

## SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

LAST YEAR THE United Nations Security Council appointed a committee to investigate the possibility of sanctions against S. Africa. The committee consisted of senior representatives of 10 members of the Council. France did not take part. As a result of their deliberations the permanent members of the Security Council found they were deeply divided on the feasibility and desirability of sanctions against the S. African Government.

America is so opposed to the policy of Apartheid that when S. Africa left the Commonwealth and came off pound sterling, she pumped in cash to support the failing economy, to the tune of \$200 million in loans and investments.

Britain is terribly disturbed about apartheid. Her investments in S. Africa earn 12.6% in dividends, the highest in the world. Of 295 Conservative MPs over 40 are connected with business interests in S. Africa. British exports to this fascist outpost in the first nine months of 1964 was £16.5 million. Also of course, S. Africa enjoys Commonwealth preference despite being slung out of the Commonwealth. Preference given by Britain allows S. Africa to be our biggest suppliers of canned fruit. S. Africa's preference to Britain is so small as not to matter.

In Nairobi on March 1, Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda complained to the organisation for African Unity (OAU) Foreign Ministers' Conference that, the trade vacuum created by East Africa's economic boycott against S. Africa was being filled by certain Socialist countries. Earlier allegations have been made against China and East Germany in particular, for increasing trade with South Africa. OAU Foreign Ministers are expected to express in stronger terms the call for the fuller co-operation of the West in imposing a total trade embargo against South Africa.

On March 2, the political committee of the OAU Ministerial Council unanimously agreed on applying complete military and economic sanctions against S. Africa.

In London during April, 1964 an International Conference on Economic Sanctions against S. Africa took place. Over 40 nations including governmental delegations from 30 countries attended. The Chair was taken by Mongi Slim, Foreign Minister of Tunisia, who told the conference, 'Economic sanctions are the last possible way of defeating apartheid peacefully'.

The deliberations of the conference are contained in a 'Penguin Special' edited by Ronald Segal, convenor of the conference. The book contains expert papers on the economic, racial, political, legal

and strategic aspects of sanctions. On the evidence of its working commissions the conference considered it had established the necessity, the legality and the practicability of internationally organised economic sanctions against South Africa whose racial policies were seen to have become a direct threat to peace and security in Africa and the World.

The case has been proved—the action-Conference recommends:—

Recognising that mandatory action can only result from a Security Council resolution which would require the support of the Five Permanent Members of the Security Council, special pressures are essential to get the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and France to change the direction of their policies on the South African question.

All the propaganda in the world is not going to shift the vested interest of Britain, France, America and the Eastern Bloc. It boils down to direct action by industrial workers, action has been taken in the past by Swedish and Australian dockers, obviously this is only token, it is up to the workers on an international basis, which means propaganda on a wide scale. Let's face it, this is the only effective method, and by Christ! it will be one of the hardest to implement.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

From our New York Correspondent

IN THE FINAL analysis there's a certain Judge Maglio in New York City who might end up doing more for anarchism than any other jurist since Paul Eltzbacher. Maglio is a sadistic cretin whom I understand was once suspended from the bench for a year for the same unforgivable infraction his victims commit—getting caught. Later he sued the city for his back pay, but lost the case. Luckily for anarchism, but not so lucky for the Vietnam protesters, he was back in action at Night Court on February 19 and 20.

Shortly after Friday's session was under way I began thinking that things weren't boding too good for our side. One of the earlier indications was his slapping a \$500 bail on a poor nondescript for stealing some cheese! Also his venom seemed to increase as the evening wore on. For the first hour or so the standard bail for anyone charged with gambling was \$500. Then the ante leaped to \$1,000. At this rate, by 2.00 a.m. you'd get 10 years for double parking. Fortunately for society he went home before midnight. He told funny jokes, too. After fining two derelicts \$25 each which they obviously would never have (alternative five days in jail), he detected a mumbled note of despair emanating from one of them. 'I've been very lenient,' he assured them. 'What more do you want me to do, pay the fine for you?'

Meanwhile I was nervously awaiting them to bring in the 14 civil disobedients who had sat-in at the US Mission to the UN for over six hours in the bitter, 20° cold. And here I have to interject a passing concept: Every once in a while when I'm freezing myself half to death on some crazy demonstration or other I get a mental picture of some sanctimonious prelate reassuring me, 'Remember, Mr. G is on our side.' Whereupon I retort, 'Well tell Him to stop goofing off and turn up the heat. And while He's at it He might do a little picketing!'

On this particular afternoon there was one character picketing all by himself. I never did figure out what his bit was. His sign read: 'We Worship Our Brutal God. Instead of Demanding Relief from Illness and Death.' (His emphasis.) The 'our' precluded his being an atheist. I hadn't the vaguest notion why he'd singled out the US Mission—after all, how far up

# The 'Three Tuns' Affair

THIS STORY IS TRUE, but it has never before appeared in print for the simple reason that no magazine or newspaper would touch it. This is because the word of a policeman is sacred, while beatniks are never to be trusted. When Donald Roomo claimed Detective-Sergeant Chal-lenor had planted half a brick among his belongings the same thing happened. Everyone but FREEDOM, and then *Peace News*, refused to listen; but when a private scientist was brought in to examine the contents of his pockets, the establishment press had to admit the frame-up, with devastating results. In the 'Three Tuns' case there was no opportunity to call in independent evidence, and so several innocent people have been fined or imprisoned.

On Monday, September 21 of last year, 60 policemen and women raided the 'Three Tuns' pub in Hotwells. They rushed in, treading on toes and knocking over drinks; and they put a cordon around the outside. For several weeks previously a 'sailor' had been frequenting the pub and buying liberal quantities of cider and cigarettes for a few of the long-haired 'beats' who drank there. Two days before the raid he had asked one of them to get some marihuana for him by Monday night. When the raid began this 'sailor' turned into a CID man, and pointed out several people for immediate searching. His contact had brought nothing, and was released. During the next hour everyone in the pub, from the barman to an old man of 80, was searched, and over 30 were dragged into the waiting vans and taken to

the police station for 'further questioning'. Many were let out in the middle of the night, but a dozen were charged with possessing a dangerous drug (marihuana, cannabis, or Indian hemp—it is in fact *not* dangerous). The drug was usually found in their clothing when re-examined out of their sight. Such procedures provide ample opportunity for the 'accidental' dropping of the vegetable matter into the already dusty lining of pockets. When this is done it is quite impossible to prove by analysis that it has not been there all the time.

