

SEPTEMBER 17 1966 Vol 27 No 29



N 1960 an attempt was made on Dr. Verwoerd's life. He was fired upon by a wealthy business man, Mr. David Pratt. The shot grazed the Premier's forehead, and the 'Baas' lived on to continue and intensify the policy of apartheid. On Tuesday, September 6, 1966, another attack was made on Verwoerd's life, this time the attempt was successful, he was stabbed to death within the precincts of his own (personal) parliament, the very building from which spewed forth the criminal and inhuman policy of apartheid.

The most that one can say is that the assassination has destroyed a part of the cancer, but the disease is virile, and in a matter of weeks will be as active as ever.

After the last war, war criminals were executed, with little or no objection. Verwoerd is executed and everyone is shocked and dismayed. He has been on trial before





# Peace Mission

month, the other at the beginning of this month underlined how futile it is having an independent non-ruling arbitrator like the UN in this age of the big power blocs, and also the extent to which that sadly permanent fixture, the Vietnam war, is having upon the actions and speeches of those who are seeking, sincerely or otherwise, a peace solution. While U Thant wearily threw in his resignation as Secretary-General of the UN (which earned him no thanks from our national press, which primly told him it was a non-U action) President de Gaulle was calling in at many of the political centres of the world to have a pow-wow with that country's leader.

The French President is the latest person who believes he has a solution at hand to resolve the conflict and, like an ancient rainmaker, de Gaulle, his delusions of grandeur as manifest as ever, believes his solutions can work the ultimate wonder. But apart from an accurate assessment which after all is the result of first-hand knowledge stretching back to the French occupation in Indo-China, his ideas are old hat and they won't cut any ice with President Johnson, who might in time make small concessions, but will never withdraw his troops out of Vietnam. The most publicised part of de Gaulle's tour was in Cambodia where according to press reports he was given a 'storming welcome', surely out of all proportion to the event itself, since if anybody should have learnt to distrust the words of politicians it is the Asian people-who nonetheless greeted the premier as if he were a newly-arrived saviour; one suspects a carefully sustained build-up on somebody's part. There were some familiar stage-effects before the big anti-war speech, but doves of peace and other corny types of symbolism weren't resorted to, the hosts perhaps feeling de Gaulle's personality was enough in itself. But de Gaulle can afford to take a detached view of the Vietnam war, make prophecies, and issue dire warnings; but one remembers only too well his role in the last war, when he was gunning for 'our' side, and again his influence on the Algerian war, and you will see that he favours a military-type solution if he is involved enough with the country in question. So the people of Cambodia were listening to the words of a warmonger-albeit one who has no war on his hands at present -and with his usual single-minded insistence, which has given other world powerseekers rather a headache, is free to pursue his policies and enlist supporters for those policies. There was also a halfhearted attempt to get de Gaulle and Johnson round the conference table, but after de Gaulle had made it plain he considered Johnson's war 'sterile', this would have been a sheer waste of time. De Gaulle and Johnson should be great friends, but Johnson will listen to nobody outside of the US. Although de Gaulle would find an echoing answer from many people in his statement that the US troops withdraw and leave South-East Asia to sort out its own problems, there is one thing all these world leaders who are the driving forces between their own war, or who

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TWO EVENTS, one at the end of last spend their time criticising another leader's war, have in common, and that is that they are too remote from the scene of action, as they wait behind large polished desks for briefings and despatches. As one marine remarked after one of Johnson's pep-talks, which ran something along the lines of, 'I'm right behind you boys', to which the marine added, 'Yeah, he's behind us all right . . . 10,000 miles behind us.'

> U Thant's gesture may be seen as one of despair, which is also designed in an indirect way to make President Johnson think, though as we've seen already, Johnson wouldn't dream of letting somebody else make up his mind for him. The United Nations has met with little success in recent years, and is even something of a poor relation jogging behind the warring nations, frantically plumbing each fresh leak. This finally seemed to weary U Thant, who had the thankless task of mediator between the big powers. who have no wish to listen to each other and repeatedly go their own way. It proves that when nations base their economies and future prosperity on unbridled competition for world markets, then there is not a hope of them being united for any reasonable time, and that of course brings us back to why the world is burdened with an unjustified

the world for many years, and has been found guilty on many occasions, the charge being 'the degrading and destruction of human beings'. The reason why sentence has never been passed is because the jurors, Britain, America, Russia, France, etc., had vested interest to the tune of thousands of millions of pounds at stake, and anything is forgivable for that kind of money.

Condolence was expressed by world leaders. From Sir de Villers Graaf, leader of South Africa's socalled Opposition United Party: 'Dr. Verwoerd's integrity and sincerity will be respected and the manner of his going will be deplored as long as decent South Africans dwell in this land'. Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, chairman of the Anglo-American Corporation, the huge South African mining finance house: 'Dr. Verwoerd was a very great man. No one-and I say this as someone who was on the other side of the political fence -could doubt his ability, his courage, his integrity, and his love for his country'. Mr. Harold Holt, the Australian Prime Minister: Whatever political views one holds, the assassination of a national leader is repugnant. It calls for general condemnation'. And Mr. Harold Wilson to Dr. Donges (South Africa's Acting Premier): 'I was shocked to hear the news of the assassination of Dr. Verwoerd.

Please accept condolences on behalf of the members of the British Government and myself and convey our sympathy to Dr. Verwoerd's family'.

This sudden concern for human life is touching, dare anyone mention the napalm bombing of women and kids in Vietnam? This is legitimate in the fight for 'freedom'. The writers of Verwoerd's obituary notices have been hard pushed to gloss over his past record, in most, the question of his extreme pro-Nazi sympathies have been conveniently forgotten. He is described as a sincere and courageous man.

The Sunday press have expressed a tolerant attitude towards Verwoerd's life except the ever unctuous Sunday Express which was deeply hurt because the Queen hadn't sent a message of sympathy. Douglas Brown in the Sunday Telegraph implied that Verwoerd was about majority of them want to keep it to make an important statement before his death. He then went on to point out that a remarkable event had occurred in South Africa a few days before, Verwoerd had been photographed having a genial conversation with Chief Jonathan of Basutoland. Whilst one can

argue that such an event is unprecedented, the reason is painfully obvious, Verwoerd had his eye to the future, with the possibility of Basutoland and its water supply fitting in with his policy of 'Bantustan'.

The question is, who will take his place as Premier? Assassination has not been a deterrent, the job of Premier will still be fought over, with Vorster firm favourite, unless it is felt by the Broederband that a liberal image is necessary at the moment, keeping Vorster, the Minister of Justice, as the power behind the throne.

Whoever takes over, apartheid will continue, it's an economic question. Investment in South Africa totals millions of pounds. Unless you are a 'poor white' life for conforming Europeans in South Africa is pretty good and the that way, even though it is at the expense of the black and coloured South Africans.

RON PEARL.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

# it's a

THE NEWS of Hendrik Verwoerd's murder reached London by midafternoon of September 6. At Westminster Bridge, people were buying the special editions. They looked, in the first flush of it, as if some great tragedy had happened. Near the Abbey, just by Smuts' statue, a young man went past saying to his companions, 'Heard the good news?' And one of them replied, 'Well, it's a start. . . .'

So Verwoerd is dead. What it means in political terms remains to be seen. Probably the Afrikaners will consolidate, turn even more vicious, the Rhodesians likewise.

Still, it is a start. Hendrik Verwoerd was a bad man, rotten to the core. More than that, he was wilfully blind to the most obvious and elementary facts of politics and society. That he could not see beyond the concepts of a uitland boer, mouth stuffed with carefully-chosen Bible texts, sjambok ready to hand, was perhaps not his fault; but that he should deliberately have tried to impose this vile philosophy on an entire country, going against the grain not only of every known standard of decency and civilisation but of the actual formulations of contemporary politicsthis was his crime; and, as evil does, it spread and spread till no one-white, black, coloured-was safe; and law and humanity crumbled together. In the end, he and his like reduced South Africa to the level of a gangsters' preserve. He was a great hand at psalm-singing, but it never occurred to him that the one about the wicked flourishing like a green bay tree, which unaccountably vanished, could ever have a bearing on him. His death-violent, savage, ugly, painful and ludicrous-was a fitting end to his criminal life. Hypocrite, tyrant, torturer, perverter of laws, murderer and warmonger, may his death be to his accomplices either a warning or a precedent.

# New Readers begin

war.

ANARCHY 67 discusses

WE ARE NOT given to blowing our own trumpet. We do not produce variations on a theme for the solo trumpet like the Daily Excess nor do we daily sound the rallying alarm like the Morning Clinker but the trumpet has its occasional uses and this issue of FREEDOM needs some obbligato. We are not always like this, our usual size is four pages but due to a windfall from the Anarchist Ball, an accumulation of longer contributions and a desire on the part of Freedom Press Group to see if a larger paper would increase sales and subscriptions it was decided to try out this issue and, with the help of groups up and down the country, to boost sales and introduce the paper to new readers. You may be one. You will gather, the world being what it is, that we do not make a profit by selling FREEDOM. In fact you can see our accounts every week in FREEDOM (page 3) where our loss is made up by donations from comrades all over the world who value our work. We also run a bookselling business which not only markets the anarchist literature into which our income is from time to time

invested, but makes a small but useful profit from selling second-hand and new books (see page 2). Our sister-publication Anarchy is in approximately the same position. Incidentally, your masscirculation daily newspaper does not make profit with selling newspapers, it sells advertising, newspapers lose money. FREEDOM's 'Contact Column' is free and any cash contribution is welcomed. Advertisements are assessed on their informative value or usefulness.

The strength (and a possible weakness) of the anarchist press lies in its amateur nature. The word 'amateur' can be traced to the root 'ama'-to love. The editors of, writers in and sellers of FREEDOM are all in it for the love of it. If you're looking for a way to make a fast buck look somewhere else. There is, somewhere in the organization one comrade who receives a derisory 'honorarium' for services rendered and, of course, our typesetter and printer (being business men) get paid for their services. The amateur nature of FREEDOM's production may produce the occasional slip-up or rawness of product but since FREEDOM, in one form or another, has been going on more or less continuously since it was founded by Kropotkin and others in 1886, there is something to be said for the 'amateur' vitality and freshness of FREEDOM as opposed to the slick professional products that have been and gone since then. FREEDOM may fairly safely claim to be the oldest British radical newspaper, and its nature is such that its survival is bound up with the idea of anarchism. Anarchism is not a rigid totalitarian doctrine. Groups assemble for a particular purpose, and that purpose achieved, dissolve. Freedom Press Group still has its service to render to the anarchist movement. The nature of that service

and the nature of the movement may have changed but there is still a necessity for the ideas of opposition to all governments and advocacy of freedom in all fields to be maintained and disseminated.

The anarchists have always, in the nature of things, been the first victims of totalitarianism whether of the right or of the left. Anarchists were exiled and imprisoned in Germany under Bismarck and under Hitler. Anarchists were persecuted in Russia under the Czar and under Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin (in many cases the same anarchists and the same prison). In Spain the anarchists suffered and died under Alfonso, Primo Riveria, the Popular Front government and still, under Franco. In Cuba Batista and Castro followed the same policy. In China the anarchists have gone underground al-

though some have capitulated. Many anarchists have been deceived by the false dawn of revolution and many remained deceived but the anarchists were the first 'on the left' to see through the deception of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin.

The anarchists have made their contribution to working-class history and are still doing so. Anarchists do not seek martyrdom, they have it thrust upon them by the nature of their belief: Sacco and Vanzetti and Joe Hill will be remembered. Recently, Donald Rooum set in train the exposure of Det.-Sergt. Challenor, and Stuart Christie was arrested in Spain and tried by a military court on a charge which could never be substantiated in open court. Anarchist influence has been present in the Committee of 100 and the campaign for King Hill homeless. Recently anarchists have been active in the field of education and a Libertarian Teachers' Association has been formed.

Bombs and anarchism have outlived their old association, true there were anarchist assassins but their belief was in propaganda by the deed. The nature of the deed has changed but anarchists do not repudiate the effectiveness of the

Continued on page 4

L. M. HERRICKSON.

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and Flag', an experienced comrade made an impassioned speech on the present growth of the anarchist movement and asked rhetorically: 'Why do we have suddenly so many young anarchists?" Back came the quick reply: 'Because of

THE OTHER SUNDAY, at the 'Lamb

the birth-rate." Perhaps somebody one day will write a thesis for an American university on the London Anarchist Group-how it managed to survive without doing anything for so many years. Nevertheless in spite, or because, of its inactivity it managed to attract a vast number of young people to its meetings with a regular attendance unmatched by any other political movement in London.

The youthful irreverence of these meetings annoy many, no speaker is sancrosant, and a too casual observer may dismiss it as a mere talking shop. This is not so. As the anarchist movement grows in numbers and in confidence, the endless discussions and heated arguments are vital to this growth.

Is this true of the whole country? Here are some reports (a few of which had to be condensed) for old and new readers to judge for themselves. Is this what we really are? I doubt it. But we are too busy to look in the mirror and reflect.



but at the moment this is only in the 'we are hoping to produce' stage.

Following our letter in FREEDOM concerning 'left unity' and the YCL we have made contact with many London comrades and have set up a non-aligned Vietnam peace group. Our mention of the need for anarchist unity of action has stimulated some response from other groups.

We sell literature every week and get a fairly interested response from the public. Both as individuals and as a group we are very active in the local peace movement.

We are producing a series of leaflets, 'Anarchist Attitudes' and intend to send literature regularly to union branches and other organisations [for which] there is a definite need.

# READING

tion, so we are not unduly worried. (Space permitting this leaflet will be reprinted in a future issue of FREEDOM.)

# LIVERPOOL

# **Paul Rowlandson writes:**

Our group meets every Tuesday at Gerry Bree's place, 16 Faulkner Square, Liverpool, 8. Attendance is in the region of twenty, growing all the time. We take 72 copies of FREEDOM each week.

Activities include paper selling every Sunday at the Pier Head and YCND meetings every Friday at the Green Moose.

The group formed suddenly with no planning at all. It was 'form first, worry later'. No worries yet.

We have taken part in YCND demonstrations; at the French consul against French tests, and at Wilson's re-opening of the Cavern against his Vietnam policy. We made the front page of the Liverpool Echo (with a photograph) because of the Wilson one. Both got press coverage and good reactions. We have also appeared on a number of marches.

revival of the peace movement should preoccupy revolutionary libertarians more than the general revolutionary movement itself. Anti-militarism is only one facet of the struggle caused by the exploitation of labour and the political bondage of the State.

The primary concern of Glasgow anarchists is to disseminate syndicalist propaganda, to try to persuade libertarians to build an unofficial rank-and-file industrial movement for offence as well as defence; in pursuit of direct ownership and control of wealth production.

We recognise there are several other fields of activity for anarchists. We also recognise that we cannot participate in them all.

