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& Supplement

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'Two, Three or Many Vietnams'

monial. This year, the slogan is 'Make it One World in Peace'. Alas, it is all too obvious that peace is not yet to be and a world in pieces is a more obvious rejoinder.

When CND first started it was a widely popular movement with a good, valid case which everyone could accept, except the statesmen of the world. It was calling attention to the danger of nuclear weapons. Now even Lord Louis Mountbatten thinks it a not unreasonable idea. When an idea comes to being accepted so generally it is obviously time to move on to something more revolutionary, and even less acceptable. The Committee of 100 tried by means of direct action to galvanize the corpse of

chist ideas, of direct action, of confrontation with the police which may seem by some to have been squandered by the legatees—those newspaper archetypes, the hippies and the student-protesters.

There was one snag, the apparat —the institution of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament—had been set up and has refused, as institutions do, to die when its mission has been accomplished. Their purpose confused and their personnel changed and discouraged, CND lurched into vague peace-making with forays into opposing the Vietnam war. This made it an easy prey to those political opportunists, be they Maoists, Trotskyists, Staway to political power.

Undoubtedly CND contains many sincere idealists, convinced humanitarians, and dedicated pacifists as well as some confused peace-lovers. This 'stage army of the good' is always available to trot or march on to the scene when an expression of the peace-loving democratic will is required.

Vietnam provided the occasion. It became obvious, even to world statesmen, that when nuclear weapons revealed themselves as dangerous toys, only to be kept as threats, and only to be used by accident or under extreme provocation, the only kind of safe war was a war on somebody else's territory. Therefore quite obviously, having regard to the risk involved, it had to be in an underdeveloped country. The puppet-wars of the post-1945 'peace' have all been manipulated by the three great powers, America, Russia and latterly China. They have been wars looking for somewhere to happen.

America and Russia seem to have made their peace largely because they have settled their spheres of influence. Europe for Russia, Asia for America. The balance of power has teetered with the entry of China on to the list of world powers and she, by her possession of a bomb, has qualified for admission to the club. This she has been denied.

The rise of China to revolutionary power, as yet unblemished by the bourgeois compromises of the Russians, has nurtured a new generation of revolutionaries (who look and act suspiciously like the old) who turn to China for example and precept. In their turn they have built up a new Valhalla of revolutionary heroes taking their inspira-

THIS WEEKEND sees the CND nuclear protest but it never really linists, Communists or just Young tion from the nationalist guerilla celebrating their sad Easter ceremade it. It left a heritage of anar- Liberals who would betch-hike their peasant leaders and their 'liberating' missions. Even China's acquisition of the bomb was hailed by Dr. Malcolm Caldwell as 'the peasants' bomb'.

> The Vietnam war was diagnosed as 'a struggle for national liberation from American imperialism' and as the heroic fight of the Vietnamese people. Between these upper and nether millstones of the Vietcong and the American advisers, the Vietnamese people have been crushed.

> Not that victory came for either side. Now, after licking their wounds, both sides in the Vietnam war have decided that victory is impossible (as with the Korean war) and have decided to move the war into Laos, Cambodia or Thailand

or perhaps all three.

One of the revolutionary heroes of the left, Che Guevara, said, 'What a luminous, near future would be visible to us if two, three or many Vietnams flourished throughout the world.' He was, of course, welcoming nationalist uprisings as giving opportunities for a communist (people's) revolt. This is, of course, the theory of increasing misery. The vain hope that a revolution will arise out of a war, that a revolutionary government can arise from bourgeois nationalism, or that freedom can arise from any government, come to that.

Che now has the prospect of seeing (from Valhalla) two, three or many Vietnams. Will mankind survive them? JACK ROBINSON.

Docks: A Lesson to other Workers

OCKERS IN THE Port of London are enjoying the last laugh. Their 'blackmail' methods paid off and they accepted a vastly improved pay offer by not backing down in the face of opposition from the press and television.

They refused to operate new methods at certain berths which can operate under vastly reduced manning until ALL dockers were guaranteed a security wage.

The employers had tried to split the men by offering much higher wages to the men who operated modern methods but not making any reasonable offer to the others.

The men stuck together and banned any new deals with reduced manning. When Overseas Containers Limited wanted to start their container service to Australia a year ago they were prevented as a result from using Tilbury.

Predictably the employers, television and press squealed 'blackmail' and attacked the dockers for being stubborn, opposing progress and all the usual anti-worker propaganda. When OCL moved their service to Rotterdam and Antwerp it was not them but the workers who were supposed to be unpatriotic and ignoring the national interest.

But the workers stuck to their guns and in under a year the employers have been forced to reluctantly improve their offer tremendously. Less than a year ago they offered the normal docker a basic wage of £21 5s. plus bonus payments tied to productivity which could bring this up to £31 17s. 6d. Last week the dockers accepted a basic of £34 10s., with no strings attached, plus ten shillings for each day worked on the ship (instead of the quay).

It is still not a lot compared with some of the profits being made by the companies that run the container services (P & O Steam Navigation alone made a net profit of £12,642,000 last year and shareholders got a 12 per cent dividend). But it is a lot more than

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originally offered.

In fact it was the employers' third 'final' offer.

In return the dockers have agreed to abolish piecework earnings, work a twoshift system and allow far more mobility of labour.

The lessons to other workers, who are probably paid less, are clear. Stick together and don't accept bribes offered to a small percentage of workers, don't be deterred by the biased mass media and ignore the term 'final' offer if it is not good enough.

PORTWORKER.

Praise of Anarchy

THROUGHOUHT THE WORLD the crisis of authority continues to deepen. American youth dodges the draft in their thousands, while underground papers in the US forces are up in the hundreds. Nanterre is in ferment again. unable to find a dean for its faculty of letters who doesn't demand police protection as a condition for the job! In a dozen British universities and art schools sit-ins, protests, demonstrations, the drive for more say in the running of the universities, continue. London Airport is threatened with complete shutdown as a result of a firemen's strike, while Clive

Jenkins rocks the boat with opposition to airline merger and the people who live around the Airport are planning direct action to prevent Sunday flying, because they are fed up with the noise. Even policemen are demanding a change in the rule that forbids them striking (!). while Catholic priests want release from celibacy and lay Catholics in their millions disobey the Pope on the Pill. When not only students and pupils, but their teachers too take to direct action, it is not surprising that industrial workers are not only pushing up wage claims to highest-ever levels, but are demanding more and more control of their places of work.

BOSSES' ALARM

Although this may fall very far short of what anarchists demand, the signs are enough to alarm the bosses. In the House of Commons last Thursday, during the discussion on the new 'controversial' Ports Bill, Tory MP Edward Taylor spoke about the fantastic increase in the movement for more worker control of industry', which, he maintained, 'had led to a major clash between the traditionalists and the Maoist faction'.

Never a week passes but some industrialist refers to 'anarchy' on the shop floor, and last Tuesday's London Evening Standard's placards proclaimed 'Mr. Wilson alarmed by strikes'.