### ADVISED TO PLEAD GUILTY

At the first appearance before the magistrate's court ushers refused to allow any of the accused's friends into the public gallery, but subsequent complaints and a report in the local paper ensured that this illegality was not repeated again. After a week's remand in custody the cases were heard. By this time our enquiries had shown that it was extremely unlikely that more than four or five of the eleven still charged had in fact been carrying hemp. We also obtained a sworn and witnessed statement from a youth who had arrived from Scotland only that same night that during the raid a policeman who was searching him tried to drop a small seed into his top pocket. Working on this assumption we contacted all the accused and advised them to plead 'not guilty' and demand trial by jury. The risks for them were considerable. By taking either or both of these courses they greatly reduced their chance of getting probation for a first offence. An

experienced lawyer, engaged privately by the parents of one of the accused, who believed in his client's innocence, still advised him to plead guilty. Despite this, three people, including this one, pleaded 'not guilty' and opted for trial by jury. The other nine were dealt with by the magistrate there and then.

Those of us who attended the hearings, though no great lovers of beatniks, were enraged and disgusted by what happened, and from previous experience of drug-planting in London we knew the level of corruption to expect. But even we were surprised at the number of half-truths and discrepancies in the police evidence. In one case the arresting officer swore that he found the hemp in a plastic bag in the accused's pocket, yet the analyst swore he had received it in a twist of brown paper (the traditional way in which 'deals' are bought—even by policemen!). The defence counsel rightly pointed out that either a police witness was lying or there had been a 'mistake'. The case was found proven!

### NO FIGHT EXPECTED

This was typical procedure, but even with this bias the magistrate was forced to dismiss two cases. Sentences for the others varied from £50 fines to six months prison. The three who had agreed to fight it out came up at the subsequent quarter-sessions. The police, reckoning no doubt that beats would have little idea of their rights and no spirit to fight, had taken little trouble to make their case watertight, and now it was too late. The jury, who probably detest beatniks, but who have rather more concern for justice than many magistrates, returned verdicts of 'not guilty' in all three cases. But Justice must exact its pound of flesh, so one of them, who happened to have been

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## Night Court, N.Y.

did he think their influence extends? I finally decided that a rough translation might be, 'We should stop polishing celestial apples unless He sends more penicillin.'

All in all it was a strange panorama against the backdrop of the Mission Headquarters: 15 shivering peaceniks sitting down in front of the doors; the emissary for, from, or against Mr. G pacing back and forth in front of one half of the building; another 10 of us picketing in a tight circle completely surrounded by cops; and everybody's nose running from the cold.

Meanwhile the ubiquitous newsmen were scurrying back and forth, snapping pictures, filming TV newsreels, taping interviews, etc. And herein lies another anomaly: Two 120-pound idealists can sit quietly down in front of a doorway, occupying about three or four square feet in obedience to their woebegone principles. They might get clubbed, fined, and imprisoned for disorderly conduct, trespassing, causing a disturbance, blocking traffic, etc. Yet while they're sitting there they might be surrounded by 50 newsmen shoving microphones in their faces, etc. These worthies never seem to be in anyone's way as far as the law is concerned. One time they set up a 12-foot step ladder for better pictures, and had two guys climb up with big cameras, and lights. Newsmen are invariably allowed to take pictures from inside the security areas being protested against, because the public must be misinformed at all costs.

By the same token the cops are usually falling all over themselves, snarling up traffic for city blocks. They made such a commotion in front of the US Mission that afternoon that they caused an automobile accident—some poor guy straining his neck trying to get a glimpse of what was going on, rammed into the rear end of the car in front, locking bumpers. It tied things up real fine, but we couldn't take any credit for it because we were completely invisible behind a phalanx of blue.

With typical brilliance, the police department prescribed absolute silence

for our vigil, and then assigned a stenorian jackass to bray over a power megaphone. 'Keep that passageway clear... Don't let that Volkswagon park there... Get those people moving... etc., etc.' As Lord Acton observed: Power megaphones tend to corrupt, but absolute power megaphones give you an absolute pain.

On the other hand I was rather agreeably surprised to learn that the Police Department has somewhat high standards for promotion. They won't let anyone become a Sergeant unless he can count up to ten. All afternoon they had a Sergeant laboriously counting us as we circled by to make sure we didn't exceed that magic number. For the life of me I'll never figure out why New York's Finest regarded the prospect of 11 pacifists with such pathological terror. They had us outnumbered by about 10 to 1, and were armed with nightsticks and revolvers in addition. Maybe they were afraid that if they shot us we might refuse to bleed.

And bunglers?? You wouldn't believe it. When they can't even arrest a pacifist they should give up. But they grabbed one sit-downer and shoved him at the doors of the patrol wagon, and missed. He went right on past the doors, and decided to keep going. So he went home. That night he dropped in at Night Court as a spectator!

Yet one of these mongoloid orang-utangs in brass buttons was overheard alluding to the demonstrators as 'the shitheads'. Few if any of us couldn't spot him 25 points or so on any IQ test going.

However, they may be incompetents, but they're vicious incompetents. They picked up the five or six non-co-operators and heaved them into the wagon. I overheard one cop gleefully telling his colleagues how one demonstrator bounced three times when he landed. 'Blip, blip, blip,' he said, slapping one hand against the other to emphasise his onomatopoeia. At least he wasn't too selfish to share his delightful depravity with them vicariously.

Across the street a spectator standing

beside me watching the police make the pacifists go 'blip, blip, blip' made a profound observation, half to me and half to himself: 'They shouldn't treat those people like that. It'll just give them a chance to yell, "Brutality!"' Then after a moment's pause while the light dawned, he reflected, 'Hey! That is brutality.'

However, back to Night Court where the sit-inners were the *piece de resistance*, or perhaps the peace de non-resistance. One of the problems with anarchists, pacifists, and people of that ilk is that they never seem to have enough 'practical good sense' to leave their principles home when they have to appear in court. This completely baffles the judges, who only think of principle as something to put in the bank and draw interest on. As it happened this particular group was much more co-operative than some. No one had to be carried into court, nor did anyone turn his back on the judge.

The arresting officer unwittingly put the whole situation in a nutshell when he answered the judge's query as to what this was all about: 'They don't like what our country is doing in Vietnam, Your Honour.' There he stood with his club and gun, while the judge sat wrapped up in his solemn, black robes—naked force shielding flatulent hypocrisy—and it was their country. They had it all sewn up, every square inch of it. And the trouble with us shitheads was that we didn't realize that it was theirs, and that we had no right to complain no matter how many people it killed anywhere.

