

### ONE WORLD AT A TIME!

IT IS RECORDED of some French rationalist that on his deathbed he was importuned by a priest (as is frequently the case) to bethink himself of the next world. More in sorrow than in anger he retorted, 'One world at a time, my friend,' and forthwith expired.

In a like manner the scientists of today, who are but the old priests writ large, exhort us to bethink ourselves of outer space, of the world beyond the stars. The Russians, being so scientific and materialist in their outlook, are particularly prone to think on these things. It was recently reported, although subsequently damped down, that Russians had picked up signals from outer space on their radio-telescope which were regular in their pattern indicating that they came from other civilizations.

Capitalist countries may have exhorted a diet of hay and promised pie in the sky but Russia seems to be the one country with a diet of hay (if the harvest doesn't fail) and a mechanical pie in the sky.

In the same way, but less efficiently, the capitalistic countries shoot loads of ironmongery, radio stations, nuclear power stations, pins and needles and monkeys, mice and men, into outer space, the whole accompanied by a profusion of scientific talk which baffles the meanest intelligence.

There is a theory, plugged at one time by the *New Daily* that it is all a hoax; that nobody ever gets in touch with outer space, that nobody has voyaged into space—at least, as far as the *New Daily* was concerned, not the Russians. Sometimes it seems reasonable that it is all a hoax cooked up by the scientists. They have all the expert knowledge and cannot be contradicted in this field.

Discarding this tempting theory, we are left with the question, What are they up to? The usefulness of such projects is doubtful except as a lofty long-term programme or as a rather sordid short-term programme connected with the military usage of such devices as rockets. It will be recalled that the late Adolf Hitler had a series of such devices culminating, if we are to believe the scientists (as we must), in a reflecting-burning-glass located in outer space which would burn up the opposing forces.

One is led to think of scientists of unworlly humanistic humane dreamers, slightly absent-minded and completely humourless; one now glimpses them as power-hungry, status-conscious, callous,

materialistic, cynical, plotting jokers. They, in search of a powerful position in society have succeeded in kidding the military and the politicians that their subsidized experiments in space are militarily useful. They have even a long-range line of sales talk about colonizing outer space and a loftier pitch about 'pure research', when all else fails.

One of the clichés nurtured by this age is of the 'affluent society'. True to the age's deforming tendencies the phrase has been twisted from its true meaning; the criticism implied in 'the affluent society' is that of private affluence and public squalor. It will be observed that the faster we travel through space, the slower we crawl on the ground. The more money we spend on such projects, the less seems available for social services (there is a school of progressive thought which believes that if less were spent on space-research more would be available for social services).

It may just be one of the quirks of the uneven development of capitalism that progress is so patchy, and eventually it will all even itself out. The more optimistic feel that with the end of capitalism will come the end of uneven development and society will move in well-ordered grooves. The Soviet Union seems to be a riposte to that solution, but the labelling by the ultra-left of the Soviet system as 'State capitalism' seems to solve, or at least, side-track that problem.

The psychologist, William James, made a rather unfortunate contribution to pacifist thought when he suggested we might find 'a moral equivalent of war'. The 'space-race', as it has been called, may be considered as the 'cosmological equivalent of war'. Could not national honour and prestige be satisfied by achievements in space? Have not relationships improved between America and Russia because the 'space-race' has sublimated their aggressive instincts?

This is an interesting speculation but it is far more probable that 'space' is the continuation of war by other means, to adopt Clausewitz, and that the military uses of space research will be used fully and the residue of discoveries which may, or may not be of peaceful use will be discarded. In the same way the 'peaceful uses of atomic energy' seem to have been minimized whilst the military uses have gone on apace.

The situation is illustrative of what happens when man ceases to have control or responsibility with regard to events and retreats to a world of deep space of specialists whether scientists, military men or politicians. The answer is simple whether the other world offered is Heaven or Venus—the answer is 'one world at a time my friend'. The world we live in now.

JACK ROBINSON.

