

# FREEDOM

AN ANARCHIST WEEKLY-4d.

OCTOBER 17 1964 Vol 25 No 32

The proper memory for a politician  
is one that knows what to remember  
and what to forget.

JOHN MORLEY.

## Get Tough

With

UNOFFICIAL

STRIKERS,

says WILSON!

AS FREEDOM goes to Press before the general elections take place we do not know whether "Britain's Choice" is Sir Alec or "L'Ami du Peuple"—Harold Wilson.

If the Tories are returned, well, things will proceed very much as they have during the past 13 years, for there is no reason to suppose that they will carry out their election promises—for as the Labour speakers have pointed out, if the Tories didn't do these things during the thirteen years they held an absolute majority, what reason is there to suppose that they are either capable or willing to carry them out now!

If the Labour Party is returned, as we expect they will, with a large majority, then one can imagine that for a time at least there will be a flood of goodwill and support for them from the radical section of the community, with a corresponding falling off of political interest in the minority movements. This happened when Labour was returned to power in 1945. It is true that it also coincided with the ending of a long-drawn out war, but in our opinion war weariness was not the explanation for the political apathy that followed the Labour victory.

The only positive thing that emerged from the last war was a greater sense of social justice at all levels of society not only in this country but throughout the so-called civilised world. Some of us would also point to the technological "explosion", which probably would not have taken place but for the all-demanding exigencies of war and wholesale destruction. We are not saying however that the price paid in human lives and misery can in any circumstance be justified by the positive results that emerged. The anarchists uncompromising opposition to the war itself, and the public declaration of their internationalism on every possible occasion is on record in black and white\* for there to be no misunderstanding of what we are now saying.

The characteristic that distinguished the second world war from the first was, apart from the fact that it had with few exceptions the unconditional support of the Left, the absence of the kind of chauvinism which normally keeps the massacre going. Not only did nobody have the illusion that it was another "war to end wars", but everywhere governments were being pressed to promise reforms in return for support of the "war effort". To put it crudely, if the voice of Churchill symbolised the "war effort" that of J. B. Priestley symbolised the price that the underprivileged demanded for their sup-

\*See the files of *War Commentary* (1939-1945) and "Neither East nor West" by Marie Louise Berneri.

# This Government Won't Defend Your Freedom

port. It was unfortunate that Priestley preached reformism and not revolution, but be that as it may, the electoral landslide in favour of the Labour Party at the time of Churchill's personal triumph as "the man who won the war" is significant in itself as well as of the "mood" prevailing in the country. This "mood" which, as we have said was coupled to a demand for the recognition of a greater social justice was manifest in country after country in Europe (who remembers now, and how many young people know, that communists were members of the Italian and French governments after "liberation") as well as in the colonial world.

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HOW was it then that within less than ten years Britain and those countries that had swung to the political Left were once again lumbered with governments of the Right? The complete answer is probably complex and cannot be given in general terms. But is it not part of the answer that when at the end of the war the people in the various

countries voted into power the government that represented their mood, they also unwittingly abdicated their power to implement their demands by direct action? It is the whole contradiction of so-called democratic government that it can ever be government by the people for the moment a party takes office it also takes over (and to our knowledge no would-be government has declared that it would refuse to) the coercive machinery of the State which is designed to give it the power to impose its policies on the people. Theoretically Parliament could be representative by considerably increasing the number of its members and making them responsible to, and dependent on, those who have elected them, and not the Party Whips and the Treasury respectively, but in those circumstances no government with executive powers could function or survive for very long, assuming that its policies depended on a parliamentary majority vote. The political "tragedy" in post-war France (where no government survived more than about six

months) is only a tragedy if one believes that parliamentary democracy is a practical possibility. In Britain where it is customary to proclaim the "sovereignty of parliament", while burying one's head in the sands of parliamentary impotence and futility, not only are millions of Liberal voters literally disenfranchised, but also when it comes to the question of forming a government the "elected representatives" of at least half the voters are invariably excluded. To say that Parliament has the powers to protect the public interest and curb any excesses by governments when all they need is a majority of one Parliamentary vote is at best wishful thinking and, in a country which boasts of being "the mother of parliaments", sheer hypocrisy.

