors were thanked for the stand they took. One shareholder who had his country (pocket) at heart declared, 'If more industry did what Mr. Wright and his colleagues have done I think Britain could get on its feet'. Another shareholder stated he thought the time had come to make strikes illegal.

Since the dispute the company has employed non-union labour. It also claims to have a waiting list of prospective employees.

The dispute at Denby & Sons stank to high heaven as the strikers knew to their cost and the trade union movement knows to its shame.

UNEMPLOYMENT WANTED

SIR ERIC MENSFORTH, Chairman of Westland Aircraft and of Firth Brown Tools, has stated that some unemployment was needed to secure the aims of the five-year-plan.

Sir Eric wants the economic whip, to fetch the workers into line. He is quoted as saying, 'An incomes policy able to withstand bullying will have to be sincerely sought, but, at the same time we are not in Utopia and with human nature what it often is there will have to be the sanction of unemployment—I hope small but enough to make a good job something to strive for'.

At least Mensforth states whilst others think it, but nevertheless, the hole in his head must be fairly large to allow so much wind to blow through.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

PRESS FUND - A GOOD WEEK!

WEEK 41, OCTOBER 16, 1965:	
Expenses: 26 weeks at £70:	
15 weeks at £80:	£3020
Income: Sales and Subs.:	£2263
DEFICIT	£757

Los Gatos, Calif., per A.D. (Proceeds of Picnic, 26.9.65): £71; London, N.W.8: D.C. £1 1s.; Colemans Hatch, Sussex: O.M. £10; Beckenham: N.G. £1 1s.; Glasgow: J.M. 3/-; London, S.W.2: B.L. £1 7s. 4d.; Barking: S.A.B. £3; Northolt Anarchists*: 5/-; Saffron Walden: R.B. £1; Cheltenham: J.L. 2/-; Redhill: B.F.H. 1/6; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; Doncaster: J.R. 5/6; Glasgow: A.J. 1/2; Witney: R.P. 7/6; Kirkby Mallory: P.C. 5/-; Reading: P.W. 2/6; London: A.McC. 3/-; Grantham: G.I. 4/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Needham, Mass., Libertarian Group, per L.T.: £16 5s.; Redhill: G.M. 4/-; Glasgow: J.M.B. 9/-; York: I.R. 18/-; London, S.W.18: A.H. 9/-; Oxford: M.S. £2 2s.; Los Angeles: M.B. 3/6; Northolt Anarchists*: 3/-; Hornchurch: R.T. 3/-.

TOTAL	£112 1 0
Previously Acknowledged:	£706 1 3
1965 Total to Date	£818 2 3

*Denotes Regular Contributors
Gift of Books: Coleman's Hatch: D.M.

FACTORIES FOR PEACE

Dear Sir,

On Saturday, November 13, in Birmingham, we will be holding a Factories for Peace and Peace Action Centres, etc., day school, the discussions being led by Tom McAlpine and other speakers.

The purpose of the school will be to bring together as many people as possible who are interested in the formation of more of these projects throughout the country.

We feel that there must be many people in the peace movement who have their own ideas for co-operative peace projects, that are practicable, and who would wish to meet like-minded persons with whom they could discuss, and perhaps afterwards participate in, the project that most appeals to them. We also

Freedom

For Workers' Control

OCTOBER 23 1965 Vol. 26 No. 33

Turriff's—Now the Next Steps

THE TURRIFF DISPUTE had ended in triumph not only for those who were locked out, but also for all those workers who gave their support, both morally and financially. It is estimated that over £1,000 was raised for those who were locked out.

Last Thursday morning the men formed up for a victorious march back to work. Part of the agreement between the leaders of the National Federation of Building Trade Operatives and Turriff's is that all labour will either be union members or 'willing to join'. Speaking about the return to work, the Federation Steward, John Dawson, said, 'We are going back together determined that no labour-only sub-contractor will break our determination to make this the best job in London'.

The terms of the settlement mean that the Turriff management have really had to climb down and 'eat humble pie'. A couple of weeks ago they were saying that they would only take back men who signed a document stating that they would not take part in any unofficial dispute under penalty of instant dismissal.