And well he may be alarmed by strikes. For they are the tip of the iceberg of dissatisfaction spread right through society-right through the world. The only countries where protest and demonstration is not the norm today are the openly totalitarian countries, like Spain, Greece, the Communist bloc, Portugal, South Africa. In these dictatorships, the world knows, public 'order' is maintained only by the ever-present, ever-visible, armed police, backing up total censorship and state control of the media. Yet even under these conditions of state terror, protests do occur. In Madrid Spanish students risk imprisonment; in the Asturias, miners likewisewith the added possibility of torture. Although the CIA has done its dirty work in Greece-and tried it on in Italy, but failed-underground the struggle goes on and may surface sooner than they think; in Portugal and South Africa they are biding their time, and we all



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IKE IT OR NOT we shall have to learn to live with it for it will announce the end of the ITV television programmes, fill the screens of our cinemas as we tread our way between the empty ice-cream cartons that mine the way to the exits, and take its place on the walls of uncountable and unmentionable Government offices. It is the portrait of the Queen by Annigoni and led by the John the Baptist of the critics, Terence Mullaly, the critics of the established press finally worked up sufficient courage to boo it.

Annigoni is a fashionable painter who was long long ago dismissed by these columns as a fair second-rate painter but he has a cheerful flamboyant style, a feeling for theatrical presentation and sense enough to turn his limited talents to the sensuous light-filled world of Botticelli and those who could afford his price bought a passable pastiche of themselves as Renaissance creatures of quality and quantity. One does not challenge this for people get, in theory, what they pay for and if the Queen's painting as a work of art is valueless then it is the gallery's loss and Annigoni's

Fifteen years ago Annigoni painted a portrait of the Queen that, despite its artificiality, had a sentimental charm for in the drab world of Carnaby Street Art Nouveau posters he gave a contemporary version of a Virgin Mary that found a welcomed place with Mother's Day cards, re-runs of Disney Silly Symphonies and Doris Day films. But this 1970 portrait of the Queen by Annigoni is a disgraceful painting in that the only way that we can stand in judgement on the third-rate is by the artist's own standards and by his own standards Annigoni has

sold us a painting in which sheer craft lute authority one step lower than the all his work, has the usual photographic likeness but it would appear that the paint of the flesh tints has been applied seeps through. What should be the Queen's hair appears to be nothing but a badly defined cap while the cords that hold her robe are so casually and crudely painted that they end as mere streaks of paint against a textureless cape and the sketch.

It is with the large decoration that the Queen wears on her left breast that Annigoni signals his apparent indifference to his craft. While the face is a mask of photographic realism this large decoration is a painted daub that can only be identified by virtue of our public knowledge of the subject matter. Lazy slapdash work that should never have been accepted by the National Portrait Gallery (Trafalgar Square). The Royal family no longer have political power but they will exist as long as the class that holds political power have a use for them and that most treacherous of classes, the surely the message of Enoch Powell as middle class, will use them and betray the drummer of the new social morality them as they have always done. Any and, when you gaze on this portrait of official portrait should in truth reflect the Queen by Annigoni, listen to the

indifference and incompetence appear to angels but those solid middle-class black fight for winning places. The face, as in virtues that the Queen was bred to represent. This has been done so many times within our lifetime by painters who have been rejected as colourless academics so thinly that the dirty grey of the canvas that those who jeered at the paintings as paintings, of the Royal family surrounded by their Corgi dogs, their tweeds and their Tottenham Court Road Heal's furniture, failed to realize that this is the background of the class who maintain them in their unwelcomed office and hand within its fold is but a coloured history will reject the rubbish of Annigoni for these true records of our age. Good solid bourgeois morality still hooked onto their golden haze of the nineteen-thirties with five men for one job, Irish maid o' all works, the Special Constable armband from the General Strike and the General Service Medal from World War One.

Let us not delude ourselves that Thomas Hobbes' 17th century cry for a return to absolute political power in the keeping of an absolute monarch is now outmoded or that the Malthusian inhuman doctrine does not now have its vocal and powerful exponents for this is not a Renaissance idealisation of abso- winds of hate for it is the message of

Enoch Powell that it carries and there are more and more people listening and its end is Thomas Hobbes' demand for absolute power with a puppet figure of tinted royalty to gloss over its evils.

Rubens' portrait of Henry IV may be a joke as subject matter and Boucher's Madame Bergeret pure and lovely decorative fantasy yet we accept them as brilliant paintings, but it is in the work of Holbein with his portrait of the Burgomaster Meyer, or Raphael's portrait of Pope Julius II that we seek and find that true marriage of truth and art. We shall remember Henry VIII by a single Holbein painting though a thousand dons pen a thousand volumes; we know Elizabeth I and her age through the paintings of Nicholas Hilliard and Elizabeth II has been ill-served by a fashionable hack too lazy to earn his salt and those officials of our National Gallery who fell victim to his shallow reputation and hired him.

Who or how the artist paints is a matter between himself and his own conscience for we all in our daily living prostitute our small talents and our small strengths, but if any man stands forth to speak for us and our age then we have a right to publicly disassociate ourselves. The artist is the illustrator of history and it is his brush that illuminates the bleak printed pages. Don't claim that the portrait of Elizabeth II now on view at the National Portrait Gallery does not concern you, little comrade, for after due examination the middle class have now accepted it as a true mirror of our age. Examine it and think on it the next time that Enoch Powell spells out in his gritty clerk's voice a demand for new authoritarian anti-humanist society and remember that as the audience who accept this painting swells so does Enoch Powell's supporters. ARTHUR MOYSE.

Praise of Anarchy

Continued from page 1 know what can happen in the Eastern European states, while even in Mother Russia itself, non-conformist youth, drunkenness, rebellious widespread writers and failure to reach industrial targets are indications of dissatisfactions and doubts which the state may be able to resolve only by conflict with China.

THE CHALLENGE

What does it all add up to? It adds up to the first prerequisite for anarchism: disobedience. The challenge to authority itself. When Catholics and Communists both show discomfort under their different yokes; when workers and blacks throw off their conditioning for inferiority and assert their dignity-even if it is done crudely and with limited concepts-still it is the fact that it is done at all that is important and encouraging. When students in fascist, communist and 'democratic' countries make identical protest for identical aims and when simple, uneducated folk are no longer dominated by the priest-here is the unifying factor, the yearning for freedom.

No wonder we hear rumblings from the authoritarian right and left about 'Law and Order'. No wonder the democracies look enviously at the dictatorships and wish they could have it the same. No wonder they seek to terrify the bourgeoisie with their cry of 'ANARCHY'-for this is the one word that really means the end of it all.

The end of exploitation; the end of war; the end of spying and lying and deceiving; the end of legal fiddles and privilege and power; the end of religious humbug and moral castration; the end of an education system more like stuffing a goose to get the liver paté than the path to human potential; the end of the rat-race; the end of irresponsibility, of profit-taking and pollution; the end of fear; the end of murderous power. This is why your actual politicians and priests hate the very word ANARCHY. It's the end of their power over you.