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THE origins of government coincide with the need of a privileged minority to protect itself from the growing, concerted demands of the dispossessed, exploited and hungry majority. Governments made the

laws legalising privilege as well as disposing of the forces of coercion to impose "respect" for them. The "evolution" of government and the "tempering" of the Law is of relatively recent origin and the result both of the internal struggle, within the developing ruling class itself, the inevitable pretensions of the politicians and the law-makers and enforcers as a power unto themselves, as well as the pressures from organised Labour and the innumerable social pressure groups which are both an embarrassment to, as well as, in a sense, the creation of, the organs of mass communication. What it is important to realise, is not that today an anarchist would be victim of a brick-planting charge by a policeman can set in motion a full-scale public enquiry whereas in the last century a hungry worker could be hanged by the neck for stealing a sheep, important though that may be, but that today most people unthinkingly believe that the Law exists to protect Society from its enemies!

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Last week, the dockers' union leaders reported back to a delegate conference at Transport House the revised offers of pay increases by the employers. The terms were that the offer of 12/6d. a week for time-workers and 3½% for piece workers would be an interim settlement and that this would include an increase in the fall back money from £7 16s. 9d. to £9 per week. Dockers are demanding a 25/- for time-workers and 5% increase for piece-workers.

It seems that union leaders, including Mr. Cousins of the Transport & General Workers' Union, were quite willing to settle for this arrangement and they spent a considerable amount of time trying to convince the delegates. As Mr. Cousins said "but they (the delegates) did not have a great deal of confidence in the employers".

One thing that Mr. Cousins has achieved has been the postponement of any possible strike threat until after the General Election. This must have been uppermost in his mind and now there will be yet another repeat performance of going back to the employers next week, followed by another delegate conference for the union leaders to report to on October 20th.

If strike action is decided on then, four weeks notice of termination of the agreement has to be given, followed by a further two weeks of strike action. This brings us into December. At one time it looked as though the strike notice would expire two or three days after the election. So much for Mr. Cousins delaying tactics, by which I am afraid the dockers delegates have been taken in and which no doubt have been somewhat of a relief for the Labour Party.

This latest lengthy conference seemed at one time, as if it would result in a demand for action, but the union leaders were saved by a proposal that negotiations should be continued. This was passed by the delegates on a vote of 47 to 23 in favour.

I am certain that the men who stopped work on 192 ships in London, Liverpool and Hull on the day of the

## NO MORE DELAYS—ACTION NOW!

conference were in favour of taking action for their demands and did not want any more delays. About 1,000 of these men marched to Transport House to demonstrate their determination to gain their full demands. They showed that they had more faith in a withdrawal of labour than more negotiations.

Sir Andrew Chichton, chairman of the Port Employers has said that they are determined to stand firm over their offers. The employers, no doubt, remember the criticism they received in 1962 when they agreed to settle just before the strike notice expired.

Another major embarrassment to Mr. Cousins would have been if the dockers had taken strike action just after a return of a Labour Government. If this happened I am sure Mr. Cousins would do his utmost to come to an agreement and it would probably serve to show how strongly the sympathies of the delegates lay with the Labour Party.

There have been reports that if demands were not won, then an unofficial work-to-rule would be organised. Tilbury dockers have already published an unofficial pamphlet, entitled "Guide for Working-to-Rule", copies of which have already been sent to other ports. A docker from Tilbury said, "We have waited long enough. If union officials won't act, the rank and file will. But strikes are out. A work-to-rule is a much better weapon to employ and I am sure we will get the support of all dockland."

Another Tilbury worker said that if action was taken it would be "suddenly". He said, "Mr. Cousins is touring the Royal Docks today. If he bothers to come to Tilbury to find out what is wrong for the dockers, we shall tell him his job is to get on with the wages claim and keep politics out of it."