# **ABERDEEN! ABERDEEN!** From a correspondent:

Although there are about twenty anarchists in the city, the group cannot really be said to have an independent existence, for it is committed to the local YCND group. Apart from the fact that the anti-bomb revival in Aberdeen was due to the activity of a few anarchists, there are two reasons why YCND occupies most of our time. Firstly we fear a YCL takeover with the reintroduction of all the trappings of a hierarchical structure-membership, committees, chairmen, etc. Secondly because forming as we do a 'leadership', i.e. producing the ideas, doing the work of organisation, trying to get people to dedevelop themselves politically, the whole thing would collapse without us. The struggle between carrying on in the YCND or 'breaking away' is constantly with us, especially in moments of disillusion. This last comment may surprise some people who have come, over the past year or so, to regard Aberdeen as almost the Mecca of the revolution. But being in a group which has had weekly meetings of 40 to 70 for a year, has had half-a-dozen really good local demos, committed about £5,000 worth of sabotage, and is now producing its own magazine with a circulation of 200, and realising that you have accomplished, apart from some success at raising consciousness and the production of a few new anarchists, nothing is probably more embittering and frustrating than the situation of being Auchtermuchty's only anarchist. Possibly in the future we shall devote more time to purely anarchist meetings and concentrate on selling anarchist literature and possibly even engaging in some kind of practical anarchism is the form of a small community or workshop.

Madame Tellier's Girls

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Guy de Maupassant 3/6 **Tales from the Calendar** 

> Bertold Brecht (paper) 10/6 cloth 25/-

# SECONDHAND

A Primer of Socialism, Thomas Kirkup 4/-; The Lesson of London, Ritchie Calder (1941) 3/-; My Life, Anton Tchekhov 3/-; The Post-War History of the British Working Class, Allen Hutt (limp and soiled) 3/-; What is Art?, Leo Tolstoy 3/6: The Age of Reason, Thomas Paine (paper-back) 3/6; Essays, Literary, Moral and Political, David Hume 3/-; Youth in Conflict, Miriam van Waters 4/-; Living Thoughts of Tolstoi, (ed.) Stefan Zweig 3/6; Woman Free, Ellis Ethelmer 3/-; Sexual Behaviour in Society, Alex Comfort 6/-; Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War, W. Trotter 3/6; Where Stands Democracy?, Laski, Crossman, Cole, etc. 4/6; What I Believe, J. D. Beresford 3/-.

# Freedom Bookshop

(Open 2 p.m.-5.30 p.m. daily; 10 a.m.-1 p.m. Thursdays;

# SOUTHALL **Roger Sandell writes:**

The group was formed in June, 1964, breaking away from the Southall Young Socialists. The Southall banner appears regularly on demonstrations. The group feels, however, that conventional protest marches have little point unless the libertarian and anti-war movements make a serious effort to speak to ordinary people.

# **Open air meetings**

To this end the group have organised five open air meetings in the past year, a record which is unmatched by any other local political organisation who only hold meetings at election times.

Other activities have included the distribution of an Urdu leaflet to local Indians and Pakistanis during the Kashmir fighting calling upon them to oppose the war policies of their governments. Since June we have also been holding monthly discussion meetings for West London supporters.

From time to time our activities are featured in the local press which violently attacked us during the anti-election campaign.

# LEWISHAM

**Terry Liddle writes:** The Lewisham Anarchist Group began early this year with about six members, today there are over a dozen active comrades and a total membership of nearly 30.

# Alan Ross writes:

We have translated, and are duplicating the full report from the European conference. When finished, it will be sent to all the groups in the AFB.

We intend to duplicate Vernon Richards' article on Hugh Thomas's book The Spanish Civil War (Anarchy 5) and distribute it to the history students at Reading University. Thomas has been appointed head of the modern history department at the university.

A university group is to be set up this term. A constitution(!) has already been submitted to the authorities.

When the Libertarian Teachers' Association leaflet for student teachers (to be produced by Arlesey group) has been completed, we intend to give it out to the colleges around Reading.

# HULL

#### J. Tempest writes:

We are a new and rather inexperienced group. So far we have not organised any demos or public meetings. But we have participated in most of the demos in Hull and District. Last month (July) on a Peace in Vietnam March, two of us were arrested, for using insulting(?) words and trying to incite a riot. The second charge was dropped after they found out we had engaged a lawyer. But that did not stop them from robbing us of £15 (fines). Outdoor sales are not very encouraging but we hope they will improve. We are trying to organize some form of public meeting (advice welcome).

An 'anarchist invasion of Wales' (it sounds better than 'An anarchist camp') is planned.

#### GLASGOW

## R. Lynn writes:

Recently we attended a meeting in Wellington Street initiated by the USM on the question of the Vietnam war. The speakers were Ian Mooney (IS), Ben Mullin and Albert Grant (USM) and John McLay who spoke for the Glasgow anarchists. I also spoke on the cause of all wars as an anarchist and syndicalist. Anarchist literature was sold (FREEDOM, Direct Action and the Word). A followup meeting was also successful even though, because of the traffic, the acoustics were unfavourable. Soon the Glasgow anarchists will be holding regular meetings in the Strickland Press, 38 Montrose Street, Glasgow.

Before the leaflet and map appertaining to the Coulport demo was produced by SCRAM, Glasgow anarchists had made a reconnaissance of the Coulport service depot. We did not think a demo would be favourable considering that most of the construction work had been completed and therefore only a few indoor workers would be there. It also

# 10 a.m.-5 p.m. Saturdays). **17a MAXWELL ROAD** Tel: REN 3736 FULHAM SW6

# 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 5 1955: The Immoral Moralists Vol Vol 6 1956: Oil and Troubled Warers 7 1957: Year One-Sputnik Era Vol Vol 8 1958: Socialism in a Wheelchau 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 FRFEDOM at 5/6 post free.

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

#### E. MALATESTA Anarchy Paper 1/-

Since we began we have held an antielection campaign with stickers, posters, leaflets and painted slogans (including one on the local Labour Party Office), produced an anti-fascist leaflet and reproduced the Ilford Schools leaflet, taken part in three local demonstrations, the last on Hiroshima Day.

# **Burning Flags**

Burnt the flags of the five nuclear powers. This was well reported in the local press with a photo of two comrades burning the Union Jack. Held regular FREEDOM sales and painted slogans to commemorate the Spanish Revolution of 1936.

In the future we hope to hold an exhibition about the Vietnam War, a fast at Christmas and perhaps a 'happening'. We urge you if you live in SE London to join us.

# HARLOW

John Barrick, Anthea Culpin and Keith Nathan write:

Here is an outline of what we have been doing and what we hope to do. We are hoping to produce a magazine

# ARLESEY

# Peter Ford writes:

All activities of the remaining members over the past few months have been connected with the Libertarian Teachers' Assocation. A report will appear in next week's FREEDOM.

#### **IPSWICH Tony Reader writes:**

Copies of our latest leaflet 'Against Authority' have been sent to all anarchist groups, and although we cannot undertake to produce copies for anyone we would be glad to supply someone who could with the master copy and details of how it was produced. We desire no copyright!

We distributed the leaflet on Saturday, August 27 to young people in Ipswichwe decided that wholesale distribution was costly and wasteful, but we are always around should any 'adults' see fit to contact us, and we would welcome their support of course. Our decision grew out of our experience of adult reactions.

A perverted report appeared in our local paper, but we have been asked to produce an article presenting our posi-

called for a 15-mile walk from the Gare Loch to Coulport with little sign of inhabitants except for a few houses scattered here and there. Most of the march would therefore be along a road with nothing but bushes and trees.

However, our friends of SCRAM have assured us that there's no need to march for miles amidst bushes and trees as there's a little pathway branching off the main road leading over the hill to the back end of Coulport: a pathway we must have missed.

We will investigate once more for since SCRAM is set on this demo some of us will attend for one day: Saturday, September 24.

On Sunday, September 25, Glasgow anarchists will be having a bus run to Portobello and Edinburgh.

#### Programme:

- 1 p.m. Lunch in Portobello.
- 3 p.m. A meeting in The Mound in Edinburgh.
- 5.30 p.m. High tea and social in Portobello.

We are seeking co-operation of Edinburgh group for the meeting. The Way Ahead

We support SCRAM in the same way as we would support any rank-and-file workers in dispute but do not think a

### The Paradox

But here the paradox emerges, for the best place to sell anarchist literature is in the YCND group, which is, in effect, an organisation run on anarchist lines. So probably we still continue to show young people the real nature of the state or capitalism, but one feels the usual pang of guilt when someone says 'I wish you'd left me as an idiot'.

# THE COMING REVOLUTION

'We are living on the eve of great events. Before the end of this century has come we shall see great revolutionary movements breaking up our social conditions in Europe and probably also in the United States of America.' This quotation is from the first issue of FREEDOM published in October, 1886. Which incidentally means this journal will be 80 years old this coming month. Have we outlived our time? Or will that partially true prophecy come true by the end of this century? As people have said before the anarchist's greatest enemy is Time. ('They are rebelling against the centralised tyranny of the clock.'-Ethel Mannin.) But a careful study of contemporary movements indicate that interest in the ideas of anarchism is increasing.

R.

# NEW HAM LIBERTARIANS. Contact Mick NORTHOLT ANARCHISTS.

Contact: Jim Huggon, 173 Kingshill Avenue, Northolt, Middlesex. Meetings first and third Wednesday of the month at Jeannie's, 6 Epsom Close, Northolt Park, Middlesex, at 7.30 p.m. SOUTHALL ANARCHIST GROUP. Get in touch with Roger Sandell, 58 Burns Avenue. Southall, Middlesex. WEST LONDON FEDERATION. Meeting September 12 (Monday) at 'Anchor', West Ealing. Speaker from SWF on Anarcho-Syndicalism.

#### PROUDHON What is Property? cloth 42/-

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HERBERT READ Poetry & Anarchism paper 2/6

#### **ALEX COMFORT** Delinquency 6d.

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Nationalism and Culture sloth 21/-

#### **MARLES MARTIN** Towards a Free Society 2/6

## JUHN HEWETSON

III-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

# Anarchist Federation of Britain

(As there is no national secretariat for enquiries, speakers, etc., please contact local groups.)

# 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.

#### SEPT. 18 M. J. Walsh Vanguard Politics

Public Meetings every Sunday Hyde Park, 3 p.m.

# **OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS**

3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m.

3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald and Irene Rooum's, now at 13 Savernake Road, London, N.W.3. First meeting at this address: September 16.

# **REGIONAL FEDERATIONS** AND GROUPS

**ALTRINCHAM ANARCHIST YOUTH GROUP.** Get in touch with Stephen Richards, 25 North Vale Road, Timperley, Cheshire. ABERDEEN GROUP. Correspondence to M. Dey, 29 Springhill Crescent, Aberdeen. ARLESEY GROUP (N. Herts., S. Beds.). Meetings on first Friday of month. Correspondence to Peter and Maureen Ford, 102 Stotfold Road, Arlesey, Beds. BELFAST. Contact Peter Stringer, 7 Duffy Street, Belfast, 13.

BEXLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence to Paul Wildish, 2-Cumbrian Avenue, Barnehurst.

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence: Martin Bragg, 5 The Drive, Hunton Hill, Erdington, Birmingham, 23. Sales and Committee of 100: Gordon Causer, 27 Upper Gungate, Tamworth, Staffs. Peace Action Centres Project: Paul James, 50 Windermere Road, Handsworth, Birmingham, 21. University of ASTON GROUP. Dave Massey, 2 Station Road, Elworth, Sandbach, Cheshire.

BRISTOL FEDERATION. Enquiries to Ian Vine, 7 Richmond Dale, Bristol, 8.

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Mike Crowley, 36 Whitaker Road, Tremorfa, Cardiff. DUNDEE GROUP. Contact Bob and Una Turnbull, c/o Doctors' Residence, Stracathro Hospital. by Brechin. Angus.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP ONE. Correspondence to Robert Lynn, 2b Saracen Head Lane, Glasgow, C.1

HARLOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Enquiries to Keith Nathan, 12 Shawbridge, Harlow or John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping.

HULL ANARCHIST GROUP. J. Tempest, 89 Fountain Road, Hull. Tel. 212526. Meetings 8 p.m. 1st and 3rd Fridays of month at above address.

**ILFORD LIBERTARIANS.** Fortnightly meetings and Action. Fred Ross, 212 Vicarage Road, Leyton, E.10.

**IPSWICH ANARCHISTS.** Contact Neil Dean, 74 Cemetery Road, Ipswich, Suffolk.

LEICESTER ANARCHISTS. Correspondence, Peter Gibbon, 13 Severn Street, Leicester. LEWISHAM. LONDON, S.E.13. September Meetings 2nd and 4th Thursdays. at Terry Liddle's, 83 Gregory Crescent, SE9 LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Gerry Bree. 16 Falkner Square, Liverpool, 8. Meetings Tuesdays at 8 p.m. at above address. 'Freedom' selling at Pier Head every Sunday.

Shenker, 122 Hampton Road, Forest Gate, NOTTING HILL PROVOS. Correspondence to Brian Joseph, 1st Floor, 27 Arundel Gardens, London, W.11. Meeting every first Thursday of the month at 8 p.m. Ground floor flat, 5 Colville Houses, London, W.11

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

**ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP.** Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Green-

ways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.

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

PLYMOUTH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Contact J. Hill, 79 Underlane, Plymstock, Plymouth, Devon.

**READING ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Alan Ross, 116 Belmont Road, Reading, Berks.

# **NORTH-WEST FEDERATION**

NORTH WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Regional Secretary: J. Bromley, 44 Doncaster Avenue, Manchester, 20. Buxton: Chris Berrisford, 10 Byron Street, Buxton. Chorley: Alistair Rattray, 35a Devonshire Road, Chorley. Manchester: Mike Mitchell, 3 Bakewell Road. Droylesden, Manchester, Brenda Mercer, 6 Breckside Park, Liverpool, 6. Rochdale: Ian Heywood, 16 Mansfield Road, Bamford, Rochdale. Stoke-on-Trent: Bob Blakeman, 52 Weldon Avenue, Weston Coyney, Stoke-on-Trent,

# EAST LONDON FEDERATION

WALTHAM FOREST ANARCHISTS. Contact Lionel Donnelly, 322a Hoe Street, Walthamstow, E.17. Meetings every Thursday at above address. WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Contact Stephen Higgs, 8 Westbury Road, Forest Gate, E.7.

WEST LONDON FEDERATION FULHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact top floor, 31 Ongar Road, S.W.6.

# PROPOSED GROUPS

LOUGHTON, ESSEX. Please get in touch with Althea Culpin, Golding's, Clays Lane, Loughton, Essex.

TYNESIDE SYNDICALISTS. Address c/o Michael Renwick, 122 Mowbray Street, Heaton, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 6.

**KEIGHLEY ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Robert Halstead, 27 Woodlands Rise, Haworth, Keighley, Yorks.

WEST SUFFOLK. Anarchists, Libertarians and Syndicalists in West Suffolk area wishing to meet for discussions please write to Carl Pinel. c/o West Suffolk General Hospital, Hospital Road, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk.

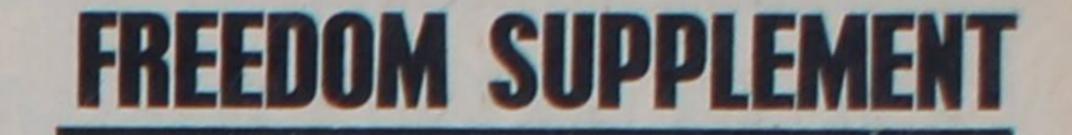
# ABROAD

U.S.A. NEW YORK CITY. N.Y. Federation of Anarchists, c/o Torch Bookshop, 641 East 9th Street, N.Y., 10009. Meets every Thursday evening. AUSTRALIA. Anarchist Group, PO Box A 389. Sydney South. Public meetings every Sunday in the Domain, 2 p.m. and Mondays, 72 Oxford Street, Paddington, Sydney, 8 p.m. DANISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. 52

Mindevej, Soborg-Copenhagen, Denmark.

