

Walk Away and Leave it!

IN 1938, LEWIS MUMFORD, one of the most far-seeing of town-planners wrote in *The Culture of Cities* of the development of the city through six stages, the third stage is the metropolis which is the normal concept of a city. *The Fourth Stage Megalopolis* is, he states, 'The beginning of the decline. The city under the influence of a capitalist mythos concentrates upon bigness and power. The owners of the instruments of production and distribution subordinate every other fact in life to the achievement of riches and the display of wealth. Physical conquest by military means; financial domination by trade and legal processes: loans, mortgages, speculative enterprises. The agriculture base extends: the lines of supply become more tenuous; the impulse to aggressive enterprise and enterprising aggression grows as the lust for power diminishes the attraction of all other attributes of life: as the moral sense becomes more callous and the will-to-culture increasingly impotent. Standardization, largely in pecuniary terms, of the cultural products themselves in art, literature, architecture and language. Mechanical reproduction takes the place of original art; bigness takes the place of form; voluminousness takes the place of significance. Triumph of mechanism in every department: passivity: manual helplessness: bureaucraticism: failure of direct action.'

Mumford's fifth stage is *Tyrranopolis* of which he writes: 'Extension of parasitism throughout the economic and social scene: the function of spending paralyses all the higher activities of culture and no act of culture can be justified that does not involve display and expense. Politics becomes competition for the exploitation of the municipal and state exchequer by this or that class or group. Extirpation of organs of communal and civic life other than "state".'

In his sixth and final stage which he describes as *Nekropolis* he says, 'War and famine and disease rack both city and countryside. The physical towns become mere shells. Those who remain in them are unable to carry on the old municipal services or maintain the old civic life: what remains of that life is at best a clumsy caricature. The names persist: the reality vanishes.'

There is a perverse psychopathic joy to which anarchists are occasionally prone in seeing the gloomiest prophecies fulfilled; but unfortunately Lewis Mumford has lived to see his stages of development alarmingly fulfilled. True this development has been uneven. In some cases we have reached stage six without stage four being fulfilled.

In recent weeks we have had dramatic illustrations of the problem confronting us of how to prevent the break-down of the great cities we have allowed to arise. In New York, a power failure on November 9 blacked out 80,000 square miles, including nearly all of New York, Boston, most parts of America's nine north-eastern states, and two provinces in South-eastern Canada. This breakdown lasted over 12 hours. In London, the traffic problem increases every day. On two or three days recently, traffic blocks have lasted for hours. *The Evening Standard* carries an article (5.11.65), *One Evening When London Nearly Died*, an account of the occasion on November 3 when London traffic nearly seized up. At the same time we have had vivid examples in motorway crashes in fog of the price we pay for extending our 'lines of supply'.

Professor Galbraith, speaking in Ireland last week on 'Economic Development: Some of the Obstacles', said, 'The test of performance is not the size of the gross national product but the way the nation lives. We must have growth, but

we must have sensible public management of its consequences.' Pure water, pure air, and space for recreation were becoming scarcer in the US, said Professor Galbraith. The American urban environment was becoming scabrous in the extreme, and whereas in the 30s people worried about their jobs, they now worried about their surroundings.

The city of today is a *Megalopolis* on the verge of becoming a *Tyrranopolis* in all respects, but within a hair's breadth of becoming a *Nekropolis*. All the technological advances of which we boast create further problems. The centralization of electric power makes the system increasingly vulnerable to overloading. In London quite recently we had a similar example of load-shedding which eventually 'tripped'. The motor car, which is meant to give us more mobility, clogs our highways or if it becomes mobile we suffer from the increasing road fatalities, even electricity is creating a smoke problem.

In the October *The Green Revolution*, the journal of the School of Living, there is a list of the ills endemic to city living. Among them are cancer, the nervous conditions arising from living in overcrowded conditions, lack of privacy, noise, lack of exercise due to urbanization, social regimentation, water pollution (and, as New York knows, shortage). One may at times feel that the green revolution is going too far and too 'folksy' but city living certainly takes its toll.

One of the primary boasts of defenders of urban market-economy centralized living or 'civilization' as they call it. Life in the city is safer, more secure. Recent events have shown that a complex urban life is more vulnerable, more insecure, than a more decentralized, production for use society. A mere fall of snow, a popular television programme, a burst tyre on a trunk road, a micro-organism in the water, frost on railway points, a wind-blown power line, may bring delay, deprivation, damage or even death to millions.

At the same time the nation states of the world have the effrontery to offer their city-huddled populations as hostages in a nuclear war.

It is told that a zoo elephant had an extreme attack of constipation. Ever-increasing doses of laxative were tried. Finally they took effect. The result was so colossal that the only solution for the zoo, and its keepers, was to 'walk away and leave it.' One is often tempted to walk away and leave the big city but there is always the problem of earning a living.

The Green Revolution quotes Dr. Francis W. Herring, of the University of California, who advocates urban decentralization, 'Decentralization of industry, with varied choice in types of housing within easy distance of the work place could give rise to sub-cities of substantial size—250,000 to 1,000,000 perhaps—which could still be psychological and corporate entities. Cities of this size could support their own junior colleges, commercial and professional services, cultural and social activities. At the same time they could be surrounded and invaded by woods and ranchlands, reserved as permanent open spaces, by vineyards, orchards, farm and truck gardens. Mountainous country, coast and bay shore lands, lakes, and stream-sides, major creeks and other landscape features could be conserved for recreational activities. A regionwide transportation system could co-ordinate all types of transportation, reserving costly rapid transit for those few areas where local conditions present great difficulties to private transportation.'

JACK ROBINSON.

With God on Every Side

I BELIEVE that Mr. Smith himself negotiated in good faith and I told him this this morning. But he allowed himself to become the prisoner of the extremists in his cabinet. Men to whom the very notions of democracy, the very idea of the rule of law, even the loyalty that they profess to Britain are an anathema.

'So whatever the cost to us we shall honour that trusteeship until we can bring the people of Rhodesia under God once again to their true allegiance; back to the rule of Law, and forward to their true destiny in the family of Nations.'