### ANARCHY 52

DISCUSSES

### The Limits of Pacifism

ANARCHY is Published by Freedom Press at 2s. on the first Saturday of every month

# Dollars Won't Buy Everything

THE Organisation of American States has announced it will pay all the salaries of the Dominican Civil Servants and soldiers no matter whose side the latter are on. \$6 million is the sum mentioned. Before one tries to decide who is the philanthropic society, the Americans or the OAS, the people who are being looked after are the basic props of the establishment. Keep these people happy and the 'system' will prevail no matter who is in charge.

The Communist label pinned on the rebels is causing the Americans more embarrassment than enough. They are slowly being forced to accept the fact, that the 'rebels' must be represented in some sort of government or other, but they (the Americans) are sharply reminded by Imbert's military junta, that the Americans intervened on their own say so 'to prevent a communist take-over' now they want Imbert to join up with the 'so-called' communists.

Juan Bosch, ex-President of the Dominican Republic, in whose name the revolution started, is still in Puerto Rico, and it appears he has no intention of returning home. It is always safest to make the bullets, firing them leaves one open to getting killed.

President Johnson's chief 'hatchet man', McGeorge Bundy, is working very hard to do a deal. He didn't shape too well in Vietnam. The man he is trying to put in the president's seat is Guzman, former Minister in the Bosch regime.

Guzman has had many discussions with Bundy and they had practically agreed on a 'cabinet' then something went wrong. Obviously the head thieves were not getting the right cut. Imbert, the American puppet, would not respond correctly to the pulling of the strings. He has the Americans by the short hairs and they know it. It is more than America dare do to 'pull him into line'. He is carrying out the job exactly as they originally

planned it. The Dominican situation has the stench of chicanery, intrigue and simple bloody murder. Even at the United Nations the Americans couldn't bluff their way out of trouble. Adlai Stevenson first claimed that US intervention in

Dominica was on humanitarian grounds, then a danger of communism, and finally the US was strictly neutral in the whole affair. Whilst the 'ducking and diving' goes on, what about the 'Dominicans'? The people who are virtually starving? The people who revolted and were clobbered by American intervention? Will things be any different for them? Unfortunately, no! Presidents come and go, but the people starve forever.

Dr. Jaime Benitez, Rector of Puerto Rico University, summed up the situation when he stated, 'When I walked round the rebel zone I got a sense of a lot of young men who had suddenly found a cause to live for. And, paradoxically, one of the basic ingredients in the situation is that, to their amazement, the United States found people here who are ready, literally, to be killed for what they believed in.' (The Observer 6.6.65.)

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

## Where is Stalinalee?

### IN MEMORIAM JUNE 15 1953

TWELVE YEARS AGO, on June 16, 1953, East German history made the gravest ideological error: the workers, as one, rose up against the 'workers state'. The East German Uprising, overshadowed by the Hungarian Revolution three years later, has regrettably been overlooked by historians, and more regrettably by anarchists, since a study of this revolt not only casts a revealing light on the nature of State Capitalism, but leaves valuable lessons for posterity.

In June, 1945, the East German Communists gained control on the bandwagon of the later-liquidated Social Democratic Party. Scarcely had the eighteen millions begun to live again than the same regimentation as before set in. Ulbricht launched The Two Year Plan in January, 1949, and followed it by an even mightier monster, the Five Year Plan, embracing all aspects of social and economic life. True, they can point to amazing successes, but the conditions of the East German worker remained relatively unchanged. He had no say in the running of the factory, no control over his own life. The East German Communists rightly feared invasion from the West, but in building a centralized totalitarian State they incubated the very disease they wished to destroy—the subjugation of working peoples to a police dictatorship. Class divisions did not narrow—they widened—between the order-givers and the order-takers. Wage divisions were equally extreme: an unskilled electrician was earning £4 a week while 'highly qualified technicians' would be paid weekly salaries of £75 and over. The collectivization of the farms led to a mass exodus of 22,852 farmers in four months. The pace did not slacken off until March,

1953, when Stalin died and the East German leaders admitted to certain vague 'ideological errors' and 'economic miscalculations'. As Bertold Brecht commented: 'Despite most zealous reflection, they could not recall the precise nature of their mistakes; passionately, however, they claimed to have made them—as is the custom.' The easing-off, however, was not enough to prevent the Party's Central Committee from recommending a general raising of working-norms, by an average of 10%. The workers' backs were already bent enough trying to fulfill the targets of the Plan. The revolt came when wages, now calculated according to the new norms, were to be backdated one month.

