

Freedom

Anarchist Weekly

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Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen

IN THIS AGE of 'democratic dictators' like Wilson and Gunter, socialists should remember that power, real power, still lies in the hands of industrialists and landowners. Despite all the drivel about death duties, etc. (which is merely thrown up as a smoke-screen to cover the continued existence of the feudal nobility), the gentry continue to exercise massive financial, social and industrial power. It is a conventional socialist outlook that feudalism died with the rise of capitalism. In fact, the feudal lords very often became the capitalists. A new hat—and hey presto!—the same old story.

The difference between cattle-stealing and banking is a technical one. The wealth of the people was once driven off by raiders, today they take it out of our pay packets. Who are these ancient exploiters, these historical leeches? Let us consider one or two of the worst offenders and, in the process, uncover a nest of real rat-bags.

Ever heard of the Duke of Buccleuch? Probably not. His name never hits the headlines, you'll never see him on television, but the family probably holds more power than Harold Wilson. They have held power for over 300 years, in the face of the Industrial Revolution, despite the franchise, in the age of 'democracy', they rule. The Duke has two dukedoms, one marquessate, five earldoms, three viscountcies and five baronies. In 1890 the family seats were listed as three in England (among them Beaulieu—the democratic Lord Montague being part of the set-up) and nine in Scotland. At this time, rents from property brought in £216,473 a year. Capital like that made them industrial barons too.

Henry Scott, son of the sixth Duke, was Deputy Governor of the Bank of Scotland and Chairman of the Life Association of Scotland (a major insurance company). His brother, Lord Herbert, was a director of the Sun Insurance Office. Another close relative, Lord Burghley, was a director of LNER (and today they still get vast sums of loot from the nationalised undertaking—under the Compensation Acts—which explains the Railways Board deficits). Finding it impossible to live on such niggardly pickings, he was also a director of the National Provincial Bank and the London and Lancashire Insurance Company. Lord Herbert was chairman of Rolls Royce (and thus, today, that family has a huge holding in the company—which derives a lot of profit from military engines), are involved with Westinghouse Ltd., United Glass, and Lord Burghley ran Firestone Tyres. Herbert was also at one time vice-chairman of the Association of British Chambers of Commerce—a tribute to the ability of the feudal hierarchy to become the capitalist hierarchy. Their political influence matches their economic power—several of the family being MPs. They are also connected with the Earl of Home, rumoured at one time to have been alive and living in 10 Downing Street.

The most sickening mob are the

Cavendishes or the 'Devonshire set', the hub of the Tory Party and the milieu from which Harold Macmillan crawled to hang himself round the necks of the people of England. This crowd began their merry reign by the hand of one John Cavendish who stabbed Wat Tyler, thus setting in motion the family who have been stabbing the British worker ever since. Their political power is enormous, their economic power terrifying. At the end of the last century the Duke of Devonshire owned 220,385 acres of land, bringing in £172,099 per annum. They invested in industry and commerce. The family loot is in the Royal Exchange Assurance Company and the Westminster Bank. Every time you down a bottle of Worthington or Bass, you'll never guess who rakes in the profit? They are also involved in Bryant and Mays (so now we know who Annie Besant was fighting) and have South American interests in the Buenos Aires Pacific Railway Company.

The Stanleys went in for owning whole towns! At one time the noble house of Stanley owned the *entire* town of Bootle! Even Rachman had nothing on this lot. Take the town of Bury, for example. Granted to the Stanleys after the Battle of Bosworth, they made a fantastic killing as the population grew, since they owned half the city outright, the other half being owned by the rectory—which was a Stanley living. The Stanleys, by now the Earl of Derby, bought the Moore Estates in Liverpool, Bootle and Kirkdale in 1710, for £12,000. In 1843, they flogged 1,000 yards of river frontage in Kirkdale to the docks authority, making £17,500. In 1847, the Earl of Derby flogged them another 60 acres, raking in £90,000.

In 1924 another Earl sold the city of Colne. In 1925, he disposed of estates in Bury, Radcliffe, Whitfield, Manchester and Salford for £1,000,000. In 1927 he sold the ground rents of 22,000 homes in Liverpool, Bootle, Kirkdale and Walton for £1,750,000. The Earl's son, Lord Stanley, became Secretary of State for the Dominions and left £2,209,863!!

The Londonderrys are another mob of traditional parasites. Their particular forte was the coal industry (today under the nationalised undertaking they still rake in the compensation—that's where the Coal Board losses come from).

One particularly nauseating specimen of this breed was Viscount Castlereagh, a past president of the Tory Party, a member of the pro-Franco Friends of National Spain and a leading light in the pro-Nazi Anglo-German Fellowship. One of his mates was Neville Chamberlain (who played only a small part—by owning BSA).

The O'Neills (who rule Ulster) are involved in the Guardian Insurance Company and at one time controlled the private electricity companies stretching from Cornwall to East Anglia. When nationalisation came, they collected, and up and up and up went the workers' fuel bills!

These parasites, despite their industrial and financial interests, still retain vast amounts of land. Our noble families still own over one third of the land. We, the taxpayers, cough up untold millions every year in agricultural subsidies. Most of it ends up in the pockets of the gentry.

So don't hope that Harold will squash the House of Lords, he *can't* and he *won't*. For in that relic are assembled as ugly a horde of capitalists, landlords and financiers as we're ever likely to see. And they'll always be there, until the revolution.

IAN S. SUTHERLAND.

STAGGERING RENT increases ranging from 10s. to £3 12s. a week are to be imposed on 242,000 tenants of the Tory-controlled Greater London Council.

Although it is proposed to spread them over three years, it still means that the vast majority of tenants will get a 25% increase in 1968, a further 25% in 1969, and yet another increase in 1970. The Tory leader of the GLC admits that the average increase will be about £2 a week—not including increases for central heating, garages, and lodger charges.

It all adds up to a vicious attack on the living standards of nearly a quarter of a million working-class families. The tenants are to be fleeced to the tune of £2 or £3 a week—not so that more homes can be built, not so that the homeless can be housed, not so that the existing GLC houses and flats can be put into a better state of repair (the money spent on repair is actually to be cut by £85,000 a year!) . . . but solely and simply to pay the financiers—the moneylenders—the usurious rates of interests they charge for housing loans.

BWARE THE POLITICIANS

There is certain to be an angry reaction from council tenants and, equally certain, will be the efforts of the 'opposition' parties to lead this anger into the utterly futile channels of 'constitutional' protest.

Mrs. Evelyn Dennington, one of the leaders of the GLC Labour opposition, has already issued a statement to the press and radio saying that while 'Labour will have every sympathy with whatever action is taken by tenants they will not support a rent strike'.

So there you have it. The Labour opposition will deplore the increases, they will prove that they are unnecessary, they will petition MPs, they will speak at demonstrations, and they may even lead a march on County Hall (although I doubt it), but when all this fails, and the increases become due for payment, **they will not support any real resistance by the tenants themselves.** So, when the chips are down, the constitutional opposition will be on the other side, on the side of the 'law' and therefore, in practice, on the side of the Tories who are imposing the increases.

REMEMBER ST. PANCRAS!

Now, whether Mrs. Dennington and her friends 'support' a rent strike is of little or no importance. But what is important is that the tenants themselves realise, right from the start, that only a mass withholding of the rent will compel the bureaucrats at County Hall either to greatly modify their scheme or abandon it altogether. That was the great lesson we learned from the St. Pancras Rent Struggle of 1961.

LIBERTY IN DANGER!

THE SMALL HANDFUL of liberties gained by the British people after centuries of struggle are in danger. The pleasant liberal mask of the capitalist state is slipping away to reveal its true face, the evil face of fascism. 1984 is still 17 years away, politically it could be here tomorrow.

The attacks by the 'Blue Cossacks' on the Barbican building workers' picket and the Roberts-Arundel strikers; the police brutality on the July 2 and October 22 anti-Vietnam war demos; the use of the Race Relations Act to prosecute the growing 'Black Power' movement; the increased powers of search and the increased penalty for 'obstructing the highway'; the harassment of the literature sellers at Hyde Park; the vicious sentences imposed on Terry Chandler, Mike Randle and Del Foley, not to mention the increasing police intimidation of the youth and coloured immigrants, and all within the space of one year, are not a series of unrelated incidents, they are indicative of the trend towards a police state.

It is one thing to throw flowers at the police cordons and chant 'we love fuzz'; it is another to understand the role of the police and the other forces of so-called law and order in our society.

The state is an instrument of oppression, the means whereby the minority ruling class hangs on to its power and privilege. The police are an essential part of this instrument, they are the

KNOCK THE RENT!

There too the Tories imposed savage rent increases (and a means test rebate scheme). There too the Labour opposition joined in the protest. They spoke and they marched, but always they advocated the demoralising policy of waiting till the next election when the return of another Labour Council would put things right for the tenants. There was from the outset a conflict between the tenants who favoured direct action—'Not a Penny on the Rent!'—and the political parties (including the Communist Party) who favoured marches, protests, petitions, but no rent strike.

As everybody now knows, the tenants *did* knock the rent, they *did* resist evictions, they *did* erect barricades—and it finally took 500 policemen to protect the bailiffs while they did their dirty work of throwing two working class families on to the street. The anger which followed in St. Pancras cannot be imagined except by those who were there. Railwaymen and building workers stopped work and marched to the flats of those evicted. They were too late to stop it and anger was vented on the police who were completely routed.

Later, thousands of people marched from Kentish Town to the Town Hall in Euston Road, completely taking over the main road all the way. Traffic was stopped, buses were stranded (many of the bus crews joined in the march!) but inevitably when they arrived at the Town Hall they were met by a greatly-reinforced police force. With drawn batons the police charged the crowd, hitting anyone within reach. Many heads were bloodied, many arrests were made, and about a dozen eventually landed in jail for 'assaulting the police'.