—Harold Wilson 11.11.65.

'And seeking to promote the common good so that the freedom and dignity of all men may be assured, do, by this proclamation, adopt, annex, and give to the people of Rhodesia the constitution affixed hereto. GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.'

—Ian Smith 11.11.65.

So they did it; as everyone knew they would; and they did it in spite of the fact that Wilson gave in to them on every issue. I said in my article last week that what both sides wanted was NO CHANGE. This was proved to be right by the telephone conversation between Wilson and Smith that was published in the papers on November 15. Wilson told Smith that, if the commission voted against him, things could go on as before, under the old constitution. 'Back to their true allegiance, back to the rule of Law' means that the African leaders would still have been in prison and the African people still in chains.

Mr. Smith has been flooded with letters and telegrams congratulating him from all over the world. Every little racist bank clerk has sent him his good wishes because he has made a stand against the British

Government that always gives in to the blacks. The Conservative Party now hovers in the background making apologetic noises until the time comes to reap the harvest of the white backlash vote in this country, which they surely must if there is an early election (unless Wilson, the dear father of Black Africa, hurries up with his Keep-Britain-White home policy!).

Wilson's sanctions are not meant to punish the Rhodesians he says. He is against the use of force. He is not against the use of force in British Guiana, or Malaysia, or Aden, or Vietnam, but he is in Rhodesia. They are our kith and kin, and if our kith and kin are a load of racist bastards we must not be too hard. Why? BECAUSE THEY ARE WHITE—that is the reason.

The truth of the matter is that ever since the Matabele were defeated in Rhodesia in 1893, it has been an occupied country. Nobody cared before this business happened and most people don't care now. Rhodes and his sort went into Africa to build an Empire in order to loot the country, NOT TO BRING ENLIGHTENMENT. The fact is that the African is still as badly off as when they first conquered him. James Baldwin makes a similar point with regard to equality for the negro in America:

'On the other hand it is quite impossible to argue with a (black) Muslim concerning the actual state of negroes in this country. The truth after all is the truth.

'This is the great power a Muslim speaker has over his audience. His audience has not heard this truth—the truth about their daily lives—honoured by anyone else. Almost anyone else, black or white, prefers to soften the truth, and point to a new day which is coming. But this

day has been coming for a hundred years. Viewed solely in the light of this country's moral professions, this lapse is inexcusable. Even more important, however, is the fact that there is desperately little in the record to indicate that white America ever seriously desired—or desires—to see this day arrive.'

And so it is with Africa.

The future of Rhodesia, as the future of Mankind, however, remains uncertain, as it remains with God. For God, as it seems, is on every side. Mr. Smith and his racialists 'have struck a blow for Christianity', Mr. Wilson 'under God' will lead them back to Law and Order. Housewives in Salisbury have prayed, and housewives in Britain have prayed; the Archbishop of Canterbury who, in the name of Christ (who died rather than kill) asked for the use of force to restore the rule of the very Christianity Mr. Smith has just struck his blow for, prayed; and the Governor of Rhodesia, on Sunday, went to Holy Communion.

The world may be blown up, revolution and earthquake may follow each other, the true destiny of mankind may be burning in Wilson's pipe, and all we are asked for is prayers!

But with God it is as with law and government: they come and they go. We do not ask for the prayers of the Africans, because God is white. We do not ask them to live under the rulers of law, for the rulers are white. We expect them to take their destiny in their hands, one day for certain, and with God on their side we will see Mr. Smith and Mr. Wilson come to their true destiny in the family of nations, to the destiny reserved for leaders: they will be entombed.

JAFSIE.

Getting Together

A MEETING was held on Sunday, October 24, between supporters of the West Midlands Committee of 100, Birmingham Anarchist Group and the West Indian Unity Association to discuss the possibilities and methods of joint action to combat cases of racial discrimination in the West Midlands. The meeting was very informal. Two members of the Association, Luther Thomas (Chairman), and George Williams (Treasurer), put the West Indian immigrants' position very clearly.

The meeting was intended as a pilot meeting to examine areas of common interest, rather than plan specific activities. The Association must discuss our proposals in more detail before any plans can be made, as they have now,

particularly around Smethwick, a growing distrust of political parties, and other 'helpful' groups. However, the meeting was very cordial, and it is likely that some form of action can follow.

Any further information on the above, planned for, activities or offers of help to either:—

Paul James, Secretary, West Midlands Committee of 100, 50 Windermere Road, Handsworth, Birmingham 21. Luther Thomas, Chairman, West Indian Unity Association, 71 Vicarage Road, Smethwick, Staffs.

Peter Neville, Correspondence Secretary, Birmingham Anarchist Group, 12 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham 23.

PETER NEVILLE.

SWF CONFERENCE

THE VENUE of the SWF Conference this year was changed at the last minute, through no fault of the organisers, from 2 Soho Square, to the plush surroundings of the Shaftesbury Hotel, Monmouth Street. This may have been one reason for the considerable drop in attendance compared with the last two conferences. With a little under 50 members present, Ron Marsden was elected chairman for the morning session.

Fraternal greetings were read out from the Anarchist Federation of Japan, the SAC in Sweden, and Bugarian comrades in exile in France. The Secretary's report was encouraging and stated that interest in propaganda and the activities of the SWF had increased over the past year, as well as enquiries and sales, that of the paper *Direct Action* being around 1,500.

GROUP REPORTS

Local reports from groups varied from Tyneside, where there was no real syndicalist activity, to London, with its

regular meetings, sale of literature, and organisation of demonstrations. In Manchester, where there are separate groupings of Syndicalists and Anarchists, a joint effort by some of the comrades is bringing out the paper called *Industrial Youth*, which was criticised by some because it called for a 'union' of industrial youth and this it was felt would split the workers up still more. The SWF member from Manchester thought that the Anarchist image had a bad effect as far as Syndicalist organisation was concerned, with which the Tyneside delegate was in agreement.