VANCOUVER, B.C., CANADA. Anyone interested in forming anarchist and/or direct action peace group contact Derek A. James, 1844 Grand Boulevard, North Vancouver, B.C., Canada, Tel.: 987-2693.

U.S.A. VERMONT/NEW HAMPSHIRE. Discussion/Action group anyone? Contact Ed Strauss, RFD 2 Woodstock, Vermont 05091, USA.



# The Old Left and New in the U.S.

Reprinted by kind permission of the Editor of The Nation, New York.

Mr. Zinn is the author of The Southern Mystique (Knopf) and SNCC: The New Abolitionists (Beacon).

THERE was an American Left in the thirties. Then the country went through a World War and a cold war, reconversion, McCarthyism and prosperity; and for a time there was not in this country much that could reasonably be called leftist. Now in the sixties the New Left has emerged. It bears some resemblance to the socialism of the thirties-particularly with respect to its aims and its enemies-but it cannot be understood primarily by analogy with the movement of thirty years ago. What follows here, then, will be largely an exercise in contrasts.

It is all too easy to be witty at the expense of the militant Left of the

in American society which almost all of us claim to cherish.

I see, first, in the new militants, a lack of ideology unthinkable in the old Left. Alfred Kazin (in Starting Out in The Thirties) referred to many leftists of his time as 'ideologues'. They were always attending classes on Marxist theory, buying or selling or arguing about works by the Big Four (Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin), engaging in endless discussions on surplus value, dialectical materialism, the absolute impoverishment of the working class, Plekhanov's theory of the role of the individual, Stalin's views on the national question, Engels on the origin of the family, Lenin on economism, or imperialism, or social democracy or 'the woman question'. The people in SNCC, by and large, know little about Marx. They have no manifesto or any other infallible guide to the truth. Their discussions are rarely theoretical, and deal mostly with day-to-day practical problems: the tent city in Lowndes County, hunger in Greenville, the Freedom Democratic Party, how to meet the next payroll for 130 field secretaries. SDS people I have met are more white than SNCC, more middle class, more intellectual, and thus have read more of Marx-but they don't seem to take it as gospel. I recently read a book of essays by SDS people, and found in it very little that was abstract, above the level of immediate issues. The old Left would have had a quotation from Lenin on the headquarters wall. In the dilapidated SNCC offices, you find odd bits of prose and poetry pinned on the wall, like this, which I saw recently in Atlanta: Ever danced out on a limb?

expel Socialists, and the Communists would expel almost everyone. While SNCC indulges in some silly sniping at other civil rights groups, both SNCC and SDS are open organizations; they welcome anyone who will work, regardless of affiliation or ideology. One result is a succession of head shakings and warnings from various people about Communist infiltrators (this is the liberal counterpart of Communist suspiciousness), but SNCC and SDS have remained cool to the criticism. Bob Moses of SNCC, in the autmn of 1963, responded to a Life article in which Theodore than to hate, better to live than to die. White referred accusingly to a 'penetration' of SNCC by 'unidentified elements'. (White seemed bashful about saying that he meant Communists.) Moses replied: 'It seems to me that . . . we have to throw what little weight we have on the side of free association. . . . Another SNCC veteran, Charles Sherrod, said: 'I don't care who the heck it is-if he's willing to come down on the front lines and bring his body along with me to die-then he's welcome!' The radicals of the thirties were dutiful bureaucrats: over-organized, meticulously prompt and parliamentary. Today, if an SNCC worker cited Robert's Rules of Order, he would be greeted with laughter. The B'nai B'rith or the Elks have been known to start their meetings fifteen minutes late, and the Young Democrats of Waukegan an hour late, but SNCC often starts meetings a day late, sometimes two. I do not cite this as a virtue, but as a sign of that human carelessness about organization which seemed to be lacking in the old Left. A beaucratic sense of 'responsibility' is largely a product of middle-class upbringing, and SNCC is more proletarianpeasant in background than either SDS. the teach-in crowd or the old Left. There is an Existential quality to current radicalism that distinguishes it sharply from the style of the thirties. Marxists are rather unhappy with Existentialism, though Jean-Paul Sartre has made an attempt to reconcile his Existentialism with his Marxism. They find the Existentialist insufficiently aware of the binding force of history, incredulous of the idea of progress, excessively emotional, excessively individualist. The charge of emotionalism is true, but what of it? Blaise Pascal said in his Pensées, nationalized enterprises would serve in the middle of the 17th century: 'The society best, and in what situations; or heart has its reasons, which reason does in how to work inside and outside the not know. . . .' This may seem like present two-party system; or in the sentimental spirituality, so ineffective problem of what institutions can substi- (and we demand effectiveness today) in tute for the repressive state in a new a cold world of Realpolitik, so subversociety. The good side is a lack of sive of the ironclad reason that marks

making; it also has an initiating role in moral decisions. The logical positivists, from Hume to Hans Reichenbach, have told us that we cannot rationally deduce first statements about what should be. But we may very well feel them; and there is a shared feeling among people about certain basic values, which should not be discarded because it cannot, in the academic sense, be 'proved'. We know, we feel, that peace is preferable to war, nourishment to starvation, brotherhood to enmity; that it is better to be free than in jail, better to love And yet-this is the devilish power of human communication, the curse of language-we can be taught, rationally, that war is preferable to peace (all we ask is a few words of explanation from those on high who know and can soothe our troubled minds); that jail is preferable to freedom (due process and judicial respectability calm our indignation): that starvation is better than nourishment (for others, of course); thus we accept the destruction of crops if they care to feed 'the enemy'. We feel that it is wrong to bomb a fishing village suspected of being a Communist resting area, but we are soon persuaded. rationally, that it must be done. There are Soviet citizens, I am sure, who feel that it is wrong to send two writers to jail for what they have written; but the calm, reasonable explanations go forth and the feeling is smothered, or at least suppressed. Is it any wonder that this new generation of radicals so distrusts this perversion of 'reason' that they are willing to trust their emotions in deciding what is right and what is wrong? I have quoted elsewhere one of the original SNCC organizers, a young white girl from Virginia named Jane Stembridge:

1930s: the stage whispering, the posturing, the dogma, the in-fighting; the Talmudic debates among Trotskyists, Communists, Lovestonites, old Wobblies; the hypocrisy; the self-righteousness. But measure these defects against the evils which the Left saw in the thirties: the hungry children, the evicted families shivering in the streets, the men standing in long lines for a day's work, the Negroes lynched in the South and jammed into filthy ghettos in the North. All this happening in the richest nation, the most liberal nation, in the world. And overseas, the Japanese butchering China, Mussolini's tanks rumbling toward Ethiopian farmers carrying spears, German warplanes bombing Barcelona, Hitler beginning the deadly roundup of the Jews and raving in the Berlin Sportspalast. And all this happening while Western Christian countries hemmed and hawed and murmured about communism. The old Left may have been a movement of Don Quixotes, but it pointed out the crimes, here and abroad, before anyone else.

In the Roosevelt circle itself there was no one we could call a militant leftist, despite the cries of the Chamber of Commerce, Father Coughlin and the Liberty League; despite Al Smith's assertion that behind the New Dealers were really Norman Thomas, Karl Marx and Lenin. Rexford Guy Tugwell (Al Smith had asked: '. . . in the name of all that is good and holy, who is Tugwell, and where did he blow from?'), of all in the inner Roosevelt group, was the boldest in his economic analysis. As early as 1932, in a paper to the American Economic Association, he called for national economic planning and the control of prices and profits-which meant, he said, that 'business will logically be required to disappear.' We would need to move outside the Roosevelt official family to find leftist intellectuals in any number. There was John Dewey, whose pragmatism went beyond that of FDR to embrace an attack on the profit system. There was Upton Sinclair, with his mild, homey, American brand of socialism, who said that 'in a co-operative society every man, woman and child would have the equivalent of \$5,000 a year income from the labour of able-bodied young men for three or four hours per day.' Reinhold Niebuhr urged that 'private ownership of the productive processes' be abandoned. Harvard philosopher William Ernest Hocking, asking for 'collectivism of a sort', rejected both the collectivism of a 'headless Liberalism' and of a 'heady' communism or fascism. Paul Douglas, then an economist at the University of Chicago, called for organization of the weak and poor to force FDR's hand and move him toward a bolder programme. When we speak of the militant Left, we must move from the professors to the students, from the intellectuals to the labour organizers, from the lecture platform to the picket line. We must see the demonstrations of the unemployed, the farmers violently preventing foreclosures, the workers boarding streetcars and refusing to pay fare, the neighbours who moved the furniture of evicted families back into the tenements in New York City; and those who sailed off to fight in the Spanish Civil War. And then there were those fifty-five people in Chicago who were charged with dismantling an entire four-storey building and carrying it away, brick by brick!



It doesn't always break. And sometimes when it does you fall into a grassy meadow.

All this indicates an open-mindedness and a flexibility in the New Left that was rare in the thirties. There is a refreshing lack of pompous intellectuality, of quotations from the great, of a 'line'. There is an unfortunate side to this bias. The new Left lacks interest in alternative tacics, systems, institutions: for instance, in the argument between Leon Keyserling and Robert Theobald on the question of working the American economic system to full capacity; or in whether public corporations or private co-operatives or commitment to a particular nation or modern man and particularly the modern system. The old Left was rigidly committed: the nation was the Soviet Union and the system was socialism. Some adherents were disillusioned by Stalin's purges of old Bolsheviks in the thirties; others dropped away after the non-aggression pact with Germany. But many stood fast, held by the power of an earlier vow which they were unwilling to renounce. The new generation of radicals starts with no such oaths of loyalty. They have no illusions about the purity of any nation, any system. They have seen Stalinism unmasked—by Khrushchev himself. They have seen aggression, To represent the New Left of today, subversion and double-dealing on all while recognizing that there are other sides, West as well as East, 'free world' as well as 'Communist world'. They are very much aware of Russian aggression in Hungary, Chinese repression in Tibet, and the problem of power in the best of revolutions. But they also know that the American CIA overthrew a democratically elected government in Guatemala, that the United States secretly conspired in the invasion of Cuba, that our Marines invaded the Dominican Republic in violation of the Rio Pact. The new radicals are quite persuaded that the Communist nations will use any means to gain their ends. Yet, when they see American planes bombing Vietnamese villages, and Marines throwing grenades down tunnels in which crouch helpless women and children, they conclude that the United States will use any means to gain its ends. They have grown up in a world where force and deception are ubiquitous. and they have developed what I believe is a healthy disposition to call the shots as they see them, no matter whose image is damaged.

. . . finally it all boils down to human relationships. It has nothing to do finally with governments. It is the question of . . . whether I shall go on living in isolation or whether there shall be a we. The student movement is not a cause . . . it is a collision between this one person and that one person. It is a I am going to sit beside you. . . . Love alone is radical. Political statements are not; programmes are not; even going to jail is not. . . .

moved in and out of the party, so that one might say several hundred thousand were directly influenced by Communist ideas. These people worked in the more militant unions of the CIO, in the American Student Union and the American Youth Congress, in fraternal societies like the International Workers Order, in civil rights groups like the National Negro Congress, in foreign policy groups like the American League Against War and Fascism.



# POWER OF HISTORICAL FORCES

The radicals of the thirties believed fervently in the power of historical forces, churning away, moving the world inexorably toward a glorious future. This faith came from the historical materialism of Marxism, with its confident laying out of the stages of history. The radicals I know today do not feel as thus bound by history. They accept neither the Marxist nor the Biblical nor any other organizing interpretation. What they know best is the present, and they consider it malleable by the power of their own hands. When you have made history, when you have forced social change, the magic of a philosophy of history fades. In eleven years, if we date the movement from the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955, or six years, if we date it from the sit-ins of February, 1960, the militant youngsters of the Southern movement have moved mountains. To be sure, they have not moved them very far, but to move a mountain even a few inches gives a sense of power. 'The Deep South Says Never', a journalist wrote after the Supreme Court decision. But Negroes are defying guns and subterfuge in Alabama and Mississippi. organizing their own parties, preparing to elect their own sheriffs, mayors, Congressmen. In Georgia, Negroes are sitting in the state legislature, and the expulsion of Julian Bond can be seen not only as a patriotic move to support the Vietnamese war by the freedomloving members of the Georgia General Assembly but also as a belated outburst of anger at the sight of so many Negroes sitting in their formerly sacrosanct, allwhite chamber. Southern Negroes are still poor, but they dare to strike in the Mississippi Delta against the plantation owner. They are still afraid, but not as afraid as they used to be. The active ones know that the changed atmosphere is not the result of beneficence from the succession of Great White Fathers in Washington, but of their own willingness to risk their lives, to march, to demonstrate, to go to jail: that Kennedy and Johnson did not act for them, but reacted to them. These Southern mili-

## **TANGLED WEB**

In that crazy, billowing, tangled web of the Left, I want to single out for comparison with today's radicals one key strand — the Communist-influenced Left. The Left of the thirties was much more than that, but I have two reasons for concentrating on that segment. First, it was undoubtedly stronger, more influential than the rest. Second, the comparison with today's radicals is a more than academic exercise; it may throw light on the accusations sometimes made against the New Left: that they are either secretly Communists, or infiltrated by Communists or sympathetic to Maoism.

The Communist Party reported 12,000 members in 1932, and about 80,000 at the end of the decade. The turnover was lively, and in the thirties perhaps 100,000 or even 200,000 Americans have made contributions to the values

groups which might be considered part of it, I would discuss those elements I know best: the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee, which is the most aggressive of the civil rights groups working in the South; Students for a Democratic Society, which carries on a variety of activities on campuses, in depressed urban areas, on civil rights and foreign policy; and that assorted group of intellectuals, civil rights workers and just ordinary draft-card burners who have become active in opposition to the war in Vietnam.

## OLD LEFT AND NEW

Before noting the differences between the old Left and the New Left, we should recognize their common ground. Both have been sharply, angrily critical of American society, at home and abroad. Both have pointed to poverty in the midst of wealth, to sins committed against the Negro, to limitations on free expression by Congressional committees and public prosecutors, to shameful behaviour in foreign policy. And in this, both movements-despite characteristics which I find distasteful in the old Left and mostly missing in the New Left-

# SECTARIAN

The old Left was sectarian, suspicious and exclusive. The Socialists would expel Communists, the Trotskyists would



atheistic radical. But we must now recognize that the point of ignition of the new radicalism was the civil rights movement, and this has been an emotional movement, as anyone who ever attended a mass meeting in a Negro church of the Deep South knows. But one of the contributions of the new radicalism is to show that such emotionalism is not destructive of rationality, that passion in itself is morally neutral, capable of supporting any value, and that when it is attached to a humane cause it contributes to rational action. It does this because verbal discourse alone is a pale reflection of life, inadequate to convey the anguish that human beings feel; words need to be intensified by emotion if they are to describe accurately the reality of both suffering and joy.

Emotion plays not only this kind of supporting role for rational decision

continued over

# OLD AND NEW

# continued

tants feel free to change history. And although they know that they have only scratched the surface of a social order which keeps them poor and harassed, they are off their knees, they have stretched their limbs, and are ready to do more, undeterred by notions of what history does or does not permit.