The vigour and enthusiasm of the mass tenants' movement was still high and the next day a mass meeting was organised in complete defiance of the Public Order Act which the Home Secretary had by then imposed on St. Pancras. But now the political parties got to work with a vengeance. Militants in both the Labour and Communist Parties were 'worked on' and told to persuade the tenants to abandon direct action, pay the rent, and campaign instead for the return of a Labour Council at the next election. This treacherous advice was eventually followed, but not without considerable dissension within the Communist Party, many of whose local militants had acted with exemplary courage and devotion throughout the whole 'siege' and subsequent riots.

LEGALISM DOESN'T PAY

So the St. Pancras tenants duly elected another Labour Council at the next election . . . but the rents stayed exactly

at the level to which the Tories had raised them! (The movement was still powerful enough, however, to compel the Labour Council to rehouse the two families who had been evicted.) When asked to explain why they had done nothing about the Tory-imposed rent increases, Labour explained: 'We are powerless so long as the Tories remain in control at Westminster. Now you must elect a Labour Government and then we can reduce your rents.' So marking crosses on ballot papers was again substituted for direct action and Wilson took over at Westminster. What happened? Far from putting down the rents, the Labour Council in St. Pancras actually raised them again—and they kept the hated means test rebate scheme. **IT NEED NOT HAPPEN**

Will all this be repeated for tenants of the GLC? It could if the tenants take the advice of people like Mrs. Dennington who, incidentally, comes from St. Pancras and was for many years one of the local Council's leading figures.

But it need not happen if the GLC tenants learn from the experience of St. Pancras. They are really quite simple lessons but they require courage to carry them through:—

1. Form mass tenants' committees on all estates, and take all decisions openly in front of the members.
2. By all means march and demonstrate, but make your slogan absolutely clear from the start: 'We'll knock the rent unless the increases are withdrawn!'
3. Contact local trade unionists for industrial action in support if it finally comes to attempted evictions.
4. Beware the political parties if they advocate 'constitutional' methods as a substitute for mass action.

The GLC rent roll must be in the region of a million pounds a week. They can't carry on for long without it, and they can't forcibly evict a quarter of a million families—not even with the entire Metropolitan Police Force and the Brigade of Guards as well. Stand firm and tell the Tories that unless they scrap their proposed increases the tenants will stop paying rent at all. If all this is done, the GLC tenants—like the Glasgow tenants in 1915*—will win.

JOHN LAWRENCE.

*A mass rent strike in Glasgow in 1915, supported by industrial action in the shipyards and factories, not only forced the withdrawal of the increases but compelled the Government to introduce the first-ever Rent Control Act.

are struggling, as yet unconsciously, against the state.

As more and more people are drawn into conflict with the state, they will experience for themselves the violence of the state's 'Blue Cossacks'. Anarchists have a part to play in how the people react to this experience.

Either the old cycle of tyranny followed by revolution followed by yet another tyranny will repeat itself, or the people, guided by anarchist ideas, will triumph and end the tyranny of the state and its police forces for ever.

TERRY LIDDLE.

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Paul Goodman

(in conjunction with Peace News)

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AT A TIME WHEN shouting 'Fascist bastards!' at the police seems to be the full extent of many people's ideas about fascism, it is useful to have a good new book on the subject. *The Rise of Fascism* by F. L. Carsten, Masaryk Professor of Central European History at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, London University, is published by Batsford in the series Landmarks in European History at 45s. It concentrates on the Fascists of Italy and the National Socialists of Germany and Austria, because they managed to get power; but at the beginning of the book there is an account of the origins of fascism in France, Bohemia and Russia, as well as in Italy, Germany and Austria, and at the end there is a rapid survey of the indigenous fascist movements in Finland, Hungary, Rumania, Spain, Flanders, Belgium, Britain and Austria.

Carsten deliberately excludes the movements in Holland and Norway, because they were very small and only became important under German occupation; the movement in France because it was small and never became important; and the dictatorships in Spain, Portugal, Poland and Lithuania, because they were not truly fascist. It is easy to understand his reasons for doing so, and it would obviously have made the book longer and dearer to include them all, but I still think it was a mistake to exclude them, because they all contributed something to fascism and their inclusion would have completed the picture. I also think it was a mistake to exclude the movements in America (Huey Long and Father Coughlin in North America, for example, and Peron in South America). And I think it was a pity to give less than five pages to the British movement; no doubt it was relatively derivative and unimportant, but it has some significant features and it surely deserves more attention in a book which is after all intended for British readers.

Apart from these editorial criticisms (and I would add that Carsten's English is sometimes rather peculiar, which isn't his fault but should have been corrected), I think the book is excellent. The account of nationalism and antisemitism before 1914 makes it clear that true fascism didn't exist before the First World War but that almost all the necessary ingredients had been provided by a 'new Right'. This was a class coalition of the professional upper-middle-class and the commercial lower-middle-class, and an ideological combination of nationalism and antisemitism, both favouring the use of violent direct action as a political technique. There were *Action Française* in France, the Nationalist Association in Italy, the various nationalist groups of Germany and Austro-Hungary, and the Union of the Russian People in Russia. The interesting thing about them all was that they failed to sustain a mass basis and were actually declining when the First World War began. 'It was the war itself that uprooted the masses, that organised and sanctioned violence on a scale far greater than any of the nationalist and antisemitic leaders had ever dreamt of.' This was the last necessary ingredient, and fascism was a result as well as a cause of world war. The significant change was the mixture of the old class coalition and ideological combina-

Roots of Fascism

tion, favouring the old technique, with the adoption of policies generally considered to be left-wing; this brought mass appeal, and the rise of true fascism.

ITALIAN FASCISM

The account of Italian Fascism covers the period from the beginning of the First World War to the final consolidation of the Fascist regime by 1930. Carsten traces Mussolini's peculiar career from internationalist to nationalist socialism (he interprets this change as a sincere one, though eased by money from pro-war French socialists), and then from proletarian revolution to bourgeois reaction (he makes no attempt to interpret this more mysterious and significant change). He shows that the outburst of Fascist gangsterism in 1920 was made possible by money from bourgeois capitalists and landowners and active help from both army and police. He shows how Mussolini tried to turn left again when he entered Parliament in 1921 but was dragged back to the right by his own colleagues. And he shows that when Mussolini got power in 1922, it was not taken by him but was given to him on a plate—the slightest show of force by the establishment would have routed the March on Rome (Carsten mentions but does not examine the unsuccessful general strike).

Carsten wastes little time on the consolidation of power from 1922 to 1929, but he does show how the various parliamentary groups let themselves be destroyed by trying to play the old game without realising that Mussolini had changed the rules, even after Matteotti's murder in 1924—when Mussolini once more tried to compromise and once more was brought back into line. He also shows that the Fascist reorganisation of industry in the 'Corporative State', which pretended to eliminate the class struggle, simply gave victory to one side—the employers.

An epilogue describes the admiration for Mussolini shown by *Action Française* in France and the National Socialists in Germany; the French fascists never got

very far, but the Germans—despite Mussolini's contempt—got very far indeed.

The account of German National Socialism is twice as long as that of Italian Fascism, and this is not just because it took so much longer to get power or because Carsten himself grew up in Germany. While Mussolini and his gang more or less made Fascism up as they went along, Nazism existed before Hitler and had much deeper roots in society. The mixture of radicalism and antisemitism was common among German nationalists in both Germany and Austro-Hungary from the 1870s, and Carsten points out that a 'German National Socialist Workers' Party' was formed in Austria in 1918 on the basis of the German Workers' Party which had existed since 1904, and that the basic ideas of National Socialism had been worked out well before Hitler appeared on the scene as a propagandist paid by the Bavarian army and joined the German Workers' Party, which had just been formed in Munich in 1919. Unlike Mussolini, Hitler was for a couple of years only one of several leaders of his particular party, and for several years more it was only one of many similar parties.

THE RISE OF HITLER

Carsten picks his way through the tangled story of the rise of Hitler to the leadership of his party and of the rise of his party to the leadership of the radical, nationalist, racist right in Germany. He uses a great deal of original material here, and gives as good an account of the early years of Nazism as I have read anywhere. He makes it clear that, unlike Mussolini again, Hitler himself never accepted the socialist aspect of National Socialism, and used it only as a way to get mass support; though many of the other parties and many of his own colleagues—especially the Strasser brothers—took it very seriously indeed. Like Mussolini, Hitler eventually depended on money from bourgeois capitalists and landowners and on active help from both army and police. And like Mussolini again, when Hitler got power in 1933, it was not taken by him but was given to him on a plate.

Again, Carsten wastes little time on the consolidation of power. He points out that Hitler managed it in a much shorter time than Mussolini—less than two years—and indeed Hitler emerges from his story as one of the most skilful politicians of this century. What happened after 1934 does not concern him, and it has anyway been described all too often.

The survey of other fascist movements is inevitably too brief to give as much information as one might like, but it is very interesting to see the various types of leaders, organisations and ideologies. One thing that emerges is the fundamental impossibility of international fascism. It is well known how Mussolini and

Hitler came to blows in the end, but it is instructive to see the little known fascist movements of Hungary and Rumania, for example, or of French and Flemish Belgium, trying to make friends when they were by their very nature enemies. I wonder what Mosley would have done if he had been successful, when faced with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy in the struggle for colonies and markets abroad.

'BETRAYERS'

Carsten shows convincingly that both Mussolini and Hitler 'betrayed' fascism, as it were, when they got power, just as socialist rulers do, by carrying out little more than ordinary conservative policies with totalitarian methods. He also shows that Franco 'betrayed' fascism even before he got power, by taking over the *Falange* while the Civil War was still being fought. And Mosley did the same in this country, though Carsten doesn't examine the degeneration in his social policies very closely.

A last point that occurs to me is that all the radical nationalist movements before the First World War had fascist successors afterwards, except in one country—Russia. The obvious reason is that the Communists ruled Russia from 1917 onwards, and Communism is the opposite of fascism, but I'm not so sure. If you think of the essential features of fascism—nationalism, antisemitism, one-party dictatorship in the country and one-leader dictatorship in the party, militarism, corporatism, fake socialism, and so on—and then think of Russia at least after the triumph of Stalin in 1929, it is difficult not to think of Communist Russia as a fascist country. It is a pity that Carsten doesn't even consider this idea.