A new grouping called the Wandsworth Libertarian Youth has emerged in London. They work mainly in the 'Peace Movement' and have managed to bring out their own broadsheet, *Resurgence*. In Oxford, a few SWF members were working with the two Anarchist

CND Please Copy

THE LEAGUE against Cruel Sports has sent a letter of complaint (12.11.65) to the Minister for Defence (Lord Shackleton) concerning a 'top secret' RAF station at Boulmer, Northumberland, whose commander recently permitted the Percy Hunt officials to chase a fox through the security station.

In his letter of complaint, the chairman of the League, Mr. Raymond F. Rawley, asks why the Master of the Hunt (Duke of Northumberland) was granted special privileges above those accorded to the general public.

'We have also asked how much time was spent and how many RAF personnel were engaged in escorting hunt officials on the airfield and also whether the cost of this is to be charged to the hunt or whether it is Government policy to use public money and services for the benefit of blood sports,' said Mr. Rawley.

R.

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Dear Comrades,

The columns of FREEDOM have recently reflected the widespread worry on the Left (and elsewhere, be it said, in fairness to the Liberal Party and even Mr. Norman St. John Stevas) about the state of race relations in this country. As a recent correspondent pointed out, the news has not been all bad: local inter-racial councils have had less publicity, but have done more work, than the vociferous racials. We have had the KKK, but we have also had CARD. Even so, one can only permit oneself the luxury of optimism about the future if one is prepared to put in some spade-work in the present; this spade-work is, I suggest, a task that anarchists, *ex philosophia*, should be well suited to. We can demonstrate outside embassies from Belgravia to Grosvenor Square, we can march from Porton to Holy Loch via Trafalgar Square, but, let us face it, we know that in actual terms of reducing the sentences of political prisoners or removing missile sites, our results are nil. In the field of race relations, by contrast, action can only bring direct results. The American Civil Rights movement has amply demonstrated this; 'sit-ins' have done more for integration than Supreme Court decisions.

At the moment, racialism in this country is covert and defensive, apart from the hard core Nazis. More people as yet say 'I've got nothing against them personally, it's the neighbours' than 'I hate them'. This gives us a slight advantage that must be followed up with vigour. All manifestations of colour prejudice must be opposed in such a way that their perpetrators are convinced that they are putting themselves 'beyond the pale'. The most significant fact we have to work with here is that in 1962, when the Government was putting forward its proposals on the limitation of immigration with great popular support, as a result of the tremendous fight the Labour Party put up, that popular support actually diminished (opinion poll findings, cited in Paul Foot's indispensable book *Immigration and Race in British Politics*, Penguin, 4/6d.). So, what the Labour Party are now forgetting, anti-racialist appeals, if vigorous enough, can affect public opinion just as racialist appeals can. The waverers can be stif-

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First and third Tuesday of each month at A. W. Uloth's, 24 Curtain Road, E.C.2, 8 p.m. (entrance through cafe).

What About Immigration?

fened. A shopkeeper may think that he will lose customers if he employs 'coloured' (an odious word that) assistants: if it occurs to him that he will lose more customers by having a colour bar, things will change. It is up to us to help provide that new idea.

Politicians can also be got at. Close readers of your columns will know that I have spasms of advocacy of voting for the Labour Party. I said this last year because I had certain hopes from a Labour administration that I knew could not come about under a Tory one; and I have since recorded my repentance. Now, unabashed, I suggest the following. We know that politicians love votes: why not use votes as blackmail? Since we have no attachment to any particular party, we can concentrate on one issue and offer to vote for a candidate who agrees. Thus, if three candidates call on me, I shall ask them their views on immigration. If they all are anti-immigrant I shall not vote and tell them so, and why. If one is pro-immigrant, I shall vote for him, and tell him so, whatever party he represents. If enough people did this, they would have to weigh up which group they would rather not offend—the racials or the anti-racialists. I think this is good political strategy: it is also, I hope, cynical enough to attract non-voting anarchists who find that in the present context, non-

voting is as unsatisfactory as voting. I know lots of comrades will anathematise this new heresy: but I seriously put this forward as an effective method of registering anti-racialist opinion in a sensitive area where latterly only racials have been heard. And anarchists are more free to do this simply because, when it comes to the point, they are not likely to let other party considerations weigh with them: that is, anarchists are prepared not merely to rock party boats but to bore little holes in the bottom.

But we must also use propaganda. As I have suggested elsewhere at greater length (the *Spectator*, 1.10.65), it is important to rid the air of such terms as 'coloureds', 'aliens', and the like—all labels which classify and set apart one man from another. Like Einstein on a famous occasion, we must assert that race means the human race, and refuse to recognise sub-divisions. We must express our contempt for the television satirists who daringly say 'nig-nogs' with self-conscious giggles. Of course we must have the facts and figures to refute the racials and the apologists for restrictions who, being more numerous, are in a real sense more dangerous than the racials. I don't believe for a moment that Hitler could have pulled off the 'Final Solution' in 1933-9; but he was able to create such an anti-Jewish climate of opinion that the 'Final Solution' be-

LETTER

came acceptable to those concerned in it. Obviously I don't believe that a 'Final Solution' is possible here—as long as it does not become accepted that the new settlers (Ruth Glass's phrase) are inferior, either in their legal rights or their social standing, than the rest of us.

ANARCHY might consider a symposium on immigration—or a 'read-in' to use the current word; FREEDOM might devote some space to news of the inter-racial groups, which are, I think, fairly good examples, if unwitting ones, of anarchist principles in practice. I hope readers will join CARD—it may have its defects, but it's the best we've got; A. J. P. Taylor has said 'CARD should be by now a bigger movement than CND at its biggest. It isn't. We have all turned cowards.' Anarchists might set up inter-racial groups in areas where they don't exist: no doubt existing ones (Wolverhampton, Islington, Cardiff, Leicester, etc.) will advise.

Race relations have deteriorated in this country. This is sad, shocking and dangerous in its implications. I hope we will raise our voices and shout till hoarse—god knows we need much lung power to shout down the opposition. But I think it can be done—still; and I think we must do it.