The defendants were brought in in two groups. The first group was the foursome which had first moved to the side doorway of the US Mission and precipitated the arrests thereby. These were each held on a \$500 bail for disorderly conduct for sitting down, and an additional \$500 bail if they had gone limp rather than walk to the wagon when arrested. This latter is called 'resisting arrest' and is a standard additional charge in New York City. It seems to hold up quite well legally since the judges are such gross illiterates they can't find 'resist' in a dictionary.

After the first group had been arraigned, the main group was brought in. These were ten people who had sat down on the sidewalk beside the US Mission. Judge Maggot-low hit them with the same \$500 bail for each count. The lawyer had

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been protesting the amount of bail right along, so the judge assured him that \$500 was actually a very small amount. This brought forth loud groans from the spectators. Immediately the judge leaped to his feet, livid with rage, and informed us that he would not allow his courtroom to be turned into a soapbox, and informed us that we were to have respect, not for him as a person, but for that flag (pointing it out), and this country, which was free and allowed people to protest. The court officers were to walk up and down keeping a careful watch on all of us, and anyone making any further outbursts was to be brought immediately before him and would be summarily dealt with.

It was very revealing that the judge began this apoplectic diatribe with the reference to a soapbox, because this didn't apply at all. Obviously he had had a deep seated premonition all along that someone might embarrass him with a fervent plea for justice—and justice would be the last thing he would ever allow in his courtroom. Thus when we rattled him, it was the first thing he blurted out. Prior to losing his composure the judge had agreed to allow Al Uhrie to make a statement, but he'd accompanied this with a threat that Uhrie had better not try to use this court as a forum.

Subsequently there was a good deal more wrangling between the lawyer and the judge about the high amount of bail set. Maglio pointed out that if the

## NIGHT COURT, N.Y.

defendants wanted to be martyrs instead of accepting his largesse, they were perfectly welcome to do so. Other than that, the lawyer need not put up the money and they could all walk right out of there. (Doesn't every lawyer carry about \$10,000 cash in his wallet?)

After the judge closed the arraignment all the prisoners filed out of the court except for Al Uhrie who still wanted to make his statement. The judge informed him that he didn't need to make any statement because he had been represented by an attorney. Uhrie told the judge flatly that that man wasn't his lawyer and insisted on his right to make a statement. The judge immediately threatened Uhrie with a contempt ruling which could mean a \$250 fine and/or 90 days in jail at the judge's own discretion. Uhrie continued to speak out in protest, and was thereupon picked up bodily by court officers and carried out of the courtroom still speaking.

One spectator, a young girl, leaped to her feet and began to applaud. (Uhrie well deserved a standing ovation.) One or two people, including me, clapped a few times tentatively, but instead of building up, the applause fizzed right out. Maglio pounced right on the girl—sum-

moning her to the bench. After he had her identify herself, he asked her what she thought she was doing. She told him that she was applauding a very brave man. (She was doing quite well herself.) Then Maglio said: 'Well I suggest that you send him a letter of congratulations. And I think that you should leave this courtroom right now, and go home and start writing it.' He gave the rest of us a chance to leave at that point along with her—an opportunity of which we were delighted to avail ourselves.

The following evening we returned to Night Court and much to our dismay discovered the same Judge Maglio there again—just as obnoxious as ever. This visit was occasioned by two groups of peaceniks who had been arrested that afternoon. The first consisted of 19 who insisted on their right to vigil at the New York Hilton Hotel even though the police had limited that vigil to a total of 25 who were already there. The second group consisted of two men who disagreed with the police's edict requiring silence when walking by the headquarters of the US Mission to the UN.

Comic relief was provided by the bail bondsman who came in looking for Ralph DiGia, Secretary of the War Resisters League, in order to complete the bond arrangements for the defendants of the previous evening. He was informed that Mr. DiGia was one of those arrested that afternoon and would be along as soon as his own case was called.

## THE BLUES

# From the Grass Roots

ONE OF THE positive achievements of the current Rhythm 'n' Blues craze among 'pop' fans has been the increasing frequency of visits by American Negro bluesmen. These singers have ranged from rural bluesmen like Sleepy John Estes, whose style is still essentially that of the early 'thirties, to more modern country singers like Sam 'Lightning' Hopkins, and singers, like Howling Wolf Burnett and Muddy Waters, who are the slightly awkward amalgam of the country singer turned urban entertainer. They have had little in common but their colour and their relaxed confidence in their chosen medium—a confidence in strong contrast to the local groups who have accompanied them.

Touring the country at the moment is the young Chicago singer, George 'Buddy' Guy and for the first time local enthusiasts are able to hear a singer for whom the aggressive blues of modern Chicago are a natural expression rather than an adopted means to popularity with the fickle night club audiences of the Southside ghetto. Whereas many of the singers who have toured this country have been older, embittered men, often uneducated and with strong memories of personal failures and racial injustice, of inadequacy, poverty and deprivation, Guy, at 29, and despite his Louisiana background, seems to have evaded the worst consequences of the Southern heritage. A quiet, modest man, he acknowledges a personal and stylistic debt to Otis Rush, the inventor of the harsh blues style used by Guy and adds that he is taking lessons on the guitar. Happily married, with three children, his reputation is gradually broadening. Guy is clearly the voice of contemporary urban blues.

He is, first of all, an electrifying entertainer. He has learnt not only from earlier modern stylists like Blues Boy King and T-Bone Walker but also from the hip-swivelling rock 'n' rollers. His act is about as gimmicky as it is possible to imagine. He plays the guitar with a handkerchief, with his teeth, with his feet. He uses electric amplifier feedback for effects, scrapes the guitar against the vocal microphone, lets it slip down his body and then steps out of its strap as it reaches the floor. He lies on his back, leaps about on stage, throwing the guitar out from his body, clutching it only by the neck and continuing to play.