Anarchy is workers' control. Anarchy is social responsibility. Anarchy is truth and love. Anarchy is abundance and satisfaction—free access to all you need in life. Anarchy is using technology to make everybody happy, not to make a few rich. Anarchy is a clean world for our kids, not a pustulating crust. Anarchy is human beings in harmony-black, white, yellow, brown, equal in the sight of each other. Anarchy is freedom. Anarchy is for you and me. And anarchy is for NOW.

JUSTIN.

time come to call a halt to the exploitation of sex and violence? One knows that the Sodom and Gomorrah and the Noah's Ark incidents show that Crime Does Not Pay, but is not the description of 'crime' paying high

W. H. Smith's should not stock this book whatever it is.

JACK SPRATT.

THE TRIAL BEGAN at 12.30, the first prosection witness was PC Donaldson, who gave evidence that he had been tripped and that while pinned down by others in a general collapse he was kicked, causing him to lose consciousness. The next witness, a police constable from Markinch, Fife, gave a well detailed account of the incident in a firm confident voice. He also described how the culprit had escaped into the crowd, reappearing about 30 feet up the terracing. My heart sank, it seemed impossible to doubt that this man was telling the truth. He had watched the man, who appeared to be stirring up the crowd, but had been unable to get close enough to arrest the man. The Procurator Fiscal (PF) asked whether that man was in the court. The policeman looked coolly at me (I felt sick) and then at the public who were watching.

'No,' he replied. I could not believe

my ears.

PF: 'Are you sure?' The judge looked very interested, the clerk of the court was surprised, Mr. More, my lawyer, was rigid, and the PF was bewildered.

around the court, 'Yes.'

The PF carried on in desperation and succeeded in finding that PC McHardy had seen me at the match, just standing around.

The next two policemen had nothing to add really. The last two policemen

were those who had arrested me, and swore that they had seen me kicking Donaldson.

The defence case was mainly that I, and my witnesses, had not come into the match until the second half, after the incident. The PF tried to prove that we were extreme socialists, but he was probably out of his depth. He lost all his cases that day!

In his summing up the PF tried to misrepresent the evidence, but was corrected

McHardy) were lying, or those two policemen who arrested me were lying. In view of the conflicting police evidence there was reasonable doubt in his mind, and clearly he had to find me Not Guilty. In Scotland, as many will know, there is a third verdict, Not Proven, which is often used as a police face-saver, in fact almost invariably. BOB TURNBULL.

several times by the sheriff, who con-

cluded that it was a difficult case, for

either I and my witnesses (and PC

he Sins of the Fathers

CEQUELS ARE never very satisfying. second book pre-date their first. This to cash in on the success of the previous of Son of Lassie. The authors have volume with the ready-made market already created. I reviewed the previous volume in this series in April 1961; I learn it sold seven million copies which is less than the Valley of the Dolls or Peyton Place, or the works of Lenin or Chairman Mao.

The authors-for this, it appears, is a collective anonymous work - have PC McHardy, after a quick glance resorted to the device of making their

They are all too often an attempt is, as it were, Father of Lassie instead apparently realized the potentialities of the background created in their previous work and have gone in for the Cinerama approach—it is known that Hollywood has already made several films based upon the material in this book-or is it that the authors have drawn upon the Hollywood formulae?

volume does not appear in this volume; it is his father who is the key-figure in this fore-sight saga. And what a father! The whole volume is jampacked with sex and violence. The sex runs the whole gamut of Krafft-Ebbing and the violence is of the most sickening

The politically aware may detect Zionist propaganda in the work and the violence and much of the chicanery takes place because of the necessity of real-politik. There is much fascinating background of the incredible history of the Hebrew people, their harsh laws and curious customs. The book has The 'beatnik with delusions of gran- vivid poetical passages compared by some deur' who is the anti-hero of the first to D. H. Lawrence. But has not the

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LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. All correspondence to LFA, c/o Freedom Press. BLACK KNIGHT GROUP, 5 Nelson Road, N.8. Meeting Wednesdays LAVENDER HILL. Contact C. Broad, 116 Tyne-

ham Road, S.W.11 (228 4086). LEWISHAM. Jon Raimes, 12 Oakcroft Road, S.E.13 (852 0951). PORTOBELLO ROAD ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Andrew Dewar, 16 Kilburn House, Mal-

vern Place, N.W.6. Meetings 8 p.m. every Tuesday. FINCH'S ANARCHISTS. Regular meetings. Contact P.P., 271 Portobello Road, W.11. BEXLEY ANARCHIST MOVEMENT. Steve Leman, 28 New Road, Abbey Wood, S.E.2. Tel.: FT 35377. Meetings every Friday, 8 p.m., Lord Bexley, Bexleyheath Broadway.

nate Wednesdays. Correspondence c/o Freedom

NOTTING HILL S.P.S.H., 18 Powis Square, W.11. NEWHAM. Pat Keen, 98 Clova Road, London, LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION. Peter Ford, 36 Devonshire Road, Mill Hill, N.W.7.

EAST LONDON UNDERGROUND Secretary: Anthony Matthews, 35 Mayville Road, London, E.11.

REGULAR WEEKLY MEETINGS Mondays, 7.30 p.m., at Flat 10, Chessington

Lodge, Regents Park Road, N.3. Tuesdays, 8 p.m., at Freedom Hall, 84B Whitechapel High Street, E.1 (Aldgate East Station).

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS

AND GROUPS BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary. Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannafore Road, Rotton Park,

Birmingham, 16. Meetings every Sunday, 8 p.m., in the smoke room of St. Martin pub, corner of St. Martin's Lane and Jamaica Row. BOURNEMOUTH AREA. Bob Fry, 30 Douglas Close, Upton, Poole, Dorset.

CORNWALL ANARCHISTS. Contact Arthur Jacobs, 13 Ledrah Road, St. Austell, Cornwall. Meetings on the second Friday of each month at 42 Pendarves Street, Beacon, Camborne, 7.30 p.m. Visiting comrades very welcome.

PEACE ACTION. Rory Weightman, P.C.T. Peace Action Group, St. Pauls Road, Portsmouth, Hants. CROYDON LIBERTARIANS. Laurens and Celia Otter, 35 Natal Road, Thornton Heath, CR4 8QH

(653 7546) or contact Keith McCain, 1 Langmead Street, West Norwood, S.E.27. Phone 670 7297. EDGWARE PEACE ACTION GROUP. Contact S.W. LONDON ANARCHISTS. Meeting alter- Melvyn Estrin, 84 Edgwarebury Lane, Edgware, Middx.

FARNBOROUGH. 81 Mytchett Road, Mytchett, Camberley, Surrey. Tel.: Farnborough 43811. HERTS. Contact Val and John Funnell, 10 Fry Road, Chells, Stevenage. LANCASTER. John King, 4 The Grove, Lan-

MUTUAL AID GROUP. c/o Borrowdale, Carriage Drive, Frodsham, Cheshire. NORTHAMPTONSHIRE. Terry Phillips, 40 Grosvenor Way, Kettering, Northants. NORTH EAST ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact M. Renick, 122 Mowbray Street, Heaton, New-

LEICESTER. Contact Di and A. Humphrey,

74 High Street, Leicester (Leicester 22046).

castle on Tyne 6. NORTH SOMERSET ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Roy Emery, 3 Abbey Street, Bath, or Geoffrey Barfoot, 71 St. Thomas Street, Wells. ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockhoft. Phone: Knockhoft 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.