In general, a good and useful book, and it has an excellent bibliography if you want to read further. Perhaps it is a little expensive for only 250 pages, but it should be in paperback in a year or two. N.W.

London Commemorative Plaques

ELLIS HILLMAN (Labour, Hackney) asked the chairman of the GLC Planning and Communications Committee if he was aware 'that a number of important historic personalities such as John Wycliffe, William Blake and Prince Peter Kropotkin have not received their proper due as a result of the narrow terms of reference of the Historic Buildings Sub-Committee, and could he assure that they, along with others, could receive some form of recognition?'

The chairman agreed. It is expected that some commemoration will be made to Kropotkin (probably a GLC plaque) at the house where he originally lived in East London. Those with knowledge of other suitable places (where Bakunin lived, etc.) should forward particulars to Cllr. Hillman, County Hall, S.E.1, who has promised to bring the details forward to the Planning Committee.

A.M.

Dangerous Driver

Writing his History of Warfare has apparently left Lord Montgomery in bloodthirsty mood. His publisher, William Collins, tells this story about his author. Monty gave a small boy a lift and, finding that he was not recognized, said he was a Field Marshal. 'I'm interested in fields,' said the boy. 'I want to be a tractor driver.' He was told being a Field Marshal was not quite the same thing—'I kill people.' 'Many?' asked the boy. 'Thousands,' Monty replied. At this point his passenger asked him to stop the car so he could get out.

—The Times Saturday Review, November 25, 1967.

Anarchist Federation of Britain

General enquiries should be sent to the London Federation.

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS, c/o Libra House, 256 Pentonville Road, London, N.1.

Sunday evening meetings 8 p.m. Lamb & Flag, Rose Street, off Garrick Street, London, W.C.2 DEC. 17: Social 7.30 p.m.

No meeting Dec. 23 and 30.

LEWISHAM. Contact Mike Malet, 61 Granville Park, Lewisham, London, S.E.13

EALING ANARCHIST GROUP. Get into touch with Ken King, 54 Norwood Road, Southall.

KING'S CROSS GROUP, c/o Libra House, 256 Pentonville Road, London, N.1.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON

DISCUSSION MEETINGS

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

3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald and Irene Room's, now at 13 Savernake Road, London, N.W.3

2nd and 4th Friday of each month, 8 p.m., at Brenda Mercer's and dj Austin's, 80 Crouch Hill, N.8 (Finsbury Park Underground, 212 bus to door).

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS

AND GROUPS

ABERDEEN ANARCHISTS meet 1st and 3rd Wednesdays of month at M. Day's, 142 Walker Road, 2nd and 4th Wednesdays at Liz Smith's, 3 Sinclair Road. Correspondence to either address.

ABERDEEN ANARCHIST FEDERATION (SWF local group, Folk Song Workshop and Committee of 100). Contact Iain MacDonald, 15 Cotton Street, Aberdeen.

ALTRINGHAM ANARCHIST YOUTH GROUP. Get in touch with Stephen Richards, 25 North Vale Road, Timperley, Cheshire.

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

BELFAST: Contact Tony Adams, 11 Winetavern Street, Smithfield Square, Belfast.

BIRMINGHAM LIBERTARIAN GROUP. All anarchists, syndicalists, individualists, etc., please contact Geoff and Caroline Charlton, top flat, 8 Lightwoods Hill, Smethwick, Warley, Worcs. 25 mins. from Birmingham City centre. No. 9 bus.

RESISTANCE GROUP, c/o Birmingham Peace Action Centre (formerly CND office), Factory Road, Birmingham, 19.

BOLTON. Get in touch with Les Smith, 22 Grosvenor Street, Bolton, Lancs.

BOURNEMOUTH AND EAST DORSET ANARCHISTS. Please contact John McCar,

14 Milton Road, Bournemouth (B'm'th 22279) or Tim Deane, Juliet, West Moors, Wimborne, Dorset (Ferndown 3588).

BRIGHTON. Get in touch with 79 Coleman Street, Brighton, 7. Poetry readings every Tuesday in Archway 187 on the Seafrost. Admission is free and all poets welcome. 8.30 p.m. onwards.

BRISTOL. Contact: Dave and Pat Thorne, 22 Hampton Road, Redland, Bristol, 6.

FIFE LIBERTARIANS. Contact Bob and Una Turnbull, 39 Stratheden Park, Stratheden Hospital, by Cupar, Fife.

EXETER ANARCHIST GROUP. Get in touch with Anthony Webb, 39 Cowick Lane, St. Thomas, Exeter, Devon.

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

HERTS. Contact either Stuart Mitchell at South View, Potters Heath Lane, Potters Heath, Welwyn, Herts OR Jeff Cloves, 46 Hagendon Road Marshalswick, St. Albans, Herts.

HULL ANARCHIST GROUP, c/o J. Tempest, 89 Fountain Road, Beverley Road, Hull.

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

KILBURN, LONDON. Contact Andrew Dewar, 16 Kilburn House, Malvern Place, London, N.W.6. Meetings 8 p.m. every Tuesday.

LEICESTER PROJECT. Peace/Libertarian action and debate. Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. at 1 The Crescent, King Street, Leicester.

LSE ANARCHIST GROUP. c/o Student Union, London School of Economics, Houghton Street, W.C.2.

NORTH SOMERSET ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Roy Emery, 3 Abbey Street, Bath, or Geoffrey Barfoot, 71 St. Thomas Street, Wells.

NOTTING HILL. Please get in touch with John Bennett and Marilyn Paddy, Flat 4, 88 Clarendon Road, London, W.11. Tel: 727 9745. Meetings every Monday at 7 p.m.

ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.

OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Simon Martin, Oriel College, Oxford.

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

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

SHEFFIELD RADICAL GROUP. Contact Robin Lovell c/o Students' Union, Sheffield.

SHEFFIELD UNIVERSITY GROUP. Contact S.R.G., 31 Harcourt Road, Sheffield, 10. University.

SLOUGH ANARCHIST GROUP AND 'HIPPI'

GROUP. Contact B. P. Norcott, 116 Lower Copenham Lane, Slough, Bucks. Meetings every other Friday.

SOUTH EAST ESSEX ANARCHIST GROUP. We would love to hear from fellow-sympathisers in area. All enquiries to M. Powell, 7 Lingercroft, Basildon, Essex.

S.W. LONDON LIBERTARIANS. Meet every Thursday, 7.30 p.m. at 14 Clapham Court, King's Avenue (Acree Lane end), S.W.4.

SOUTH WEST MIDDLESEX ANARCHIST GROUP meets alternate Thursdays and Saturdays, on Ed. Pie Island. Contact P. J. Goody, 36 Norman Avenue, Hanworth, Middlesex.

TROWBRIDGE PEACE ACTION GROUP. Contact P. Weston, Chiveil, Butts Lane, Keevil, Trowbridge, Wiltshire. Meetings every Tuesday 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House (opp. Bus Station).

WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Contact Stephen Higgs, Westbury Road, Forest Gate, E.7.

ESSEX & EAST HERTS

FEDERATION

Basildon: contact M. Powell, 7 Lingercroft, Basildon, Chelmsford; contact Mrs. Eva Archer, Mill House, Purleigh, Chelmsford.

To be serviced by a newsletter and three-monthly meetings. Groups and individuals are invited to associate: c/o Keith Nathan, 138 Pennymead, Harlow.

Epping: contact John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Harlow; contact John Dears, 184 Carter's Mead and/or Geoff Hardy, 6 Redrick's Lane.

Loughton: c/o Students' Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Loughton, Essex.

NORTH EAST ESSEX. Group meets the first Monday in each month 7.15 p.m. at 91 Brook Street, Tolleshurst Knights, Tiptree, Essex. For further information write P. Newell, 'Maybush', Maypole Road, Tiptree, Essex.

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

Regional Secretary: Alistair Rattray, 35a Devonshire Road, Chorley.

NORTH WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION. BUXTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: F. A. Gresty, Punchbowl, Manchester Road, Buxton.

CHORLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Alistair T. Rattray, 35a Devonshire Road, Chorley.

LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST PROPAGANDA GROUP AND 'HIPPI' MOVEMENT. Gerry Bree, 16 Faulkner Square, Liverpool, 8. Meetings weekly. 'Freedom' Sales—Pier Head, Saturdays, Sundays, Evenings.

MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Dave Poulson, 9 Boland Street, Fallowfield, Manchester, 14.

SOUTH WALES

ANARCHIST FEDERATION

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP, SWANSEA

ANARCHIST GROUP. All correspondence to—Julian Ross, 111 King Edwards Road, Brynmill, Swansea.

ASSOCIATION

LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS'

Meetings—discussions—activities. Contact Peter Tarka, 36 Devonshire Road, Mill Hill, London, N.W.7.

PROPOSED GROUPS

MUCH HADHAM, HERTS. Get in touch with Leslie Riordan, High Street, Much Hadham, Herts.

TORONTO, CANADA. Any Torontonians interested in Anarchism please contact Leonard Tarka, 108 Silverhill Drive, Islington, Ontario, Canada.

CORNWALL ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact A. C. Jacob, 76 East Hill, St. Austell, Cornwall.

WOLVERHAMPTON. Contact Martin Bashforth at 11 Lyndhurst Road, Wolverhampton.

FULHAM & CHELSEA ANARCHIST GROUP. Get in touch with Mary Canipa, 21 Rumbold Road, Fulham, S.W.6 and/or Richard Bolton, 48 Yeomans Row, Chelsea, S.W.3. Phone: KNI 2285.

CRAWLEY. Get in touch with Ian Pett, 63 Winchester Road, Tilgate, Sussex. Viva Anarchist!

ABROAD

AUSTRALIA. Federation of Australian Anarchists, P.O. Box A 389, Sydney South. Public meetings every Sunday in the Domain, 2 p.m. and Mondays, 72 Oxford Street, Paddington, Sydney, 8 p.m.

DANISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Gothersgade, 27, Viborg, Denmark.

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

USA: VERMONT. New Hampshire Anarchist Group. Meets weekly—discussion, individual action. Contact Ed. Strauss at RFD 2, Woodstock, Vermont 05091, USA.

