

freedom

Anarchist Weekly 4c

SEPTEMBER 17 1966 Vol 27 No 29

Warmongers' Peace Mission

TWO EVENTS, one at the end of last 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 power-seekers rather a headache, is free to pursue his policies and enlist supporters for those policies. There was also a half-hearted 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

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 plugging 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 war.

RON PEARL.

New Readers begin here

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 obligato. 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

IN 1960 an attempt was made on Dr. Verwoerd's life. He was fired upon by a wealthy business man, Mr. David Praet. 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 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 Villiers Graaf, leader of South Africa's so-called 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.

Shed No Tears



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 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 majority of them want to keep it that way, even though it is at the expense of the black and coloured South Africans.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

Well . . . it's a Start

THE NEWS of Hendrik Verwoerd's murder reached London by mid-afternoon 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 politics—this 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.

L. M. HERRICKSON.

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 Rivera, the Popular Front government and still, under Franco. In Cuba Batista and Castro followed the same policy. In China the anarchists have gone underground although 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 Room 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

ANARCHY 67 discusses AMERICA

ANARCHY is Published by FREEDOM PRESS at 2s, on first Saturday of every month

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 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 *Sportpalast*. 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!

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

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?
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 tactics, 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 nationalized enterprises would serve society best, and in what situations; or in how to work inside and outside the present two-party system; or in the problem of what institutions can substitute for the repressive state in a new society. The good side is a lack of commitment to a particular nation or 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, subversion and double-dealing on all 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 crouched 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.

SECTARIAN

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

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 autumn of 1963, responded to a *Life* article in which Theodore 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 bureaucratic sense of 'responsibility' is largely a product of middle-class upbringing, and SNCC is more proletarian-peasant 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*, in the middle of the 17th century: 'The heart has its reasons, which reason does not know...' This may seem like sentimental spirituality, so ineffective (and we demand effectiveness today) in a cold world of *Realpolitik*, so subversive of the ironclad reason that marks modern man and particularly the modern

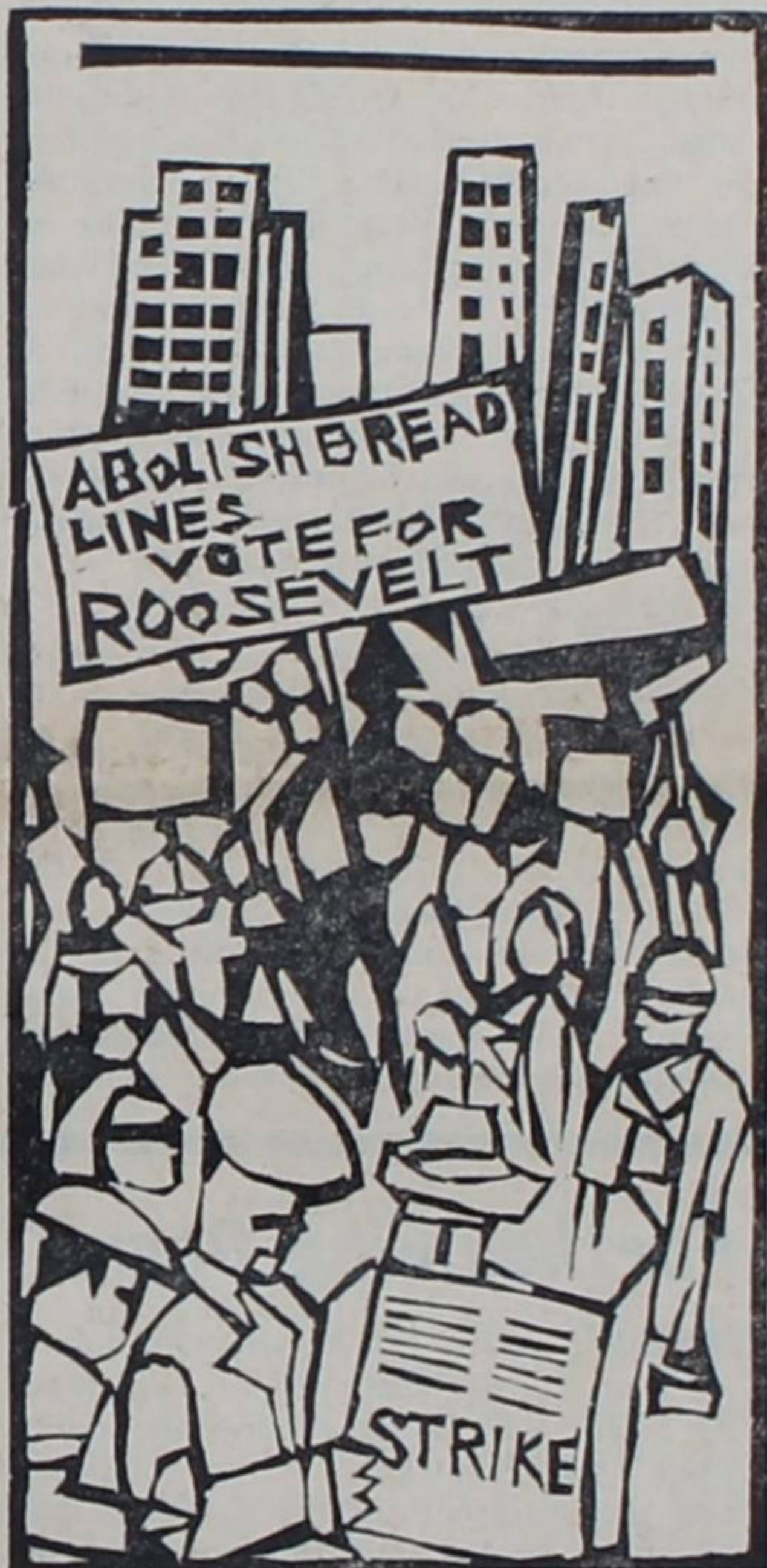
making; it also has an initiating role in moral decisions. The logical positivists, from Hume to Hans Reichenbach, have told us that we cannot rationally deduce first statements about what *should be*. But we may very well feel them; and there is a shared feeling among people about certain basic values, 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 than to hate, better to live than to die. 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:

... 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...

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 freedom-loving 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, all-white 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-

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 off—though it never dawned.

The New Left is not afraid to say that it is unsure of victory. Tom Hayden, writing in *The New Republic* some weeks ago, makes no cheery predictions about how SDS will transform America; he says: 'Radicalism then would go beyond the concepts of optimism and pessimism as guides to work, finding itself in working despite odds. Its realism and sanity would be grounded in nothing more than the ability to face whatever comes.' Michael Harrington commented on this in a subsequent issue, 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 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.

TRADITIONAL POLITICS

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

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

Militants of today have worked hard in the South to register Negroes to vote; they formed the Freedom Democratic Party in Mississippi, the Black Panther Party in Alabama, and tried to oust the Mississippi Congressmen from their seats and replace them with black Mississippians. However, this vigour is accompanied by a basic mistrust of politics, and what seems to me, anyway, a sharper awareness than was shown in the thirties of the limitations of parliamentary democracy. The vote, today's radicals know, is only an occasional flicker of democracy in an otherwise elitist system; the voice of the people must therefore be manifested in other ways—by day-to-day activity, by demonstrations, 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

stimulate and start things, and then move 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. I 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

Deacons in the Deep South; and if a 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. I 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.

HOWARD ZINN.



Part of the army of unemployed—1936.

'just wars' and 'unjust wars', using Marxist scripture and analyses from on high to help decide which was which. The Germans, Italians and Japanese were denounced for their acts of war against helpless peoples; the Russians' attack on Finland was justified as a case of self-defence. World War II was unjust and imperialistic until the invasion on June 22, 1941, of the Soviet Union by Hitler; it then became a people's war. 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 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

for national power and revolutionary uprisings for social goals. I think the strong strain of feeling for the Vietcong in the present conflict stems from the belief that the United States is acting on behalf of its national power, and that the guerrillas in South Vietnam (despite the fact that China may be trying to augment its own power and Ho Chi Minh his) are themselves conducting a 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