At the Royal Group of Docks, Jack Dash, the communist chairman of the

unofficial liaison committee, has not shown very much interest in the pamphlet and said that his committee wanted to examine the work-to-rule tactic further.

There is obviously widespread support in the docks for unofficial action to gain demands. Already there have been too many delays while union officials have kept to procedure. Methods of action should be decided upon. In fact these need not be uniform and one group

of ports could assist others who feel that it is necessary say for a total withdrawal of labour for tactical reasons.

Political pressures for one form of action as opposed to another should be ignored. Different methods might suit different docks. It is the rank and file who know and should decide, not the political parties of the Left. Dockers have waited long enough, now is the time to organise and to take action.

P.T.

## Election '64

THREATENING clouds did not keep away supporters of the "Vote for the Crocodile" campaign from Trafalgar Square on Saturday, 10th October. There were about 500 people in the square, most of them somewhat sceptical at the beginning as to the wisdom of such a 'carry-on', but by the time the clouds burst and put a stop to the entertainment the crowd had caught the mood and seemed to be enjoying themselves.

The programme went off without a hitch although these were hardly any rehearsals, and not until the last moment did we know who was taking part. There was a jazz-band, (a real joy to listen to in such surroundings), a morality play, Bob Davenport singing folkstongs and there was guitar-playing by a French comrade. Donald Room gave a satirical electioneering speech and Philip Sansom, wearing a mask, splendidly impersonated Sir Alec Home. The 7 ft tall papier maché crocodile was carried on the plinth together with other animals (the skunk, rat and pig) representing cabinet ministers in whose honour the morality play was performed. The theme of the play was that history never changes for Mr. Everyman, who

received sloshy custard pies in the face as his just reward for his work, sacrifice and devotion.

Many copies of "Freedom" and "Election Guyed" were sold and people seemed eager to lay their hands on anarchist literature. There is a deficit of £25, as we had to pay for the amplifying system and the jazz-band. The police were terribly suspicious and as they could not find sufficient pretexts for making arrests they contented themselves with bullying little children who ran around happily with yellow "Vote for the Crocodile" balloons.

J.R.

## ANARCHY 44

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## TRANSPORT

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# FREEDOM

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## WITH SO MUCH EVIDENCE...

Continued from page 1

For the Law even today exists basically, as it did when they hanged the sheep rustler, to protect the sanctity of Property. And government exists to protect privilege. If it is maintained by the supporters of the Labour Party that a Labour Government is opposed to privilege, then their first task should be to shear the privileged class of their wealth for the benefit of everybody. No elected government could or would do this (after all the Labour Government in 1945 when it nationalised the bankrupt Railways and Mines, *compensated* the former owners so generously that they (or their heirs) are better off financially than when they were actually running these industries!). And even those "revolutionary" governments which worm their way into power or are mistakenly swept into power on the tide of popular revolt, often accompanied by widespread expropriation, either compensate the former owners or, when they don't, set about creating a new privileged class. For the whole point about government is that it can justify its existence only where the people are divided and antagonistic. "Divide and Rule" is the bread and butter of government. In Russia the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie were stripped of their privileges and power; (those who escaped with their lives sold their children's rank and titles to the highest bidders in the salons of Western Europe and the United States). The Bolsheviks soon set about creating a new privileged class to protect their privileged status from the simple demands of bread and freedom from the people.

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WITH so much historical evidence to demonstrate that government, by definition, is organisation in the interests of a privileged minority, why do even radical people fall for this threadbare political confidence-trick? In part it is the cocksureness of youth in thinking—as we all have in our time—that it is an easy matter to change society overnight if one tackles the problem *con brio* and is not as stupid as

one's elders! In part it is the defeatism of the older generation, who should know better, but who having found their economic and social niche in society as it is, are then satisfied to vegetate into old age and accept a starvation State pension (without protest if they have children or savings to draw on) critical of the egoism of the young to their dying breath!