SWEDEN. Stockholm Anarchist Federation. Contact Nadir, Box 19104, Stockholm 19, Sweden.

CANADA: WINNIPEG. Anybody interested in Direct action/anarchy contact G. J. Nasir, 606 Matheson Avenue, Winnipeg, 17, Manitoba.

BELGIUM: LIEGE. Provos, c/o Jacques Charlier, 11 Avenue de la Laiterie, Sclessin-Liege, Belgium.

EAST AFRICA. George Matthews would like to make contact. Secondary school teacher from U.K. PO Box 90, Kakamega, Kenya.

USA: James W. Cain, secretary, Insurgency Anarchist Association, 323 Fourth Street, Clouet, Minnesota 55720, USA.

GROUP/TREASON. Australian Anarchist, c/o Melbourne University Union or A.R. Giles Peters, c/o same.

War is the Health of the State

- Official!

ALTHOUGH IT HAS attracted little attention from the British press, a remarkable document appears in the December issue of the American magazine *Esquire*. This document claims to represent the conclusions of a committee of economists, scientists and strategists who allegedly met in secret from 1963 to 1966 to study the new situation created by the Test Ban Treaty, under the auspices of a US government department. But, *Esquire* tells us, an anonymous member of this committee did not agree that their report should remain secret and so leaked it.

In some quarters the document has been dismissed as a clever satire and it has been suggested that it is really the work of Herman Kahn, the US nuclear strategist or John Kenneth Galbraith, eminent economist and former US Ambassador to India.

However, both of these have denied their authorship and Galbraith claims to have knowledge indicating the document's authenticity. Furthermore, although the US government has denied that the document represents its policy, it has not, as yet, explicitly denied its authenticity.

What, then, are the conclusions that this secret committee drew about the world after the thaw in the Russo-American rivalry? Their introduction states that they came together to discuss the prospects for World Peace and its effect on various aspects of society.

First of all they discussed the economy. Most of the facts included under this

heading are familiar. The US economy, says the report, is based largely on arms production and any slackening in this would produce immense problems of redeployment and redundancy.

Much more enlightening is the section headed 'The Functions of War'. Firstly, says the report, the existence of an army provides a useful device for controlling and providing an outlet for anti-social elements. To quote from the authors' own words:

"Juvenile delinquency" and "alienation" have had their counterpart in every age. In earlier days these conditions were dealt with directly by the military, without the complications of due process, usually through press gangs or outright enslavement. But it is not hard to visualise, for example, the degree of social disruption that might have taken place in the US in the past two decades if the problem of the socially disaffected had not been foreseen and effectively met. The younger and more dangerous of these social groupings have been kept under control by the Selective Service System' (i.e. by conscription).

The authors go on to find other uses

of the military system to the state. For instance the vast and mechanical slaughter of war creates an indifference to human suffering that is useful in other fields:

'A recent example is the war in Vietnam: a less recent example was the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In each case the extent and gratuitousness of the slaughter were abstracted into political formulae by most Americans, once the proposition that the victims were "enemies" was established. The war system makes such an abstracted response possible in non-military contexts as well. A conventional example of this mechanism is the inability of most people to connect, say, the starvation of millions in India with their own past conscious decision-making. Yet the sequential logic linking a decision to restrict grain production in America with a famine in Asia is obvious, unambiguous and uncontroverted.'

But, say the authors, there is a yet more vital fact, namely that war provides the chief justification for the very existence of the centralised state:

'Allegiance requires a cause; a cause requires an enemy. This much is obvious; the critical point is that the enemy that defines the cause must seem genuinely formidable. Roughly speaking the presumed power of the "enemy" sufficient to warrant an individual sense of allegiance to a society must be

proportionate to the size and complexity of this society. Today, of course, that power must be of unprecedented magnitude and frightfulness.'

If this is true, what can replace war as an instrument to maintain the present society? The authors discuss this question at some length and make various suggestions. One way dangerous internal elements could be controlled is by the reintroduction of a form of slavery:

'The traditional association of slavery with ancient pre-industrial cultures should not blind us to its adaptability to advanced forms of social organisation. As a practical matter conversion of the code of military discipline to a euphemised form of enslavement would entail surprisingly little revision. The logical first step would be the introduction of some kind of "universal" military service.'

From the economic point of view, it is suggested, a space programme could well fill the vacuum left by the abolition of the arms economy. However, if this plan is to be successful it is essential that the aims of this programme are so unattainable as to render it practically permanent.

This is only a brief summary of the contents of the report which is worthy of study in its entirety. Whether it is a genuine document or a 'send-up', its authors are evidently well up in the American power elite.

These authors have realised what many in **CND** and many pacifists have never realised—that, as anarchists have long maintained, 'War is the health of the state' and that to talk of peace is to talk of social revolution.

ROGER SANDELL.

'Soviet Anarchists'

Dear Comrades,

A further point re the *Solidarity* controversy. In both their introduction to Ida Mett's pamphlet and their article in *FREEDOM* (2.12.67) they claim that the 'Soviet anarchists' approved of Soviet power, but this is wrong. As Avrich in *The Russian Anarchists* shows, these were the people who approved of *bolshhevik* power. This error by the *Solidarity* is all the more reprehensible in that on p. 29 of the very pamphlet they are publishing Ida Mett says, 'A small minority of Russian libertarians (the "soviet anarchists") were known to support close collaboration with the soviets, which were already integrated into the state machine.'

This raises the question, not only of whether they have read what Voline and Avrich actually said, but whether they have studied their own pamphlet.

Aberdeen.

I. R. MITCHELL.

LETTERS

strate what I mean see how the paragraph on 'violent rhetoric' reads when rephrased so as to deal with the trial of Colin Jordan, another victim of the Race Relations Act.

'The violent rhetoric is part of the National Socialist's emotion and his whole frame of reference. To try to suppress it is to invite a more violent rage in time to come. "Anti-Fascist" is whoever denies the truth of these Nazi emotions, etc. . . .'

As for the gush about the Koran, 'uncleanliness' and 'robed black brothers' just what has such superstitious abracadabra to do with anarchism? And if we may recognise an existential kinship with today's protagonists of 'Black Power' because, presumably, they are an oppressed and alienated minority, may we not recognise the same with Jordan's fascists who no doubt feel the same?

W.2.

S. E. PARKER.

For Integration and Revolution!

Dear Comrades,

If Mr. Malik is really the Sacco-Vanzetti figure Mr. Gladstone would have us believe, he deserves a less muddled hagiographer. 'Black Power' militancy rejects integration in favour of . . . revolution—a fine dish of chopped logic! 'That alien culture' (the court process)—alien to whom? Hardly to a West Indian. If there is any alien culture going about, it is the Muslim one—and what stuff it is! The West Indian on the Frost Programme—a practising Christian—is designated 'Uncle Tom', but the practice of a spurious form of Islam (see Essian-Udom: *The Black Muslims*, Pelican) is acceptable to Mr. Gladstone, or at least he offers no criticism. But *asserta non*

FILM REVIEW

At Home In Their Bodies

DEAR JOHN (Kare John). Director: Lars Lindgren. Featuring: Jarl Kulle and Christina Schollin.

THIS FILM MAY be seen at the various cinemas throughout the country given to programmes of specialist films and copies are available to the many film societies.

The actual time sequence of the film covers one weekend and concerns, with almost total emphasis, the two principals. A penetrating, sensitive and delicately developing relationship between an unmarried mother and the skipper of a sand barge, who calls at her café one weekend. A coaster puts in at a small quiet port and the captain and his crew spend the weekend ashore, when the captain visits the café.

At first the girl is hesitant, but gradually mutual trust prevails that forms the basis of an authentic affection. The

two principal characters are played with the utmost skill and conviction—the anxieties and cares of their past lives sit plainly upon their faces and the performance is utterly convincing and some scenes contain almost tactile force. The love-making episodes are frank, without vulgarity. At first the man is betrayed into using lust and roughness, but the girl fights him off until sensitive tenderness prevails. There is a certain amount of censorship—the sequence from the hand moving down to assist penetration is cut until they are shown breathless, their faces lit up with utter happiness. It is a simple love story of two people come quite at home in their bodies.

Such supreme experience gives enrichment of self-consciousness and wherever this self-realisation is accomplished, human beings do not prey upon one another, but live in mutual fulfilment.

S. L. ROBINSON.

HELP!

**Moving Fund,
Premises Fund,
good old Press Fund,
ALL NEED YOUR
CONTRIBUTION**

PRESS FUND

WEEK 49, DECEMBER 9, 1967:

Expenses: 49 weeks at £90: £4410

Income: Sales and Subs.: £3234

DEFICIT: £1176

Deal: O.R. £2/10/-; Pinner: A.M. 2/6; London, N.W.3: R.D. £2/10/-; Dagenham: C.H. £2/10/-; Stockton-on-Tees: R.P. 5/-; London, S.E.14: G.B. 10/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; Bristol: C.F. 5/-; St. Austell: A.J. 5/-; Birmingham, 19: E.M. 10/-; Los Angeles: A.R. £10/4/-; Los Angeles: Function of 4.11.67 per A.R. Los Angeles Group £10/4/-; Oxford: Anon* 5/-; Cardiff: M.G. 8/-; Leeds: D.J. 10/-; Wellington: J.P. 7/7; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Liverpool: P.E. £1/-/-; Prestwich: B.S. 16/-; London, N.W.6: D.K. 10/-; London, S.E.5: J.L. £4/-/-; East Bergholt: D.J. 10/-; Weston, Ont.: A.B. £5/-/-; Grantham: G.I. 3/-; Newcastle-on-Tyne: B.P. £13/10/-; Montpellier: M.W. £2/10/-; Glasgow: A.J. 1/9; Banbury: D.W. 10/-.

TOTAL: £60 11 10

Previously Acknowledged: £984 15 0

1967 Total to Date: £1045 6 10

*Denotes Regular Contributor.
Gift of Books—Kenton: N.W.