Yours fraternally,
London, N.W.8 DAVID ROSE.
P.S. Membership of CARD (Campaign Against Racial Discrimination): 5/- p.a. from 23 St. Georges House, Toynbee Hall, Commercial Street, London, E.1.

*Eds. An issue on racialism is planned for the near future.

'WHAT IS AGAINST US BUT THE DIRTY? ...'

HE STOOD at the rostrum, HIS cigar puffing small cosy clouds into the sunny air. HIS fat cosy face was swollen with anger, even his enormous arse bubbled with fury. HIS forehead shone with aspiration, and I feared the stroke might befall HIM here and now, amidst HIS enemies. For they were responsible: they had come, out of the cosy suburban homes HE had given them, wearing the smart clothes HE had presented them with, to shout HIM down, to stir up trouble and protest, carrying banners HE had made possible for them to buy; the mob, the ungrateful, the outcasts, students and other lumpenproletariat, the very enemy of the people, too, that so rightly would elect HIM once more to take their fate into his whitewashed hands.

The old woman shrieked in despair: 'HE fed us!' Her husband joined her: 'HE housed us!' She: 'HE saved us!' He: 'HE loves us!' And true it is: for the first time the Germans have a leader who not only gives them bread and bombs, motorways and war, but also love, paternal yet affectionate, real cosy love. And HE stood up and did not fall, and when their common enemies could not scream any more for lack of vitality, HE raised HIS coarse voice and declared once and for all: 'I have saved this country once from Marxism, and I shall do so again!', and the old-age pensioner whose rent had just doubled and his lady, who cannot afford to have enough coal in winter, winced and wept, for they felt: This man, who loves the music they love, who does not under-

stand what they don't understand but who looks so genial and gentlemanly, he would save them from the bespectacled girls and long-haired students who look so sinister and strange and dare to shout HIM down, HE who is a professor and knows best.

I stood amidst them, enjoying my fellow countrymen at election time, and had just flipped a cigarette butt on the hat of a policeman, who might have recalled his bygone days of golden GESTAPO-time (a moment later he would arrest a friend of mine for shouting 'This fat-arse, he makes me hungry!'), when a gentleman approached me somewhat stern and said: 'You better have a haircut before shouting against the Chancellor!' I asked him, would he kindly explain the relevances of (a) haircut to (b) the right of free speech, and he answered with a remarkable talent to illuminate the situation of German politics: 'It is always the dirty that is against us!' And is it not true? For, come to Germany, westside, today, and what will you find? No gas-ovens, no Jews either, but friendly Americans ('Our safe-guards'), no concentration camps and no communists either, and no, no dirt, but cleaned streets and cosy rosy citizens driving home in the friendly night in clean cars to their fresh-bathed women and newly produced children ('THIS PRODUCT IS NATURAL AND DIRT HAS SUCCESSFULLY BEEN ELIMINATED IN THE PROCESS OF MAKING IT'). I admit, there are still some back yards to be cleaned, and Frankfurt's Central Station

looks rather dirty after midnight; but then, God didn't make the world in one day, did he? There is also this lot of Italians and other rather black people, which we kindly employ, feed and clothe because of shortage of production-feeding, but look at them when they arrive with battered trunks stuck up with hashish and ill children, and look at them when they leave after a couple of years, new suitcases in their clean hands, suitcases neatly equipped with transistor radios and bank-notes! I admit, there are also some beatniks, like tiny black spots in a whitewashed landscape, but then, they are anyway cleaner than their English counterparts (and Bristol Anarchists would not need to be ashamed to accept them), and anyway they will be picked off in a short time and either given a bath or sent away to some filthy place where they fit in, like Paris or Mexico. Indeed, however you look upon it, the Germans, as far as fate has saved them from becoming a slave, an unhappy brother or sister east of Eden, have found their Paradise on Earth, and who would stand up against the man who is the very incarnation of all that Germany represents today: Food, Fat and Stupidity? (I refer of course to HIM, newly re-elected Chancellor Ludwig Erhard.) There is, after 16 years of Conservative Government, virtually no opposition. The socialists have abandoned point after point, all they once stood for, ending now with a programme that dares not mention the mere word 'socialism' and puts the emphasis of its policy on 'war on cancer',

Continued on page 3

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP ONE. Correspondence to Robert Lynn, 2b Saracen Head Lane, Glasgow, C.1. Meetings at Horseshoe Bar, Drury Street, Tuesdays at 8 p.m.

MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact: Mike Mitchell, 3 Bakewell Road, Droylsden. Meetings alternate Tuesdays, 8 p.m. at the Lord Nelson, Chapel Street, Manchester and socially: week-ends at the Rising Sun, Albert Square, Manchester.

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

NORTH-WEST ESSEX. Meetings on the first Saturday of each month at 7.30 p.m. at Robert Bartrop's, The Old Vicarage, Radwinter, near Saffron Waldron.

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). 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 Wednesdays.

PROPOSED GROUPS

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

MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY GROUP. Anyone interested please contact Bill Jamieson, c/o Students' Union, Oxford Road, Manchester.

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

LEWISHAM, LONDON, S.E. Have baby. Can't travel. Seek sympathisers/comrades in area. Mike and Alison Malet, 61 Granville Park, S.E.13.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP TWO. Anyone interested contact Joe Embleton, 11 Baliol Street, Glasgow.

READING AND DISTRICT. Anybody interested in a revival of group, contact Roy St. Pierre and Max Playfer, 24 Morgan Road, Reading or Mike Bloom, St. Patrick's Hall (H.18), Northcourt Avenue, Reading.

ABROAD

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

CONSTITUTIONS AND POWER POLITICS

THE PRESENT DISCUSSIONS about Rhodesia are generally described by the press as a 'constitutional crisis'. While the differences between the ruling class of Rhodesia, represented by Mr. Smith and his government, and the ruling class of England whose interests are championed by the 'socialist' Mr. Wilson, are ostensibly summed up in terms of alternative constitutional set-ups, we would submit the following two points: first that constitutions are irrelevant, and secondly that neither of the two participating parties cares about them anyway.