NON-MONEY

I SEEM to have forgotten my subscription this year and hence am renewing 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 diabolical 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 as money, but prevents, through its usefulness in purchasing goods, nasty anti-social 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 real money which this non-money represents. This excess cost of the enclosed non-money was paid for by purchasing with real money a second form of non-money in the form of small coloured squares of paper with serrated edges more normally used to pay postmen with through a complicated process of transfer of five different kinds of non-money called Revenue, Bank Balance, Government Fund, Bank Account and Cheque which need not concern us here—the latter statement being a useful caveat often employed by dealers in non-money with regard to the existential validity of their system. I feel sure that if you present the enclosed non-money to one of those local bureaus of the Government which specialize in selling it, and in part of the arrangement for giving postmen non-money so that they can buy money to pay for all the non-money they have to give back to the Government to enable it to give them non-money in the first place, that on presentation you will be given REAL

money in exchange. I have recently been scrutinizing some real money—green and brown variety—and have come



to the alarming conclusion that it must 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 even English . . .) at the Bank of England (what about all those soldiers?) he will pay me the sum of One Pound. In real money, I hope. Not In Fact. He will most probably refer me to a city broker, who will (for a small consideration of this real-non-money) refer the problem to a dealer in Gold, who will (for a larger consideration) give me a small chunk of refined 980/0 Au. And what, one may ask, is Gold worth? These days I'm told it's worth Dollars, which can be exchanged in America for Gold, if you can ever get near enough to Fort Knox. So suppose I do a James Bond and get into Fort Knox without being pulverised, not to say riddled, by the hired assassins of non-money, what is my piece of Gold worth now? Well, for a start there are ten million Africans getting double hernias and police torture because most of it is dug up where they live. Then there are one thousand million human beings starving because of the avarice of each one of us not wanting to part with his non-money (some, namely those who make

profit out of non-money by controlling 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 Brown-based 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 non-money paper so that they can transfer it through international non-money dealers (for a consideration) back to the Government who sold them the plant, or aeroplanes, or guns, to protect those 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.

TONY J. PITCHER.

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 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.

Another Theory about Oswald

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

LIKE 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 act—and 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 self-love, 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 home-bred 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.

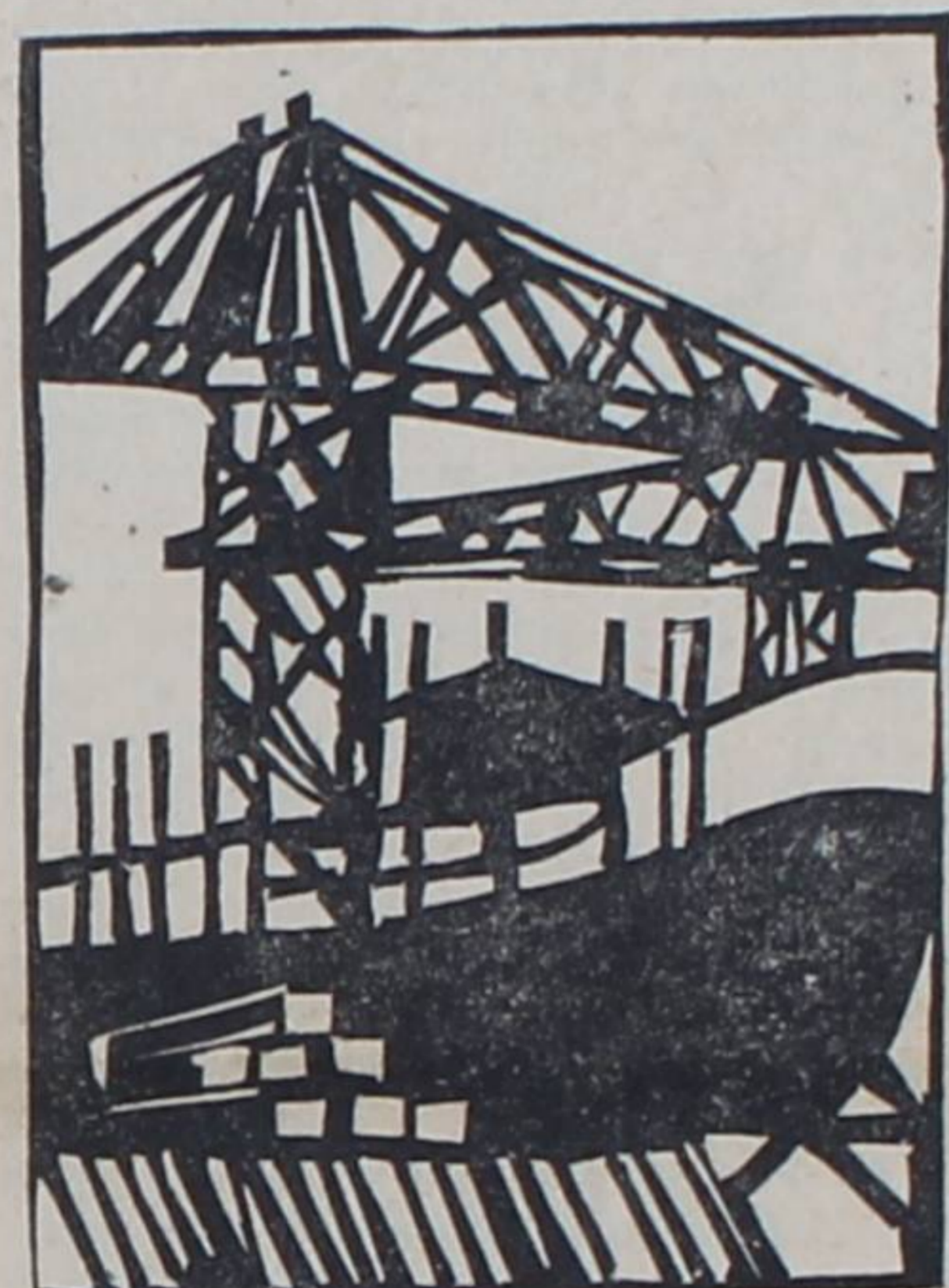
We also have two Protestant religious parties: recent talks amongst the younger adherents to form a union have failed in results, one cannot guess why, if it is not because of the old men that have the jobs. Both are right-wing, have Protestant clericalism as their background and rely as much on the 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-partij) 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 countries, and the Netherlands once possessed Indonesia as a colony. From these colonial times dates the name 'blue ones' for coloured (Indonesian) people, and you can still hear this name being used in conversation. From this time dates the fear of 'the yellow danger'. Before the Second World War, the Japanese, pouring out of their small territory, emigrated to Indonesia to earn their living (and to do a lot of spying there, as people say) providing a kind of danger, to colonialists at least, in the way of population. Now, thanks to American propaganda, in the common Dutch mind the same fear reigns in connection with the Chinese. It is hard work to make clear to the people the improbability of the Chinese overrunning Europe.