PORTSMOUTH. Ken Bowbrick, 26 Hambledon House, Landport, Portsmouth, Hants. READING. 26 Bulmershe Road. Tel.: Reading 65645. Meetings every Thursday.

SOUTHALL. Dave Smith, 102 Abbots Road, TAUNTON. c/o Dave Poulson, 473 Bramley Road, Taunton, Somerset. WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Regular meetings and activities contact Mr. T. Plant, 10 Thackeray Road, East Ham, E.6. Tel.: 552 4162.

ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION

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Harlow. LOUGHTON. Group c/o Students' Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Borders Lane, Loughton, Essex.

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION Secretary: Phil, 7 Trinity Square, Preston.

BLACKPOOL. Contact Christine and Graham, 2 Fenper Avenue, Southshore, Blackpool. BOLTON. Contact John Hayes, 51 Rydal Road, CHORLEY. Contact Kevin Lynch, 6 Garfield Terrace, Chorley, LANCASTER & MORECAMBE. Tom Howard, 163 Ryelands Road, Lancaster, Lancs. Meetings Monday at 8 p.m., Phil Woodhead's, 30 Dunkeld Street, Lancaster. Regular literature sales. MANCHESTER ANARCHISTS AND SYNDI-CALISTS. Contact Rachel Golditch, 34 Waterpark Road, Salford, Lancs. (740 2516). PRESTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Rob Wilkinson, 73 Trafford Street, Preston. Meetings: 'The Wellington Hotel', Glovers Court, Preston. Wednesdays, 8 p.m. STOCKPORT. Dave Crowther, & Castle Street.

Edgeley, Stockport. SURREY FEDERATION

DORKING. Mungo Park, 16 Overdale Road, Dorking, Surrey EPSOM. G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom. Tel. Epsom 23806. KINGSTON. Michael Squirrel, 4 Woodgate Ave., Hook, Chessington. GUILDFORD. Contact Epsom Group. MERTON. Elliot Burns, 13 Amity Grove, Lon-

don, S.W.19. Tel. 01-946 1444.

Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/e

Eddie Poole, 5 Tilsbury, Findon Road, Whitehawk, Brighton. BRIGHTON & HOVE ANARCHIST GROUP TOWN & UNIVERSITY. Contact Nick Heath, Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road, Brighton. MID-SUSSEX. Contact Adrian Howe, 10 Silverdale, Keyner, Hassocks, Sussex. Tel. Hassocks

CRAWLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Richard Ashwell, 87 Buckswood Drive, Gossops Green, Crawley, Sussex. SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP (see details under Student Groups).

YORKSHIRE FEDERATION

Secretary: Contact Leeds Group. HARROGATE. Contact Roger Willis, 22 Princess HULL: Jim Young, 3 Fredericks Crescent, Hawthorn Avenue, Hull. KEIGHLEY: Steve Wood, 26B Cavendish Street, Keighley.

LEEDS GROUP. Contact Martin Watkins, Marlborough Grove, Leeds 2, SHEFFIELD: Dave Jeffries, c/o Students Union. Western Bank, Sheffield, 10. I. C. Wood, 65 Glencoe Road, Sheffield. YORK. Keith Nathan, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York.

WELSH FEDERATION

ABERYSTWYTH ANARCHISTS. J. Nanteos Mans, Aberystwyth, Cards. Bobus Marsland, c/o Students' Union, Laure Place, Aberystwyth, Cards. CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. All correspondence to:-Pete Raymond, 18 Marion Street, Splott, Cardiff. SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Ian Bone, 18 Windsor Street, Uplands, Swansea. Meetings at the above address every Sunday at LLANELLI: Contact Dai Walker, 6 Liwuynnendy Road, Llanelli, Carm. Tel: Llanelli 2548.

SCOTTISH FEDERATION

Ferryden, Montrose, Angus.

All correspondence to Bobby Lynn, Secretary, 12 Ross Street, Glasgow, S.E. ABERDEEN ANARCHISTS & SYNDICALISTS. Contact Ian & Peggy Sutherland, 8 Esslemont Avenue, Aberdeen. Regular 'Freedom' Sale, leafletting, etc. Visiting comrades welcome. GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Robert Lynn, 12 Ross Street, S.E. EDINBURGH. Tony Hughes, Top Flat, 40 Angle Park Terrace, Edinburgh 11. HAMILTON AND DISTRICT ANARCHIST GROUP. Robert Linton, 7a Station Road, New Stevenston, Motherwell. FIFE. Bob and Una Turnbull, 39 Stratheden Park, Stratheden Hospital, By Cupar. MONTROSE. Dave Coull, 3 Eskview Terrace. ROSS-SHIRE. Contact David Rodgers, Broom-

field, Evanton, Ross-shire, Scotland. NORTHERN IRELAND BELFAST ANARCHIST GROUP. No address ivailable. Letters c/o Freedom Press. SOUTHERN IRELAND

ALLIANCE OF LIBERTARIAN AND ANAR-CHIST GROUPS IN IRELAND. c/o Freedom

IRISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Correspondence Liam O'Duibhir, 3 Gowrie Park, Dun spondence Liam O Duibhir, 3 Gowrie Park, Dun Laoghaire. Meetings Sundays, 3.30 p.m., 20 College Lane, Dublin.

STUDENT GROUPS

royalties?

LOUGHTON. c/o Students Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Borders Lane, Loughton, Essex. UNIVERSITY OF ESSEX. Contact Andrew Chalk, William Morris Tower, University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester, Essex. KEELE UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Pete Hannah, c/o Students Union, University of Keele, Staffs. OXFORD ANARCHISTS. Contact John Nygate, New College, Oxford; Steve Watts, Trinity College, SWANSEA. Contact Ian Bone, 18 Windsor Street, Uplands, Swansea. TAUNTON. Contact Dave Poulson, 47b Bramley Road, Taunton, Somerset. YORK. Contact R. Atkins, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York. LSE. St. Clements Buildings, Houghton Street,

ABROAD

AUSTRALIA. Federation of Australian Anarchists, P.O. Box A 389, Sydney South, NSW 2000. BELGIUM. Groupe du journal Le Libertaire, 220 rue Vivegnis, Liège.

PROPOSED GROUPS

MONTREAL, QUEBEC. Anyone interested in forming a Montreal area Anarchist group please contact Ron Sigler. Tel. 489-6432. VANCOUVER I.W.W. and Libertarian group. Box 512, Postal St. 'A', Vancouver 1, B.C., Canada. Read 'The Rebel'-please send donation for postage. NOTTINGHAM and area. Contact Dave Smalley. top flat, 43 Burns Street, Nottingham, or through folk club at the Central Tavern, Monday nights. NOVA SCOTIA. P. Ridley, c/o Newport Post Office, Newport, Nova Scotia, Canada.