Only last week, a state of emergency was declared in Rhodesia, openly suppressing the constitutional freedoms of publication and speech which are usual in democracies in peacetime. It has been accepted by the British press that the reasons given for the imposition of the state of emergency are quite invalid, and what has happened is just another move in the political manoeuvring between Salisbury and London. In other words, whenever it suits the convenience of the people in power, a constitution which guarantees freedom of speech, etc. (if only in this case for a minority!) can be suspended, and the lot of the oppressed group made even harder. What, then, is the point of constitutional guarantees?

The Soviet Union guarantees personal freedom to all its subjects, provided of course that they don't act against their nation's interests. The United States Constitution and its amendments provide complete safeguards for individual free-

dom, but when McCarthy was at his height, people were prosecuted and deprived of their jobs for relying on the Constitution, hence the term '5th Amendment communist'. In a similar category come the 'statutory communists' of South Africa, who are subjected to vicious persecution for being liberals, under the provision of laws for the suppression of communism.

It is clear that the fate of a people and the freedom of individuals does not depend in the slightest degree on the constitution that is in force, but on the relative power of the ruling class and the people, and the clashes of interest within each group.

The negotiations between Smith and Wilson, and the accompanying declarations of the Tory Party in Britain, the nationalist movements and governments in Africa, the various power blocs in the United Nations, are all part of a kind of poker game in which everyone tries to frighten the other side, without revealing too much about their own strength.

It is not the constitution of a state that determines how the people live but its power structure. The white Rhodesians have the economic and military power at the moment and want to hold on to it in the fanatical and shortsighted way. The leaders of the other African states see this as a menace to their own domination of the continent, while the British government is looking for the solution which will lead to the perpetuation of as much of its influence and trading power as possible. The people of Rhodesia have little influence in the matter, and no one is working in their interests. The only way to freedom for them lies not through adherence to British Labour politics or the power hungry militants of the nationalist parties, but in the evolution of communal forms of organisation which can enable them to develop the aspects of material civilisation that they want, without succumbing to the dictatorship of government and politics.

H.P.

'Who is Against Us?'

Continued from page 2
education and security (whereas the Government puts it on security, 'war on cancer' and education). However far they moved to the Right, they just couldn't win. But you cannot argue with *realpolitik* against fat bellies, high wages, no unemployment (there are 500,000 jobs they cannot find people for), against everything the common man has so long been advised to see his highest fortune in. The Union of Egoists, this very German dream of a man that wasted his brilliant talent on a philosophy so terribly easy to adopt in another century when its moral context would not be seen, has been, if somewhat upside down, achieved. When unemployment was nearly as high as in the golden twenties, the towns destroyed and the people that, like no other people in the world, have so profound a horror of disturbances, unrest and dirt, were forced to see itself as a menace to mankind whereas all they had wanted was peace, work and beer, this fat man Erhard who now is Chancellor, had made a pact with the common man: he promised him his job, his security, his beer, garden and stamp-collection, if only he went on working for the boss and going to church and voting for the Government. It went all right. The Korean War brought re-armament; re-armament brought work; work brought money; money brought (and bought) votes. The social democrats have given up social democracy; the communists have given up altogether everything; the anarchists are either dead or voiceless; the beatniks are going to emigrate to Tangiers. The girls and shop windows are brilliantly decorated, the cars are new, the Nazis are tolerated and laughed at, the Auschwitz trial has ended, the students are Marxists at twenty and Executive Managers at thirty, and there you have it, a happy people in a clean land. AND WHO IS AGAINST IT BUT THE DIRTY?

Germany JÖRG CHRISTIAN FAUSER.
1965

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-West London Observer

MR. WILSON failed to promise to nationalise steel but Mr. Smith seemed likely to nationalise Rhodesia. It was unknown whether Mr. Smith's treason would prosper but in the *Irish Independent*, an election candidate in Newry drew parallels with the partition of Ireland and the prospering 'treason' of Carson saying: 'Carson voiced his loyalty to the Throne as loudly as Mr. Smith did while at the same time he justified his opposition to an act of Parliament bearing the King's signature saying that he knew he was acting illegally but there were illegalities that were not crimes'. 'If it was justifiable for Carson to have erected a Parliament by threats of violence in the Six Counties in opposition to the will of the majority of Irish people there was not much sense in British statesmen now deploring the conduct of his faithful followers in Rhodesia. Ireland was no less sacred than Rhodesia was.'

NORTHERN IRELAND Minister of Commerce said in Dublin that he knew nothing about any threats to himself or any other Cabinet minister. It was claimed that guards were being provided during the Northern Ireland general election because of threats from illegal organisations. The minister's plane was diverted to Dublin because of a strike at Belfast.

PRINCESS MARGARET visiting Los Angeles (part of a once loyal colony) did not hear an 'unprintable epithet' which was said to have been loudly uttered on a film set after the playing of the National Anthem. A coloured waiter was questioned and

ordered from the studio after explaining that he had made the offensive remark because he had dropped a tray. A four-letter word was used by Kenneth Tynan on BBC television. A Chesham deputy-headmaster, after ordering the school teachers to wait in the hall told the school at morning assembly 'I never want to see or hear the following words in this school again', then he reeled off six four-letter swear-words (according to the *Daily Mirror*). There only appear to be five four-letter 'swear' words and this is only done by an appreciable lowering of sights. Perhaps *Mirror* readers do not go beyond four-letter words?

THE BBC SEEM to have gone beyond the pale in shocking viewers with *Up the Junction*. The author Ewen Dunn replies in the *Daily Worker*, 'The two "bad" characters in the play, the tally man and the abortionist, are obvious evils in society, and if people are so against them why not do something about getting rid of them?' Edward Bond, author of an equally controversial play *Saved* at the Royal Court says in the *Guardian*, 'I chose to show violence in an inarticulate, working-class group because this brings out clearly our general social position vis a vis violence. Socially we are as confused about our own larger use of violence as my characters are about theirs—just as much under the threat of violence, just as much stifled by it in our cultural and moral life, and perhaps ultimately just as unable to cope with it.'