ANARCHY 82

ON SALE NOW
DISCUSSES

BRAEHEAD SCHOOL

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

De-militarisation

YOU WILL BE pleased to learn that the combined cadet force at Dartford Grammar School was disbanded last week after the number of cadets dropped to 70—30 below the minimum required by the Ministry of Defence for the supply of stores and equipment. The headmaster explained to the *Daily Telegraph*:

'I believe that it is the spirit of the age; pacifism has increased and the fields of interest for teenagers are now much larger.'

Membership of the Dartford Grammar School cadet force was voluntary. At my school not only was membership of the force compulsory but every boy was obliged to spend a week at the annual military camp. Naturally this week was taken out of the summer holidays.

The effect of the school's military policy was not always to encourage support for the Flag. One summer the successes of the Cypriot rebels necessitated the sudden transfer to Cyprus of the regiment which was to arrange our school camp. Camp was cancelled and General Grivas became our favourite guerrilla leader.

Clarification

AT THE *Lamb and Flag* last Sunday Stuart Christie answered questions about his arrest in 1964 and the events which followed. I select the following points from his replies:

Political meetings and lectures—illegal in Spain—are permitted in prison. To discuss politics legally a Spaniard must first be convicted of discussing politics illegally.

After the publication by the *Sunday Times* of an article sympathetic to Stuart he was given VIP treatment in jail.

But the reference to 'servants' in the story which appeared in the *People* was misleading. Prisoners in Spanish jails have their clothes washed and their shoes cleaned by prisoners instructed to do so by the prison authorities—and paid by them.

Inculcation

DR. EDMUND LEACH lashed out at the System again last Sunday, selecting education as his main target:

'The aim is to discover and cultivate the powers of latent leadership in the few, with total disregard for the emotional suffering that this imposes on the many.'

This objective is common both to the private school system, which is rigged to preserve the vested interests of the wealthy, and the State school system, which pretends to offer "equal opportunity for all".

In practice, the State system is devoted to the needs of a meritocracy in which all the rewards go to the most able.'

If you are bored with the reported words of Dr. Leach, relax: only one more Reith Lecture to go.

Diversion

I never saw Otis Redding on stage but I listened to his records. He earned his title, King of Soul. *My Girl* is a beautiful record: it moves you in all the senses of the word.

De-sensitisation

SINCE I STARTED this column I have not mentioned Vietnam. War and atrocity blunt our consciousness: the more we know the less we are shocked.

We watch this war without surprise. We accept it as part of the world outside ourselves that we feel powerless to affect. This is not our war. We do not return from work to find our homes burned; we do not see our friends killed; we are not hunted, captured, tortured—or drafted.

But this Vietnam war, like the Nazi death camps and Hiroshima and the other atrocities of our century, affects us.

If the television films and newspaper photographs featured the bombed homes of Italians, the corpses of Irishmen, our reaction and our protest would be stronger. But we would learn not to be shocked. In the end we would adjust ourselves to a European war, as we have got used to Vietnam, if it did not involve us.

We sit calmly watching the Vietnamese people murdered on television. But as war and atrocity all over the world become more familiar and less shocking, our potential resistance to the warfare state is weakened. We may end as the passive spectators of our own death.

WYNFORD HUCKS.

MOVING FUND

Received to date—£206 18s.

PREMISES FUND

Target is £1,000 per year. So far £199 No money was received for the Premises Fund this week.

Industry Calls the Tune

WHILE THE GENERAL public are beginning to feel the effects of devaluation in higher prices for even the basic necessities, the captains of industry and top ranking civil servants are also critical of the Government. The criticism stems, of course, from two entirely different interests. While the general public are worrying about the cut in the standard of living, with many finding it harder to make ends meet, the ruling class who run and control industry are worried because they think that further measures will have to be taken to ensure an economic recovery.

When devaluation was announced, the Confederation of British Industry issued a communication to its members saying that, unless further measures were taken, like cuts in Government spending, industry, within 18 months, would 'be out

of pocket on the whole deal'. If this was the attitude of industry, then obviously the Government had good cause for alarm, for it needed their co-operation badly in order to take every advantage of devaluation and to push up the country's exports.

This week, Aubrey Jones reiterated the CBI when he said: 'We have, as I see it, 18 months to 2 years in which to lay the foundations of a more favourable and enduring export-import balance. But suppose we fail. Then I would foresee a second devaluation, a further discrediting of Parliament and the party system. I say this because the rivalry between the parties can lead each one to exaggerate its claims on what can be accomplished in the short term; the rivalry could therefore fail to educate the country to the true realities of its economic position at a time when redressing depends essentially on the country, not on government.'

'Further, I would foresee further discontent on the part of the lower middle classes, arising out of the erosion of their savings. What all this would mean internally, I dare not prophesy. Externally, I would foresee a second devaluation of the pound leading probably to a devaluation of the dollar with severe restrictions on world trade—thus reversing the whole planned evolution towards increased trade liberation which has followed on the war and in which the US has played a notable part. This is where our interests converge.'

The crisis facing the British economy is in part tied up with the economy of other countries and is an overall crisis of lack of world liquidity. Aubrey Jones wants a new international liquid asset which will take the place of the dollar and the pound.

CAPITAL EXPORTED

World trade has not been increasing enough and Britain's share of it, in exports, has been declining fast. In 1954 the total share was 20.1% and this has now declined to under 14%. While industry has been urged to export more, Britain's balance of payments has suffered, not because of the failure to export, but because capital has been exported. International competition has forced companies to establish more and more subsidiary companies abroad. Of course this is nothing new, but the profits made are being ploughed back into the companies abroad, when at one time they used to find their way back to Britain. The dire consequences would be the collapse of the system as in the late 1920s and 1930s.

If the situation looks like becoming that bad, would the lower middle classes once again turn to fascism? Certainly, if Parliament and the party system is further discredited, then people are going to look for something else. As far as we, as anarchists, are concerned, it is our task to put forward our alternative to the present parliamentary system.

However, other people have other ideas. Cecil King sees it as harnessing the managerial skill and efficiency of his own printing companies to that of the Government. Lord Robens thinks along the same lines and compares governments to the management of large industrial concerns. Aubrey Jones would like to see more bodies like his Prices and Incomes Board, but with more power to make binding decisions on economic matters.

One of the reasons why industrialists are concerned about the

Government's attitude is because, to them, it seems to be worried about the left wing of the party. In fact, it does seem inevitable that sooner or later the left wing in the Labour Party will be jettisoned. Today, capitalism needs the full co-operation of the Government and industry. If a Labour Government is always worried about its left wing or what some trade union or other will say, then probably either the Tories will take their place or a coalition will come about.

WHAT THE CBI WANTS

However, it does seem that Mr. Wilson has realised his position and he has agreed that, at the January meeting with the CBI, other measures which industry wants to introduce to make devaluation pay will be discussed. What are these measures likely to be? The first is a cut-back in public expenditure. The International Monetary Fund would also like to see this and the strings attached to their loan amount to a cut-back of between £300-£400 million. The CBI also wants the Government to curb what it calls the 'disruptive activities of minorities' among workers and to resist wage increases.

What the CBI wants is bigger profit margins and, for capitalism to continue, it must make sufficient profit in order to reinvest. The *Economist* wants prices at home to increase and feels a 'deliberate attempt to hold the rise in incomes below the rise in prices should come from a stern incomes policy, with new statutory controls over national trade union bargaining'.

A SECOND-CLASS NATION

I think the Government, on the whole, will take the advice of industry. On the issue of the trade unions, it will probably wait for the Royal Commission on trade unions to make its report. It will also, I think, make cuts in public expenditure and one of the ways it could possibly deflect any opposition from the left wing is by way of some defence cuts. Mr. Keith, a member of the National Economic Development Council, has said: 'Our nineteenth century supremacy was never a military one, it was economic and financial. Our economic weight in the world has now declined—as it was bound to—and our political and diplomatic influence will be directly related to our economic solvency.'

This is sound economic sense and will bring Britain in line with its position as a second-class trading nation. Britain can no longer afford to have troops all over the world, that now being the role of America, but the measures needed to make these adjustments will mainly fall upon the working people of this country. It is they who will have to make the sacrifice.

Many people thought that the election of a Labour Government would bring certain improved social benefits, but even with the best will in the world, they cannot do this if the economic situation does not allow it. The State serves the interests of the capitalists and the whole civil service; the police and the military are there to preserve the economic privileged class. The Labour Government has done nothing to alter this and in fact it has trimmed its policies to meet the needs of this class.

The Labour Government is taking up a corporate position in governing this country and it is forced into this position by the present situation of British capitalism. Obviously this means that the standard of living of workers will be lowered. Managements want higher production, with increasing exploitation. Only through struggle will workers be able to resist the attempts of the employers to solve their problems, created by the system at our expense. If not, conditions will be much worse.

The purely economic struggle is increasingly becoming a political one as well. Workers must learn from these struggles that, to destroy capitalism, you must also destroy the government. It is important that anarchists show that the two go together and that they both have to be destroyed before the workers can take possession of the social wealth and organise production for the needs of people instead of just a privileged class.

P.T.

Freedom For Workers' Control

DECEMBER 16 1967 Vol 28 No 39

Teachers Wait And See

THE REAL ISSUE of the teachers' dispute is basic pay. Sanctions on school meals duties (mandatory and non-mandatory) are really the most effective weapon that the teachers seem able to find at the moment.

The differential between secondary school pay and primary school pay is also important. It means that secondary schools, while obviously no more nor less important to a child's education than primary schools, have more graded posts to improve teachers' pay and possess more money to try to improve the lot of the children suffering the educational process.

The use made of unqualified staff is important to teachers who are especially concerned with improving their status within society. There are undoubtedly some issues to look at here also.

The recent lock-out was resolved last week by the setting up of study groups to look at these problems and report back within a month. Feeling within the National Union of Teachers at the moment is generally that they will achieve a phasing out of school meals duties, and an improvement in basic pay and the position regarding the secondary-

primary differential, even if these changes take a little time to put into effect. These improvements in turn could solve the unqualified teacher problem by making teaching at all levels a more attractive career proposition, thus helping in some measure, to solve the shortage of teachers crisis.

The action of the NUT Executive in calling off the sanctions could be interpreted as some kind of climb-down, but teachers do not regard the dispute as being ended yet.