Although the Fascist Parties before the war did not attract many people, we still have the remainders of it in our midst. One of them, Paul van Tienen, for several post-war years ran a small bookshop in a town in the centre of the country; he was prosecuted last year because he imported and sold German-imported Nazi literature, but he managed to escape the country—in a quite normal way, it seems—before the trial was due... an accident, of course. As in other European countries, Nazis now often pose as champions of European unity. The people who publish a small onee-eyed news-sheet, *Europa-Post*, are an example. Ex-Hitler Wehrmacht soldiers sometimes gather in secret in Hoorn, a small town in the northern part of the country. But they raise a much bigger voice in Western Germany in the company of their German brothers at a reunion. A newspaper reporter at the Waffen-SS reunion last October at Rendsburg, Western Germany, photographed a large Dutch delegation.

In the same measure, as it is a political idea, fascism is a (racialist) sentiment. And this sentiment, with its hatred of Jews principally, has by no means died out, quite the contrary. Early last year, a certain television programme satirised the vogue of TV-watching by comparing it jokingly and satirically with a religious gathering. Afterwards a whole booklet could be filled with the smutty letters that were (anonymously, of course) addressed to the speaker of the programme, who happened to be a woman of Jewish origin ('Zo is het', publ.



De Bezüge By, Amsterdam, 1965) which made many people speak and think (but not act) about the influence of Nazi doctrines, 20 years after...

In a strange contradiction to the case of Paul van Tienen, who was able to escape trial by fleeing the country, stands the Government's action with regard to Portuguese Edgar da Silva Franco, who was, notwithstanding open public and official protest, escorted out of the country right back to Salazar's dungeons, where everyone knew for certain his end lay...