Please notify us if entries in these columns need amending.

Of course, the workers of America, the workers and peasants of Vietnam-North and South-and, indeed, the workers of the world have no material stake in such struggles and armed conflicts. Nor should they support one side or the other, despite the claims of the Pentagon, the Kremlin or the silly little Trotskyist and Maoist groups here and abroad who so loudly shout for 'Victory to the Vietcong'. Workers have no country, and have nothing to be patriotic about; they are, to all intents and purposes, entirely or almost entirely propertyless. They should oppose, not just the murders of 'innocent babies' in My Lai, or just the war in Vietnam, but all wars between states.

The present series of outrages and

alleged outrages, and crimes now coming to light, are really part of a far greater outrage—that of world capitalism itself. War is just one (albeit the most destructive) aspect of present-day society. And the massacres at My Lai are only an aspect of modern warfare. Furthermore, American imperialism is not alone in committing such atrocities. Such acts of barbarism have been committed by all states—and not only during war. At least that half-demented nut, George Brown, was right when he said that 'we' have been responsible for similar out-

Surprisingly, however, whilst many people are shocked at the news of massacres of 'innocent babies' or peasants in Vietnam, or of starving Biafrans, or even of police brutality in, say, Paris or Derry, they have become conditioned to the napalm bombing, the 'conventional' of society which causes such atrocities people as a whole. In the words of the bombing of Hanoi (or London, Rotter- and murders; they often support the dam or Dresden in the last war) or even state-capitalist bureaucracy of Russia and the atom bombing of Hiroshima. Hun- North Vietnam and they are as much dreds of thousands, possibly millions, of political power-seekers as those they people including 'innocent children', have condemn.

been blown to pieces and maimed by bombing raids, and by aircraft many thousand feet above their 'targets'. The American bomber pilot in Vietnam, the former British bomber pilots over Hamburg during the last war, the Luftwaffe pilots over Coventry and the 'Nigerian' Mig bomber pilots over the former territory of Biafra, were all just as much murderers as were the blood-soaked, trigger-happy GIs of My Lai. Yet to the average Englishman, or American, or Russian, such types are looked upon as heroes who receive DSOs, Purple Hearts or Orders of Lenin. But, in fact, they are just as depraved, just as sick, just as 'guilty' as the murderers of 'innocent children' in a Vietnamese village.

Moreover, most of the left-wing politicians who scream 'atrocity' over My Lai are equally as hypocritical as the

No; national liberation, 'Victory to the Vietcong' (also perpetrators of atrocities and their own My Lais), is no answer to the crimes of capitalism and its national states. The only real and lasting solution is the destruction, the abolition, of a system that demands conflicts and struggles over the world's natural resources. The resources of the earth, the means of production, instead of being the private property of individuals or of national states, should become the common heritage of all mankind. Production should be geared for use instead of for profit. And states should, as Engels once noted, be relegated to the museum of antiquities. Then, and only then, will such atrocities as My Laiand Coventry or Dresden—be a thing of the past. Reliance on politicians or political parties, of left or right, will never tating, remote-controlled murder of to, or work for the abolition of, the sort tion. That must be the task of the Preamble of the 1st International: 'The emancipation of the working class must

STRIKES FOR POLITICAL ENDS

DECENT EVENTS at London's Heath- inquiry into industrial relations at Heath- Air Transport in the 1970's recommended in their attacks are, of course, the politicians, for all party spokesmen have condemned these disputes, while Richard Marsh even went as far as saying that the action of the dockers was a 'complete negation of democracy'. The action by the airport workers in 'blacking' the airlines who use the services of General Aviation Services has been similarly described.

Mr. Clive Jenkins of the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs has threatened to call out his members if British United Airways is not taken over by BOAC. These actions are will reach the same conclusion. called political and, according to the politicians, these decisions regarding nationalisation should be taken by them alone. Mr. Marsh's remarks show an arrogance and a contempt for workers who want to be involved in the decisions which will affect their lives. This is broadly what most people understand as democracy as opposed to letting Mr. Marsh hand down what he and the Government think is good enough.

has been so much condemnation of these panies with their merger plans. These but they refused. were not, of course, considered to be political decisions!

Tow Airport and the one-day strike row, for they are really concerned about a privately-owned 'third force', and it is by dockers have been attacked as being the power of those who take action. The this that these men are resisting. Cerstrikes for political ends. Those loudest firemen's pay dispute is really a side tainly the Government, by its action over issue and it is just a coincidence that British United Airways, wants such an the two disputes came to the surface at arrangement. the same time. What the British Airports Authority and the Government are concerned with is the growing strength of the airport workers. An earlier Court of Inquiry, in 1958, said: BOAC held the actions of the local Stewards' Committee accountable for the strike of October, 1958. BOAC said that it was the culmination of a trend over the last six years or more towards increasing unconstitutional interference with normal working.' No doubt the present inquiry

12,000 ATTEND MEETING

The legal action taken by BAA and GAS against Ian Stuart, the chairman of the Joint Shop Stewards' Committee, shows how worried they are about the continued 'blacking'. However the response by 12,000 airport workers at Brentford Football Ground shows that they are not prepared to allow GAS, a private American company, to operate a But it is easy to understand why there ground handling contract at Heathrow. Freddie Gore, a BEA shop steward, disputes since they represent a challenge warned GAS to 'Go back from whence to the power of the Government. Opposi- you came—you are not going to get in tion MPs similarly see where the real at London Airport'. Shop stewards feel power in our society lies, and are anxious that the servicing contract should have that when workers decide to intervene in gone to International Aeradio which is an attempt to influence changes, it will partly owned by BOAC and BEA. It is be in such a way that it will suit the felt that the contract with GAS could Opposition's interests. There was no bring unemployment, for they could resimilar outcry when the Government duce manning schedules. BAA asked intervened in industrial affairs, froze BEA to give an assurance that there surprised by the files, everyone knows wages and set norms and assisted com- would be no resulting unemployment,

While I would not hold any brief for nationalisation, the airport workers are The Department of Employment and concerned about 'creeping denationalis-Productivity is now seeking an official ation'. After all, the Edwards Report on

GROWING AWARENESS

Nationalisation of Heathrow is a different story from that of the railways, for airlines are an expanding service and profits can be made. Those working there feel that they will get better pay and conditions with nationalisation than with the privately-owned companies and that this is a principle and must be defended as such. However, the issues involved both at the docks and at Heathrow are the growing awareness of how

things are managed, by whom and the amount of control the workers have in their own industries. It shows that workers are increasingly concerned about this control and that there are other issues than the economic one and the general defensive actions over conditions.

be the work of the working class itself'.

Trade unionists have to go on the offensive, for while there is no revolutionary demand for workers' control, workers are being affected more and more by political decisions concerning industry. Government intervention in industrial affairs is so widespread that differences between a political strike and others is only marginal. Organised strength should be used to affect political decisions, for the simple reason that these workers should be making those decisions for themselves. But until workers want and desire that responsibility, then the real decisions will be made for

P.T.