In a month's time, if the teachers' demands are not satisfied, at least in part, the whole sanctions question will be raised again, and the teachers will be back to square 2, if not square 1, because the local education authorities now know that the teachers are prepared to translate their words into action.

It is perhaps fortunate that the teachers' militancy was not put fully to the test, including a compulsory levy on working teachers to aid those suspended; for if the crunch should come I feel that many NUT members would not be prepared to back their words with a total commitment to action.

JIM HUGGON.

The Right Protest?

ONE LUNCH HOUR a fortnight ago 15 young American extremists caused a public disturbance near Fleet Street. Bystanders were visibly angered—some, shameful to admit, were amused—by the sight of neo-fascists bearing sub-machine guns stomping up the Strand in two columns dislocating traffic as they set up a draft induction centre round the Temple Bar Monument, complete with medical, psychiatric and classification notices. Here they seized two young men from the crowd that gathered, forcing one to don a gas mask and frogmarching this fellow round the Monument; the second unfortunate they made a harsh example of by shooting him for draft dodging.

EFFRONTERY

A continuous chorus of warnings and threats that if England wasn't with America, America would soon correct that backwardness, did much to alienate the crowd. 'Kill a commie, join the army.' For eight minutes around 200 people watched and our city police took no action. These youths obviously represented the most intractable reaction, wearing as they did, stars and stripes top hats. They followed their raucous leader into the crowd, cornering members of the public in violent argument and forcing on them call-up cards and food parcels.

WILSON DRAFTED

That same afternoon three Americans presented a letter to our Prime Minister inviting him to join the American draft resisters. These three admitted to reporters and photographers waiting at No. 10 for the arrival of Common Market delegates, that the eight-foot-square board they carried meant just what it said: UNITED STATES SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM. FIRST NAME: HAROLD. LAST NAME: WILSON. CLASSIFICATION: 1A. Signed CLERK OF THE BOARD: L. B. J. SMITH.

WHAT NEXT?

From where no one knows, an impassioned volunteer, ready-dressed for jungle

warfare, appeared among spectators, calling loudly, 'Please Harold, draft me, let me fight for the pound'. The constabulary, now short of temper, drove this dupe of fascist war-mongering out of hearing, seized that wooden draft card and broke the same in two to the click of many cameras.

Who might have intervened in this situation? Certainly not members of the public, most of them present being American. One, a Miss America, sashed and captivating in silver mini-skirt, was interviewed by journalists. She and her camera-toting party then left for further sight seeing.

What's happening in England? STOP IT!
P. R. OVO.

More Trouble Ahead

THE DISPUTE at the Consolidated Pneumatic Tool factory in Fraserburgh, reported in 'Freedom' (11 and 18.11.67) is still not settled, despite the return to work. The management has refused for the past 4 weeks to meet the men and discuss their claims for FULL bonus parity with the Aberdeen factory and one worker told an Aberdeen comrade that a further strike is on the cards.

An interesting fact about the dispute was provided in conversation with an apprentice at CPT in Aberdeen. He told us that if the Fraserburgh strike had continued another week his factory would have had to shut down as well; then the strikers could probably have won all their demands before returning. Obviously the AEU officials knew this and it was probably their reason for coming to a 'settlement' with the management at the crucial point they did.
I.R.M.

Contact Column

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

Pandora Studios. Anarchist Silk Screen and Graphic Design, 256 Pentonville Road, N.1 (01-837 0088).

Toys. Stickers now available—'Give the toys of peace—not the toys of war'—3/- per 100, from Gibson, Brotherhood Church, Stapleton, Pontefract, Yorks.

Flats and Houses Cleaned. Simple redecoration and gardening jobs wanted. A. W. Uloth, 75 Templars Avenue, London, N.W.11.

Pamphlets. 'The Origins of the Spanish Revolutionary Movement' (M. Dasha)—2/6; 'Surrealism and Revolution' (anthol.)—2/6; 'Sixteen-Forty-nine, story of Diggers and Levellers'—5/-; Coptic Press, 7 Coptic Street, London, W.C.1.

Commune. Money without strings wanted to set up 'acritic' commune in Colchester. Agriculture and light industry. Write to Desmond Jeffery, Burnt Oak, East Bergholt, Colchester.

Fact Sheets. Published by YCND. Subjects include 'Micro-Biological Warfare', 'Civil Defence', 'Palomares'. 1d. each, 2/6 for 50. YCND, 5 Caledonian Road, N.1.

Greek Prisoners Picket. Sunday, December 17. Greek Embassy 12 noon, thence to Home Secretary. Please make an effort to come.

Greek Embassy Plaque. Wanted for 'centre-piece' of exhibition. Will pay for transport and will return. Box No. 70.

Prisoners For Peace Day. This year's list of Conscientious Objectors in the world's prisons is available from WRI, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield. A greeting card from you or the group will be appreciated.

Removal Van (or other suitable vehicle) wanted for long haul. Can you hire or lend us one for three days in the middle of January? Phone Brian McGee, ARChway 7200.

Part-Time Work Wanted. Anything considered. Write G. Gladstone, c/o Freedom Press.

International Anarchist Camp 1969. Proposed to hold it in S.E. England—offers of assistance, suggestions for suitable sites to Jim Huggon, 173 Kingshill Avenue, Northolt, Middlesex.

'Save Greece Now' Defence Fund. Donations for Terry, Mike and Del) to Bretta Carthey, 8 Vincent Square Mansions, Walcott Street, London, S.W.1.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

There will be
NO 'FREEDOM'
30.12.'67
or 6.1.'68

'Your system is a major factor in producing the riots in Newark'



from page 7

divert some of the military industrial enterprise into Outer Space and "long-range planning", and come to a solid understanding with the Russians. I think that this is the meaning of the rapidly increasing dovishness in Congress, and the sudden conversion of the Republicans who now threaten to nominate Percy or Gavin. The strategy is similar to the New Deal: when the going gets too rough domestically, accommodate and go on to build a grander corporate structure that is, in some respects, better, temporarily. For this plan, however, Johnson would have to go, since it now seems impossible for him to sound a retreat from Vietnam without getting shot by the irate father of some young man who died in vain. Whether we would then get Robert Kennedy or a moderate Republican is probably unimportant. Needless to say, this is not the out-

come that the radical young are after. They fear, justifiably, that if we stop the war, most of the Americans will again fall morally and politically asleep. Yet they, like the rest of us, do want to stop the Vietnam war; there are few indeed who are so fanatical for world upheaval as to want that particular evil to continue so that good may come of it. In my opinion, too, they will have to learn that one is not going to restructure modern society with a fraction of the 10% Negro population, nor even with the "Third World" ruled by Ben Bellas, Nassers, Maos, Nkrumahs, Sukarnos, or their successors. This is not the stuff of new humanism. For instance, those who objected to being processed at Berkeley will have to think seriously about Chairman Mao's little red book. And those who want to make love, not war, but who also want to imitate Che Guevara in American cities, must ask themselves what adequate guerrilla tactics would be in a

high technology, namely to poison the water, wreck the subways, and cause power failures in New York and Chicago; is this what they intend?

But I do not think that the young themselves will fall asleep. They have been through some remarkable experiences, and they have found one another. There is the potentiality of a kind of youth international. Most important, the present power systems of the world are indeed unfit for modern conditions, and this will become increasingly apparent. If the young continue to be in conflict, to try out innovations, and to study professionally what ought to be done with our technology and ecology, mores and authority structure, and the fact of one world, they will gradually shape for themselves a good inheritance to come into. Considering the tremendous power and complexity of the systems that they want to displace, twenty years is a short time to devise something better.

Paul Goodman

Paul Goodman is probably the best-known social critic in America: an anarchist, pacifist, decentralist, novelist, playwright, poet, psycho-therapist, architect, teacher, and lecturer.

He has taught at the University of Chicago, New York University, Black Mountain College, Sarah Lawrence College, the University of Wisconsin, and the New School for Social Research, and he is associated with the New York and Cleveland Institutes for Gestalt Therapy and the University Seminar on the City at Columbia. He is also a Fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington DC.

His fiction includes *The Facts of Life*, *The Empire City*, and *Making Do*, as well as his three plays, *The Young Disciple*, *Faustina*, and *Jonah*. He has published two volumes of verse, *The Lordly Hudson* and *Hawkweed*, while his literary criticism includes *Kafka's Prayer* and *The Structure of Literature*.

In the area of social studies and education, in addition to being the co-author of *Communitas* and *Gestalt Therapy*, he has written *Art and Social Nature*, *Growing Up Absurd*, *Utopian Essays and Practical Proposals*, *Drawing the Line*, *The Community of Scholars*, *Compulsory Mis-Education*, *People or Personnel*, *The Society I Live In Is Mine*, and *Like A Conquered Province: The Moral Ambiguity of America*.

Mr Goodman is married with two children. This speech is reprinted from *The New York Review of Books*, where it first appeared four weeks ago.



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Paul Goodman A MESSAGE TO THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

The National Security Industrial Association (NSIA) was founded in 1944 by James Forrestal, to maintain and enhance the beautiful wartime communication between the armament industries and the government. At present it comprises 400 members, including of course all the giant aircraft, electronics, motor, oil, and chemical corporations, but also many that one would not expect: not only General Dynamics, General Motors, and General Telephone and Electronics, but General Foods and General Learning; not only Sperry Rand, RCA, and Lockheed, but Servco and Otis Elevators. It is a wealthy club. The military budget is \$84 billion.

At the recent biennial symposium, held on October 18 and 19 in the State Department auditorium, the theme was "Research and Development in the 1970s." To my not unalloyed pleasure, I was invited to participate

as one of the seventeen speakers, and I was assigned the topic "Planning for the Socio-Economic Environment." Naturally, I could make the usual speculations about why I was thus "co-opted". I doubt that they expected to pick my brains for any profitable ideas. But it is useful for feeders at the public trough to present an image of wide-ranging discussion. It is comfortable to be able to say, "You see? These far-outniks are impractical." And business meetings are dull and I am notoriously stimulating. But the letter of invitation from Henri Busignies of ITT, the chairman of the symposium committee, said only, "Your accomplishments throughout your distinguished career eminently qualify you to speak with authority on the subject."