Yet, when the hold of history is weakened there ensues not only awareness of freedom but a sense of despair. This is very much in the Existentialist mood, and quite different from the radicalism of the thirties. To the old radicals, revolution was always around the corner; the proletariat was always about to rise and smite the foe; capitalism was always about to collapse in one of its periodic economic crises; every bloody nose suffered by the Left was received with joy as another sign of reactionary desperation. The great day of socialism was never far offthough it never dawned. that it is unsure of victory. Tom they formed the Freedom Democratic Hayden, writing in The New Republic Party in Mississippi, the Black Panther some weeks ago, makes no cheery pre- Party in Alabama, and tried to oust the dictions about how SDS will transform Mississippi Congressmen from their seats America; he says: 'Radicalism then and replace them with black Mississipwould go beyond the concepts of opti- pians. However, this vigour is accommism and pessimism as guides to work, panied by a basic mistrust of politics, finding itself in working despite odds. and what seems to me, anyway, a Its realism and sanity would be grounded sharper awareness than was shown in in nothing more than the ability to face the thirties of the limitations of parliawhatever comes.' Michael Harrington mentary democracy. The vote, today's commented on this in a subsequent issue, radicals know, is only an occasional and was clearly unhappy. He needs to know he will win, and right away, and so seeks desperately to create a coalition which will have in it a majority of ways-by day-to-day activity, by demon-Americans. The new radical is more in tune with Wendell Phillips, the abolitionist orator, who wrote: 'The reformer is careless of numbers, disregards popularity, and deals only with ideas, conscience, and common sense. . . . He neither expects, nor is over-anxious for immediate success.' Phillips contrasted the reformer with the politician, who 'dwells in everlasting now. . . . Similarly, James Russell Lowell wrote: 'The Reformer must expect comparative isolation, and he must be strong enough to bear it.' The new radicals derive strength from the other side of Existentialist despair: a supreme sense of responsibility, an unrelenting activism.

President at various times; Norman Thomas was the perennial Socialist candidate. Their realism about parliamentary democracy did not seem to be penetrating. It is a fact of American political life that the cards are stacked against minority candidates in our electoral college system, and in the singledistrict system by which we elect Congressmen. And even if a radical should break through, mysterious things begin to happen. Socialist Victor Berger, twice elected, was excluded from Congress in 1918 and 1919. Five Socialists elected to the New York State legislature were expelled also just after World War I. And when Communists began electing members to the city council in New York under the system of proportional representation, the system was abolished, and the Communists were

stimulate and start things, and then move Deacons in the Deep South; and if a on.

Perhaps memory and the historical records squeeze the juices out of the past, but the old Left was square, The new radicals are more cool, have more fun, are less puritanical, more irreverent. remember in the early days of the Atlanta student movement, Julian Bond's tiny couplet:

Look at that gal shake that thing; We can't all be Martin Luther King. In the thirties, Communists and their friends juggled deftly the categories of

revolution broke out in South Africa there would be support among the New Left for it, as there has been a good deal of sympathy for the Castro revolution in Cuba. Neither were the abolitionists pure in their pacifism; when the war came they decided to support it. would guess that the distinctions which the New Left makes are in the first instance (that of the Deacons) between aggressive violence and self-defence; and in the second instance (South Africa. Cuba, Algeria) between traditional wars



structure, as a tiny fire around which people gather to keep warm, as a way of showing, rather than just talking about, what the future might be like. Hence the Freedom Parties, the Freedom Schools, the Freedom Houses, the Freedom Labour Union, the Free University, the Congress of Unrepresented People, and who knows what next. This is not the free enterpriser's rejection of national power, as was suggested recently by a writer in The New Republic who saw a curious similarity between the New Left and the old Right. The New Left recognizes that national power is essential for certain activities (economic planning, for instance, or protection of civil rights workers in the South). But it would maintain the organized power of citizens outside the government to prevent tyranny.

The militants of the thirties and those of today share a common ground of concern: the abolition of war, of poverty, racial discrimination, of political imprisonment. Both groups look ultimately to a society where co-operation and affection would replace the scramble for money and power, while leaving the individual free to determine his own way of enjoying life and love. These are marvellously desirable ends. But the leftists of the thirties committed a deadly ethical error: they made absolutes of the means which they would use to achieve these ends-the absolutes of Marxism, the party, the Soviet Union, socialism. When the means become absolutes, then it is immediately possible, even probable, that the original ends will be forgotten or distorted. By allowing that to happen, the radicals of that day lost the chance to break new ethical ground, and followed the example of other social currents in modern times: a loving, Christ-centred religion crystallized in the church, in ritual, in dogma; liberalism crystallized in the modern parliamentary, capitalist, jingoistic state; education and intellect crystallized in the Ph.D., the university, the scholarly monograph and the mass media; the joy of life crystallized in spectator sports, in television, in credit cards, first-class passage and success measured by income. The militant Left of the sixties has so far been fluid and free-wheeling, refusing to deify any nation, any person, any ideological system; and yet holding fast-to the point of prison, of assault, even death-to a core of beliefs about the value of the individual human being. This is not to deny that there are lapses, faults, aberrations, irrationalities, pettinesses, absurdities, or that the danger of creating absolutes is not there every moment. No one can predict what will happen tomorrow. But right now the New Left looks not only concerned but honest, open, free of icons, full of courage and, above all, alive.

out. With all this, the Communist and Socialist Parties retained a touching faith in the ballot box.

Militants of today have worked hard The New Left is not afraid to say in the South to register Negoes to vote; flicker of democracy in an otherwise elitist system; the voice of the people must therefore be manifested in other strations, by a politics of constant protest rather than by the traditional politics of the ballot.

> The Left of the thirties had its organized gods: the Soviet Union, the party, the body of Marxist theory. The Left of today distrusts the crystallization of power in any form that becomes rigid and commanding. Only a few have read Robert Michels, but they seem to sense instinctively his thesis that there is an 'iron law of oligarchy' in any organization, with power flowing toward the top. And so, in both SDS and SNCC, there is disparagement of leadership, a preoccupation with what is called 'participatory democracy', an almost romantic notion that 'the people' must decide things for themselves. SNCC has always insisted that local people in the towns and hamlets of the Black Belt must be brought along to become the leaders; the SNCC people prod and

Part of the army of unemployed-1936.

June 22, 1941, of the Soviet Union by It must be said that here the Communists were very much in the modern liberal tradition: both Communists and liberals see war as an extension of the internal benevolence of the system they

'just wars' and 'unjust wars', using for national power and revolutionary up-Marxist scripture and analyses from on risings for social goals. I think the high to help decide which was which. strong strain of feeling for the Vietcong The Germans, Italians and Japanese in the present conflict stems from the were denounced for their acts of war belief that the United States is acting on against helpless peoples; the Russians' behalf of its national power, and that attack on Finland was justified as a case the guerrillas in South Vietnam (despite of self-defence. World War II was unjust the fact that China may be trying to and imperialistic until the invasion on augment its own power and Ho Chi Minh his) are themselves conducting a Hitler; it then became a people's war. revolutionary war against a foreign invader which manipulates a militaristic and elitist puppet government.

# THE NEW LEFT

While most old categories of radical thought do not neatly fit the New Left, I find a cluster of anarchist ideas at its core. There is the suspicion of organized power in any form, even the power of radical groups themselves. There is the fear of centralization, and thus a tendency for decisions to be made in the field rather than by executive committees, and there is the creation of parallel organizations inside the old

## TRADITIONAL POLITICS

The radicals of the thirties were very active in traditional politics. They ran candidates and sought entry into legislafive bodies. William Z. Foster and Earl Browder were Communist candidates for

# favour.

The New Left, on the other hand, is very much influenced by the non-violent approach of the civil rights movement, joined to an ancient American streak of pacifism which goes back to Thoreau and the abolitionist movement. That it is not a pure non-violence is attested by the movement's general approval of the

profit out of non-money by controlling

HOWARD ZINN.

# NON-MONEY

SEEM to have forgotten my subscription this year and hence am reknewing it now. (I suppose I could blame that spelling error on the idiosyncrasies of this typewriter, or again on the atrocious standard of education here which allows the greatest possible freedom of execution within the most narrow definition of the limits of approach to a topic; but I would rather assume that you know-what-I-mean and if you do not, that you will read the letter and practise your consummately diabaterial art upon the enclosed slip of paper which, I am led to believe, is called money; at least, it is not real money, but a substitute for money which cannot be actually used to the alarming conclusion that it must as money, but prevents, through its uselessness in purchasing goods, nasty antisocial people from stealing your money. I assure you that this non-money was paid for with REAL money, and in fact. cost slightly more than the value of the even English . . .) at the Bank of real money which this non-money represents. This excess cost of the enclosed he will pay me the sum of One Pound. non-money was paid for by purchasing In real money, I hope. Not In Fact. with real money a second form of non- He will most probably refer me to a money in the form of small coloured city broker, who will (for a small consquares of paper with serrated edges sideration of this real-non-money) refer more normally used to pay postmen the problem to a dealer in Gold, who with through a complicated process of will (for a larger consideration) give me transfer of five different kinds of non- a small chunk of refined 980/0 Au. And money called Revenue, Bank Balance, what, one may ask, is Gold worth? Government Fund, Bank Account and These days I'm told it's worth Dollars, Cheque which need not concern us here which can be exchanged in America for -the latter statement being a useful Gold, if you can ever get near enough caveat often employed by dealers in to Fort Knox. So suppose I do a James non-money with regard to the existential Bond and get into Fort Knox without validity of their system. I feel sure that being pulverised, not to say riddled, by if you present the enclosed non-money the hired assassins of non-money, what to one of those local bureaus of the is my piece of Gold worth now? Well, Government which specalize in selling for a start there are ten million Africans it, and in part of the arrangement for getting double hernias and police torture giving postmen non-money so that they because most of it is dug up where they can buy money to pay for all the non- live. Then there are one thousand money they have to give back to the million human beings starving be-Government to enable it to give them cause of the avarice of each one of , non-money in the first place, that on us not wanting to part with his nonpresentation you will be given REAL money (some, namely those who make

money in exchange. I have recently been scrutinizing some real moneygreen and brown variety-and have come



everyone else's non-money, more than others). Regrettably few seem to go out and help the starving millions to feed themselves by building intensive fish-culture pond-farms, irrigating wheat, and the like; most seem content to send them non-money (Green and Brownbased type) which, through personal experience, I have found very difficult to convert into fish or wheat (ever tried writing a cheque for a kipper?) and even if this is successful, it's likely to be at a very low energy conversion rate from non-money to protein. Worse, the controllers of non-money systems tend to send them atomic power plants so that the people have to band together and print their own little pieces of nonmoney paper so that they can transfer it through international non-money dealers (for a consideration) back to the Government who sold them the plant, previously starving people from those amongst their own number who now control the new non-money). That little piece of Fort Knox Gold is worth an eternity in human values. In a sense Beeching's recent statement was right in that everyone is self-indulgent (although I don't suppose for one moment that he meant it in this way) and inescapably so in a quote 'monetary' unquote world. The starving majority are training economists like mad, but Pike's Peak was reached, occupied, and defended long ago by the well-fed majority. What can Anarchists do to halt the new Klondike? One solution would be for everyone to be his own gold mine, like Stirner, or, Huxley-like, create a currency of human dignity and relegate Gold to its proper decorative function. It's difficult to see, though, how any such system could come about. even through the heuristic mechanisms of which Anarchists are so proud. Incidentally, if you don't believe me about everyone being avaricious, test a selected group of libertarian friends by burning a pound note in front of them and watch their reaction as the flame consumes the second serial number.

# Forthcoming Demo

THERE WILL BE a demonstration at the Utopian Embassy on September 31. This will be to remind the police force, the caretakers at the embassy, and such members of the public as may be about on Sunday afternoon, that the public should know that the progressives of Britain (London that is, those who turn up, naturally) are concerned about the country of Utopia.

The country is unworthy to rank with the leading nations of the world, its political and social activities are unique in the history of mankind. Its activities have amazed students of the current political scene. Perhaps Utopia is playing a deeper game than is thought and we do not know the truth.

However, briefly stated, the facts, and we hope to give you sufficient reason to or aeroplanes, or guns, to protect those turn out with your banner, and your placard. Utopia is the only country in the world which has never thought of having a nuclear weapon; it has, in fact, no navy, no army or air force. Secondly it has no prisoners, political

or otherwise. The prison system was abolished along with capital punishment (for any offence, including treason). It has no politicians and only politics, in the sense of small-scale ad hoc arrangements for day to day living. There is some slight dissention at the moment on the question whether having a cold in public is a crime punishable by a fine but apart from that things get along reasonably well.

As to Utopia's relations with other countries, they are excellent. She has no border problems, all her minorities are quite content to be in Utopia. They are not made to feel inferior. Utopia is glad to have minorities, they say it makes for variety.

Therefore if you wish to demonstrate please bring your own banners saying 'Utopians stay here', 'We want Utopia'. On second thoughts it has occurred to the anarchist organizers that there may be no Utopian embassy or consulate. What would they want with diplomatic relations, passports, visas, work permits? Where is the Utopian Embassy? Come to that-Where is Utopia? JACK SPRATT.

be a forgery, or a gigantic fraud on someone's part since it bears the alarmingly explicit statement that it is not real money at all. It says that if I demand of one O'Brien (heavens?-not England (what about all those soldiers?)

TONY J. PITCHER.



Excerpts from item entitled: 'Lee Harvey Oswald-Anarchist' appearing in 'The Weekly People', October 17, 1964 (Socialist Labor Party official paper).

IKE OSWALD, Ruby believed in the individual act as the "solution" to problems. One of his statements was that he determined to assassinate Oswald so that Mrs. Kennedy would not have to return to Dallas for the trial of Oswald. If true, or if the thought was a factor in Ruby's crime, as it may well have been, or if any other motive dominated Ruby, his act was as irrational as Oswald's presumed actand as anarchistic. . . .

'. . . It is another sign of the Warren Commission's inadequacy for the philosophical and political part of its job that it failed to conclude from its evidence that Oswald was indeed an anarchist.

'The anarchist, as Daniel DeLeon said in his "Socialism vs. Anarchism", a lecture delivered following the assassination of President McKinley, believes that social conditions are a reflex of government, rather than the reverse. This false theory implies that a change in the personnel of governmental officials can bring about a change in social conditions. It thus exaggerates the value of the individual act, inflates individual selflove, and breeds the assassin. . . . To an Oswald, whether or not he acted in accordance with the illogic and ruthlessness of his ego, the anarchist's "solution" would have been the solution." [Emphasis in original.]

'. . . Real Marxism is socially good. Anarchism, like capitalism, which it closely resembles, is socially evil.'

# LETTER from the NETHERLANDS

HOLLAND—you have to look twice on the map of Europe to locate it; but once inside you find in a nutshell (on a small scale) all the political and social divergencies from all the continent-and some homebred ones into the bargain!

In this country, where about 55% of the population adheres to the Catholic church, we find about 13 or 14 different political parties. To the outsider it must seem that many of these are more or less exactly the other's double, and it is only as one gets to know the scene that one recognizes differences.