But whereas the mistakes of youth can be corrected by experience, the conservatism that comes with age cannot, because there is no future other than recollecting the past (assuming it seems worth recalling).

So the generation that has the experience to warn the young of the political pitfalls and put them on the right road has given up the struggle and is more or less respectably sinking into its grave (a "benefit" we can all enjoy under the National Insurance Scheme) while the young, lacking the political experience, as well as in most cases, the voice of political experience, will have this week invested their political idealism with that old established firm of wholesale socialists (Managing Director: Harold Wilson. Secretary: George Brown)—the Labour Party.

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MAY we, who sympathise with the young and their problems, offer them some useful advice? And it is not to do like their fathers and mothers 20 years ago when they voted a Labour government into power and thought that they had done their bit for socialism, and left the Labour politicians get on with it. If socialists are as yet unwilling or unable to get rid of all governments, then the least they can do when they have one which professes to be socialist is to continually go for it with more and more demands for better working conditions, a larger share of the economic cake of production, and more social justice. For government, whether conservative or socialist, will only serve the people when the people show them that they have the power in numbers and determination to demand what they want of government and get it by their own efforts.

## WE DON'T BELIEVE IN MONEY, BUT...

THE last thing an anarchist paper should be expected to do is to continually remind those among its readers who, as anarchists themselves or just sympathisers, value the work done by FREEDOM, that this work cannot be continued, let alone expanded, without money! We may all passionately desire to abolish money, but just as each one of us, nevertheless, has to face realities as they are today, and ensure that at the end of the week we have the money for the rent, milkman and for the various services we call on and need in our daily lives, so FREEDOM PRESS has to face the bills that come in if we are to go on sending out our propaganda, and go on maintaining what has become a kind of information centre and Clearing House for the multifarious activities of the anarchist movement in general, which strictly speaking as a publishing group are outside our province. We mention this and the fact that in the course of the year FREEDOM has been the venue for all kinds of appeals for money for good causes and for projects and

publications with which we, as a group, sympathise, more or less, not in any carping sense—indeed we are delighted that FREEDOM should fulfil the dual role of being both an anarchist propaganda organ as well as an effective channel of communications within the movement itself.

It may well be argued that this is one of the roles of an anarchist paper, and of course we would agree *without hesitation* if the comrades who took this fact for granted also took for granted that they had a financial responsibility so far as FREEDOM is concerned! Apart from being disappointed by the absence of the Groups and most of those who we look upon as comrades, from the weekly lists of contributors to the "Deficit Fund", we are surprised that those who look to FREEDOM to publicise, and thereby help them in their activities, should not see that it is as much in their interest as ours to contribute to guarantee the solvency of FREEDOM.

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THOUGH we have more readers this year than last, and as at