Yet stripped of his gimmicks, his mannerisms and his abundant sexuality, he remains a superb guitarist and a harsh, impassioned singer. His act is clearly well planned with slow blues breaking up the faster, boogie numbers. His blues are predominantly sexual and when he sings of women he does so with a passionate and direct fury. He howls with joy, moans with anguish, singing with an almost rapturous, ecstatic crudity. His singing seems even nearer the nerves of his existence than does that of the earlier singers, a sort of modern negro musical equivalent of Kafka. His voice seems to be torn from his guts and his mind as he screams and sobs his slow blues, his phrases interspersed with long, drawn out falsetto whoops or his intense guitar, sounding like nothing so much as the whining, grating sound-track to a

ghetto nightmare. His blues seem almost a crystallisation of the life of the modern, working-class urban negro, intense, passionate, brashly, almost racialistically confident. For the first time the blues seem to be as much an expression of extroverted pride as of subjugation. It is as though Guy feels himself and his audiences superior because they can understand this music, as though for the first time the onus may be on the others to learn rather than on him to forget. For a white audience his act is not only brilliantly exhilarating but also just a little frightening. He seems to symbolise the adulthood of the American negro, and his music is that of a people living on the raw edges of their nerves and knowing how to do so, with a vibrant, almost neurotic intensity.

## SOFTLY! SOFTLY! . . .

IN A SEASON which is threatening financial ruin to the avid jazz lover, the entire spectrum of jazz is being thrust before him in concerts, clubs, TV shows, at a pace and quantity which could well result in disaster for the promoters and exhausted disenchantment for the audiences.

Mid-way between the big band glory of Duke and the incomparable delights of Earl Hines solo piano tour in April, Ronnie Scott this month offers to save our culture-starved souls with a large helping of intellectual meringue by the much lauded Bill Evans Trio, with the brilliant bass of Chuck Israels and Larry Bunkers subtly driving drums, quite without equals in this country. Mr. Evans' piano fully substantiates the lavish praise it has been receiving since he became prominent in '58 with Miles Davis' group. His technique is apparently faultless, his taste and discretion unquestionable, so that nightly the audience are placed into a mesmerised condition bordering on the religious, with attendant local pianists muttering hail Marys to Our Lord who comes from over the water. The faithful are rewarded with an occasional flicker of a smile from the tense, pale face but as yet, so far as I have witnessed, no words.

For me, though I am finding it of much more merit than I had anticipated, the strain of having to concentrate so completely just to hear much of the music, their fortissimo being several decibels lower than the usual pianissimo of other groups, renders it an experience which affords me little pleasure.

With all the attractions competing for our attention, and money, a date of paramount importance appears in danger of being overlooked—

March 12, 1955 on which day died the supreme creative improviser in the history of recorded music, Charles Parker, Jnr.

I keep having to re-check on the date as it still seems impossible that ten years can have vanished so swiftly, ten whole

On his faster boogie numbers, which are little more than a relaxation from his intense slow blues and an opportunity for the most startling display of instrumental virtuosity, Guy's voice is comparatively uninteresting, but on the slow blues, which are often very ugly, it is brilliantly and almost overwhelmingly expressive—arguably the most authentic expression of contemporary American negro taste we have yet heard in this country. His act is not toned down for English audiences and it is therefore interesting from both a sociological and a musical standpoint. There is a great deal to be learnt from Guy and it is tempting to add that blues enthusiasts, whatever their personal, iconoclastic preferences, ignore him or voluntarily miss seeing him, at their peril. CHARLES RADCLIFFE.

years bursting with 'amazing', 'incredible', 'fantastic' geniuses; many with real talent, several who genuinely are contributing to the further development of the music, and yet as soon as one puts a Bird record on, despite the deficiencies in recording sound, accompanying musicians, Parker's health, etc., the man sails into a chorus even on so hackneyed a standard as 'White Christmas' and there is the real genius, untouchable by time, fashion, or changing techniques.

Bird is of such artistic and humane stature as to be virtually apart from all the other jazz greats; possibly only Bill Broonzy warrants comparison, otherwise one can only look for peers, to Picasso, Loren, Rimbaud, Van Gogh, Breugel and Bosch.

Since the death of Bird, the most significant development in jazz, and it has close parallels in all the other arts, is the increasing dichotomy of artist and the work produced. The all-pervading/perverting influence of Madison Avenue has ousted artistic humility, and we have the sorry spectacle of talented creators destroying themselves because the parasitic manipulators of society find it convenient to foster the myth that the man is greater than his work. Thus many today inflict themselves on the arts, not out of a need to contribute to the cultural wealth of man, but as an easy road to personal gain and social advancement. In consequence we have inflicted on us 'Pop Art', 'Top Twenty Stars', 'Happenings', 'Avante Garde Jazz', etc. As a working artist naturally I defend the rights of all to unbridled experimentation, but the foisting of unfinished, rough working sketches on to the public as objects to be venerated, with unquestioning awe, can lead only to destruction both for the artist and for the whole heritage of culture.

The secret of the uniqueness of Parker and those whom I have bracketed with him lies in the wholeness of their lives and works, neither part being of validity without the other.

Art is the revelation of reality: thus the tortured stumblings of Bird at his sickest are of far greater value than any amount of rapid confections churned out in welters of technical accomplishment by bright darlings of the cultural circus.

JOHN JACK.

## ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN

Co-ordinating Secretary: Tom Jackson,  
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## London Anarchist Group

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APR 11 John Pilgrim  
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NOTTING HILL ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary N.H.A.G., Flat 3, 5 Colville House, London, W.11. Meetings 2nd and 4th Thursday of each month at above address.

## REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Details of meetings from Peter Neville, 12 South Grove, Erdington, B'ham, 23.

BRISTOL FEDERATION. Regular fortnightly meetings. Details from John Coveney, 1 Richmond Park Road, Clifton, Bristol, 8.

CAMBRIDGE ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact V. Madge, Newnham College.

DUNDEE GROUP. Contact Mike Mallet, 20 South George Street, Dundee. Meetings Saturdays 2.30 p.m.

EDINBURGH ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence Secretary: Douglas Truman, 13 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh, 3. Meetings every alternate Monday at above 7.30 p.m.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence: Joe Embleton, Thrush Villa, Commonhead, Airdrie, Lanarks. Meetings at Horseshoe Bar, Drury Street, Tuesdays at 8 p.m.

MANCHESTER GROUP. Fortnightly meetings held. For information contact Alan Barlow, 25a Duffield Road, Irlam o' the Heights, Salford, 6.

MERSEYSIDE FEDERATION. Enquiries: Vincent Johnson's, 43 Millbank, Liverpool 13.

ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks. Next meeting Sunday, February 28, 2.30 p.m. at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316.