TRADE UNIONS IN PLENTY

No reader who has followed me so far can be astonished to hear that besides our 14 parties, we, of course, have at least four trade unions too. Of course every religious group has its own; thus there is a Catholic trade union and a Protestant one, and, of course, for the non-believers there is a Social Democrat one. Over and above these, we had a Communist trade union which, however, has dissolved itself and advised its members to join the Soc. Dem. union, and try to put pressure there. In the Rotterdam docks and the fisheries ports, also in certain transport trades—taxi-driving is an example—there is a small Trotskyist union active. It publishes a news-sheet and from time to time shows signs of activity, but compared with the others its membership is very limited, and mainly restricted to a few towns, of which we may name Rotterdam, Scheveningen, and Katwyk. It has a membership amongst the Rotterdam taxi-drivers, for instance, but not among those in Amsterdam.

Shortly after the war the Social Democrats had a big influence in Parliament and so important positions in the Government of the time, they effected a wonderful thing: Peace and Quiet on the Labour Front. Everyone should have the best intentions to rebuild the country, they said (and forgot that some only had the bad intention to quickly fill their pockets and increase their bank accounts) and it was therefore necessary to obliterate the struggle for better wages and positions. Therefore a Council was installed which was formed from delegates of (only) three unions, delegates of different employers' unions (yes! these too are grouped according to religious beliefs.)

and some Government officials. This Council was to settle the wages for each trade in a binding agreement for a number of years. Wage changes could only be effected through the Council, and preferably only at the end of the term of what was called the 'Labour 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' delegates should try to act like gentlemen, out of gratitude for being allowed 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 the Council—you may guess it—were the 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)!

'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 suddenly granted (busmen's strike, teachers' strike).

The dreadful result of this policy over the years has been manifold. It has encouraged workers to develop a 'laissez faire' attitude, because they saw less and less opportunity to take things in their own hands; it has 'officially', at least, silenced that workers' opposition that there certainly was in the Communist union, and together with other political factors, led to its dissolving; it has kept wages in our country low. The latter has been made clear to me by criticism by foreign workers who were employed in different European countries, and now have added to the large foreign labour contingent here. They assure me, that they earn less than in other West European countries (not counting Italy, Spain and Portugal) while prices are as high as anywhere else. This is, of course, partly due to the fact that the foreign workers are paid the 'contract wage', and cannot privately bargain for more. It is, however, partly because the wage policy allows employers always to gain twice. That happens as follows:

During the last two years there has 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 prices rose for the second time with the result that the working population could, with more money, buy less than before! With regard to this it must be noted that over the years our Governments have become more and more reactionary, influenced by the clerical parties. Catholics foremost. Several Social Democrat ex-Ministers (and Ministers in office as well) are by now connected with big industrial enterprises, in shipping and commercial undertakings; they therefore have become capitalists themselves.

In the present Government, the Minister of Finance is a Social Democrat, and he has presented one of the most reactionary budgets of recent years (see: *Le Combat Syndicaliste*, Nov. 11,

1965). By now several unpopular measures, such as the tax on clothing, shoes, and shoe repairs, are to be put aside temporarily, which only means that in a few months' time these same measures will quite calmly be put into effect—when the voices of protest have died down!

'CORPORATE STATE'

I have for some time maintained that tendencies in our state give the citizen ground for the fear that we may be very slowly growing in the direction of a corporate state, like Portugal for instance. Several things point towards this. The regulating of 'conditions of work and wages by a Council in which only part of the existing trade unions are represented, and the state keeps control, is one. Another is the obligatory organisation 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 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 illness—doctor, 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 partly). 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 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 hoard a lot of money that can be used in different ways that have nothing to do with the goal it is collected for! So 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 a pension to widows with children or without, and to orphans! And over and above this, we shall soon get still another obligatory insurance, against illness and disablement. For this too, we 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, we shall have to start paying for doctor and medicine, as the existing insurance for this will be ended! So that we then shall pay a lot more, and receive less again!

There is a fourth thing that one pays 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, or crowded in one small room in some lodging-house, where grown-ups and several children live, sleep and cook for years on end.