To the men on the Stalinalee building works, this was sheer robbery; as for their union official, he curtly told them that the backdating was not a contribution to discussion, but an order. His remark was punctuated by the dropping of tools.

#### WEST GERMAN SABOTEURS?

The morning of June 16 heralded a greater and more damaging revolt than any number of 'West German saboteurs' could organize. By 10.30 a.m. the bricklayers on the Stalinalee had formed up and were already marching towards the Government buildings in the centre of the city. Workers on the neighbouring sites look up, drop tools, and with scarcely a word, join in; from the other sites men shin down the scaffolding and run to join the strikers. A detour is

made to the Marx-Engels Platz, where six hundred more join in. Three abreast becomes six abreast . . . six abreast becomes nine . . . nine becomes twelve till the whole street is taken. In the Square outside the 'House of the Ministries' a young striker jumps onto the platform. 'It's not only a question of norms and prices', he shouts. 'We're not just from the Stalinalee, we're from all over Berlin.' A dramatic pause and then: 'This is a rising. The Government has made mistakes and must take the consequences.'

A chain reaction spread throughout East Germany. From Berlin to Magdeburg, Solidarity spread and assumed the force of law. In 350 towns and villages there were strikes, demonstrations and rallies where demands for immediate measures to reduce the cost of living, free and secret elections, and payment according to the 'old' norms were put forward. In some towns, strike committees took over the task of public administration, but within three days Soviet Army intervention suppressed the uprising. Berlin was a typical example, where Soviet tanks scattered workers' processions throughout the city and patrolled the public squares to prevent any re-assembly. The real damage against the Ulbricht regime, however, had been done, and though the death sentence was not executed on the Government, it had been passed—unanimously.

#### 'STRIKING AGAINST THEMSELVES'

Several observations are inescapable throughout the whole rising. Firstly, it was a working class achievement. Unlike the Hungarian Uprising three years later, the middle classes and intelligentsia formed up behind the workers, and not

Continued on page 2

## Seeing Red

up more than 43 subversives. For this I pay taxes!!

Meanwhile the other cretin, one Charles E. Moore, divulged that 'real Communists had stayed in the background working mainly through others to whip student demonstrators to a type of frenzy'. Actually they sat down with quiet determination, but maybe he thinks they're endowed with frenetic backsides. The 'others' through whom the Communists worked included many from 'unusual backgrounds'. He went on to complain that 'some magazines had published sympathetic articles portraying the student rebellion as a demonstration for their rights'. In reality, he pointed out, the demonstration was a sinister device which 'provided the

Reds with an exercise in crowd manipulation and how to contend with the police by trying to make them seem the tactical enemy'. (The policeman is my friend. The policeman is my friend. The policeman. . .)

Then J. Adled Hoocher—J as in Jeremiah—leaped back into the act with the following warning: 'In regard to the Communist bloc espionage attack against this country, there has been no let up whatsoever. Our government is about to allow them to establish consulates in many parts of the country which, of course, will make our work more difficult'. In other words it will take Hoover longer to get us into World War IV. (I've got nothing against J. Edgar personally, but I wouldn't want

him to marry my brother.)

One name that kept cropping up in the article was that of Bettina Aptheker, who is the daughter of Herbert Aptheker, a leading Communist Party theoretician. She was quite an activist out there.

A rather discouraging fact was mentioned in the article: only 20 of the 274 groups on the Attorney General's List of Subversive Organizations, as it's popularly known, are considered to be currently active. On the bright side, however, was the testimony of Dr. Stefan Possony who is an 'authority on Communist tactics'. He informed the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that 'the radicalization of American youth is proceeding beyond the wildest expectations of the Communists'. He said that the result was not exactly what the Communists had envisioned because it included a rebellion against the old-line Communists and 'actually bordered on anarchy'. Things are looking up.

R.S.C.