THE FORTY-EIGHTH anniversary of the Russian Revolution was celebrated in

Red Square, Moscow, with a military parade which included a 115 foot rocket which could orbit a nuclear warhead in space and put it down on any target at the press of a button on the ground; highly mobile carriers for inter-continental missiles, shorter-ranged missiles, polaris-type rockets and an improved tank. The *Guardian* printed a photograph of 'captured Vietcong' are tied together by a cloth band from their necks and also have hands tied behind their backs. One of them carries a bundle hanging from his neck. Marching them away are US soldiers. America decided that no more 17-year-olds will be sent to Vietnam. In Durban, South Africa, a white former prisoner alleged that a prison warden beat non-white prisoners for up to 20 minutes when they were recaptured after escaping. An international commission in Paris said that poisonous insecticides had been discovered in the stomachs of penguins on the Antarctic ice cap and in tuna swimming 200 miles out to sea.

A METAL MOULDER of Oldham, Lancs., was fined £5 and banned for five years from keeping a dog on a charge of causing a dog unnecessary suffering by killing it in an improper manner. He told the court that the dog had gone deaf and apparently had spasms of pain when asleep. He said 'My wife took it to the RSPCA to have it put to sleep, but could not go through with it. So I put on my best shirt out of respect for the dog and took him to the RSPCA, but it was closed.' He said he remembered someone in the Navy saying that hanging was the most humane way to kill a dog. So he hanged it. JON QUIXOTE.

The Golden Convolvulus

'THE MILLS of the Law grind small' it is said, 'But they grind exceedingly slow.' Dickens' institution, the circumlocution office, is an apt illustration of the law's delays, which incidentally was not unknown to Shakespeare. How many defendants have been broken on the wheel of the law even before their case

has come to judgement? How many have had to suspend business activities? How many have been subject to whispering campaigns and the petty persecutions of the untried?

Dave Cunliffe has not yet come to trial for publishing *The Golden Convolvulus* but already there have been trials. Tina has had to change her job. The police made another visit about an electors' register form which had an anarchist sticker on it. The magic word *subjudice* has halted some discussion on the case in the national press, but slowly the weeklies have mentioned it—way after *FREEDOM*, *Peace News* and *Tribune*. Even the Institute of Contemporary Arts Bulletin has reprinted a report of the case but 'big names' have been slow in coming forward to volunteer as witnesses to the literary merit of the Cunliffe publications.

A typical snide attack on the anthology (unseen) was made by Anthony Lejeune on the BBC in the review of a review in *Peace News*. Mr. Lejeune said that Catullus, Shakespeare and Wordsworth avoided anatomical detail and four-letter words. (His exact wording was not available from the BBC.) I don't know about Catullus, but Shakespeare could be and was often bawdy. (For example in *Twelfth Night*, 'This must be my mistress's letter, these are her Cs, her Us, her Ns, and her Ts', and in *Hamlet* 'Get thee to a nunnery' (i.e. a brothel), and a reference when Hamlet has his head in Ophelia's lap he makes a reference to 'country pleasures'.) The young Wordsworth of the Lake Poets was accounted fully as revolutionary to the Lejeunes of his day as Dave Cunliffe's school is now.

Subjudice or not, Dave Cunliffe still needs help. His address is 11 Clematis Street, Blackburn, Lancashire.

LETTER

Film Wanted

Dear Comrade,

On the weekend of October 16-17, we helped to make a film of the demonstrations against the war in Vietnam, at the request of our friends in California. The results, although not good, were sufficiently interesting to encourage us to try again, and this time to involve others with better knowledge and equipment than ourselves. We hope that with some preparation which was impossible before, a team will be able to make a worthwhile record of the November 27 demonstration.

We would like to appeal, therefore, for anyone with a 16mm. camera and the ability to use it, to contact us, with a view to a meeting before the demonstration when we can discuss the best way of tackling the problem. We are also urgently in need of at least one set

of filming lights, either on loan or hire, or even—if very cheap—to buy. Also, needless to say, we badly need money. The ten minutes of film shot last time cost something over £10, including laboratory charges, with much of the film-stock being donated. Any contributions towards the cost of this and future ventures would be gratefully acknowledged, and all donors will be kept in touch with the activities of the group.

We are working in close liaison with Concord Films Council and members of the old Nuclear Disarmament Newsreel Committee, and are benefiting from their experience and advice. We hope that if any worthwhile film material should come from the work of the group, Concord will distribute it widely in the peace movement and beyond.

Regards to all,
London, N.4 HAZEL & BRIAN MCGEE.

MEETING

'Freedom has Practical Applications'

'LET US PAY more attention to issues at home,' said Philip Sansom at the Lamb and Flag last Sunday (14.11.65). He acknowledged that there was always a crisis abroad. FREEDOM had thought of setting up a permanent heading: 'Phoney crisis in . . .'. At the moment the phoney crisis was in Rhodesia, the writer in last week's FREEDOM was right when he said: 'to change the master is not to be free'.

Nevertheless he welcomed anarchist participation in marches against the Vietnam war. It is good to have, in a town of many millions, 500 to protest against such war. Such protests must continue irrespective of numbers.

But we must also concentrate on issues at home, because anarchist ideas are of the utmost benefit to society. He would mention three—there are dozens of others. The opportunity to show the validity of our ideas has been put on our plate in the past—he was referring to the 'Chal-

loner case', 'The Three Tuns affair', 'The Golden Convolvulus' and now the 'King Hill campaign'—in the future we must go out to advocate the practical applications of our philosophy.

'Freedom' is an anarchist concept and all its derivatives have practical applications. *Freedom of access* would mean a free transport system and may solve London's traffic problem for example. *Freedom of choice* would affect all aspects of life including, say, free abortion clinics.

Lastly he referred to racialism. 'The trade union movement is now 10,000,000 strong', said Sansom. There was silence when he asked how much money was spent by them to combat racialism. Not a penny. 'The politicians have managed to divide people against each other. Yet we are all brothers under the skin.' This was an old anarchist slogan and ought to be heard on anarchist platforms all over the country.