Brian and Maureen Richardson. OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact H. G. Mellor, Merton College, Oxford.

SOUTH WALES. Irregular meetings held. Enquire Peter Raymond, 300 Whitchurch Road, Gabalfa, Cardiff.

PROPOSED GROUPS

EDGWARE-ELSTREE and District. Planning discussion meetings and activities. Contact Colin Seal, 8 Oakwood Drive, Edgware or Anthony Frewin, 31 Burghley Avenue, Boreham Wood.

THANET. For information contact Peter Davey, 14 Fitzmary Avenue, Westbrook, Margate, Kent.

NOTTINGHAM. Anyone interested contact Peter Bowden, Flat 2, 11 Rectory Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham.

SOUTH BEDS., NORTH HERTS., HITCHIN, LETCHWORTH, BIGGLESWADE, BEDFORD. Anyone interested forming a group contact Peter and Maureen Ford, 102 Stofold Road, Arlesey, Beds.

SURREY. Ways and Means meeting. Discussion 7.30 p.m. Thursday April 1, 1965. Chris Torrance, 63 North Street, Carshalton, Surrey. (Please ring three times.)

NORTH-WEST ESSEX. Close to W. Suffolk, S.E. Cambs. and N.E. Herts. Contact Robert Barltrop, The Old Vicarage, Radwinter, near Saffron Walden.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

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

Last Thursday in month: At George Hayes', 174 McLeod Road, S.E.2.

2nd Friday at Brian Leslie's, 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).

3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald & Irene Room's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.

3rd Saturday of each month at Sid and Pat Parker's, 2 Orsett Terrace (off Gloucester Terrace), Paddington, W.2, 8 p.m. (Please ring second bell from top.)



# ESSENTIAL READING FOR ANARCHISTS

A.B.C. of Anarchism. Alexander Berkman. 99 p.p. 2s. 6d.

Anarchy. Errico Malatesta. 30 p.p. 1s. (Both published by Freedom Press.)

THE PAST DECADE has seen a very encouraging growth of interest in direct, anti-political action in the nuclear disarmament movement, paralleled by a widespread scorn of the activities of politicians among all kinds of people. It is now quite common for anti-bomb campaigners, left-wing students and militant workers to find that when they call themselves anarchists, the term is accepted for what it means, instead of being greeted by jokes about bomb throwing. Unfortunately, the spread of what might be called the anarchist mood has not been matched to such a great extent by rational understanding of what the anarchist alternatives to government and the state really are, and conviction of their validity. This has perhaps been due to the natural reluctance of young people active in the anti-bomb movement to take any notice of what had been written before their generation, or to believe that any existing ideology had anything to say about the special problems raised by the bomb, complemented by the unwillingness of anarchist propagandists to thrust their ideas down other people's throats.

However, if the ideas which make up a 'mood' or 'current of opinion' are to have the maximum effect, and the people who hold them are not to be disillusioned, dispersed and side-tracked, it is essential that they should become conscious of the implications of their attitudes, the positive solutions they imply and the obstacles likely to be met with. In other words, it is important that the 'current of opinion' should transform itself into a movement. It was perhaps failure to do this that resulted in the disintegration of the Committee of 100 after the failures of the Weatherfield actions, the stepping up of police persecution, and the non-materialisation of the early optimistic hopes.

Freedom Press has recently reprinted the two pamphlets listed above, both of which give straightforward accounts of anarchism, and which could be of the greatest value in stimulating the crystallisation of anti-authoritarian feelings into something more concrete. The two essays run on parallel lines. Each of the authors begins by getting rid of common misconceptions of anarchism. Berkman points out that political assassination has been attempted by members of all parties and movements when they thought it would further their ends. Malatesta draws his famous analogy of the man who had lived with his limbs tightly bound, who managed to loosen his bonds and hobble about, but who then believed that it was the bonds which enabled him to walk, and urged on by a dishonest doctor, violently resisted all attempts to 'deprive' him of the bonds which oppressed him.

Both authors point out, with numerous examples, the fact that all useful productive activities in society are carried out by working people co-operating together voluntarily, and that the effect of government and coercion is always to inhibit the social usefulness of the enterprise and divert its benefits into the hands of a privileged minority. They then go on to outline, without making the mistake of dogmatism, possible ways in which this power for mutual co-operation and solidarity, which is so clearly latent in humanity and only repressed because the ruling classes do not want it to be

realised, could be employed in the infinitely more satisfying task of running society without government. The possibility that the liberation of society could be achieved by changing the present government for a 'liberal', 'socialist' or 'revolutionary' government is effectively demolished. Berkman draws on his experiences in Russia to show how the Bolshevik dictatorship destroyed the spontaneous achievements of the Russian people.

These publications are therefore concise statements of the fundamentals of anarchism, and they are immeasurably strengthened by the fact that both Berkman and Malatesta had developed their ideas in the course of lives filled with struggles on behalf of the working people and social revolution. I strongly urge every group and individual engaged in propagating anarchism to get a supply of both, for sale at meetings and when selling literature outdoors. Our experience in London has been that many people are eager to read a more lengthy and general presentation of the anarchist case than can be found in a single copy of a weekly paper. I would also like to suggest to individual readers of FREEDOM, who have been attracted by our discussions of anti-bomb activities, the industrial page, anarchist attitudes to education or any other special field, that they might follow this interest up by looking at the case for anarchism as a whole.

Berkman and Malatesta, as revolutionary agitators, thought entirely in terms of a complete transformation of society, and thought of propaganda as being the way to this goal. I would like to comment on two aspects of anarchism which have interested anarchists during the past twenty years, and which are not touched on in the pamphlets reviewed. The first is the psychological question. It is clear that people do not act according to their rational interests, and like Malatesta's bound man, struggle violently against liberation. This has led many anarchists to take up, at various times, the ideas of Freud, Reich, Fromm and others to try to explain this social phenomena, and provide a solution to it. These ideas promised a fruitful unification of anarchism, since the anarchist's traditional emphasis on the importance of freeing sexual love from the conventions of authoritarianism and on the importance of freedom in the upbringing and education of children were shown to be very necessary adjuncts to the struggle on the social and political fronts.

To put it shortly, the person who had been emotionally defeated and for whom sexuality involved a burden of guilt, was unable to recognise the oppression he suffered in the wider field of social relationships as such, far less do anything about it. Secondly, it has been suggested that either as well as, or instead of, working for a revolutionary transformation, anarchists can contribute to freedom here and now by supporting libertarian trends in our present society everywhere they clash with authoritarian ones. There are many fields where this does happen, in attitudes to sex and education, in workers' control, in art and literature, etc.