We have, for instance, two Socialist parties: a big one (Party van de Arbeid), a reincarnation not too well resembling the pre-World War Social Democrat Party. It claims, of course, to be 'left', but we may safely say that it stands more on the left side of the middle! Younger people after the war founded the other one, the Pacifist Socialist Party, where the old anti-war sentiment, but even more the anti-army sentiment, in the form of several conscientious objectors to military service, stood at the cradle. They have assured us that many pre-war anarchist and syndicalist elements adhere to it and this may well be so. But it is a party nevertheless, which means party bosses, lots of paperwork, lots of (paid) specialists sitting in Parliament and so on. One would think that at least anarchists, in view of all this, wouldn't adhere long . . . but one doesn't know. We also have two Protestant religious parties: recent talks amongst the younger adherents to form a union have failed in results, one cannot guess why, if it is not because of the old men that have the jobs. Both are right-wing, have Protestant clericalism as their background and rely as much on the pastor's influence as on their own programme to get voters. But they found they couldn't become one, and in the meantime there has been formed a third one, which calls itself like the German Dr. Adenauer's party, CDU, while on the right side there always were two Protestant parties who, according to their position on the political front, must be even better (or worse!) than old John Calvin himself, in the way of Clerical Righteousness! Until recently we also had two Catholic parties, and even two Communist ones, but the former have returned to unity, while the small split from the Communist tree (and a rather sickly tree it is over here) has got together with the Pacifist Socialists. But this is not all! We have two or three Liberal parties, a special Farmers' Party (Boeren-party) and several regional ones in different parts of the country. One of these is the Friese National Party, which was recently formed (adherence at the moment 2,000) in a province where a quite separate language is spoken: Fries. The newly-formed Party requests more opportunities for this language and special schooling in it for the children. At the moment it can only be learned besides the Dutch language, and in second place, although everywhere in Friesland many official texts (like the nameplates of the towns) are in Fries and Dutch. We also have our Fascists and our Racialists. Racialism occurs everywhere, but certainly in one-time colonial De Bezige By, Amsterdam, 1965) which countries, and the Netherlands once made many people speak and think (but possessed Indonesia as a colony. From not act) about the influence of Nazi docthese colonial times dates the name 'blue trines, 20 years after. . . . ones' for coloured (Indonesian) people, In a strange contradiction to the case and you can still hear this name being of Paul van Tienen, who was able to used in conversation. From this time escape trial by fleeing the country, dates the fear of 'the yellow danger'. stands the Government's action with re-Before the Second World War, the gard to Portuguese Edgar da Silva Japanese, pouring out of their small Franco, who was, notwithstanding open territory, emigrated to Indonesia to earn public and official protest, escorted out their living (and to do a lot of spying of the country right back to Salazar's there, as people say) providing a kind of dungeons, where everyone knew for danger, to colonialists at least, in the certain his end lay. . . . way of population. Now, thanks to American propaganda, in the common **TRADE UNIONS IN PLENTY** Dutch mind the same fear reigns in connection with the Chinese. It is hard work to make clear to the people the far can be astonished to hear that be- foreign workers who were employed in another obligatory insurance, against illimprobability of the Chinese overrunning sides our 14 parties, we, of course, have different European countries, and now ness and disablement. For this too, we Europe. Although the Fascist Parties before every religious group has its own; thus contingent here. They assure me, that the war did not attract many people, we there is a Catholic trade union and a they earn less than in other West Eurostill have the remainders of it in our Protestant one, and, of course, for the pean countries (not counting Italy, Spain midst. One of them, Paul van Tienen, non-believers there is a Social Democrat and Portugal) while prices are as high for several post-war years ran a small one. Over and above these, we had a as anywhere else. This is, of course, bookshop in a town in the centre of Communist trade union which, however, partly, due to the fact that the foreign we shall have to start paying for doctor the country; he was prosecuted last year has dissolved itself and advised its workers are paid the 'contract wage', and and medicine, as the existing insurance because he imported and sold German- members to join the Soc. Dem. union, cannot privately bargain for more. It for this will be ended! So that we then imported Nazi literature, but he managed and try to put pressure there. In the is, however, partly because the wage shall pay a lot more, and receive less to escape the country-in a quite normal Rotterdam docks and the fisheries ports, policy allows employers always to gain again! way, it seems-before the trial was due also in certain transport trades-taxi-. . . an accident, of course. As in other driving is an example-there is a small European countries, Nazis now often Trotskyist union active. It publishes pose as champions of European unity. a news-sheet and from time to time The people who publish a small roneoshows signs of activity, but compared typed news-sheet, Europa-Post, are an with the others its membership is very example. Ex-Hitler Wehrmacht soldiers limited, and mainly restricted to a few sometimes gather in secret in Hoorn, a towns, of which we may name Rottersmall town in the northern part of the dam, Scheveningen, and Katwyk. It has country. But they raise a much bigger a membership amongst the Rotterdam voice in Western Germany in the comtaxi-drivers, for instance, but not among pany of their German brothers at a those in Amsterdam. reunion. A newspaper reporter at the Waffen-SS reunion last October at Democrats had a big influence in Par- result that the working population could, Rendsburg, Western Germany, photoliament and so important positions in with more money, buy less than before! graphed a large Dutch delegation. the Government of the time, they With regard to this it must be noted In the same measure, as it is a poli- effected a wonderful thing: Peace and that over the years our Governments tical idea, fascism is a (racialist) senti- Quiet on the Labour Front. Everyone have become more and more reactionary, ment. And this sentiment, with its should have the best intentions to re- influenced by the clerical parties, Cathobuild the country, they said (and for- lics foremost. Several Social Democrat hatred of Jews principally, has by no means died out, quite the contrary. Early got that some only had the bad inten- ex-Ministers (and Ministers in office as last year, a certain television programme tion to quickly fill their pockets and well) are by now connected with big satirised the vogue of TV-watching by increase their bank accounts) and it was industrial enterprises, in shipping and comparing it jokingly and satirically therefore necessary to obliterate the commercial undertakings; they therefore with a religious gathering. Afterwards struggle for better wages and positions. have become capitalists themselves. a whole booklet could be filled with the Therefore a Council was installed which smutty letters that were (anonymously, was formed from delegates of (only) Minister of Finance is a Social Demoof course) addressed to the speaker of three unions, delegates of different crat, and he has presented one of the several children live, sleep and cook for the programme, who happened to be a employers' unions (yes! these too are most reactionary budgets of recent years woman of Jewish origin ('Zo is het', publ. grouped according to religious beliefs!) (see: Le Combat Syndicaliste, Nov. 11,

and some Government officials. This 1965). By now several unpopular mea- Government, whether Socialist influenced Council was to settle the wages for each sures, such as the tax on clothing, shoes, trade in a binding agreement for a and shoe repairs, are to be put aside number of years. Wage changes could temporarily, which only means that in stimulated the building of costly flats for only be effected through the Council, a few months' time these same measures and preferably only at the end of the will quite calmly be put into effectterm of what was called the 'Labour when the voices of protest have died needs of the young worker and his Contract'. No worker could be fired, unless with a sound reason, nor could he leave of his own accord if his boss wouldn't let him. And of course it turned out that the boss always had a sound reason for firing his men, while the men couldn't leave when they could earn more somewhere else.

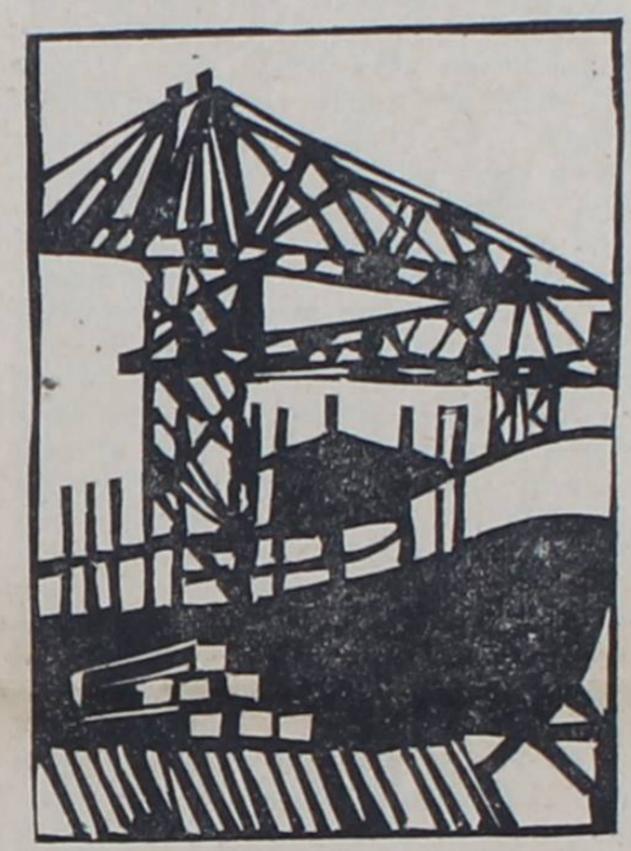
Of course in this Council, neither Trotskyists (being only a small club) nor Communist unions were accepted. The idea was to form a very gentlemanly Council, in which even the workers' to sit at the same table as real employers; and Communists, now, weren't really human, were they, let alone gentlemen! Those that profited by the work of employers and the union bosses, but not the workers. The latter were completely cheated. Wages were arrived at by means of much paperwork by 'workers' delegates' who earned ten times as much, and did not know one iota about the workers' cost of living. So contract wages were always low, and the habit grew that bosses paid more than that, unofficially ('black' wages). But social security pay (to those ill, or on the dole) was according to the contract pay, so one falling ill notes a sharp fall of income, even being insured (as every worker has to be)!

down!

# 'CORPORATE STATE'

tendencies in our state give the citizen reserved, like to be on their own and ground for the fear that we may be mind their own business, the living-tovery slowly growing in the direction of gether of parents and married children, a corporate state, like Portugal for in- or of old and young people in the same stance. Several things point towards house has caused many complaints. Our this. The regulating of conditions of climate forces us to live indoors, we do work and wages by a Council in which not meet much in bars, cafes and only part of the existing trade unions are restaurants, but prefer to entertain comrepresented, and the state keeps control, pany at home, or stay quietly at home by delegates should try to act like gentle- is one. Another is the obligatory orga- ourselves, so that the shortage of livingmen, out of gratitude for being allowed nisation in state-influenced corporations, of all kinds of business enterprises, farms, etc. Every business man, big or small, shopkeeper or artisan, has to pay an obligatory membership fee, which the Council-you may guess it-were the isn't small, and which doesn't yield him anything: it just disappears! A third trend towards the corporate state can. be discerned in the way that social security (a long-standing Socialist idea, in itself) is maintained. First it must be noted that the Nazis installed a health service (insurance) which was open to all up to a certain income, and insured against the costs of illnessdoctor, medicine, special treatment, hospital, convalescence, etc. This is still in use, and every worker is insured in it by a premium that the employer pays for him (and can deduct from the wage, at least partiy). Independent workers (small bosses, shopkeepers, free-lance intellectual workers) can be insured by paying their own premium, and then have the same rights as the others. During the years these rights have tended to be diminished somewhat, while premiums have been consistently raised. Of course, there was a concern about the old who rightly should be able to live, after a certain age, in peace and rest. An old age pension therefore was necessary, and it was brought about. But as measures like this had to be acceptable to the clerical parties (of which the Catholic one had in its midst a leader who, one time, was influenced very much by Mussolini's state); the pension was installed as an insurance too. All one's life (when working) from 18 years old, one now has to pay to the tax office a certain percentage (which differs from year to year, but until now has been higher every year) of the year's wages or earnings, and then, when one suddenly granted (busmen's strike, lives to 65, one gets a few hundred guilders a month, an income that only covers the barest necessities of life. A policy like this enables the state to encouraged workers to develop a 'laisser hoard a lot of money that can be used faire' attitude, because they saw less and in different ways that have nothing to do with the goal it is collected for! So own hands; it has 'officially', at least, it's natural that governments have looked around to find means of repeating the thing; this now has been found in an insurance on the same pattern, to ensure factors, led to its dissolving; it has kept a pension to widows with children or wages in our country low. The latter has without, and to orphans! And over No reader who has followed me so been made clear to me by criticism by and above this, we shall soon get still at least four trade unions too. Of course have added to the large foreign labour shall be obliged to pay yearly to the tax collector, and then when ill or disabled, and unable to work, we shall receive the same money that one now receives through other channels (a worker now gets sick pay too). But, most probably,

or otherwise, has found it necessary to change much of this aspect. They have the well-to-do bourgeois or business man to buy, but no attention is paid to the fiancée who want to marry, or are married several years already, without having been able to find a place of their I have for some time maintained that own. As most Dutch people are rather room is a heavy burden on the people's shoulders, which has resulted in many broken families and nervous breakdowns. Maybe one would think that situations described above should be favourable to a large measure of political or other unrest. To explore if this is absent, or to what extent it is present, needs some enquiries into other aspects first.



## 'WORKERS' PARADISE'

Both Government and unions, of course, instilled the worker with the idea that to trust his union delegates and the Government officials was the surest and safest way to arrive at a Workers' Paradise. No more strikes, with their danger of week after week of poverty, as our fathers had to endure: bring your troubles (through the proper bureaucratic channels, of course, which takes months) to the Council and all is well for you! As there was no need to strike, officially, the unions could keep the cash box shut, which they did under all circumstances. Wherever workers fed up with waiting for the Council to discuss their demands (and find them unjust) tried to strike the unions obstructed their own members! Nevertheless it has been witnessed that only after a nation-wide (forbidden) strike, wage demands that had never been looked into by the Council, were teachers' strike). The dreadful result of this policy over the years has been manifold. It has less opportunity to take things in their silenced that workers' opposition that there certainly was in the Communist union, and together with other political twice. That happens as follows: been a certain rise in wages awarded by the Labour Council and the Government. To arrive at such an agreement takes a long time, in fact several months. Twice we have seen prices mysteriously rising while the talks about wage increase were held. But each wage increase has come connected to the explicit permission for employers to add the 'extra costs' incurred thereby to their prices . . . so Shortly after the war the Social prices rose for the second time with the

Political unrest, agitation, protest, all need a movement of the Left to stimulate or express it. Now, does there exist in our country a Left movement of any influence or position?

It is no pessimistic statement to answer this question with 'no'. There is, as we shall later see, opposition. But anything like a movement of the Left, that at times raises a united voice of protest,

continued overleaf



AT THE

There is a fourth thing that one pays During the last two years there has money for through the tax office: it is for a fund out of which wage-earners with big families receive gratuitously several hundred guilders a year per child. This measure stimulates big families in a country that is already over-populated, because a certain reactionary clerical party has pushed a clerical law (not to abstain from having children) into politics.

# HOUSING SHORTAGE

One of the worst problems arising out of over-population, is a terrible shortage of adequate living accommodation. This exists all over the country, except maybe in some very small and remote villages. In all other parts of the country, people live in garrets, in hen-houses, re-arranged stables and garages, on ships moored somewhere in some canal or river, clandestinely in storehouses and workshops, together with parents or other old people in their house or apartment. In the present Government, the or crowded in one small room in some lodging-house, where grown-ups and years on end.

In the twenty post-war years no workers in Amsterdam.



Soldiers charge demonstrating building



### continued

is absent. The influence of the Communist Party is very limited; there is no syndicalist trade union, there isn't even a nationwide anti-bomb movement of any importance, like there is in England.