In the twenty post-war years no

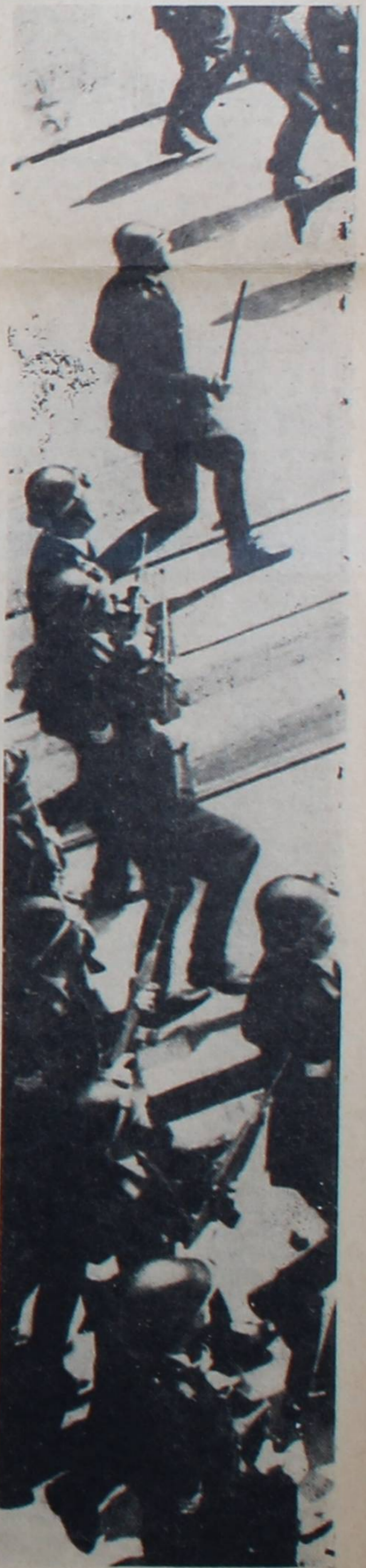
Government, whether Socialist influenced or otherwise, has found it necessary to change much of this aspect. They have stimulated the building of costly flats for the well-to-do bourgeois or business man to buy, but no attention is paid to the needs of the young worker and his fiancée who want to marry, or are married several years already, without having been able to find a place of their own. As most Dutch people are rather reserved, like to be on their own and mind their own business, the living-together of parents and married children, or of old and young people in the same house has caused many complaints. Our climate forces us to live indoors, we do not meet much in bars, cafes and restaurants, but prefer to entertain company at home, or stay quietly at home by ourselves, so that the shortage of living-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.

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



Soldiers charge demonstrating building workers in Amsterdam.

NETHERLANDS

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 internationally 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 of the 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.

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.

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 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!

Protestantism, however, allowing the believer a certain personal freedom in following the so-called laws of the Lord,

making possible a certain personal interpretation of the Bible, offered, remarkably enough, a favourable breeding-ground 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



Police hitting provo.

authority) it is possible for Protestant 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 own way arrived at a sort of anarchism. Accepting one's conscience in 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 (fellow-worker), 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 groupings in our country between the two world wars.

This proved to be a bad thing, when after the war years the then considerably diminished anarchist circles tried to attain a revival. For some years a co-operation was tried; in fact the total number of adherents really couldn't bear division any more. Again it came to a parting of ways, so that today there exist two anarchist journals, a fortnightly

review *Recht voor Allen* and *De Vrye*, 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 it. Another difference is on the point 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 contact-centre 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-

too—but several smaller churches or 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-men!

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 un-directed 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.

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 rumpus, not the Provos.

In starting their first 'anarchist' action, the Provos again started the wrong way. Old bicycles should be painted white and distributed all over the town for everyone to use to start a campaign against the automobile problem, and the pollution of the air by exhaust gases. Now they overlooked the fact that anarchists have an excellent solution to this problem, which is cheap and more-than-sufficient public transport, such as trams, underground, trolleybuses, and so on. But the general trend is to raise prices of municipal transport, and to decrease service of the same, which is one reason why more and more people use motor-bikes 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 advocates of 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 passing of time, quite orthodox (and often extremely reactionary) citizens. At the same time they will shun the beat music they now adore, and the extreme form of dress and haircut that now includes them in a 'magic' circle. Opposing the police is in itself a good thing in

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.

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 pre-occupation 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 main-springs 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.

BRONIA McDONALD.

8 pages every week?
It costs money.
HELP!

The Party's Over

THE PARTY is over, in fact it was as good as over after the Wednesday debate. All the stars said their piece and the press did the rest.