Neither of these two modern aspects has yet been summarised clearly and placed in the framework of a general approach to anarchism. Is it possible that the next important pamphleteer of the movement will be the one who can draw together the modern contributions to anarchism with the aspects dealt with so lucidly by Berkman and Malatesta? P.H.

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## 'When an Action in Rem does not Lie' - Times Law report

LORD MORRISON WAS played to his grave by the Salvation Army urging Christian soldiers to go onward. The Labour Party in Wanstead and Woodford, Sir Winston Churchill's former constituency decided not to collect for the Churchill Memorial Appeal. A leading article in their newsletter said 'With the death of any man or woman we feel grief, sorrow, a sense of loss. For most of us, such loss can only properly be expressed alone in quiet remembrance and dignity.' But, they say, there was an obvious difference between respect and deification. 'Are we expected to continue to keep silence while shoddy concrete posts are put up on Woodford Green with ever-burning dishes of gas, artificial wreaths, and so on?' Lancashire miners at Mosley Common Colliery, Boothstown, are seeking a national boycott of the Churchill memorial fund. They describe the appeal as a 'mendacious, cadging orgy, with the sole object of winning support for the Tories'. Folkestone Trades Council refused to contribute to the Winston Churchill Memo-

rial Fund because, they say, 'Winston Churchill was never a friend of the workers'. The Churchill Fund was presented with a gift of the first edition of Voltaire's work...

SPEAKING OF THE beatings of demonstrators for the vote at Selma, Alabama, Louis Armstrong said 'They would beat Jesus if he was black and marched'. A white clergyman who marched, died from injuries received after a beating-up when he was waylaid outside a restaurant after dark. John Lewis, chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee who was later taken to hospital with a fractured skull, said 'I don't see how President Johnson can send troops to Vietnam—I don't see how he can send troops to the Congo—I don't see how he can send troops to Africa, and yet can't send troops to Selma, Alabama.' A UN Committee of three, India, Poland and Canada (Canada dissenting) condemned US bombing raids on North Vietnam as a violation of the Armistice terms. Conscientious objectors in the German

Democratic Republic who are assigned to the Construction Units must swear on oath as follows 'I SWEAR always loyally to serve the German Democratic Republic, my fatherland, and to do everything in my power to increase her preparedness for defence. I SWEAR to work efficiently as a member of the Construction Units and actively to increase the capacity of the National People's Army, together with the Soviet Army and the armies of our allied socialist countries, to defend the socialist state against all enemies and to gain victory. I SWEAR to be honest, courageous, willing and alert, unconditionally to obey my superiors and to carry out their orders with determination, and strictly to guard all military and state secrets. I SWEAR conscientiously to acquire any knowledge necessary to the fulfilment of my tasks, to abide by legal and military regulations, and in all circumstances to uphold the honour of our Republic and of my Unit'. Fourteen nurses in Munich were acquitted on charges of the mass killing of mental hospital patients under Hitler's euthanasia programme. The judge said that 'They reacted automatically to orders like robots... the simple mental state of the accused women—one could even say they had minds like chickens—makes it possible to believe they did not understand what they were doing.' British Government estimates have allowed an extra million for the operations of the Secret Service, the estimated (nominal) expenditure for 1965-66 is nine million pounds. ... BEDFORDSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL have now released 'King and Country' for showing with the scene cut out showing an officer administering the *coup de grace* to the deserter shot by the firing squad.

JON QUIXOTE.

## Confusion Worse Confounded

Dear Comrades,

IF the Jim Fyfe of Glasgow who signed the letter for Glasgow *Solidarity* is the same Jim Fyfe who wrote the other adjoining letter criticising my article on abortion, then I fear greatly for the illiterate rubbish that is going to be unloaded on the rank, file and 'libertarian left'.

Even a libertarian socialist—whatever that is—should be able to read if he is going to write and publish messages to the workers, and clearly Jim Fyfe (2) cannot read whatever Jim Fyfe (1) can do, nor can he understand the words he does manage to spell out.

Nowhere in my article did I ask for the reform of the abortion law; I specifically asked for its abolition. If JF2 cannot see the difference no wonder he is prepared to argue by extension and bring in 'planned eugenics' and other Catholic bugbears.

Both he and Ruth Brown make the plea that all that is required is to change public opinion about illegitimacy and then abortion will not be necessary. Charming! Just tell a girl who got pregnant by accident that nobody will mind if she has a baby by somebody she doesn't want to live with, nobody will look down on her as she carries a child she does not want to bear, somebody will be found to adopt the baby once she has borne it, or, if she wants to keep it, then there's always National Assistance. Or are we talking about the Free Society? Are we now after the revolution, when free access to everything (except abortion?) removes all possible social or economic arguments that a poor misguided girl who just does not want to have that particular baby at that particular time might dream up?

Our sentimental moralists cannot accept that a woman may not want to have a baby. In the cases of many married women today it is a case of not wanting to have another baby.

In my corrupt and reformist way I have only one criterion in looking at this problem: what the woman wants.

If she is unmarried and wants to bear a child—OK. Every assistance should be given her, including the changing of

READY APRIL

## Malatesta: His Life and Ideas

WRITERS and social historians are unanimous in considering ERRICO MALATESTA (1853-1932) to be the outstanding anarchist agitator since Bakunin.

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public opinion. (This, of course, is dead easy, and any self-respecting mother-to-be should be prepared to wait for this!) And if she does not, then this too is OK by me and should be dealt with accordingly. If she is married and rich and secure in her relationship and sane and healthy and the paragon of all the social virtues and still wants to be aborted—this also is OK by me.

Jim Fyfe obviously cannot see, good libertarian socialist that he is, that to demand freedom of choice is a revolutionary demand. Ruth Brown, good sentimentalist that she is, cannot see that some women sometimes and some women all the time do not want to have children. And life, as I see it, is of value according to the quality of living, not in terms of mere existence. And if Ruth is now suffering from any more misconceptions about my own attitude I would like her to know that I am the proud father of an illegitimate son who was planned for and wanted. Although I did use the phrase 'unwanted illegitimate babies' it is not the illegitimate part that bothers me.