Student Files, etc.

Dear Comrade.

It seems to me that the class struggle is essentially that of those ruled with their rulers. If this is the case, then when students take issue with university authorities they are engaging in the class struggle, as it is relevant to their situation. Indeed, since with sit-ins and the examination of files they are questioning the right of those in authority to have such power, they are challenging the whole social power structure of our society (is this as revolutionary as striking for more pay?).

No militant students were at all that files are kept and will be kept. However, many of the less militant students were rather surprised by the nature of their contents. This has had the effect of raising the level of student militancy, and has concretely shown to many the real nature of our society. If Ian disagrees with the above then I think he should say exactly how students can play their 'vital role' in defeating capitalism. I note that 'it can autonomous action of the working class' (Ian's own italics).

Until now most students went into the university at one end holding 'A' levels, did the required work, learned the appropriate responses, and came out at the other end (clutching a degree), just the right size and shape to drop into their

pre-ordained niches in society. These people are the very building bricks, beams and lintels of our society (most of the architects are dead) supporting

the existing power structure and without conscious effort resisting change. Indeed the lack of conscious effort is an essential part of their specification, for as soon as people begin to think and act on their own account they are out of control. What will our society look like when the component parts arrange themselves according to their own pleasure and needs?

As the students at our universities gain only be defeated by the conscious and more control of their courses and conditions, and study what they feel they have to, then they will, in effect, write their own specifications, and they will come out of university with minds of their own, really able to initiate action and to determine their own roles.

> Fraternally, BOB TURNBULL.

Floodgates of Anarchy

Dear Editors,

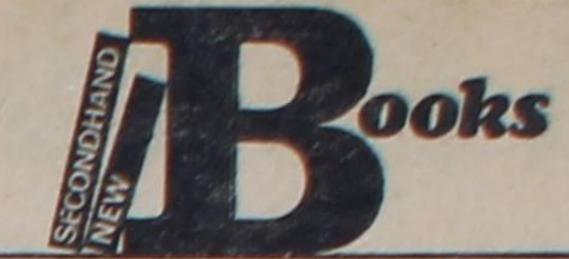
Dave Poulson, in his review of 'The Floodgates of Anarchy' is, of course, entitled to his own opinion as to what constitutes 'good English and good sense' but it is hard to take him seriously when the one instance he puts forward as typical of their lack is 'man is robbed of the full value of his labour'.

The most one could say of this was that it was not good Marxism or good (orthodox) economics, but it does not profess to be. Dave is assuming Marx's criterion of surplus value to be the only conceivable one, but he is not entitled to state that we meant to say that man was deprived of 'part' of his labour- London our point in the book was that he was

deprived of the full part of his labour by right of conquest, and is expected to be grateful for what he receives back, by way of reward, from the employer or the State-in the token currency of the State, which is the key to material success, not the degree of one's labour.

As to the somewhat reactionary suggestion of 'leaving sociology to the sociologists'-or theology to the parsons? -with many indoctrinated students of sociology and economics it is necessary to preface one's remarks with a sort of magic incantation—such as 'According to Galbraith' or 'Keynesian economists insist'-before one can be expected to be taken seriously.

STUART CHRISTIE. ALBERT MELTZER.



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Form Local Groups

Dear Comrades,

At the film show and meeting organised by the Chemical and Biological Warfare Action Group (CABWAG) at Central Hall, Westminster, on February 4, it was suggested that local CABWAG groups should be set up.

The last thing I want to do at the moment is to take on any further responsibilities, but I am willing to convene a meeting in the Waltham Forest area (Chingford, Walthamstow, Leyton, Leytonstone) or in the near vicinity to try and get a local group of CABWAG formed.

Anybody who is concerned about the possibility of genocide by germs and chemicals for war and live in East London are asked to get in touch with me.

With best wishes, DOUGLAS KEPPER. 21 Vernon Road, Leytonstone, London, E.11

ULIULUIUL OHUNINUO

year. This is part of the employers' pro- management's plan. gramme for increased productivity and off, despite the company having a full into 1972. order book.

McGarvey, the Boilermakers' President, these new fangled productivity schemes got his members to accept his plan to are being tried out. Today it is the save the shipyards. Some plan indeed! Clyde; tomorrow it will be Merseyside, 5d. an hour cut in wages for 2,000 men Tyneside, etc. Let the Clydeside be a in UCS's Govan (Fairfields) Division; to lesson to the rest of the workers in the refuse a 6/- a week increase due in shipbuilding industry to make them December 1969 to all boilermakers in realise that this is a fight between the the UCS; to accept, in principle, threeshift working by setting up a monitoring committee on productivity.

McGarvey is now saying, 'We bent workers must kick back. over backwards to help the company and this is how they repay us.' What if any members are sacked. McGarvey has done was give his appro-

THE Upper Clyde Shipbuilders (UCS) val for the rationalization of the shiphave announced that one-third yards along the lines of the Geddes (3,500) of the labour force will be made Report. Last year the labour force was redundant by the end of August this cut from 14,000 to 12,500 as part of the

But this isn't only taking place within sackings that has been going on since the UCS, there are similar moves taking the UCS was formed in 1968. This place all over the shipbuilding industry. latest announcement puts the Geddes For instance at Cammell Laird's on the plan into full swing; 2,500 finishing trade Mersey, the company has hinted that workers and 1,000 boilermakers, includ- 3,000 workers might lose their jobs by ing 60% of the office staff will be laid mid-1970, despite an order book going

The Clydeside is the experimental It wasn't that long ago that Bro. Dan ground for the Geddes plan where all employers and the workers. The workers have been kicked in the teeth by the employers and the McGarveys; now the

Latest news: Boilermakers will strike

A. McGowan.

REBUER

Threatened Rents Increase

DOOR ABERDEEN CITY Labour Party! Not only were they having an awful job deciding on what to say about council house rents in their local election manifesto, but their annual general meeting (thoroughly undemocratic it was too) had been infiltratedby a member of Aberdeen Anarchists!

When it was proposed, by Mark Bush, Labour councillor for Woodside ward, that the manifesto should clearly state

that the Labour Party was opposed to an increase, the rest of the Labour councillors present nearly had a fit. The reason why? They admit that they will impose a rents increase in July. When the sum of 5/- was mentioned at the meeting, they failed to confirm or deny that such would be the increase.

Members of Aberdeen Anarchists will shortly get out brush and bucket, and will be putting down slogans all over the

July 28—don't vote—organise!' We have of a stone. warned other left-wing groups in the city about the Labour Party's little postelection secret and we will be advocating industrial action against the increases.