R.

The Right to Strike

SINCE THE END of the Second World War, there has been a marked increase in the growth of monopoly capitalism. More and more companies have merged or amalgamated leading to a powerful concentration of centralised wealth. This is an inevitable process of capitalism, leading to vast empires employing thousands of men and women. Now it is not so much individual companies in a country competing against one another, but monopolies competing on an international scale for the share-out of the world's markets.

The difficulties of monopoly capitalism in Britain have arisen because its share of the world market is now on the decline and the failure to get into the Common Market has been a further setback due to the fact that it now faces tariffs instead of a wide open market.

The whole process of monopoly capitalism is welcomed in the Labour Government's 'National Plan'. 'British industry faces the problem of the small size of many of its production units compared with those in the United States and some other countries. . . . The scale of the operation is very important to competitive survival and this seems likely to involve a considerable reorganisation of the size of units of which British industry is comprised. While the Government are intent on getting rid of restrictive practices and preventing abuse of monopoly power they would not intend to use their powers to hinder mergers which they are satisfied would promote greater efficiency.'

One of the points put up in favour of mergers is that they make an organisation more efficient and this is really what the Labour Government is after, a more efficient capitalist system. As the Government points out in its National Plan, it is ready to assist in this, but that there are other ways in which it is ready to help. Mr. Wilson and his Cabinet have waged continuous attacks on the Trade unions, shop stewards and unofficial strikes. These attacks must, I think, be related to the present position of British capitalism. Obviously if

Contact Column

Accommodation (London). Man wants temporary accommodation. Working near St. Paul's. Box 16.

Accommodation. Anarchist couple with little daughter are seeking accommodation anywhere in London/South England also in return for housework, gardening, etc. Fauser, 242 Amesbury Avenue, Streatham, S.W.2.

Study Group. Blue Star Movement. Effective speaking, self-expression, creative communication. All welcome. Silver donation. 7.0-9.30 p.m. Mondays, November 1, 15, 22, 29 at 13 Prince of Wales Terrace, W.2.

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New Poster

War Waste Want Why? Politics!

34d. each plus postage. Orders to Bill Sticker, c/o 17a Maxwell Road, London, S.W.6.

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.

fair nonsense of its discussion of legal sanctions. Yet legal sanctions are used in other countries without raising the Ministry's nightmare of jails filled with turbulent workers. The reason is simple enough: the penalties are not imprisonment, but moderate fines stopped out of future earnings.'

THE ILFORD AGREEMENT

But before all this had been put before the Royal Commission, the National Union of General and Municipal Workers and Ilford's, the photographic suppliers, had signed an agreement which takes away the workers' right to strike. The NUGMW are to get workers to sign statements 'unreservedly agreeing' to keep union rules and union-management agreements. In return for this, Ilford plants are to become 100% trade union. Both the union and the management agreed that the aim of the agreement 'was to avoid both unofficial strikes and threats of unofficial strikes'.

If the union doesn't discipline any members who take unofficial action, then the 100% organisation agreement ends, and if the union do expel any members for such action, then the management will not prevent 'unreasonably' its agreement to expulsion and so the worker is sacked. No doubt this is the sort of agreement the Government, employers and union leaders would like throughout industry, though they know they will not get it. It is to be hoped that Ilford workers will not fall for it. The unions in the car industry recently turned down a similar plan, not because they were against it in principle, but because they knew their workers wouldn't wear it.

This is what it boils down to: if they can get away with it, they will try it. As it is, unofficial strikes pay off. It is the way workers defend their interests at the point of production. It is the way of pushing up wages, but most unofficial strikes are concerned with other issues. They are about sackings, speed-ups and all manner of questions where the management tries to dictate its terms. If workers are not to be sewn up by union leaders and managements, then the right to withdraw one's labour must be kept. P.T.

LETTER

AUTOMATION—FRIEND OR FOE?

THE newspaper strike in New York has now ended but the issue was a basic one which faces labour in many American industries—Automation. The *New York Times* wants to install automated typesetters while the Newspaper Guild sees danger in this as machines take over the work performed by men with the result of not only a man being thrown out of work, but the undermining of the union itself since, if labour saving devices are installed, the union, through diminished membership, will be eroded. The union is fighting for its very survival, or is it?

In the process of seeking its self-interest it may destroy itself and all of the jobs. The number of newspapers in New York has been dwindling over the years. Twenty years ago there were ten newspapers in New York. Now there are six, and there is a danger that three will meet their demise in 24 months.

The unions in seeking their self-interest and the incapability of the leadership to see beyond its nose will be the termination of everything. I realize this sounds like anti-union propaganda and once there was no one who was more pro-union than myself. I idolized John L. Lewis who led the mine-workers from the depths of deprivation. But he was the man that realized there were limitations that the union had to face and that was the welfare of the industry of itself and he knew the industry better than the owners. When oil was resorted to as the principal source of home heating it brought the realization to him that the cost of hard coal was being marketed out and, even if oil was available at a slight premium, people would buy it because there were no ashes to lug up from the cellar. So he stopped any further wage demands that would put the coal mines out of business.

But the Newspaper Guild does not seem to realize this. Automation is a cost-savings device. A *New York* daily costs 10c. now and any increase in price would mean a drop in circulation and that would be the beginning of the end.

New York might become a single newspaper city.

A Guild member now earns \$178 per week. A nice salary, and they can't be blamed for wanting to keep it. But the price may be too high already and the end for two-thirds of the papers may not be far off anyway. The strike was against the *New York Times* which wants to install the automation machinery. But through mutual agreement when one newspaper is closed by a labour dispute then they are all closed, so there were no *New York* papers. The *New Jersey* papers were not affected but the reading matter was too parochial and lacks the zest of the *New York* dailies.

I had hoped that it would be a short strike but the issues are basic and beyond money.

It is job survival.

LEON D. KASPARIAN.

New York Reporter.