As for Maurice Goodman's resentful little piece of hysteria, I can only say that if after all the contact with anarchists that he has had he still does not understand the concept of workers' control of industry, then we shall miss his cancelled subscription more than his contribution to the movement. London, NW1 P.S.

## PRESS FUND

FINANCIAL STATEMENT	
WEEK 10, MARCH 13, 1965:	
Expenses: 10 weeks at £70:	£700
Income: Sales and Subs.:	£734
	<b>SURPLUS £34</b>

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## Contact Column

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If you wish to make contact let us know.



# Resistance to Sackings

WE OFTEN HEAR the apologists for the capitalist system saying that on the whole things work out efficiently, not only for those who own the means of production, but also for those who actually produce the goods. Capitalism has changed they say, 'things might have been bad in the old days, but now they are different. If the management and workers co-operate, then together they can create a better life for all.'

While it is obvious that capitalism has changed the relationship between those who own and those who hire out their labour, the only commodity they have, remains the same now as it did at the beginning of the industrial revolution. This is illustrated by the situation at present at the Pressed Steel factory at Linwood, Scotland. This plant produces the bodies for the Rootes 'Imp' car, whose factory is across the road. They also produce wagons for British Railways and have recently completed an order. This, plus the fact that the demand for the 'Imp' has not been maintained, has meant that the production lines have been running well below capacity.

To overcome the vagaries of the market, short-time has been in operation. Of course this solution was unsatisfactory from the management's point of view, for they hate to see machines standing idle. So the five day week was brought back, but now that the wagon contract has

been completed, the management could not bear the idea of a return to short-time working. They much preferred full-time working plus overtime and so they sacked 327 men to make this possible. So much for co-operation between employers and the labour. The management's interpretation of co-operation is the acceptance of what they say by the employees.

## GIVEN THEIR CARDS

It did not happen quite like this at Linwood, for when the 327 men got their cards, 700 members of the Amalgamated Engineering Union struck work in support of those sacked. Appeals for work sharing had been turned down earlier by the management, who are considered by some to be enlightened and progressive.

Newspapers in the area were 'true to form' as a letter from the AEU local District Committee pointed out, and attacked the strikers for their action. As this same letter points out, 'The trade union movement exists to protect its members and this is precisely what we are doing, strictly in accordance with the union's policy, to oppose redundancy.' All very true, but what has been the role of the unions in this dispute, which has now ended with a return to work following a promise of immediate talks on redundancies?

The first response from the executive of the AEU was to instruct the

strikers to return to work. The members turned this advice down flat. The local officials were told by the national leaders to get the men back to work and some of the officials resented this 'interference'.

The final means of getting a return to work was through the Scottish Trades Union Congress (STUC). They arranged a meeting at Paisley Town Hall with the strikers and here it was decided to return to work. As the *Scotsman* says, Mr. James Jack, leader of the STUC, has 'been working hard behind the scenes for the past two days'. They also called it 'one of their (STUC) greatest mediatory successes'. Mr. Jack commented that he was more than delighted that the men had agreed to go back to work. 'We now step out of it. We did what we were asked to do. We succeeded. We only hope that it will be sorted out locally.'

## IMPRESSING FORDS

It does not end there though for it turns out that Mr. Jack and his members of the STUC are not only concerned about the effects of the strike on Pressed Steel's production, for there are bigger fish to catch. They are playing their mediatory role which will help to impress Fords, who are thinking of building a new plant in Scotland. Mr. Jack said, 'This development, its outcome, all the work that has been put in and the result of it (return to work) will all, I think, help the STUC immensely in their follow-up talks with Mr. J. A. Barke, managing director of Fords, on the location in Scotland of the new Ford project.'

Of course the role played by the STUC will not only impress Fords but other companies who are considering expanding in Scotland. But this role is hardly one of the trade union movement which 'exists to protect its members'. Instead they have acted to get the members back to work and see the proposed Ford development as a chance of getting more dues-paying members. Their business is peaceful labour relations in return for more members. Quite a profitable business arrangement!

There are however positive aspects to this dispute. The action of the strikers has gained talks about the redundancy of the 63 AEU members, the rest going by the board. Ian McAngus, secretary of the AEU shop stewards said that the discussion with the STUC had been 'most helpful' and at this a resumption of work was recommended.

Apparently this claim should have been submitted through the shop-stewards committee, but the mates bypassed them and did it through the local union officials. Now it seems that the shop-stewards committee have taken over again.

From the start, no real militancy has been shown by the mates, for if it had they would have taken unofficial action for themselves. However, following the role played by the shop-stewards, workers might elect new representatives. It would be interesting to know where Dick Etheridge, the chairman of the shop-stewards committee, and a member of the Communist Party, stood in relation to the decision to return to work.

The only thing that emerges very clearly is that these mates will have to wait a few more months before they can re-submit their claim.

P.T.

## BMG MATES GAIN LITTLE

THE TEN-DAY strike of the 300 maintenance mates at BMC achieved very little. All they gained was that the October review of wages for all the workers will be brought forward to June. After 15 months of union negotiating procedure, they still have gained nothing of their £2 claim.

The settlement was brought about by the Austin joint shop-stewards organisation, who after talks with the management agreed to this compromise and the strikers accepted this arrangement. No doubt the shop-stewards were concerned by the fact that the men they represented were being laid off in the thousands. Their own union officials were pressing for a quick settlement. It seemed that things had just run their course and a strike was the next move. From the way that the strikers accepted the settlement, it is obvious that there was little enthusiasm for the strike.

## The 'Three Tuns' Affair

Continued from page 1 wearing a very blunt ornamental dagger on a chain around his neck, was given two years probation for carrying an offensive weapon!

After the raid the police had searched the landlord's premises, even his living quarters (with dark hints that he might be the pusher), and to no-one's surprise had 'found' odd grains of hemp in places like the billiard table. The landlord was not there during the raid, but after the convictions he and his wife were charged under the Dangerous Drugs Act (1964). Under this incredible creation (the last will and testament of the unlamented Home Secretary Henry Brooke), they faced fines of up to £250 just for managing premises on which hemp was found. At the hearing defence counsel argued that in a crowded, smoky pub only 'an experienced Vice-Squad officer' could detect the smell of hemp. But they too were found 'guilty', and fined £50. No doubt when their licence renewal comes up the police

will oppose it. Thereby they will achieve their objective of driving the beats from our so-respectable city.