# WHY GO TO FOYLE'S?

YOU HELP FREEDOM IF YOU GET YOUR BOOKS FROM US

**NEW BOOKS**  
Rebel in Paradise Richard Drinnon 44/6  
Come Out to Play Alex Comfort 16/-  
Growing up Absurd Paul Goodman 21/-  
Anarchy and Order Herbert Read 16/-  
The Anarchists James Joll 35/-  
Anarchist Thought in India Adi H. Doctor 18/-

**REPRINTS AND CHEAP EDITIONS**  
Mr. Lydward's Answer Michael Burn 12/6

The Death Ship B. Traven 3/6  
Communitas Paul and Percival Goodman 12/-

Anarchism George Woodcock 7/6

Revolution: Five Centuries of Europe in Conflict (ed.) Charles H. George 6/-

The Political Philosophy of Bakunin (ed.) G. P. Maximoff 25/-

Homage to Catalonia George Orwell 3/6

The Art of Loving Erich Fromm 4/6

Fear of Freedom Erich Fromm 7/6

The Sane Society Erich Fromm 12/6

Does God Exist? Sebastian Faure 1/3

The Root is Man Dwight MacDonald 4/6

Socialism and State Rudolf Rocker 1/3

**REMAINDERS**  
William Thompson Richard K. P. Pankhurst 5/-

A Hundred Years of Revolution (ed.) George Woodcock 5/-

No Gold On My Shovel Ifan Edwards 1/6

The Barns Experiment W. David Wills 3/6

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon George Woodcock 12/6

Postage extra on order under 20/-  
Gift of Books: Edgware: M.K.

## Freedom Bookshop

(Open 2 p.m.—5.30 p.m. daily;  
10 a.m.—1 p.m. Thursdays;  
10 a.m.—5 p.m. Saturdays).

17a MAXWELL ROAD  
FULHAM SW6 Tel: REN 3736

## FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

**SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM'**  
Vol 2 1952: Postscript to Posterity  
Vol 3 1953: Colonialism on Trial  
Vol 4 1954: Living on a Volcano  
Vol 5 1955: The Immoral Moralists  
Vol 6 1956: Oil and Troubled Waters  
Vol 7 1957: Year One—Sputnik Era  
Vol 8 1958: Socialism in a Wheelchair  
Vol 9 1959: Print, Press & Public  
Vol 10 1960: The Tragedy of Africa  
Vol 11 1961: The People in the Street  
Vol 12 1962: Pilkington v. Beeching  
Each volume: paper 7/6 cloth 10/6  
The paper edition of the Selections is available to readers of FREEDOM at 5/6 post free.

**E. MALATESTA**  
Anarchy Paper 1/-

**PROUDHON**  
What is Property? cloth 42/-

**ALEXANDER BERKMAN**  
ABC of Anarchism paper 2/6

**HERBERT READ**  
Poetry & Anarchism paper 2/6

**ALEX COMFORT**  
Delinquency 6d.

**PAUL ELTZBACHER**  
Anarchism (Seven Exponents of the Anarchist Philosophy) cloth 21/-

**RUDOLF ROCKER**  
Nationalism and Culture cloth 21/-

**CHARLES MARTIN**  
Towards a Free Society 2/6

**JOHN HEWETSON**  
Ill-Health, Poverty and the State cloth 2/6 paper 1/-

**VOLINE**  
Nineteen-Seventeen (The Russian Revolution Betrayed) cloth 12/6  
The Unknown Revolution (Kronstadt 1921, Ukraine 1918-21) cloth 12/6

**E. A. GUTKIND**  
The Expanding Environment (illustrated) boards 8/6

**GEORGE BARRETT**  
The First Person (Selections) 2/6

# ARMY 'AT HOME' TO ANARCHISTS

MEMBERS of the West Midlands Committee of 100 and Birmingham Anarchist Group accepted the kind invitation of the Officer Commanding, The Fusilier Brigade Depot, St. George's Barracks, Sutton Coldfield, to attend his Open Day last Saturday.

We were interested to watch next year's generation of juvenile delinquents crawling all over the land rovers and armoured cars, taking turns to aim a machine gun, and shooting at man-sized targets on the thirty yards range. Shades of TV violence, 'Cheyenne' has nothing on this mob.