The Trades Union Congress, Blackpool, 1966, was a first-class lesson on looking both ways at once. The committee responsible for composing 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

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 plain he wasn't their nomination. Cousins was supported by Clive Jenkins, ASSET General Secretary, who when he speaks has the right-wing 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 pay women would have received it years ago.

A Trades Union Congress 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.

FREEDOM For Workers' Control

SEPTEMBER 17 1966 Vol 27 No 29

TELLY NIGHT AT THE POLLS

SIR WILLIAM CARRON the smooth right-wing president of the Amalgamated Engineering Union is already flexing his soft muscles beneath that well-tailored jacket in preparation for his coming battle with George Caborn. Caborn the 49-year-old Yorkshireman and ex-member of the Communist Party's national executive has managed to top the first ballot for the new post of AEU national organiser and after the recent purge of the communists within the AEU Carron will take a jaundiced view should any plum job within his union fall into the lap of one of the faithful.

Yet at the moment all is not easy going for George Caborn for he has not 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

Party victory could well influence the national issue. Two of the Far Left are already national organisers and apart from Caborn the Far Left have a chance of putting up one more winning candidate and, should they succeed, they will have four of the seven national organisers within their stable.

Caborn is a competent union organiser, with a mind and a will of his own, and he has already had his own little showdown with the Communist Party over their Sheffield tactics in attempting to extend the influence of the Communist Party. Whether George Caborn will be good for the rank and file, the Communist Party or the AEU only time and long memories will know.

LUMPENPROLETARIAT.

New Readers Carry On Here

Continued from page 1

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

Anarchism has never been the old-fashioned 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 that all governments are the foes of 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?

To be continued.

LEN CROSS.

JACK ROBINSON.

We could have 8 pages every week—with your help!

Contact Column

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

Accommodation Wanted. Painter/Anarchist wants cheap room/attic in Fulham or near. F. A. Gresty, Punchbowl, Manchester Road, Buxton, Derby.

Situations Vacant. Teacher of Science and Maths required in Tunbridge Wells. Write to John Gravelle, 2 Linden Gardens, Tunbridge Wells. Phone: Tunbridge Wells 24900.

The Anarchist. First issue of *The Anarchist* (US) scheduled to appear in September. Contributors will include Ammon Hennacy, Jackson McLow, John Stanley and Anne Marie Tallefer. For a copy send a donation to Robert Steed, c/o The Catholic Worker, 175 Chrystie Street, New York, N.Y. 10002.

Ex-Summerhill. Young man requires unfurnished flat in West London. Not more than £6 per week. Phone FUL 3086 after 6 p.m.

Anarchist Cat Seeks Home. Girl with cat requires furn./unfurn. accom. London area. Willing to babysit/other help exchange for low rent. Box No. 39.

Typewriter for Free. Ancient but still serviceable portable typewriter offered free to any anarchist or libertarian-pacifist group unable to afford one. Apply A. W. Uloth, 75 Templars Avenue, London, N.W.11.

Richard Miller safeguard free access! Please return your books to Birmingham Public Library otherwise your guarantor (Peter Neville) will have to pay their cost. Peter Neville would also like his own books back.

Vietnam. What are you doing about genocide in Vietnam? Volunteers wanted for a Vietnam Peace Action Group—members of any organisation or none—but must be active dependable and prepared to participate in unusual projects. Phone: BEC 7517.

Libertarian Teachers' Association. Copies of second bulletin now available. Sixpence each (2/- for five). P. Ford, 102 Stotfold Road, Arlesey, Beds.

Accommodation Wanted in country near London for active man with invalid wife. Small income. Also any job considered. Open to genuine suggestions. Must move to help wife's health. Box No. 35.

Accommodation Wanted. Urgently. Poet seeks poet-cheap room in West London. Otherwise responsible person. Box 33.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

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 piecemeal system where it is every man for himself, suspicious and wary lest his 'partner' alongside him is receiving £d. 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.

Protracted 'negotiations' over disputes are no longer necessary; these, if they should arise, are settled in the space of 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.

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 self-building groups when and if they are allowed to operate.)

COLLECTIVE CONTRACT - 2

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 work was carried out by the Regional Councils who were elected jointly by 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 employing the Guild. (Shades of 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

manner.

- The quality of the work produced is distinctly above average.
- 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 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.

To be continued.

LEN CROSS.

JACK ROBINSON.