We should be disgusted by this affair. Readers can decide whether the allegations of planted evidence are true for themselves, but my own mind is made up. But it is surely outrageous that for being tolerant and humanitarian one of the best landlords in Bristol should be penalised (mainly through lawyer's fees), and threatened with the loss of his livelihood. Brooke's Act must be repealed, but if sufficient doubt is cast upon this affair maybe the decision here can be reversed. No newspaper will print it, but if we give the story as wide a circulation as possible, then persistence and protests to the Chief Constable and Home Secretary might result in an exposure rivalling the Challenor enquiry. It will be difficult, but if we really care when the tools of government and law enforcement are blatantly misused, that should not deter us.

IAN VINE.

# Freedom For Workers' Control

March 20 1965 Vol. 26 No. 9

What comes out of the redundancy talks remains to be seen but it seems that Pressed Steel will be very reluctant to take any sacked workers back, especially after the way in which STUC has acted. The only way to overcome this probable reluctance of the management will be further action, involving more workers. A ban on overtime and a work-to-rule operated by the whole factory

would show Pressed Steel that workers are not going to stand by while their fellow work-mates are sacked with an hour's notice. It would also show the trade union bureaucracy that it is the rank and file who are running the show and that they do not want the mediatory role of the unions but the jobs of their mates back.

P.T.

## There's a Hole in My Package

THE THREE-YEAR package deal signed in the engineering industry last December is having a rough passage. It seems that the only people who are satisfied with the 'deal' are the negotiators. The rank and file think it stinks. To all intents and purposes the ETU is not enamoured with the situation either.

The Midland motor industry is suffering from a spate of shop floor restlessness. The 'deal' plonked in their lap and the 'Incomes Policy' round the corner is making things a bit edgy. One employer said he had never known so much pressure for wage demands.

The 'deal' itself cuts across district bargaining, and the employers are trying to close the 'iniquities and anomalies' escape clause, whilst shop stewards are attempting to dive through it. The big anomaly is the difference between 'time' and piece or bonus worker. The latter is tied to production and so increasing his earnings, whereas the maintenance and clerical workers are at a standstill.

Some employers believe if they stuck it out, stopped bidding for scarce skilled labour, the leap-frogging and wage drift could be prevented. Others who believe in an 'incomes policy' say that this will only be achieved in conditions of 2% unemployment. Unemployment in the Midlands is 0.6% at the moment.

In the opinion of the engineering workers, the three-year package deal was an abortion from the off. Branch after Branch has kicked against it. The car manufacturers are making a pile, therefore, the people who produce the cars see no reason why they should be hogged for three years. Anything can happen in that time.

## PIECE v. TIME WORKERS

Fletton brick workers are experiencing the old anomaly, 'differentials must be maintained'. T & GWU and NUGMW workers are on production, the AEU and ETU are on maintenance, therefore, they can't earn. In January the maintenance men were granted 10/6d. bonus in lieu, this was after a struggle. Now, according to reports, the production workers want a 10/6d. increase to maintain the differential.

The employers claim this is a union affair and calmly place the ball at the feet of the unions. The employers gave the AEU and ETU three months' notice to terminate existing agreements with them, and said there would be no further negotiations unless the other unions were present.

1964, and although brick makers can't make enough bricks quick enough, four unions are playing silly buggers when, united at rank and file level, they could demand the earth and get it.

B.C.

## ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM THE WORKERS' NEXT STEP 7

### THE MEANS OF STRUGGLE

SINCE Anarcho-Syndicalists wish to see workers responsible for running their own industries, the means they advocate for achieving that end are those which depend upon the initiative and responsibility of the workers. It is plainly foolish to put control in the hands of minorities and think thereby that the majority will learn to exercise control of themselves. While someone else is running your life for you, you will never learn to run it yourself!

For this reason, and for the arguments I have already put forward against political action, Syndicalists have developed means of *direct action*. These are, in fact, the means to which workers naturally turn when they are forced to take action themselves, and it is either by the use of these means or by the threat of their use, that all real advances in working-class conditions have been made.

These means are the strike, in all its various forms (culminating in the social general strike), the boycott and sabotage. Let us deal with the second of these first.

### THE BOYCOTT

When a member of a group, or a family, offends the other members, they quite naturally shun him, until the quarrel has blown over. The boycott extends this automatic withdrawal of social contact into a conscious means of bringing moral pressure to bear upon one who has performed an unjust act.

The boycott began in Ireland, when, during a time of bitter social strife, a landlord's spiteful evictions turned a whole countryside against him. So his servants left him, nobody would work his land for him, the tradesmen wouldn't serve him; he was made to feel a social outcast and was eventually driven away. His name was Captain Boycott, and ever since then, whenever workers have refused to deal in any way with a company, a shop, an individual, it has been called a 'boycott'.

In Britain, in 1950, the price of fish was decontrolled. Immediately prices began to shoot up, but housewives retaliated by boycotting the fish-shops until prices came back to something near what they were prepared to pay. They very soon did.

In Spain, in 1951, the tramways corporation in Barcelona declared an increase in fares of 40%. The Spanish workers walked to work—in some cases a distance of five or six miles—and walked home again at night. Not just some of them—all of them walked, and the trams ran completely empty for a whole week, until the company capitulated and went back to the old fares.

These are just two examples; working-class history is full of others. Appeals to their respective governments in either of these cases would have been fruitless—but direct action was effective.

### THE STRIKE

As is already perfectly clear, the workers are indispensable. Industry cannot operate without them, and so their greatest weapon is the withdrawal of their labour. Striking has always been and always must be the most effective action the working-class can take, but Syndicalists have much more up their sleeve than the simple walk-out strike. In fact, the protracted stay-out strike is one in which the workers suffer most—especially nowadays when nearly all strikes are unofficial and the unions pay out no strike-pay.

During the long period of preparation for the final taking-over of industry, the workers should regard themselves as engaged in guerrilla warfare with the employing class. As such, it is much more effective to stage a number of short lightning strikes, than a long one where the strikers might be starved back to work on the boss's terms. The *lightning strike* is one where no warning is given, so that the boss has no time to prepare by organising his blacklegs or stocking up or getting rid of materials which would be strike-bound. The existing regulation under which 21 days' notice of strike must be given in advance is precisely so that this can be done. Why should the workers give the boss this advantage?

Since the aim of the workers should be to take over industry, they will learn more by staying inside the premises in time of dispute than by walking out. This has been developed in the *stay-in strike*, wherein the workers fold their arms and refuse to work, but stay at their places of work.

P.S.

(To be continued)