Trying to get money out of the Social and fight!

city's housing estates. 'Rents up 5/- on Security is like trying to get blood out

We are well aware that agitation on the rents issue could cost Labour the local election. If the other 'left' groups in Aberdeen won't push the issue, we will. A neat illustration of how much One really nasty point about the new Aberdeen Labour Party care for the increase is that no adjustment will be people came the other day when the made to the rents rebate scheme. The council voted £645 to send councillors councillors at the AGM expressed the and officials on a jaunt to Finland and hope that the Ministry of Social Security voted £50 to give poor kids horse riding will see poor people all right for the 5/-. lessons. Like, we dig the priorities? They know, and we know, this is shit. Fellow citizens of Aberdeen, stand up

Invasion Threat

A FTER ABERDEEN ANARCHISTS organised a meeting in the university to discuss the case of 72-year-old Jimmy White, of 34 Kintore Place, Aberdeen, we sent out letters to every councillor (via the Town Clerk). Since the letters have been sent, the council has met house for Jimmy. twice—once in full session and once as the housing committee.

At neither meeting was the plight of the old man discussed. While the councillors prevaricate, slates continue to slide off the rotting roof. One was found embedded two inches in the ground-edge on. It could have been in someone's head.

dodged phone calls from the University gets results! Chaplain (who is helping our fight to rehouse Jimmy) for over two weeks.

more self-consciously liberal-minded

among the teaching profession met to-

gether in the School of Education of the

structing the Chief Sanitary Inspector to visit the tenement and to make a full report on its condition. We still maintain that this is evasive; still no mention has been made of a new council

Unless a firm offer of a house has been received from the council by first post on April 16, we intend to interrupt the full council meeting being held that day—and thus force them to discuss the case. We call on all members of revolutionary groups in Aberdeen-along with any concerned citizens—to join us.

For two years we've played it 'respect-Bob Hughes-Ferryhill councillor and able'; played the council's game-now Labour candidate for Parliament- we'll play it our way! Direct Action

IAN S. SUTHERLAND.

CINCE the Ministry of Whatever-it-is odid not think it necessary to inform me in advance about the publication of the Registrar-General's statistics on births to immigrant mothers, I foolishly appeared in print last week saying that Enoch was soft-pedalling on race when he was actually foaming at the mouth about it again. Correction, therefore: Enoch is not showing 'uncharacteristic discretion' and has not heard his own 'deafening clangers'. He is acting characteristically (isn't that comforting!) and is still dropping them.

With regard to another apparent inaccuracy, or misjudgement, readers must decide for themselves. In my article I maintained that the (English) teachers had won their fight for more wages, since

getting £120 on demand for £135 is, in my view, a considerable victory for workers using militancy for the first time. And differences in negotiating procedures have been agreed, to make wage-bargaining more flexible in future. But on page four, Ian S. Sutherland poured scorn on the English teachers' organisations (and even more on the Scottish ones) just as they were 'winning' what they set out for. We can't blame organisations for not being what they are not supposed to be, and even reformist unions should be encouraged to be militant and use direct action, to give support to the militants and even revolutionaries that may be working within

JUSTIN.

Ends and Means

RECENT FREEDOM editorial stated that for anarchists 'the ends determines the means'. This formula I consider unsatisfactory. Nothing short of a rejection of all distinctions between ends and means will satisfy me as being distinctly anarchist, and I include this rejection among the five or six basic principles of anarchism. Without it, much anarchist criticism of government action and political parties loses the better part of its strength, and anarchism itself would be but indifferently different from other ideas and ideologies now competing for the allegiance of the young.

A man is to be judged according to his deeds, and not according to his intentions, because these are exclusively his, sacred and unobservable. So-called ends partake of the nature of intentions, achieve certain ends, then one may pertiand are accordingly irrelevant material nently ask us why we chose ends that that is not there, at least not in any place, and then saw necessity as a conor condition judgement of much that is reach of moral judgement. there and ascertainable.

No sooner do we distinguish between ends and means than we politicize moral judgement. I mean that we seek a moral justification for certain deeds done by us while we refuse the same justification for similar deeds done by people who subscribe to a cause which is not ours. Our ends are ours because they are good, and they are good because they are ours. Other people's ends are bad because they

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are theirs and, should they coincide with ours or should some objectively good thing be done in their name, we speak of hypocrisy and deceit.

Motives and intentions are, of course, of paramount importance to moral life, but each moral person can competently judge only of motives and intentions that are his own. Other people can be judged only by their actions, on the assumption that they are free agents, and that their will is involved in what they do. We cannot honestly say that we do not want to punish a child, and yet punish him. We cannot say that we don't want murder and deceit, and yet kill and deceive. Why we kill and deceive is ethically irrelevant, especially to the person who is killed or deceived. If we say that it is necessary to kill and deceive in order to for a moral judgement. The fact that thus rob us of our freedom, how we hope ends are professed only makes them that freedom will result from our subhighly suspicious. A profession of ends mitting to necessity, and whether we did or intentions ask for assent to something not want to kill and deceive in the first ascertainable way, and tends to inhibit venient argument to put us beyond the

Ends and means are here discussed in connection with human beings, as existing moreover in historical societies, and not in the scientific conditions of a laboratory or a torture chamber. In this connection there is no evidence whatever considered in its original meaning of 'a that any so-called means ever led of subject to be studied'-'it can't all be necessity to any so-called ends. The path fun. A kind of coercion is needed for of history, like the path of hell, is all laid with good intentions. As a matter of fact and common sense, ends are end to history, while the stuff of history. its movement, what is suffered by men in their mind and flesh, all goes under the name of so-called means.

If 'wanting' is the motive force of actions accompanied by conscious endorsement, and no mere wishful thinking, then there is something meaningless or contradictory in an anarchist's wanting an anarchist society. An anarchist society is one in which every man acts according to his own (presumably ethical) will, and no anarchist may want other people Buffalo: A.E. 16/-; Wolverhampton: to want anything but what is auto-J.K.W. 4/-; K.F. & C.F. 4/-; J.L. 6/-; nomously wanted by each. To want a society to be this or that is to deny or 8/-; Hull: E.S. £2; Aberdeen: I.S. 2/-; usurp other people's autonomy of will, Uxbridge: T.P. £1; London: A.W.U. 4/-; and to consider them as things, as more Tenterden: H.K.H. 9/8; Oxford: Anon or less malleable material to be made to 7/-; Cambridge: D.D. £1/14/-; Gaines- fit some preconceived shapes whose

That is not to deny the value of clear 5/-; N.S.W.: B.C. 7/8; Glasgow: A.J. 2/2; and precise ideas about an anarchist London, S.W.2: B.M.T. £1; Frankfurt/M.: society as an image of what is right. Such ideas are a help to judge, not only Total: £16 5 2 of much that is wrong in the society in £96 3 0 which we live, but also of anything that we may do ourselves. Whatever we do March Total to date: £112 8 2 now that would be considered wrong in our ideal society we can be sure is

COME HUNDRED or more of the

Beware-Liberal Reformers

University of London on Saturday, March 7, for a conference organised by STOPP (Society of Teachers Opposed to Physical Punishment). That children should no longer be beaten to make them produce 'socially acceptable behaviour was taken as understood, for, as the first speaker (a psychologist) enigmatically phrased it, 'use of corporal punishment produces emotional changes in the child which are both aesthetically unacceptable and incompatible with intellectual progress'.