This is the more astonishing when one remembers that in the history of both socialism and anarchism, of syndicalism and of anti-militarism, our country, though small, had some importance. Without speaking in any way in favour of the Social Democrats, one of their leaders, Pieter Jelles Troelstra (a Fries). was internationall known. One may say that the Dutch Anarchist Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis, was not only known, but was famed in the movement the world over. He was also president International Anti-Militarist League. In 1920 the two Left trade unions then existing, together had 20,000 members; and it may be assumed that the syndicalist union, National Arbeid Syndicaat, then already past its heyday, had the biggest number of these (we may safely say 12,000). Soon after the Social Democrat Union (NVV) was started, the Syndicate began to lose members, although it existed up to 1940. The Nazis banned it, however, and after the war it was not revived.

making possible a certain personal interpretation of the Bible, offered, remark ably enough, a favourable breedingground for anti-militarist ideas.

According to the Bible, Christ has said that one shouldn't kill. It was talked about already in the Old Testament, but Christ repeated and stressed this message, this order. The Catholic church has always opposed this by maintaining Paul's reasoning, that the state had received power of arms by permission of God, and that the state should be obeyed. The Protestant church in general has followed this example, but because of different structure from the Catholic hierarchy (Protestantism being born out of disobedience to the Catholic

review Recht voor Allen and De Vrve. which is a monthly. Gradually the division has come to be seen as one between the older and the younger generations; this generalization of course doesn't cover the whole difference, but a large part of Another difference is on the point 11. of organisation: the 'older' people form a Federation, complete with membership cards and fees, and De Vrye only has its readers, for whom it acts as a contactcentre which of course stimulates and assists any activity that readers, alone or in groups want to start. For some time now no international or national activity takes place without participation of the people connected with the monthly, who usually partake while propagating their own ideas on the topic. We can only hope this may continue.

One of the biggest drawbacks for anarchists in the Netherlands has been the lack of anarchist literature in our own tongue. Our linguistic territory being small, and the number of anarchists being the same, there exist hardly any books about anarchism and its theories from later than the end of the 19th cen-

congregations do: Quakers, Baptists (there are two kinds) and, I think, Lutherans too. I think this matter offers to anarchists a means of propaganda, that is insufficiently exploited. Of course, pacifists aren't anarchists; amongst them however one often finds interest in anarchist ideas, which is logical because a pacifist has already set his personal conscience higher than the law of the state. Many pacifists are members of the Pacifist Socialist Party, and in this environment many are open to anarchist ideas. In fact most of those who have at one time or another taken an openly oppositional stand on some matter, or professed any form of direct action, have later found each other in this party. Which is a pity, because direct action is a typical non-party activity, a typical anarchist form of struggle, and the development means that these civil disobedients will more and more be going to act according to party policy. In fact, civil disobedience and direct action have dwindled in recent years. The propagandists of it have become party-

too-but several smaller churches or these police state times, but it should be done with a clear insight, and not just for the thrill of it. And then: one should tackle today's real problems, and not pose problems of one's own making.

The marriage of a princess is not an interesting thing to anarchists, I think. Princesses tend to marry members of the oppressing class anyway, and whether this person is or is not an ex-Nazi into the bargain can only be a matter of concern to those who suffered during the war and love, or esteem, royalty.

One would wish that the now vague and rather middle-class oppositional force amongst the young could be directed towards principal ends. But political interest in these circles is small, and maybe even non-existent. Understanding, if any, between different age groups is rare, and often impossible; the young shall seek their own way, without consulting others. It will not be an anarchist way, I fear.

In the above I have tried to give a bird's-eye view of the goings-on in a small country. I am aware that it doesn't sound very hopeful, but then, we shouldn't fool ourselves! I have not treated everything, nor do I exclude the possibility that I could have treated anything or anyone incorrectly. After all one's view is limited by one's position: in time, in society and most of all in politics.

### THE ANARCHIST PASTOR

It is my opinion that the movements at the extreme Left have suffered partly because of certain peculiarities. The man who for many years really represented anarchism even in the anarchists' minds, F. Domela Nieuwenhuis, was originally a Protestant pastor. Disappointed by the position the Protestant church took with regard to the workers' lot, he moved to the Left, became a Socialist and founder-president of a Socialist league, and at one time entered Parliament as a Socialist candidate. He attended one session only and, being an extremely well-read man, and an idealist. not a political opportunist, declared himself an anarchist, partly because he had witnessed the incapacity of the parliamentary men, and because he had become of the opinion that parliamentary action wouldn't lead the workers to emancipation. Besides being very active in the international movement, and as editor of divers succeeding weeklies, this man has done an astonishing amount of work to propagate the ideas to which he adhered. He has written, translated, re-written and edited rows and rows of books, always with the idea in mind that the text should be easily understandable to the uneducated mind. He travelled far and wide to speak at meetings and reunions. But when I said he represented anarchism in this country. I have at the same time shown the defects of his influence. He did not find anarchism with the workers, and become elected as their representative; no, the workers already adored him (because he had always taken their side against the oppressors) and he led them to anarchism, which is quite another thing. In spirit he was a pastor until his death. He worked and slaved and suffered for the people and the ideas he loved, but he hasn't been able to propagate others like himself.



There might well be a rebirth, however, although at the moment there are no direct indications in this direction. But, as everywhere in the world, there is a rather large but vague and undirected opposition amongst the adolescents that takes every thinkable form from mobbing, via drinking and gambling, to efforts in direct action protests against the H-Bomb, fascism or the war in Vietnam.

men!

# **A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF CHAOS**

In this light one must see the activity of a group of young people in Amsterdam who were highlighted in the press last year as anarchists and came into the news by their protests against the marriage of the eldest Dutch princess to a German who once served in Hitler's army. For weeks on end there have been fights with the police every Saturday night; there has been slogan-painting with, of course, arrests, which again resulted in mobbing outside court-houses, etc. These young men call themselves nationally and internationally the 'renovators of anarchism', because one or two of them have read about anarchist ideas more or less extensively. And as their activity created of course a certain amount of chaos, the press has been quick to take them at their word, and label them anarchists. For the bourgeois press anarchism has always been synonymous with chaos, and the Provos, as the young people call themselves, have been a great help in proving the point. Of course any kind of protest is in principle to be welcomed, but one should not confuse issues. The protest of these people takes principally the form of some magic ritual: they gathered round a certain statuette, painted it, lit a fire amidst incoherent cries and dancing. In my opinion the fighting with the police was the most important thing that happened at these 'happenings' as they were called. The police were there every Saturday evening in full force and not only fell upon the originators of the show, but incidentally arrested and later had sentenced, innocent or partly innocent bystanders or passersby. More and more it was the police who made the In starting their first 'anarchist' action, the Provos again started the wrong way. been made after the last war. Here the Old bicycles should be painted white and English-speaking countries are in a much distributed all over the town for everymore favourable position, as are the one to use to start a campaign against French. De Vrye tries to bring about the automobile problem, and the pollua change in this position, but as tion of the air by exhaust gases. Now its technical resources are limited, some- they overlooked the fact that anarchists thing only can be done in the form of have an excellent solution to this problem, booklets. But the lack of an anarchist which is cheap and more-than-sufficient theoretician in our tongue remains. No public transport, such as trams, underone seems to be in a position to place ground, trolleybuses, and so on. But the very much to be done, as the appearance more and more people use motor-bikes of society has changed a lot since our and automobiles! To put painted bicycles around may be a good stunt for a brewery or some such enterprise; as an 'anarchist solution to the traffic problem' it really cannot serve very well, as anyone who has known the traffic jams caused by bicycles (still only 10-15 years ago) can confirm. The great drawbacks of this adolescent kind of protest are manifest. First they are part of a world-wide trend, that nothing has any positive meaning when it is not organised into a peace or other political movement, as it is in England. The protest itself everywhere lacks a positive, constructive side, it is based too much on opposition alone (which anarchism is not). Thirdly, it will tend to ebb in a few years' time: the advocators of ti find they want to marry, they want to It is this reluctance to use force which it find they want to marry, they want to have more money than the dole or the university grant gives them (they end their studies) and they become, in the following the so-called laws of the Lord, exist two anarchist journals, a fortnightly -although there are Protestants refusing ing the police is in itself a good thing in

ARTHUR MENDES-GEORGES.

# SLAVES **TO FASHION**

THE INFERIOR POSITION which women hold in modern society is obvious but the subtle means whereby they are kept down are not so easily recognisable. I do not believe there is a deliberate conspiracy, but it is a fact that many cultured people involved in the fashion and cosmetic trades are aware of the influence their products have upon the quality of women's lives.

The vast majority of young women earn wages and their constant preoccupation with fashion in all its facets is a profitable business to millions and has a twofold benefit in that its pursuit occupies time and distracts the thought of women when they might be engaged upon activities which would threaten the supremacy of men. Anarchists probably draw their girl friends and wives from amongst those women least involved in the distractions of fashion and are probably unaware that the wasted energy and imagination is nothing less than a social catastrophe. The nominal liberty women enjoy is merely the necessary adjunct to their function as consumers. They are, in fact, engaged in the activities of the harem and are as enslaved as those helpless women were. The outside world with all its misery leaves them almost untouched. And the web in which women are so firmly entangled is becoming more and more of a stranglehold. Education does not let daylight in. It is merely the instrument they use to earn more money to satisfy the induced lust to buy and adorn. The trap is so subtle and so narcissistic that it should not go uncriticised or lumped together with anarchists' general condemnation of capitalist society. I do not seriously suggest that diverting their minds from their priestess aspect will inevitably result in a turn towards cultural or political activity, but the restless minds of women, with the gradual opening out of their personalities due to a more enlightened atmosphere, has a greater chance nowadays of expanding and questioning than it ever had before. Instead of which they have allowed themselves to pass from domestic enslavement to consumer enslavement without a murmur. Mind you it is possible that the visions of future power which the leaders of the suffragette movement used as an incentive were not the actual mainsprings of their followers' brief outburst of protest. It may be women are naturally apolitical and more interested in good personal and local relationships and activities and life on a smaller scale, with all its life-giving implications in our centralised world. If this is so then their energies are being sidetracked and perverted most adroitly.

I myself have met in anarchist circles, after the war, old-timers who used to argue in a debate: 'Domela Nieuwenhuis has said, that . . .' and were astonished when one dared contradict such a statement! One may safely take it that the personality of Domela Nieuwenhuis, instead of the ideas themselves, have own way arrived at a sort of anar- to our modern society and its many cipal transport, and to decrease service attracted many to anarchist ideas; many will have argued that if Domela Nieuwenhuis propagated it, it ought to be good. However Domela Nieuwenhuis isn't the only exponent of anarchism in this country, be he the oldest and first one. Of the other form in which anarchism showed itself in this country, again a pastor was the principal speaker: Bart de Ligt. We know that in view of the possibility of the First World War, the International Anti-Militarist League was founded in 1909. Its aim was, of course. to create an opposition to war by propagating refusal of military service, and of course, like all the Left at that time thought was appropriate, to start the general strike against the Government that declared war. In the latter action all Left idealists, from Socialists to Anarchists have been sadly disappointed: international solidarity of the workers has not yet been so strong as to prevent individual workers from thinking of their own bread first, and of their dying fellow-worker in the second place only!

### Police hitting provo.

pastors to hold views different from their church's official viewpoint. It is in this way possible for a Protestant believer to hold the view that one is not allowed to serve in the army (although the church favours the army) because in the army one will be obliged to kill people, which the Bible has said one isn't allowed to do. All this is in the realm of conscience, which in the Protestant church is a much-discussed topic. Many Protestant sects, moreover, attribute even more importance to the personal conscience, and the following of the New Testament than does the Protestant church, so that even in 1917 a small booklet could appear entitled Thoughts of a Christian Anarchist, which in its the classical anarchist ideas in relation general trend is to raise prices of munichism. Accepting one's conscience in forms of appearance; and this needs of the same, which is one reason why military matters naturally freed the way to accepting it in other matters that the state imposes, as did the above-mentioned booklet, and also the people around Bart de Ligt. Of course love for (or solidarity with) one's neighbour (fellowworker), social responsibility and the like, can be founded as much on the New Testament as on the teachings of Kropotkin. In fact the first Christian communities were rather anarchist in structure, as long as they were small and officially forbidden. Of course there remains Stirner, the individualist. I think it may be said that amongst the Domela Nieuwenhuis anarchists, appreciation of Stirner was greater than amongst those who saw De Ligt as their example. But in any case, there existed two rather separated anarchist to bring about a better world. groupings in our country between the two world wars. This proved to be a bad thing, when groupings. Every year there are a lot after the war years the then considerably of young men who, on principle, object diminished anarchist circles tried to to military service; most of them make passing of time, quite orthodox (and attain a revival. For some years a co- use of the possibility of alternative ser- often extremely reactionary) citizens. At operation was tried; in fact the total vice that Dutch law offers, and of these the same time they will shun the beat number of adherents really couldn't bear again a large part is formed by those music they now adore, and the extreme division any more. Again it came to a who object on religious grounds. The form of dress and haircut that now inbeliever a certain personal freedom in parting of ways, so that today there Protestant church does not favour this cludes them in a 'magic' circle. Oppos-

authority) it is possible for Protestant tury. In the period between the two world wars there came out a few translations and originals, but they are long since out of print and have not been reprinted. No writer has appeared who could place the meaning of anarchism rumpus, not the Provos. in relation to our modern world, nor have translations of anarchist 'classics' grandfathers' times.

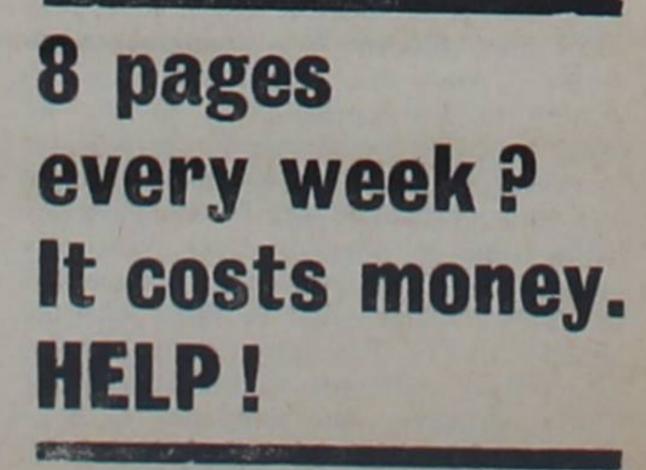
Protestantism, however, allowing the

# PACIFIST ANARCHISTS

It must be noted that anarchist thought still is traditionally linked to anti-militarism and objection to military service. their idea of international solidarity will I think many of us are outright pacifists; express itself in the refusal to fight with another, fellow worker or not. They will think their ideas should win through their weight, through their spiritual force. Anarchism is not, of course, strictly pacifist: in the-for Western Europe very improbable-case of a revolution arising. and barricades being set up, anarchists could well man the barricades, and shoot capitalists or their agents, in an effort

links anarchists to certain religious

BRONIA MCDONALD.



# OUT OF THIS WORLD

# MANIFESTO OF THE DEAD

# WITHIN EVERY SOCIETY there are

those who advance their political, social or aesthetic theories only to the limitations that the tolerance of their particular society will allow them. One accepts this for all of us, with but a few minor exceptions, compromise in the living of our daily lives with those forces we profess to hate or reject. But what cannot be condoned are those who ally themselves with the very creatures that they are in conflict with.