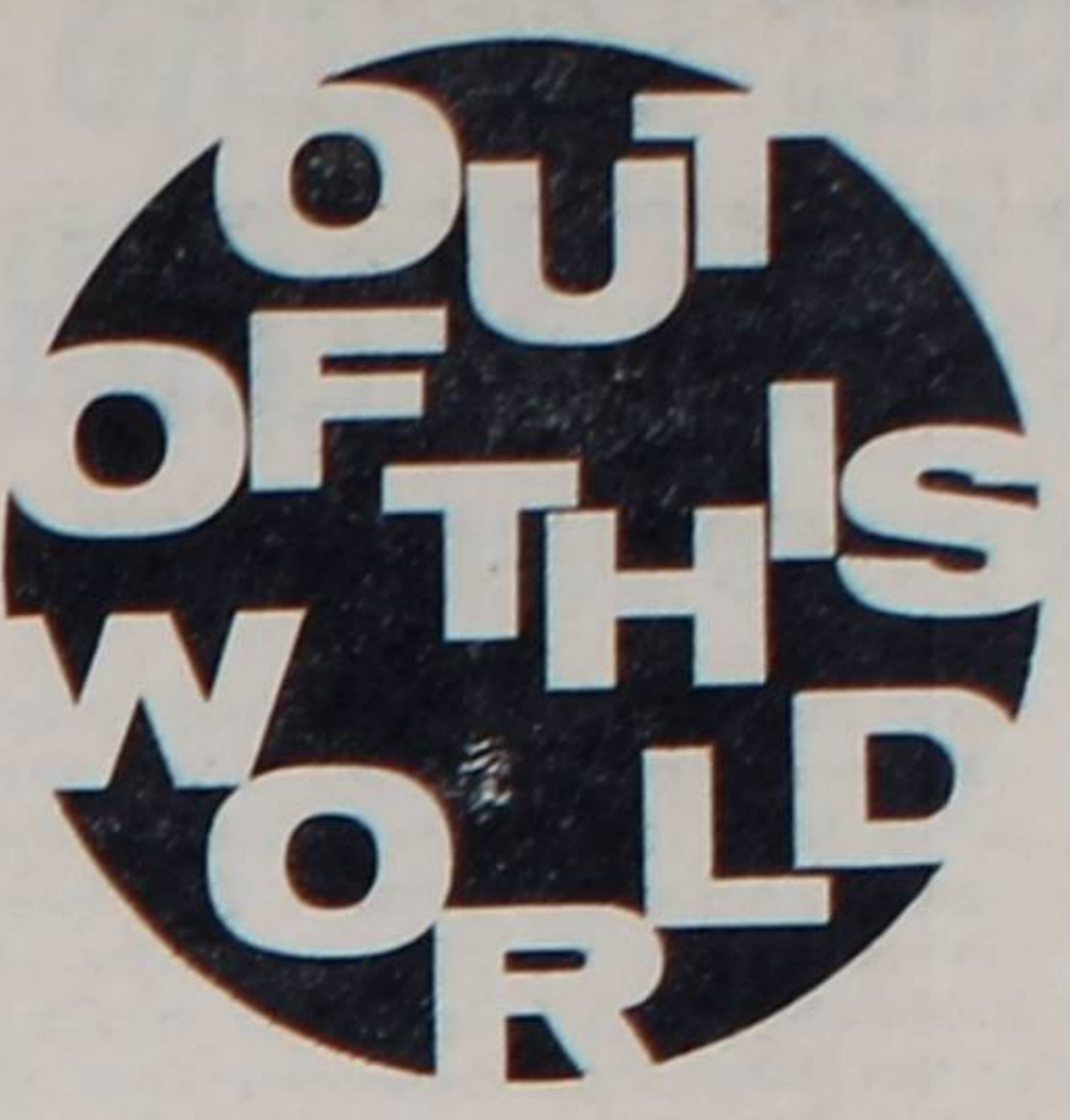
THE GENERAL ELECTION is over in Britain but elsewhere fun and games continue. It was held in Japan that the Olympic sign was not copyright so 'Made in Japan' is stamped on the bottom...

FIFTY-SEVEN East Germans voted with their shovels that they did not wish to remain citizens of East Germany. Thousands of French Canadians voted by their absence that they did not wish to remain loyal citizens of Her Majesty (who refused, however, to walk the plank). Prince Peter of Greece endorsed the Committee of 100's view of Queen Frederika but King Constantine returned from his honeymoon to endorse the views of Henry Brooke and ex-Sergeant Challenor in this particular...

MEANWHILE, BACK at the Royal Academy, the case of ex-Sergeant Challenor was being viewed. The theories were aired that Challenor was framed, that the underworld had set up a fund to 'get' Challenor but witnesses averred that his behaviour was no different from any other policeman; that he behaved like an N.C.O., that he was like a Nazi; and that his behaviour differed according to a new recruit, from that taught in the police college...