This was one dispute which just had to be won. I think those involved and those who gave their support were quick to realise this and it made them all the more determined to win. If it had been lost, it would have been a terrible setback to trade union organisation not only on the Barbican development, but throughout the building industry. But there were other implications in this dispute apart from union organisation on the site. The basic right to strike was involved. It is very important for all employees to remember that under the Contracts of Employment Act this right is threatened. Having signed this contract, when starting with a firm, any stoppages which occur without the due period of notice become a break in employment. This means the employers can sack those who withdraw their labour. This clever bit of legislation was described in **FREEDOM**, Vol. 23, No. 40, as the 'thin end of the wedge', for this is what it is and could be driven in even further in the near future if the Labour Government has its way.

The locked-out men at Turriff's challenged the management over this and only by their determination and the support of other workers they prevented the firm getting away with it. One wonders how many other managements would try this, but are prevented by the strength of the organisation at rank and file level. The Contracts of Employment Act is designed to hamper workers in their struggle for job organisation and the benefits which go with this.

THE LABOUR-ONLY SUB-CONTRACTOR

Employers can also break trade union organisation on the job by using labour-only sub-contractors. These are being used a great deal now by the main contractors in the building industry. They are, I understand, also being introduced into exhibition work and even engineering trades. They are not parties to any

hope that as a result of these meetings a number of working groups will be set up in various parts of the country, and therefore we would like to hear from any of your readers who have suggestions for projects, in order that we may have the opportunity to discuss as many as possible. We also would like to hear from people who, though not having any specific ideas of their own, would like to participate in one of the many ventures that are possible.

Yours truly, on behalf of the Coventry Working Group,
9 Hermitage Road,
Wyken, Coventry

trade union agreements and one of them advertised: 'Unlimited labour available. Men sent anywhere. Our labour—You supervise. Seven day working at no extra cost'. From this, one can see what a boon this is to the main contractors.

Why do men work for this type of firm? Often it is for the extra money they think they are going to get, and if they do at what cost is it? They might get their cards stamped either by the sub-contractor or by the main contractor as is laid down in an agreement made some 18 months ago by the unions and the employers. They might be able to get out of paying tax under PAYE scheme and there might be extra bonus payments, but they are expected to work all hours of the day and night without any of the extra payments under TU agreements.

These sub-contractors vary in size, sometimes employing only a small gang, other times it might be in the region of 800 men. If there are a number of these firms on a job, doing the same work as the men employed by the main contractor, it becomes a nightmare for the stewards trying to organise them into the unions. Often the gangs are switched and sometimes none of the new gang belong to a union. Gangs can be brought in just to do week-end or night work and even used to break a ban on overtime operated by trade unionists.

The use of sub-contractors on jobs is increasing. Of course, many of them are firms in their own right, specialising in certain trades such as electrical work or heating, but more often they are doing the same work as the men employed by the main contractor. In fact the big concerns are becoming mere administrators who sub-let their contracts out.

A spokesman of the NFBTO has said on this problem, 'Everything we know about labour-only sub-contractors proves the need for a public enquiry by the Government'. But what have the unions done to make known the full meaning of the threat these sub-contractors are to job organisation? Isn't it about time a list of these firms was drawn up and published in the union journals? If trade organisation was stronger men would not be so easily snared into working for these sub-contractors. Information and education on this subject has not been forthcoming, so if any building worker can send us the names and information about labour-only sub-contractors, we shall be pleased to print it.

'WITCH-HUNT' OF STEWARDS

As I warned last week, the Federation is on a 'witch-hunt' of stewards. The Federation steward on the Laings Barbican job is in trouble because of the strike which arose when 64 men were sacked by the management after withdrawing their labour in sympathy with the Turriff workers. Other attempts to purge can be expected and no doubt stewards, both Federation and otherwise, will be receiving warnings from union executives. The NFBTO already has a list of members to whom it refuses to grant credentials.

How can these attacks be defeated? I think the Turriff dispute has shown a way. Through co-ordination of stewards and militants an organisation can be formed which has the support of the rank and file. The London Joint Sites Committee is proof of this. However, the support needs to be strengthened and extended so that we can build a national rank and file movement in the industry, based on our own elected stewards. This can be used not only against the employers, but also to eventually by-pass the union bureaucrats and gain the demands we want instead of those poor compromises our executives now bring away from the negotiating table. These are the next steps we have to take.

P.T.

ERIC HARRISON.