The impasse created by the avoidance of the cane need no longer cause the establishment any disquiet, it seemsfor exactly the same conformity can be exacted from the child by the substitution of the bloodless 'reward' method. This latter is already being used in the classroom, we were told, but 'could be better exploited than at present'. The transition from Ancient to Modern can, moreover, be effected in a manner that in no way need alter the status quo. In fact 'teachers can train the child in the reward system while still using established punishment patterns'.

This first lecture set the tone for the meeting. The second speaker, while recognising that the ideal was to initiate an authentic relationship between the teacher and the child, stated during the course of his talk about the effects of the classroom situation on different personality types that 'discipline' was best

which we need not apologise.'

The afternoon was whiled away by means of a 'simulation exercise'-groups of students became 'teacher' to groups of experienced teachers who represented a first-year remedial class. The 'classes' quickly degenerated into total chaos. The order/response notes were later collected and 'analysed' by a group of eight head teachers. The point of this fantasy exercise was difficult to see, unless it was therapy for the guilt-ridden over-dog or to demonstrate the absurdity of the classroom situation current in our schools, but attempts to suggest this were politely ignored by the conference, whose hierarchical structure was at this stage dominated by the eight heads ('who have kindly offered us-and you-their help and experience').

Although the subject of the conference was given as 'Punishment or Persuasion?' it refused even to consider the question of why either is necessary or the possibility that each is equally undesirable. Surely the need for 'control' in the classroom and the teachers' consequent feelings of guilt and betrayal are caused by Tory Five Point Fascism Electioneering. trying to perpetuate the totally unwarrantable system of interesting/restraining child-prisoners known as compulsory education.

Although STOPP appears to have formulated a radical programme, in fact its title is, sadly, wholly accurate. Physical punishment is unnecessary because children can be controlled more effectively by other means. Persuasion? Propaganda? Indoctrination? Brainwashing? All you need is love-forward Ronnie

DI & ARTHUR HUMPHREY.

never attained, for they would mean an wrong even now. There is no reason why own social behaviour. His society is not should be morally degraded to the status of means for the sake of other human beings, hypothetical in the best of cases, whose actions, willed by us as ends, would be somehow predetermined and robbed therefore of an element of freedom.

Attitudes and behaviour based on a distinction between ends and means tend to foster the same moral and psychological type of man, whatever his ends may be. That is why alliances are so readily struck between some anarchists and other movements, though their respective principles be incompatible. Moral and psychological differences show up in the choice of means, not of ends. Men who distinguish between ends and means all choose conflict as their psychologically most satisfactory mode of being, and the ends which they profess, all free from conflict, have as one of their functions to stifle the moral conscience and keep guilt at bay.

The socially conscious anarchist is anything but indifferent to what society 'ought' to be, but will never dream of deciding of what it 'must' be. What society is or will be is society's responsibility. He is responsible only for his 28.2.70

actions of present-day human beings in the future, but is the one in which he lives, and his anarchism does not consist in the very dubious (thence apocalyptic) future results of his actions, but in the actions themselves, and in the thoughts, moods and feelings which accompany them. My anarchy is now, when I think and dream freely, when I act according to my feelings, when I respect other people's will or resist its pressure on my own. When I do none of these things or, indeed, I do the very opposite, then I am not an anarchist, and I must be honest enough to admit it, and take responsibility for it. Far from me to put the whole blame on society, and make use of the argument that one cannot be an anarchist in a nonanarchist society. When and where shall I be an anarchist, if not now and in the society in which I live? It is in this society, after all, that I conceived the goodness of anarchism. To this goodness I want to hold. Selfishly, no doubt. But with this selfishness there goes a certain integrity which would be lost if I made myself the instrument of a Cause whose authority is not in my conscience, and whose ends lie beyond me and, indeed, any single and real human being.

JOHN GILL.



Visitors to Ireland welcome to the Island, Corner Merrion Road and Nutley Lane, Dublin 4 (5 acre Anarchist Kibbutz).

He has finally said that they are in- Former Fulham Anarchist Group Members and others will be welcome at Freedom Hall on Wednesdays, 8 p.m. onwards - coffee and discussion from April 8.

Makhno & Durruti Pamphlet, 9d. Order copies, sale or return, from Freedom

Easter Weekend. Floor space available. Laurens Otter, Tel. 653 7546.

Kettering. Demonstrate against Enoch Powell's racialist sickness and local capitalist collaboration at Wicksteed Park on April 10 at 6.30 p.m. (He is speaking at Institute of Directors Dinner.)

South Africa Commission. Sponsored Walk on Sunday, April 12. Funds raised will go to the Medical Aid Fund for medical supplies for Liberation Movements in Southern Africa. Route starts northern end Tower Bridge, finishing southern side Kew Bridge. Further information: 'Walk', 372 West Barnes Lane, New Malden, Surrey. Tel. 01-398 1354.

Polyandry Study Group Report. 'Two Men Sharing One Wife', 60 pages, price 6/6 including postage, from P. Pawlowski, 26 Elmbourne Road, London, S.W.17.

Now is the time for war tax resistance. The most powerful acts against war have been those of the young men of the Resistance who have said NO to the draft. Now it is time for those of us who have been paying for the war in Vietnam to say NO to taxes for war. Join us! War Tax Resistance, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012. Write and ask for information. Phone (212) 477-2970.

AFBIB. See AFB list, page 2, for production of Bulletin.

Anarchist answer to the CP's 'Ultra Leftism in Britain' and other pseudoleftists (pamphlet). Laurens Otter, 35 Natal Road, CR4 8QH.

Manchester Anti-Election Campaign. Bill West, 16 Northern Grove, West Didsbury, Manchester 20. Meetings every Wednesday.

Miguel Garcia Garcia will speak at meetings and to groups. Expenses required. Contact S. Christie, 10 Gilbert Place, London, W.C.1.

We must start our work now-preparation for printed leaflets and posters for a nationwide factory gate campaign-money and ideas needed -Interested? Contact L.S.F., c/o Keith Nathan, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York.

York Group Need Speakers. Expenses and accommodation arranged. Write R. Atkins, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York.

Every Tuesday Evening at Freedom Hall. Informal discussion / entertainment / chess evenings. Small musical instruments and pocket chess sets welcomed. Refreshments. From 7 p.m. admission 2/-. Proceeds to Press Fund. All Welcome.

Urgent. Help fold and dispatch FREEDOM every Thursday from 4 p.m. onwards. Tea served.

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Schools Anarchist Group in Gloucestershire? Contact Kate & Joe, 3 Withy Lea, Leonard Stanly, nr. Stonehouse, GL10 3NS, Glos.

IN THIS ISSUE we publish the first of a series of supplement pamphlets. Forthcoming issues will include Kropotkin, Zapata, trade unions, and Tolstoy. We would welcome your comments, criticisms and your suggestions for future issues.

Supplies of the pamphlet for selling separately can be had on a sale or return basis at 9d. each. We feel that this is a worthwhile venture and with your help will prove a success.

EDITORS.

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