SANE POLICEMEN in Mississippi were arrested by the FBI on a charge of depriving Negroes of their rights. The FBI was investigating the loss of right to live of three civil rights workers. The cases are said to be unrelated. The officers under arrest are alleged to have beaten up six negroes arrested on various charges. One negro arrested for drunkenness was so severely injured that he was in hospital for five weeks. Eighteen members of Congress asked the President to step up Federal protection in Mississippi "Law and order is clearly not being maintained" they say. There is not protection afforded those engaged in civil rights activities. A witness at the Challenor enquiry, a native of Barbadoes, said that he went to the police station to arrange bail for a girl. Challenor told a room full of policemen, "We will have some fun with this coon." Challenor said he wanted to search him and began emptying his pockets. Three or four officers then held him and Challenor struck him in the face...

TEN MENTALLY NORMAL policemen in Bristol, Connecticut, are suspended concerning an alleged midnight shift burglary ring. Six of the men have told State police investigators that they stole from merchants to augment their weekly wage of £32. The alleged thefts had been going on for seven years. Bristol has 59 men on its force and the suspensions have brought a state of emergency to the department. A Detective-constable was sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment at Clerkenwell, London on charges of corruption. Notice of appeal was given and he was released on bail. He was described as 'most conscientious' and 'a first-rate officer'. A policeman was sent for trial on a charge of stealing a little girl's teddy bear at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Superintendent Frederick Burdett said at the



Challenor enquiry that on the night of the Greek demonstrations he said to a fellow superintendent, "He is either drunk or must be mental" (referring to Challenor's noisy behaviour). Replying to a lawyer appearing for the other superintendent, Burdett said that although he used the words that Challenor was either drunk or mental he had no reason to believe that he was drunk or mental. In fact he knew he was not drunk. It was just a phrase he used to convey the "out of character behaviour" of Challenor at the time. If he thought that Challenor was "sick of mind", he would have made his views known very forcibly...

A MAN WHO spent a week in jail because of a police mistake is to see his solicitor to discuss legal action against the police. He was arrested and accused of breaking and entering and theft. Another man made a confession and he was released. At Enfield, members of the anarchist group accused of fly-posting. Anti-election material appeared in court before Mrs. McLeod, the local Conservative candidate's wife. They objected to her presence on the bench but were overruled. Jack Stevenson was said by a policeman not to have been seen putting up posters, it was submitted that Stevenson was physically incapable of sticking up posters by reason of polio after-effects but nevertheless he was fined £2. Bristol court-room was barred to long-haired (allegedly beatnik) spectators when a case was heard regarding a raid on a public house for "reefers". It was disclosed that policemen disguised as "beatniks" had been keeping watch on the public-house for weeks...

THE "DAILY WORKER" reported that 10,000 prisoners would be amnestied to celebrate East Germany's fifteenth anniversary of her liberation from West

Germany and her incorporation into the People's democracies. This includes some anti-Communists arrested for political acts. In West Berlin, it is reported that 1,200 political prisoners in East Germany have been freed since July. A Polish writer with U.S. citizenship has been arrested under a 1946 decree covering "He who disseminates... draws off... or conveys written materials... which contain false information that would cause material harm to the Polish state, or could detract from the authority of its chief institutions... is subject to a sentence of imprisonment for a period of not less than three years."

EULOGIC DE VEGO who was Mayor of a small town near Valladolid in Spain in 1936, being a Republican, went into hiding from the Fascists. In 1944 his wife became pregnant by him; to avoid gossip, since the father was thought to be dead, the baby girl was born in another town and brought up by friends. Last week, the daughter, now twenty, married, and on her certificate declared Eulogic as her father. The clerk noted the apparent discrepancy and informed the police who visited the house and told Eulogic he need have no fear he was now a free man...

IN EDINBURGH the expurgated version of *Fanny Hill* was the subject of an obscenity charge. The manager of a Welsh firm of publishers resigned when he found that the manuscript of a Welsh-language novel of a minister's adulterous relationship with a young girl had been sent to the printers against his advice. An adjudicator at the National Eisteddfod said of the novel that so far as he knew there had never been "such a description in Welsh of the sex act as in this book"...