What is an intellectual man to do in such a case? I agree with the Gandhian principle, always cooperate within the limits of honour,

truth, and justice. But how to cooperate with the military industrial club! during the Vietnam war 1967! It was certainly not the time to reason about basic premises, as is my usual approach, so I decided simply to confront them and soberly tell them off.

Fortunately, it was the week of the demonstration at the Pentagon, when there would be thousands of my friends in Washington. So I tipped them off, and thirty students from Cornell and Harpur drove down early to picket the auditorium, with a good leaflet about the evil environment for youth produced by the military corporations. When they came, the white helmets sprang up, plus the cameras and reporters. In the face of this dangerous invasion, the State Department of the United States was put under security, the doors were bolted, and the industrialists (and I) were not allowed to exit. Inside, I spoke as follows.

'You are the military industrial of the United States, the most dangerous body of men at present in the world'

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT (R & D) FOR THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT OF THE 1970s.

I am astonished that at a conference on planning for the future, you have not invited a single speaker under the age of thirty, the group that is going to live in that future. I am pleased that some of the young people have come to pound on the door anyway, but it is too bad that they aren't allowed to come in.

Top right: Paul Goodman speaking at the Round House during the International Congress on "The Dialectics of Liberation", 1967. (Photo by John Haymes.) Top left: General Westmoreland, American Commander in Chief in Vietnam, talks to Alfred Hurt, Deputy Director of the American Aid Mission in Vietnam. (Photo by James Pickrell.)

This is a bad forum for this topic. Your programme mentions the "emerging national goals" of urban development, continuing education, and improving the quality of man's environment. I would add another essential goal, reviving American democracy; and at least two indispensable international goals, to rescue the majority of mankind from deepening poverty, and to ensure the survival of mankind as a species.

These goals indeed require research and experimentation of the highest sophistication, but not by you. You people are unfitted by your commitments, your experience, your customary methods, your recruitment, and your moral disposition. You are the military industrial of the United States, the most dangerous body of men at present in the world, for you not only implement our disastrous policies but are an overwhelming

lobby for them, and you expand and rigidify the wrong use of brains, resources, and labour so that change becomes difficult.

Most likely, the trends you represent will be interrupted by a shambles of riots, alienation, ecological catastrophes, wars, and revolutions, so that current long-range planning, including this conference, is irrelevant. But if we ask what are the technological needs and what ought to be researched in this coming period, in the six areas that I have mentioned, then the best service that you people could perform is rather rapidly to phase yourselves out, passing on your relevant knowledge to people who are better qualified, or reorganising yourselves with entirely different sponsors and commitments, so that you learn to think and feel in a different way. Since you are most of the R & D that there is, we cannot do without

you as people, but we cannot do with you as you are.

In aiding technically underdeveloped regions, the need in the foreseeable future is for an intermediate technology, scientifically sophisticated but tailored to their local skills, tribal or other local social organisation, plentiful labour force, and available raw materials. The aim is to help them out of starvation, disease, and drudgery without involving them in an international cash nexus of an entirely different order of magnitude. Let them take off at their own pace and in their own style. For models of appropriate technical analysis, I recommend you to E. F. Schumacher, of the British Coal Board, and his associates.

Instead, you people, and your counterparts in Europe and Russia, have been

continued on next page

imposing your technology, seducing native elites mostly corrupted by Western education, and arming them, indeed often using them as a dumping ground for obsolete weapons. As Dr Busignies pointed out yesterday, your aim must be, while maintaining leadership, to allow very little technical gap, in order to do business. Thus, you have involved these people in a wildly inflationary economy, have driven them into instant urbanisation, and increased the amount of disease and destitution. You have disrupted ancient social patterns, debauched their cultures, fomented tribal and other wars, and in Vietnam engaged yourselves in genocide. You have systematically entangled them in Great Power struggles. It is not in your interest, and you do not have the minds or the methods, to take these peoples seriously as people.

The survival of the human species, at least in a civilised state, demands radical disarmament, and there are several feasible political means to achieve this if we willed it. By the same token, we must drastically de-energise the archaic system of nation states, for example, by internationalising space exploration, expanding operations like the International Geophysical Year, denationalising Peace Corps and aid programmes, opening scientific information and travel.

Corrupted adventure

Instead, you, and your counterparts in Europe, Russia, and China, have rigidified and aggrandised the nation states with a Maginot-line kind of policy called Deterrence, which has continually escalated rather than stabilised. As Jerome Wiesner has demonstrated, past a certain point your operations have increased insecurity rather than diminished it. But this has been to your interest. Even in the present condition of national rivalry, it has been estimated, by Marc Raskin who sat in on the National Security Council, that the real needs of our defence should cost less than a fourth of the budget that you have pork-barrelled.

You tried, unsuccessfully, to saddle us with the scientifically ludicrous Civil Defence programme. You have sabotaged the technology of inspection for disarmament. Now you are saddling us with the anti-missile missiles and the multi-warhead missiles (MIRV). You have corrupted the human adventure of space with programmes for armed platforms in orbit. Though we are the most heavily armed and most naturally protected

of the Great Powers, you have seen to it that we spend a vastly greater amount and perhaps a higher proportion of our wealth on armaments than any other nation. This brings me to your effect on the climate of the economy. The wealth of a nation is to provide useful goods and services, with an emphasis first on necessities and broad-spread comforts, simply as a decent background for uneconomic life and culture; an indefinitely expanding economy is a rat race. There ought to be an even spread regionally, and no group must be allowed to fall outside of society.

Distorted economy

At present, thanks to the scientific ingenuity and hard work of previous generations, we could in America allow a modest livelihood to everyone as a constitutional right. And on the other hand, as the young have been saying by their style and actions, there is an imperative need to simplify the standard of living, since the affluent standard has become frivolous, tawdry, and distracting from life itself.

But you people have distorted the structure of a rational economy. Since 1945, half of new investment has gone into your products, not subject to the market nor even to Congressional check. This year, 86% of money for research is for your arms and rockets. You push through the colossally useless Super-Sonic Transport. At least 20% of the economy is directly dependent on your enterprises. The profits and salaries of these enterprises are not normally distributed but go heavily to certain groups, while others are excluded to the point of being out-caste. Your system is a major factor in producing the riots in Newark. [At this remark there were indignant protests.]

Some regions of the country are heavily favoured (especially Pasadena and Dallas) and others are disadvantaged. Public goods have been neglected. A disproportionate share of brains has been drained from more useful invention and development. And worst of all, you have enthusiastically supported an essentially mercantilist economics that measures economic health in terms of abstract Gross National Product and rate of growth, instead of concrete human well-being. Both domestically and internationally, you have been the bellwether of meaningless expansion, and this has sharpened poverty in our own slums and rural regions and for the majority of mankind. It has been argued that military expenditure, precisely because it is isolated and wasteful, is a stabiliser of an economy,

providing employment and investment opportunities when necessary; but your unbridled expansion has been the chief factor of social instability.

Dramatically intervening in education you have again disrupted the normal structure. Great universities have come to be financed largely for your programmes. Faculties have become unbalanced; your kind of people do not fit into the community of scholars. The wandering dialogue of science with the unknown is strait-jacketed for petty military projects. You speak increasingly of the need for personal creativity, but this is not to listen to the Creator Spirit for ideas, but to harness it to your ideas. This is blasphemous. There has been secrecy, which is intolerable to true academics and scientists. The political, and morally dubious co-opting of science, engineering, and social science has disgusted and alienated many of the best students.

Further, you have warped the method of education, beginning with the primary grades. Your need for narrowly expert personnel has led to processing the young to be test-passers, with a gross exaggeration of credits and grading. You have used the wealth of public and parents to train apprentices for yourselves. Your electronics companies have gone into the "education industries", and have tried to palm off teaching machines, audiovisual aids, and programmed lessons in excess of the evidence for their utility. But the educational requirements of our society in the foreseeable future demand a very different spirit and method. Rather than processing the young, the problem is how to help the young to grow up free and inventive in a highly scientific and socially complicated world. We do not need professional personnel so much as autonomous professionals who can criticise the programmes handed out to them and be ethically responsible. Do you encourage criticism of your programmes by either the subsidised professors or the students? [At this, Mr Charles Herzfeld, the chairman of the session, shouted "Yes!" and there was loud applause for the interruption, yet I doubt that there is much such encouragement.] We need fewer lessons and tests, and there ought to be much less necessity and prestige attached to mandarin requirements.