T&GWU PLAN BACKFIRES

The leaflet called 'Libellous Liars and Desperate Deceivers', issued by Mr. L. Smith, London District Secretary for the bus section of the Transport & General Workers' Union, did not have the effect that the union bureaucrats expected. Meetings called by the union, at which it was their intention to attack *Platform*, fizzled out. Mr. Smith climbed down and after all he has written in his leaflet, said that *Platform* was an integral part of the London bus set-up.

At three meetings called to discuss the leaflet and *Platform*, there was not the least support for Mr. Smith's leaflet or its sponsors. So the TGWU plans to smear *Platform* and its editor back-fired on them.

P.T.

Freedom

For Workers' Control

NOVEMBER 20 1965 Vol. 26 No. 36

Sunday Citizen Critically III

ONCE AGAIN PRINTWORKERS have been called to the board-room of the *Sunday Citizen* in an attempt to get it out of the red. After discussions the unions gave assurances that everything would be done to place the paper on a sound economical basis.

Once again it was agreed there should be a vigorous appeal to the Labour, Co-op and Trade Union movements to support the paper. We have heard all this tripe before and again it's the workers that will have to carry the can in terms of reductions, etc. The real reason why the *Citizen* is in this situation is because it prints diluted, unadulterated trash.

Many chapels buy the *Citizen* out of Chapel Funds and find that they can't even give the bloody rag away. The contents of the paper are dull and uninteresting and the way they are presented is even worse. Of course, this is the responsibility of the brains department who, by their showing over the past couple of years or so, should not be responsible for a one-sided duplicated broadsheet. The best bet for the *Citizen* is the printworkers to produce the paper themselves, I am convinced they couldn't make a worse job of it. The only thing the management of the *Citizen* know anything about is cutting back on staff; as for accepting suggestions for better paper content, they just don't want to know, or are perhaps too big-headed to accept advice from Joe Soap printers.

EXTEL WORKERS STILL STRUGGLE

AT A MASS meeting of all Fleet Street Chapels on Thursday, November 11, printworkers pledged their support for the campaign for the survival of Exchange Telegraph, Home and Parliamentary News Services 'including if necessary a withdrawal of labour'. The main theme of the meeting was the question of leaving only one news service and many workers felt this was the thin edge of the wedge. One speaker mentioned the fact that the question of hire and fire had been left too long in the hands of the print bosses. The accountants have taken over in Fleet Street, and the word 'cash' means more to them than news.

If printworkers are to win this struggle, it will have to be through the efforts of the rank and file, the slogan should be 'If it's us today—it's you tomorrow'.

AIRPORT MEN TWIST THE ARM OF T & G

AIRPORT MEN FORCE the Ministry of Aviation to concede to 2,000 ground staff employees parity of earnings with the nationalised civil air corporation.

The battle first started last April and has been fought consistently up until the present award which is back dated to March 1. This is another example of rank and file pressure forcing the employer, in this case the Government, to concede. Obviously, purely on a point of principle, the Ministry hadn't got a leg to stand on. But nevertheless, only by kicking them in the teeth did they finally come to their sense.

SEAMEN OFFERED CRUMBS

CLAIMS FOR MORE pay and shorter hours for 70,000 British merchant seamen has been rejected by the shipping employers. They have instead offered fringe benefits which the National Union of Seamen have pounced upon like a pack of hungry wolves. Because of the March settlement, the TUC asked the NUS to bear in mind what reduction in hours, better fringe benefits, as well as pay, must be related to the Government's norm of 3-3½% a year.

The feeling of rank and file seamen to this flat rejection of their claim is one

of anger and disgust. It will not be long before a militant rank and file movement emerges for Merchant Seamen. Now is the opportune time for dockers and seamen to act together. The dockers are being hit over the head by the Devlin Report and the seamen have two leeches sucking their life blood, the NUS and the shipping employers.

Dockers and seamen have everything to gain by acting in industrial unity; if they are beaten, the dockers in particular, then it's curtains for everyone. Every industry will eventually have its own Devlin, this is a fact that must be recognised by all workers.

PROVINCIAL BUSMEN HAVE A DEVLIN

PROVINCIAL AGREEMENT has been reached on a joint union-management scheme to 'fine' unofficial strikers in the Municipal Bus Industry. Last month the union side, led by the T & GWU, turned down a bonus offer because the penalty clause would automatically have reduced an unofficial striker's seniority rights for bonus purposes.

A wonderful compromise has now been reached; the cash offer remains the same but the bus employers have allowed the unions some voice in the administration of penalties. In mitigating circumstances, an independent chairman will examine the facts.

This idea is all part of the plan to smash industrial militancy. This plan must be fought at every stage otherwise we will all wind up, not only wage slaves, but slaves in the strictest sense of the word by the kind permission and co-operation of the trade union leadership.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

SWF Conference

Continued from page 1

groups, one at Witney and a larger one at the University.

There was a great deal of discussion concerning Clause 5 in the Aims and Principles of the SWF. This concerns SWF members joining 'their appropriate trade union and where possible, becoming shop stewards and working through the Trade Councils'. Those who wanted to retain the clause said that if it was withdrawn then the SWF could be attacked for being anti-union. On the other hand, supporters for the removal of the clause felt that it just was not necessary. They did not want to recruit members for reformist unions.

The clause was finally changed to: 'Members shall where it is consistent with their syndicalist activity work within their appropriate TUs', etc., the last part concerning Trade Councils being deleted. It was agreed that officers could hold office for longer than two years.

Bill Christopher and Mark Hendy were re-elected Secretary and Treasurer respectively. The Industrial Subcommittee had produced two leaflets during the past year, one on catering industry, the other on transport, and had organised a very fruitful meeting on the shop steward and rank and file movement.

The London section of the SWF moved that next year's conference should be held in the provinces, Manchester being suggested, and this was agreed.

To this writer, the sad thing about this conference was that Anarchists were being used by some Syndicalists as scapegoats for the lack of organisation in their area. I feel that Anarchism and Syndicalism should be linked in industrial activity and if they are not, then I feel we are wasting our time. P.T.