ACCORDING TO THE *Daily Sketch* a Labour manifesto sent out in Hornsey, London may contain a diamond worth £40 which was discovered by a Labour councillor to be missing when she posted the manifestoes. A pirate broadcast was heard in the South-East London and North-West Kent area (broadcasting on the BBC-TV wavelength after close-down) which referred to a leaflet claiming that people have no control over any government.

DIPLOMATS FOUGHT their way into a blazing wing of the British Embassy in Moscow to rescue a portrait of the Queen and—says the *Daily Sketch*—"the diplomats who saved the Queen's portrait also saved beer mugs."

JON QUIXOTE.

### FILM REVIEW

## M15's Secret Weapon

TO describe "Goldfinger", the latest James Bond/Ian Fleming film as a comic fantasy—too fantastic by half—and at times it is comic, sometimes deliberately, sometimes not. Yet there is a more sinister side to the work of Ian Fleming.

The long queues outside the cinema, it seems to me, represented the same

attitude as the electoral queues. People will vote as they will go and see James Bond. The sinister thing behind this seemingly harmless behaviour is that the hero of "Goldfinger" is an entirely unreal person and the electoral figures are without the warmth of the average human being.

The heroes are unreal and dull, yet they provide an escape from the dreary lives of most people. Admiration is given to people lacking genuine human characteristics. Men are supposed to identify themselves with the modern image of British virility, and I'm sure many do, and the shiny, shallow, sexless ones who troop into the cinema are given a feeling of strength and belonging.

As a sociological phenomenon the James Bond/Ian Fleming success suggests a huge number of people are in need of this sort of escapist fantasy in order to identify themselves with modern society. Entertainment divorced from life is simply a narcotic and the James Bond dream world claws in many willing addicts.

The film is about a bad man who illegally steals gold. He is thus a criminal. There is nothing wrong with hoarding gold, it seems, there is nothing wrong with being a criminal as such. The trouble with Goldfinger is that he is not a State criminal, whereas James Bond is. In this post-Profumo Britain it is indicative that the hero conquers the machinations of the bad man by way of the bad man's female confidant. Once British heroics consisted of sailing the seas now sexual victory is the status symbol. This would not be so bad if the hero with the sexual prowess were anything but a member of M.I.5. because it has always been an idea of mine that the penis had little to do with M.I.5., they have rather less worthy weapons.

J.W.

of expanding our activities—which would include expanding the paper. And how can we make any headway with our propaganda in competition with the growing daily, hourly barrage of mass communications for the Establishment, and the millions of pounds invested annually in brainwashing the public to accept false values which are good business for some but leave the public as unhappy and more frustrated than ever, if we are obliged for financial reasons to whisper where others shout. That we have to face prejudice hostility and indifference in putting over our ideas is something we must accept as part of our *raison d'etre*. We should not, however be starved of the means for propagating anarchism as well. And there are many comrades and sympathisers who could help but don't. This appeal is directed above all to them. It is also an opportunity to thank those who never forget the financial problems we face week in week out.

FREEDOM PRESS GROUP.  
[P.S.—Since writing the above we have seen this week's much healthier "Financial Statement" which we feel deserves the caption "Much Better!"]

last week's "Financial Statement" our income from sales and subscription renewals showed an increase over last year of £200 (£1,767 as against £1,560) our financial position was summed up last week with the word "Help!" compared with the corresponding week last year when it was "Better!" and for the simple reason that last year at this date not only had you our readers found us 324 new subscribers (as against 211 this year) but had also contributed £802 to the Deficit Fund compared with last week's grand total of £595. So whereas at this time last year our deficit of £844 was nearly covered by the Deficit Fund, this year's Deficit of £822 is not covered by £230 odd.

A mere bagatelle, we agree, and an amount which some of our readers could cover without batting an eyelid. The fact is that they don't and we, the publishing group, can't. Obviously a few hundred pounds will not stop us publishing FREEDOM. What it does mean is that so long as we cannot cover the cost of what we actually publish, we cannot think