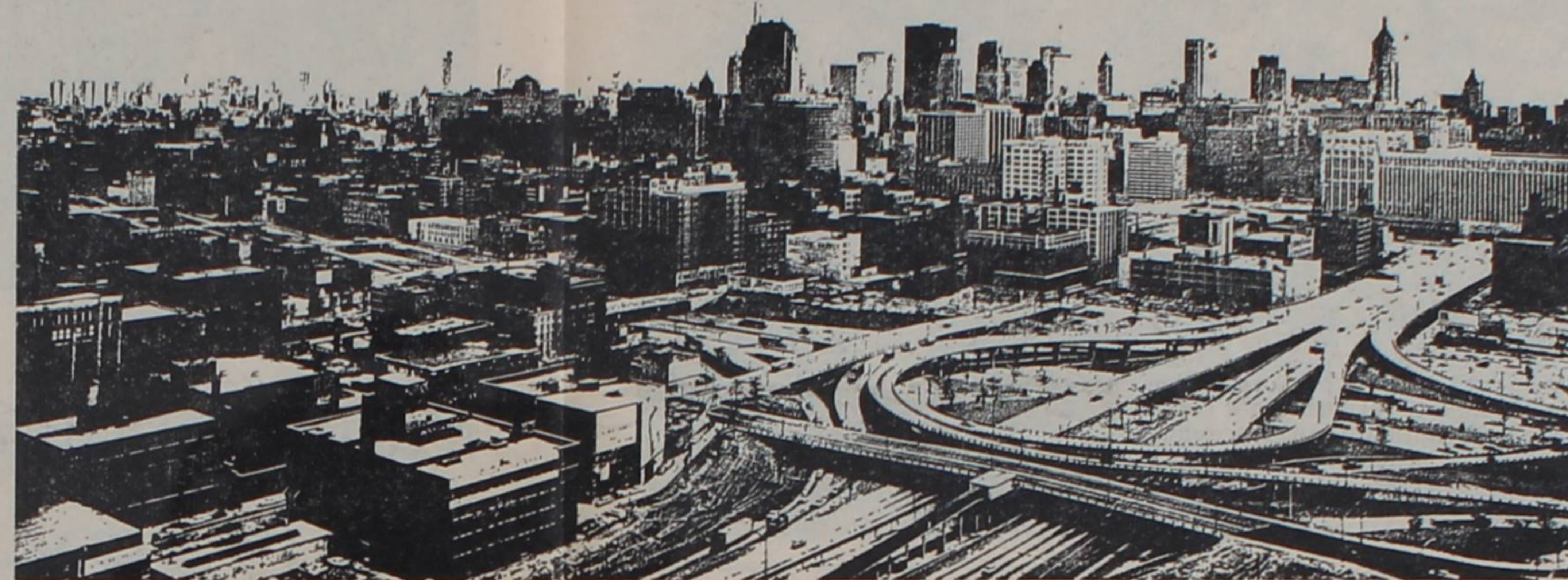
Suburban sprawl

Let us turn to urbanism. Prima facie, there are parts of urban planning (construction, depollution, the logistics of transportation) where your talents ought to be peculiarly useful. Unfortunately, it is your companies who have oversold the planes and the cars, polluted the air and water, and balked at even trivial remedies, so that I do not see how you can be morally trusted with the job. The chief present and future problems in this field, however, are of a different kind. They are two. First, the long-range problem is to diminish the urbanisation and suburban sprawl altogether, for they are economically unviable and socially harmful.

For this, the most direct means, and the one that I favour, is to cut down rural emigration and encourage rural return, by means of rural reconstruction and regional cultural development. The aim should be a 20% rural ratio instead of the present 5%. This is an aspect of using high technology for simplification, increasing real goods but probably diminishing the Gross National Product measured in cash. Such a programme is not for you. Your thinking is never to simplify and retrench, but always to devise new equipment to alleviate the mess that you have helped to make with your previous equipment.

Second, the immediately urgent urban problem is how to diminish powerless-

'There are parts of urban planning where your talents ought to be peculiarly useful. Unfortunately, it is your companies who have oversold the planes and the cars, polluted the air and water, and balked at even trivial remedies, so that I do not see how you can be morally trusted with the job . . . Your thinking is never to simplify and retrench, but always to devise new equipment to alleviate the mess that you have helped to make with your previous equipment'



Chicago

ness, anomie, alienation, and mental disease. For this the best strategy is to decentralise urban administration, in policing, schooling, social welfare, neighbourhood renewal, and real estate and business ownership. Such community development often requires heightening conflict and risking technical inefficiency for intangible gains of initiative and solidarity. This too is obviously not your style. You want to concentrate capital and power. Your systems analyses of social problems always tend towards standardisation, centralisation, and bureaucratic control, though these are not necessary in the method. You do not like to feed your computers indefinite factors and unknown parameters where spirit, spite, enthusiasm, revenge, invention, etc, will make the difference.

Puerile psychology

To be frank, your programmes are usually grounded in puerile theories of social psychology, political science, and moral philosophy. There is a great need for research and trying out in this field, but the likely cast of characters might be small farmers, Negro matriarchs, political activists, long-haired students, and assorted sages. Not you. Let's face it. You are essentially producers of exquisite hardware, and you are good at the logistics of moving objects around, but mostly with the crude aim of destroying things rather than reconstructing or creating anything, which is a harder task. Yet you boldly enter into fields like penology, pedagogy, hospital management, domestic architecture, and planning the next decade, wherever there is a likely budget.

I will use the last heading, improving the quality of man's environment, as a catch-all for some general remarks. In a society that is cluttered, over-centralised, and over-administered, we

should aim at simplification, decentralisation, and decontrol. These require highly sophisticated research to determine where, how, and how much. Further, for the first time in history, the scale of the artificial and technological has dwarfed the natural landscape. In prudence, we must begin to think of a principled limitation on artifice and to cut back on some of our present gigantic impositions, if only to ensure that we do not commit some terrible ecological blunder.

But, as Dr Smelt of Lockheed explained to us yesterday, it is the genius of American technology to go very rapidly from R & D to application; in this context, he said, prudence is not a virtue. A particular case is automation: which human functions should be computerised or automated, and which should not? This question (it is both an analytic and an empirical one) ought to be critical in the next decade, but I would not trust IBM salesmen to solve it. Another problem is how man can feel free and at home within the technological environment itself. For instance, comprehending a machine is one thing; being a mere user and in bondage to service systems is another. Also, to feel free, a man must have a rather strong say in the close environment that he must deal with.

However, these requirements of a technology are not taken into account by you. Despite Dr Smelt, technology is a branch of moral philosophy, subordinate to criteria like prudence, modesty, safety, amenity, flexibility, cheapness, easy comprehension, reparability, and so forth. If such moral criteria became paramount in the work of technologists, the quality of the environment would be more livable.

Still a further problem is how to raise the scientific and technical culture of the whole people, and here your imperialistic grab of the R & D money and of the system of education has

done immeasurable damage. You have seen to it that the lion's share has gone to your few giant firms and a few giant universities, though in fact very many, and perhaps more than half of, important innovations still come from independents and tiny firms. I was pleased that Dr Dessauer of Xerox pointed this out this morning. If the money were distributed more widely, there would probably be more discovery and invention, and what is more important, there would be a larger pool of scientific and competent people.

Spinoff fanfare

You make a fanfare about the spinoff of a few socially useful items, but your whole enterprise is notoriously wasteful; for instance, five billions go down the drain when after a couple of years you change the design of a submarine, sorry about that. When you talk about spinoff, you people remind me of TV networks who, after twenty years of nothing, boast that they did broadcast the McCarthy

hearings and the Kennedy funeral. [This remark led to free and friendly laughter; I do not know whether at the other industry or at their own hoax.]

Finally, concentrating the grants, you narrow the field of discovery and innovation, creating an illusion of technological determinism, as if we had to develop in a certain style. But if we had put our brains and money into electric cars, we would now have electric cars; if we had concentrated on intensive agriculture, we would now find that this is the most efficient, and so forth. And in grabbing the funds, you are not even honest; 90% of the R & D money goes in fact to shaping up for production, which as entrepreneurs you should pay for out of your own pockets.

Moralistic

No doubt some of these remarks have been unfair and ignorant. [Frantic applause.] By and large they are undeniable, and I have not been picking nits.

These remarks have certainly been harsh and moralistic. We are none of us saints, and ordinarily I would be ashamed to use such a tone. But you are the manufacturers of napalm, fragmentation bombs, and the planes that destroy rice. Your weapons have killed hundreds of thousands in Vietnam, and you will kill other hundreds of thousands in other Vietnams. I am sure that most of you would concede that much of what you do is ugly and harmful, at home and abroad. But you would say that it is necessary for the American way of life, at home and abroad, and therefore you cannot do otherwise. Since we believe, however, that that way of life itself is unnecessary, ugly, and un-American [Shouts of "Who are we?"] - we are I and those people outside - we cannot condone your present operations; they should be wiped off the slate.

Most of the 300 in the audience did not applaud these remarks, but there was quite strong applause from a couple of dozen. Afterwards, these sought me out singly and explained, "Thanks for having the courage", or more significantly, "Those kids outside are right. My son is doing the same thing in Boston, Ohio State, etc." The chairman of the session, Charles Herzfeld of ITT, felt obliged to exclaim, "The remark about our committing genocide in Vietnam is obscene. He does not say what is really intolerable there, that the Viet Cong single out college graduates for extermination."!!

More poignantly, the director of the symposium, a courteous and intelligent man, apologised to the gathering for having exposed them to me, which must have been a wrench for him to say. He had of course seen my text beforehand.

We went out by the exit onto the other avenue, and I was able to rejoin the more amiable company of the

young people, who were now sitting with their backs pressed against the auditorium doors, still among the white helmets. I answered their questions about the proceedings and we dispersed. That night NBC-TV showed a picture of the pickets, and next morning I got a story in the Washington Post.

Where's it at? Unquestionably the week of Resistance demonstrations was successful and made its point, that thousands and probably tens of thousands of people are now willing to go to jail or get their heads broken to stop the Vietnam war. There were no disappointments: turning in the draft cards, resistance at the induction centres and staging areas and against the Dow and Navy recruiters, the crowd in Washington and the melee at the Pentagon, all proved strong enough.

We are witnessing a test of legitimacy, and in my opinion the government position is now untenable. Despite a few exotic slogans, there is a groundswell of American populism, including sporadic populist violence as in 1890 or 1933, but mainly solidly secure in the belief that it is itself the democratic voice and that LBJ is a usurper. As was not reported in the press, the night vigil on the Pentagon steps on October 22 sang *The Star-Spangled Banner*. It was probably a mistake for the President to have exposed so many troops to the young resisters, who were mostly peaceful but obviously spunky and sometimes persuasive.

Concentration camps

The climate is beginning to feel like the eve of the French withdrawal from Algeria, including the same coalition of the young, the intellectuals, and the Algerians (Negroes). The question remains, is the American structure so rich and so technologically powerful that its government can dispense with legitimacy? I don't know. And while the NLF and the North Vietnamese have been hanging on and continuing to counter-attack (and their people and our people are dying), American opinion has finally begun to veer sharply towards getting out. The hawk spokesmen have become divided and confused.

There is a persistent rumour in Washington that the President (or the hidden government) is about to cast the die and approve the prepared invasion of North Vietnam in December. If so, a hundred thousand young people and many many others will resist, non-violently or violently, and there will be martial law and concentration camps. I will not speculate further along this atomic line.

But there is evidence that shrewder counsel might prevail; to write off this odious war, adopt a somewhat less adventurous foreign policy, put a little more money into the cities,

continued on next page