When certain CND officials openly conferred with major police officials on the policing of their meeting we despised them for what we held to be their final act of public impotence. When trade union officials take their seats on government and managerial boards we no longer trust them for we know that they are now the creatures of divided loyalties, and when a group of men and women under the umbrella title of ART scream death and destruction as an aesthetic theory yet only operate within the sterile area of the art magazine, the gossip column of the daily press and the middle-class culture flop house in Dover Street, then we feel that we are justified in dismissing this as another giggle for the Town as banal and pretentious as a Billy Graham meeting. Al Hanson who was billed to perform in a bomb crater in Carnaby Street has written that THE FUTUROS ADMIRES WAR, EXPLOSIONS, PUNCHES ON THE NOSE . . . THERE IS A CON-TEMPORARY ARTIST, LATHAN, WHO BURNS AND MESSES UP **BOOKS . . . DOES THE CARPENTER** SAWING UP THE NEAT NEW LENGTHS OF WOOD REALIZE HOW DELICIOUS IT IS TO BE RAPING AND MAIMING? THE ART OF A DESTRUCTIVE ACT IS ALWAYS FRESH.

movements the DIAS event produced its rash of prima donnas led by the German Wolf Vostell who refused to exhibit his de-collages in the basement of Better Books because, so the Town whispers, he could not have a white wall or because of the low standard of the other work. Whatever the reason, true or false, it is of little import in relation to this work of such little import.

With Vostell and the hand/and/eye squad gone we were left with Gustav Metzger and the spoken word. Metzger has played an odd role in this event. A tiny, bald and gently spoken man, born one feels out of his era, he has long been schooled and hardened in the politics of the militant left and he has handled the whole of the DIAS affair. from its conception to its death, with a political brilliance and brutality. It has been held that he has used Wolf Vostell's book Happenings as a bible and a social register and deliberately excluded men like Nuttall and Keen because they were not part of the Vostell sacred text. True, false or indifferent, one can only raise a tired eyebrow at a destruction-in-art event that does not include work by Bruce Lacey-but committees are committees and editors are editors. During the course of the polemic Metzger acted out his role of policeman with, it is claimed, threats to eject any unfortunate who should dare to interrupt while in his MI5 act he would rise from the body of the hall and read out the crime sheet of any known offbeat that chose to speak or protest. When I protested at the enlarged photograph of a skinned and crucified lamb I had to sit in silence for at least a minute while Metzger, unasked, rose from behind me and read out my associations and my attitude towards the arts. I was then allowed to speak. Yet my public protest was no idle one for while Nitsch is at liberty to pose his friends in the guise of freshly castrated subjects, complete with imitation blood, I would hold that it is a vile and obscene act, in the true meaning of these words, to crucify the skinned body of an animal to amuse an audience and whether 'the animal was dead when used' does not lessen the evil of this loathsome act. When, in America, Ay-O guillotined a chicken and the unfortunate creature staggered around bleeding to death this was held to be a gay little giggle. Much was made at this symposium that God is dead so by that very statement life is sacred. Man is the only creature who can conceive the awfulness of death so that if these stupid people within the Africa Centre wish to kill or sup at second hand the bestiality of death then let them kill each other and not while away a hot summer afternoon by applauding those who have chosen to persecute the innocent in the name of science, religion, politics or even ART.

# **'Assassin Newcomer to House'-The Irish Press**

of the anecdote) "cept the little dog died'. The United Nations are disintegrating, the Trade Union Congress sold its birthright, the French exploded their bomb, Harry Roberts is still on leave, the British Association faces dissolution and the Destruction in Art symposium is upon us. . . .

THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION was told that the development of man's 'relatively few human characteristics' which distinguished him from the baboon was due to his talent for walking which developed his big brain and the sophisticated use of his hands. They were told that naval cooks did almost as well as highly educated maintenance men and specialized ratings when three teams were tested in firing a new missile. The BA was also told in the Sociology sector, by Professor F. G. Bailey, that peasant villagers in Orissa, India, had a 'moral community in which honesty, respect and consideration applied. Then there were the outsiders-revenue inspectors, policemen, development officers, health inspectors and others [sociologists?]. These were the people to be outwitted: these were the people whose apparent gifts were by definition the bait for some trap. To a much greater extent than we did, peasants blamed failure upon the malevolence of human agents. Conversely any peasant who adopted new ways and became rich must have cheated, must have exploited his fellows, and to that extent should be punished or put outside the moral community. The politician who promised a good life for everyone, if they helped to carry out the plan, was heard by the peasants as we would hear a man promising everyone a first dividend on the pools every week'. The Professor's conclusion was that 'given peasant resistance, a radical policy of political and economic modernisation could only be achieved by pressure and by continued success in material terms'. . . .

'NOTHING MUCH HAPPENED' (in the words same, I shouldn't care to be as sweeping robbery, armed attacks, and rape. Peras sociology itself and declare roundly sons carrying out these terrible deeds that sociology is bunk. The jargon may verge on the incomprehensible, the pomposity may be unattractive, the statement of the banal and obvious, in a tone of discovery may be comical; but some of what is said is true'. . .

> THE ADVERTISING STANDARDS AUTHORITY reported a victory for truth in the case of pearls which were advertised as 'real' but were, in fact, cultured. The ASA had been able to negotiate to the effect that the agreed description is now 'real pearls (cultured)'. . . .

EXPERIMENTS ARE to be carried out on the dosing of pigs with birth-control pills. The Irish Press ran what must be an enthralling five-part series on 'Family Planning in Ireland'. The third part is on the role of books and calculators, it describes, among others, a book called The Rhythm Way to Family Happiness which contains tables of menstrual cycles, long and short. Alongside each there is a column of dates marked 'Baby Days'. A calculator which is also available in Ireland entails a woman having an accurate record of her menstrual cycles for the previous twelve months, before she can rely absolutely on the indicator. The writer says that family planning books can now be borrowed from Dublin public libraries. The City Librarian said, 'We have a comprehensive selection. Any approved Catholic book is available.' The demand for such books is heavy and they rarely lie for long on the shelves. . . . THE SECRETARY OF the Hounslow Borough Ratepayers Council suggests that the families of criminals should be deprived of any form of state aid 'and that they should have to pay the victim for his loss or damage, even if this means such payment will take away the crook's home and family possessions and possibly place a debt round the family for many years to come'. The secretary also wants the death penalty re-introduced. Capital punishment, he says, attack on sociology concludes: 'All the 'should be extended to cover armed

deserve no better treatment than to sense the rope round their necks, however grim and painful their executions may be.' He goes on: 'Criminals are grateful to the reformers of this country for making the laws so pitifully lax and stupid. They know there is no real punishment for their crimes; they know the police are bound up in pointless red tape; they know only too well that our prisons are becoming a serious opposition to Britain's holiday camps'. . .

THE PEOPLE REPORTS 'Stripper Mrs. Roberts brings in the crowds'. Last week 31-year-old Mrs. Roberts-who uses the stage nam Mitzi-was the star at the La Boom Casino and Cabaret Club at Longton, Stoke-on-Trent. The manager introduced her as 'Mitzi Roberts. Everyone has been looking for her but we managed to find her and bring her out of hiding'. The manager said to the People, 'We've had to boost her fees since all this started. But she's worth it as a good crowd-puller'. £1,000 reward has been offered for information leading to the arrest of Harry Roberts who is wanted for questioning in connection with the murder of three police officers at Shepherd's Bush. Mrs. Roberts last saw her husband eight years ago. . . . THAT OTHER Augean stable-mate of the People, the News of the World, had a poll on bringing back hanging. The readership votes were 127,384 for and 680 against from the News of the World's readership of more than sixteen million readers. However the sixteen million can keep their adrenalin charged next week by reading Major Mike Hoare (Congo mercenary) on 'how he saw appalling atrocities against the whites-nuns stripped and abused, priests tortured, little children raped and massacred. But he always remained the strong and silent soldier UNTIL NOW. At last he has agreed to tell it all. His story begins in the News of the World NEXT WEEK'. We can hardly wait! JON QUIXOTE.

Yet they were but idle words that drifted ceilingwise for three days in the Victorian hall of the Africa Centre and while the bearded lads and jerseyed lassies listened to the bilingual polemics from the platform death, gay and indifferent, played out their farce in South Africa where Dimitri Tsafendas, without a single paid line in Art and Artists, successfully tried out the ancient art form on the body of Dr. Verwoerd. This is the tragedy of all these bright little get-togethers that no one, least of all the authorities, trouble to take them seriously. It has been said, and with complete justice, that Laurel and Hardy did the Ortiz piano-smashing act with greater professional skill and more humour-for if anything could be held to damn this monotonous smashing of commercial rejects it is that after the second showing it is no longer funny ha-ha. If the end product that you offer is trivial then it must follow that the means must be all-important and as with all popular culture movements it is the personalities of the performers, no matter how meagre their talents, that become the focal point for the interest of the audience. As with all publicity

MERVYN JONES in a New Statesman



occupiers even though it is the Americans who are currently causing them the vastly larger degree of suffering, death and guarantee by the NLF, quoted from an article by Helen Lamb, of ethnic, cultural and (by implication) economic autonomy to the Montagnards of South Vietnam; in fact I cannot even refer to the context of the quotation as its source is not given-but a long enough history of communist regimes, and recent reports from China, would not lead me to put great faith in a promise of permission to differ from any power-wielding communist regime. What is evidenced by the promise is the NLF intention to be in the position to allow or disallow. It is not, as Bill Jamieson claims, a 'pity' that Jack Robinson did not state in his article ('Vietnam and Spain', FREEDOM 27.8.66) that, had there been no Russian aid to Spain, resistance to Franco would have crumbled within months. It would have been as arrogantly unfounded an assumption as most of the statements contained in Bill Jamieson's letter.

ganda put forward in the anarchist press. We anarchists recognize as vividly as anyone else that 'the terms Capitalism pain. Nor can I judge the value of the and Communism have largely remained abstractions for the illiterate peasants'; it is for this reason above all that we mourn their position of victims crushed between the very concrete power of opposing blocs. The criticism that Bill Jamieson could justly level is that we can do nothing more constructive than mourn. We would have to be something other than a small propaganda group in order to be able to vanquish both military contenders and thus leave the Vietnamese people free to create their own future instead of having it shaped for the majority to suit the interest, whether material or ideological, of a ruling power. The fact that we are not in a position to bring into being in Vietnam a condition of true self-determination for the Vietnamese people (any more than we can for the British in Great Britain) may lead to the conclusion that, the Vietcong being much lesser an evil than the US government, it is imperative to commit oneself to that cause and therefore, regretfully perhaps, to renounce anarchism. It is not possible to conclude that it is in accordance with the theory, practice or ethos of anarchism to support one ruler against another.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

#### 

#### Dear Comrades,

In response to Bill Jamieson's letter (FREEDOM 10.9.66) I am considering, calmly and without hysteria, the present attitude to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, in so far as this has been shown in recent issues of FREEDOM. I agree that it would be estranged from anarchism to support the imposition on the Vietnamese of a settlement concocted by (unspecified) governments; I have failed to discover where FREEDOM has ever at any time urged its readers to support such a settlement, with or without the one independent NLF representative.

I am not qualified to test the assertion that since 1960 the Vietminh has enjoyed the mass support of ordinary Vietnamese people, but I suspect the position is that, in the manner of ordinary people in most places, they do not actively oppose the Vietminh where the latter are in power, any more than they appear to actively oppose the American

The entire argument is false in its relation to anarchism and the propa-

# FILM REVIEW

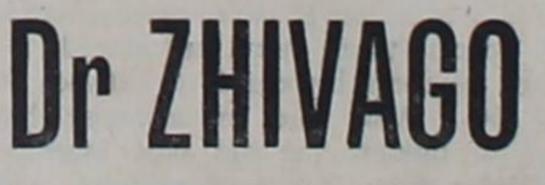
London, S.W.6

A serious error in the film is its suggestion that the Bolsheviks were the M. CANIPA.

LETTER



**NAVID LEAN'S 'Doctor Zhivago'** (Empire, Leicester Square), is a film of very mixed quality. Pasternak's novel of an idealistic, sensitive poet-doctor caught up in the turmoil of the Russian Revolution is, due to its constant varia- struggle, can only be vividly presented



#### compared to the novel.

Wide screens, glorious locations and casts of thousands are no substitute for directing genius. The scene at the beginning, where peacefully demonstrating

The tone of the latter part of the

film is markedly anti-Bolshevik. During

the Russian Civil War the Whites com-

mitted ten times more atrocities than

the Reds yet the film gives the opposite

pathos and beauty of the dead faces

lying among the ripe corn make one despise much more the Red soldiers who have just shot them down.

tion of time and place, a very difficult if the background against which the pribook to adapt for the screen. Paster- vate lives are contrasted is itself vividly nak's insistent theme, which got him portrayed. Unfortunately, in this film into trouble with the Soviet authorities, it isn't, and in spite of the fine acting that private thoughts and emotions are of Omar Sharif as Zhivago and Julie at least as important as any social Christie as Lara the film lacks force

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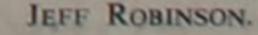
CONTRACTOR OF A DESCRIPTION OF A DESCRIP

impression. The only sacked village shown was destroyed by Reds, not even as a pro-White village but just sacked to give a general example to the neighbourhood. A party of White soldiers who are ambushed and killed turn out to be mere boys. The point ostensibly being made is against the be-medalled, monocled, old Czarist fanatic who has just led the boys to their deaths but the

is very impressive.

workers (to empty, darkened streets!) spearhead of anti-Czarist agitation and revolution. The much more numerous are cut down by Cossack sabres while social-democrats and other parties of the upper-class diners gorge themselves at non-Bolshevik left are simply ignored. a nearby restaurant seemed like an iso-The anarchists are likewise ignored lated incident cut out of time rather (there is no sign of Pasternak's muddled than part of the process of Czardom but magnificent 'Black Banner' Vdovibecoming continually more rotten. There chenko) except for one chained prisoner was never any sense of teeming misery, on his way to Siberia. The best scene discontent and nascent revolution. in the film is when this man forgets his Lean is better in suggesting the final anger at imprisonment and his features collapse of Czardom. The scene in which soften as he watches a peasant kiss his deserters streaming from the First World sleeping wife. Life goes on, as Zhivago War trenches, meet a body of reinforceand Lara show on a wide scale, in spite ments marching forward and persuade of Revolution. them to kill their officers and turn back

Tom Courtenay is unconvincing as the fanatic, Strelnikov, likewise Alec Guinness as Yevgraf, the agitator turned general, and plays the role wearing perpetually the facial expression of a Dickensian schoolboy. Much the best performance is that of Omar Sharif as the doctor who supports the Bolsheviks for subtle reasons, being too concerned with his integrity as a doctor, poet and man to swallow any party line. It is such uncompromising individuality, as the film just managed to convey, that undermines totalitarianism as Boris Pasternak himself showed in his own life and work.



# **Press Fund**

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was as good as over after the Wednesday debate. All the stars said their piece and the press did the rest.

IVAF

The Party's

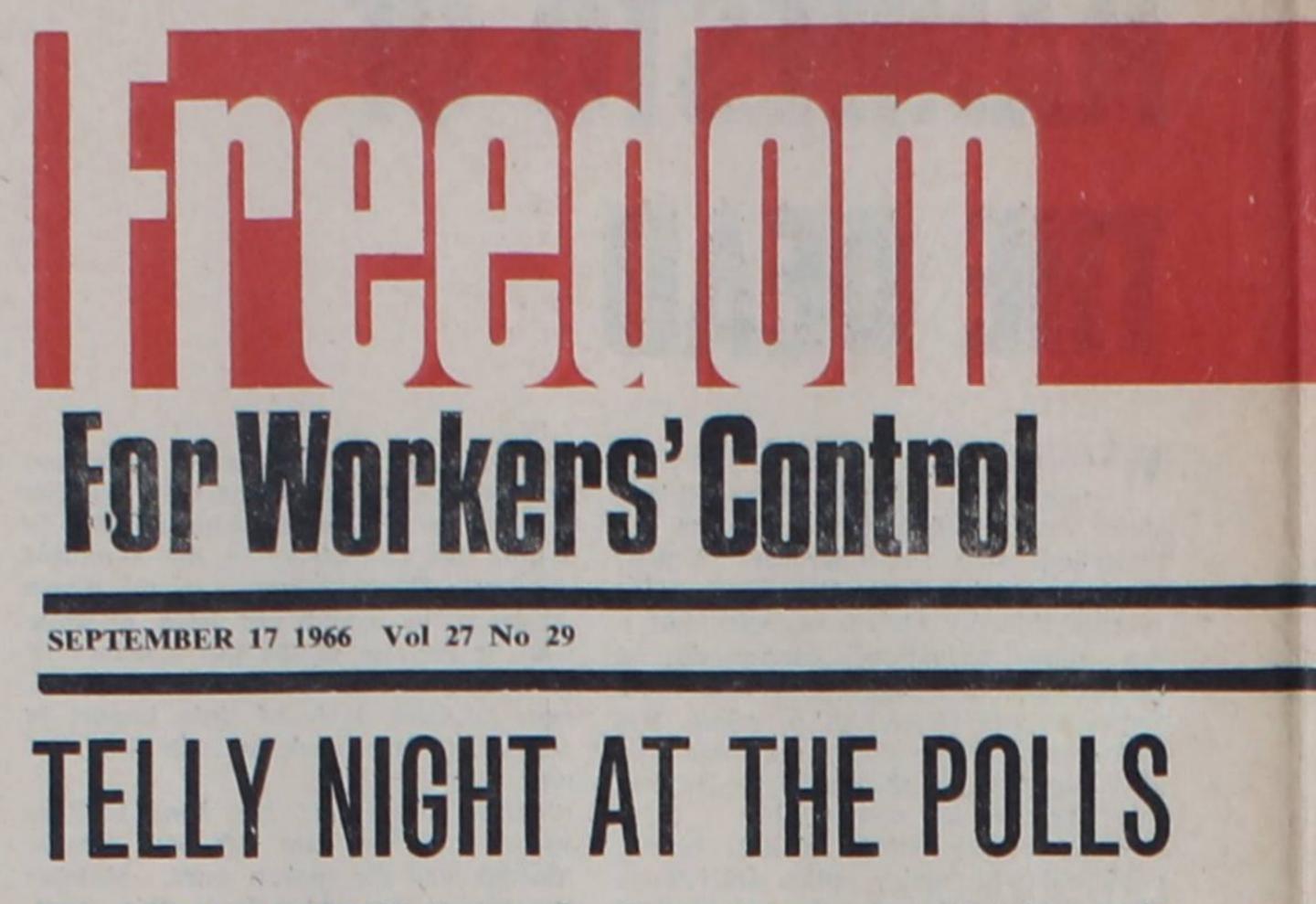
The Trades Union Congress, Blackpool, 1966, was a first-class lesson on looking both ways at once. The committee responsible for compositing the resolutions did a good job. The 25 concerned with the incomes policy were whittled down to four, the result being that the Government won all four. This meant that the TUC accepted both the wage freeze and the principle of legal enforcement to back the early warning system on wage claims. For what it is worth the voting was tight, so unless the sizeable minority is prepared to take action they may as

THE PARTY is over, in fact it well have lost by fifty million votes.

> The debate took the expected form. Opposition to the freeze led by Cousins, and defended by Carron and Douglass, the two ardent knights of the working class. Carron has just been offered a job on the Fairfields Board, but the AEU shop stewards made it very pay women would have received it plain he wasn't their nomination. Cousins was supported by Clive Jenkins, ASSET General Secretary, who when he speaks has the rightwing stalwarts pulling their hair out. If anyone can put anyone's back up it's Clive Jenkins, one of the smoothest of operators in the trade union business. Will Paynter put up the best case against the freeze, but the real star of the show was Vic Feather, deputising for George Woodcock. He had no misgivings about supporting the wage freeze at all and in that way was able to put up a better case than probably Woodcock would have done. Also Mr. Feather hopes to be secretary of the TUC when George Woodcock retires and therefore was making a very early 'opening gambit'. The question of equal pay for women was discussed and Congress turned down an attempt to get the relevant section of the annual report 'referred back'. Delegates supporting the reference back were dissatisfied with talks between Gunter and the TUC leaders.

Gunter was accused of not appreciating the urgency of the problem and the TUC were attacked for not including a woman member of the TUC General Council when they had talks with the Government on equal pay.

Mrs. Teague of the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers opened the debate. She stated that on April 21 Gunter, accepting the principle of equal pay, raised the problem of implementation and said it should be considered within the context of the prices and incomes policy. Ray Gunter should have been a butcher, he is the best purveyor of tripe I know. But to be perfectly honest if the men were really in favour of equal



CIR WILLIAM CARRON the smooth Party victory could well influence the right-wing president of the Amalganational issue. Two of the Far Left are already national organisers and apart mated Engineering Union is already flexfrom Caborn the Far Left have a chance ing his soft muscles beneath that wellof putting up one more winning candidate tailored jacket in preparation for his coming battle with George Caborn. and, should they succeed, they will have Caborn the 49-year-old Yorkshireman four of the seven national organisers and ex-member of the Communist Party's within their stable. Caborn is a competent union organiser, national executive has managed to top with a mind and a will of his own, and the first ballot for the new post of AEU he has already had his own little shownational organiser and after the recent purge of the communists within the AEU down with the Communist Party over their Sheffield tactics in attempting to Carron will take a jaundiced view should any plum job within his union fall into extend the influence of the Communist the lap of one of the faithful. Party. Whether George Caborn will be good for the rank and file, the Com-Yet at the moment all is not easy munist Party or the AEU only time and going for George Caborn for he has not long memories will know.

# We could have 8 pages every week-with your help!

years ago.

Union Congress A Trades wouldn't be the same if there wasn't some call for nationalisation, this year Mr. George Doughty of DATA obliged; the aircraft industry was the one selected. DATA was calling for nationalisation in the knowledge that it was staggering on with financial support from the Government on a scale greater than that received by any other industry.

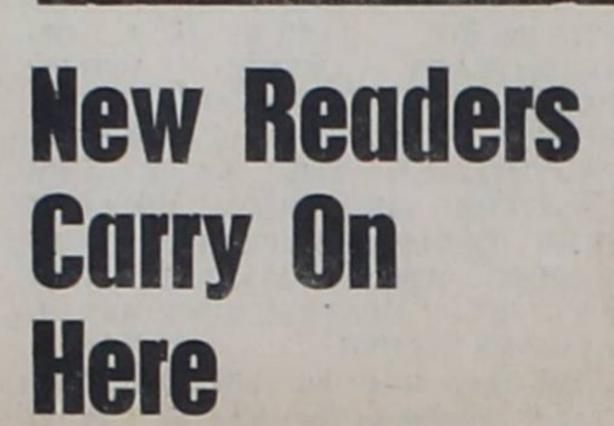
The 1966 Congress ended with 'see you in October at the next jamboree'. What did it all mean? Not a great deal I'm afraid, the only hope is that delegates from all over the country got together outside the Conference and talked hard facts, particularly in view of the last Cabinet meeting, where it is reported that the Government have no intention of allowing Part IV of the Prices and Incomes Act to lapse by August. We can rest assured, free bargaining (as we understood it) has gone for ever, unless the rank and file make a stand and take action.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

won a decisive victory and he must now fight a second battle. What has Carron and the other right wingers sweating is the low turn-out by the rank and file at the first poll for, even by AEU standards, this was pure telly night with less than a 7% turn-out.

Caborn, the tough-talking president of the Sheffield AEU district committee, was drafted by the Far Left at their gathering in Birmingham last June and Carron screamed murder at this blatant interference in the democratic machinery of the union. And well he might, for there is a series of important AEU elections due in the coming year and a Communist

LUMPENPROLETARIAT.



# Continued from page 1

This column exists for mutual aid. Donations towards cost of typesetting will be welcome.

**Gontact Golum** 

- Accommodation Wanted. Painter/ Anarchist wants cheap room/attic in Fulham or near. F. A. Gresty, Punchbowl, Manchester Road, Buxton, Derbys.
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MOST HUMAN beings are, by nature, gregarious from cradle to grave. Children form gangs and join clubs; hobbies and sports are almost all based on team spirit, and this applies also to adults.

A great deal of work is carried out by teams or gangs of workers, and the size of each group may vary from two to two thousand. All are supposed to be working jointly on some project or other, but in the majority of cases the natural instinct is submerged in the piecework system where it is every man for himself. suspicious and wary lest his 'partner' alongside him is receiving 1d. an hour more and why.

The group contract system eliminates this suspicion. Since each knows what the other is getting and why, energies and thoughts can be applied to the task in hand. They become a natural social unit with individual as well as group responsibilities. Respect for each other and feelings of fellowship both within the group and between groups is automatically accepted. The individual regains self respect, feels human and knows that others are interested in his thoughts and ideas, he is no longer just a number on a clock card.

work was carried out by the Regional Protracted 'negotiations' over disputes are no longer necessary; these, if they free to any anarchist or libertarian- should arise, are settled in the space of pacifist group unable to afford one. a few hours. Earnings are usually higher than individual earnings for equivalent work. Improved working conditions, shorter hours, etc., with no loss in earnings, can be achieved by their own efforts and are accepted with no hesitation on the part of the management (unless it is trying to pull a fast one). Many benefits cannot be measured or put into words. they can only be summed up by personal feelings experienced and as improvements in the normal family life. PRACTICAL EXAMPLES There is nothing like using practical examples to back up that which many would refer to as Utopian theory, and therefore I will conclude with three such examples, one historical and two contemporary.

manner.

- 2. The quality of the work produced is distinctly above average.
- 3. The weight of the evidence goes to show that the output per man on Guild contracts is as good as that obtained by the best private contractors, and certainly higher than most.

Why, then, did this admirable venture fold up?

The first post-war slump arrived, and as is usual the Government changed its housing policy. Then the power of the banks enabled them to put the screws on the cash situation and in addition to this the master builders' associations jointly agreed to submit lower tenders against the Guilds and to share the losses. **DURHAM MINERS** 

In 1962 and 1963 two reports were published based on studies carried out by the Tavistock Institute during the late 1950's in the North West Durham coalfields on the Durham Miners Free Group Project. The miners, when working in small groups, were originally paid as individuals; however, when mechanisation and specialisation were introduced, the group numbers increased to between 40 and 50. After the management had tried to operate the old type incentive methods they found themselves with that all governments are the foes of dissatisfied workers and low profits. The miners then took it upon themselves to work out their own methods. The system evolved is known as 'composite working'; in it the group takes upon itself the whole responsibility for the total number of operations involved. There is no fixed job at the coal-face for any individual, each man deploys himself as the job requires, the group has complete freedom to evolve the organisation and carrying out of the job, and is not subject to any outside authority. The group negotiates a price per ton of coal produced and the income is divided equally among the team. The effect has been an increase in output per man hour and a reduction in cost per ton. The final example, for which there are some very significant figures, concerns the gang system operated at the Standard Motor Company in Coventry. Prior to 1939, nearly 70 different rates of pay existed at the plant and gangs consisted of a maximum of ten men. During the war, in order to achieve increased efficiency and productivity, the number of wage rates were reduced to ten and the number of men per gang increased to hundreds.

elimination of tyrants. In 1960 we printed a headline TOO BAD HE That error has since been MISSED! rectified.

Anarchism has never been the oldfashioned doctrine its detractors and historians would have you think. The recent death of Margaret Sanger underlines that in Margaret Sanger's early years Emma Goldman, the American anarchist, campaigned with her for birth control. FREEDOM was the first paper to publicise the birth pill. The ideas of workers' control have long been part of the social and industrial application of anarchism expressed in syndicalism. Lewis Mumford and Paul Goodman have expressed their debt to Peter Kropotkin on town-planning. On crime and punishment anarchist ideas (based frequently on personal experience of prisons) have come to be accepted as commonplace. Anarchist opposition to corporal and capital punishment have been fully justified. The anarchistic ideas of Ferrer, the Free School and A. S. Neill have filtered down even to State schools. Anarchists have had a concern for civil liberty and against censorship which is inherent in their philosophy and not a cause to be paraded dependent upon what government is in power. Anarchists know civil liberties. Anarchists 'took up' psychology (supporting Wilhelm Reich among others) when others were ignoring it. Others have now 'taken up' sociology. Anarchism has always advocated sexual freedom and has always championed freedom for youth. In fact anarchism is an idea for the young. It has become very popular at the moment, almost fashionable, this may seem to some a danger but we can be certain that following the ideas of anarchism, involving non-co-operation with the state will not get overwhelming support. Anarchism is not an easy doctrine. The question arises from time to time whether anarchism is practical. Oscar Wilde once said that the practical ideas depended for their realization on things as they are. It was, as Wilde pointed out, precisely those things we wish to change. What is quite certain is that our circulation could be higher, our subscription list longer, if only more people knew about us. Will you, new reader (and old reader), help us to do this by getting subscriptions, getting us into libraries, and bookshops and organizing selling of FREEDOM?



The first instalment appeared last week. Limited number of copies available.

In Manchester, under the influence of

S. G. Hobson, the building unions formed

a Building Guild. M. Sparkes persuaded

the building operatives in London to

form the London Guild of Builders and

by 1921 over 140 such guilds throughout

the country joined forces to form the

National Building Guild. Because it was

(as we are today) hidebound by the legal

system, it was forced to become a

limited company, and as such, undertook

to carry out such work as was

necessary for finance, insurance and

commodity supply. All contractual

Councils who were elected jointly by

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If you wish to make contact let us know.

Of historical importance is the National Building Guild, 1921-1923. Important because not only does it illustrate the economic viability of workers' control but also because of the social responsibility it engendered.

After the 1919 Housing Act it became possible to build houses with a very small capital outlay, payment being made stage by stage as the project developed. (This is much the same today with selfbuilding groups when and if they are allowed to operate.)

the local craft organisations, professional bodies of architects, clerks, etc., and the local guild committees. Capital required for each contract was borrowed at a fixed rate of interest and during the term of the contract, full trade union rates were paid to each worker 'in sickness and in health, in good weather and in bad'. Where the job worked out cheaper than the contract price, the savings were handed back to the local authority (Shades of employing the Guild. Ferranti.)

# **GUILD CONTRACT**

Dr. Addison, Minister of Munitions during 1917-1918 and from 1919-1922 Minister of Health, supported by his chief architect, Raymond Unwin, promised the Guilds contracts, if they could be guaranteed enough finance. The CWS bankers allowed an overdraft, the CIS granted loans and the CWS building department signed contracts for the supply of building materials. On the strength of this, two million pounds worth of work was taken on. Ernest Selley, the independent investigator of contracts on each site, concluded his report as follows:-

1. The Guilds have proved that they are organised on business-like lines and are able to carry out building operations in a workmanlike

To be continued. LEN CROSS.

JACK ROBINSON.