We were pleased to note the modern buildings, expensive clothing, quiet manner of the staff, and vast amounts of sports equipment (ski-ing, archery, skin diving, model trains and the like) given to today's boy soldiers in their first three months of service (they can change their minds at any time during this period, but not after arrival at their battalion)—it was all so different to the army of one's National Service. One almost felt it would 'be a man's life' in all its pleasant aspects. So much was done to make life pleasant. No one mentioned anything about killing, about the long hard marches, the trench warfare, about one's survival chances, about one's difficulty of finding a job on leaving. Life seemed one long holiday. They even had a school on the campus (sorry camp). Bull seemed to have been reduced to a minimum.

In view of all this it seems so surprising that both army and police should have objected to the handing out of a few little pamphlets (the Hampstead ones). Were not 'our gallant troops' equipped to handle the sophistries therein—why then do they bother to teach them to read (many are illiterate on arrival—though an education officer told us these were mainly immigrants—from our colonies [?]).

## SUNSHINE FOR ANARCHISTS ?

OUR comrades in Bath have made the final preparations for this year's trial participation in the Bath Festival. The address of the summer camp is Stantonbury Farm, Corston Fields, near Bath. It is on the A39 Bath to Wells road—on the right hand side—look for red and black markers (beware of TA and other army units using the same colour scheme). There are many spacious tents but you will have to provide your own food and bedding.

The entertainment (planned) had to be within the rather small resources of the few enthusiasts gathered round Comrade Nicholson, but they include three nights of cabaret and film shows; a painting exhibition by the river bank in Bath near Pulteney bridge; a Spanish dance and music fiesta this coming Sunday; street corner poetry readings, etc. Bring your own tent if you wish.

The organisers hope for a large gathering from now to June 20. Come for a day or a week.

J. RETY.

### London Anarchist Group/1

"Lamb and Flag", Rose Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2 (near Garrick and King Streets: Leicester Square tube), 7.45 p.m. All welcome

### SUNDAYS

JUNE 13 Alan Albon  
Humbuggery.

JUNE 20

Subject to be announced.

JUNE 27 Anthony Grey  
Homosexual Law Reform.

### London Anarchist Group/2

Public Meetings every Sunday Hyde Park 3 p.m. Correspondence to J. Rety, 10 Gilbert Place, W.C.1.

**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.

### OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rum-bold 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 Ams-

bury 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)

## Red Caps Can't Sing

THE London Committee of 100 and CND organised a march on Saturday, May 29, from Speakers' Corner to Trafalgar Square, to 'Demand an Immediate Break with American War Policy', for 'Open and Independent Action by the British Government, for a Cease Fire, for Negotiations', etc., etc. The star attraction was Joan Baez ('American Folk Singer and Freedom Marcher'). With these nebulous demands and 1,500 strong the column set off, containing about four anarchist groups and Private Barry Easter, of REME, based at Bordon, Hampshire.

As we approached the National Gallery side of the Square, a small band of Red Caps moved forward and asked Private

seemed to lose their composure at one point, when to a question: 'Have you any pamphlets?', we returned all of their pamphlets, which we had collected to prevent them falling into the wrong hands (replacing them with ours). We feel that our pamphlets will keep turning up in the oddest places for a very long time to come, no doubt to the pleasure of future recruits.

One thing however we do not understand. Just what is the purpose of a small building away from the rest with a thick concrete roof, labelled: 'Gas Chamber'? Do you think it has anything to do with the RSG set-up? Sort of, getting rid of the radiation-overdosed non-bodies??? Or is it something to do with testing tear-gas respirators?

PETER NEVILLE.

Easter to come with them. He refused and continued towards the Square, carrying a 'Servicemen against War in Vietnam' placard. All comrades and others linked arms around him. The Red Caps then moved in, helped by 'K' division civilian police (based on Cannon Row Police Station). A few comrades resisted the police with violence but unfortunately they were not enough to prevent the arrest of Private Easter and five other demonstrators.

Joan Baez and Donovan sang a few songs. Peter Cadogan pointed out that the Red Caps were not allowed to touch civilians and the meeting ended.

J.B.

## WHERE IS STALINALEE?

Continued from page 1  
in front of them as Marxists would have it. For the Ulbricht regime, this was the most damaging fact. It is argued that under 'a workers' government' there can never be any strike by the working class, since the workers 'would only be striking against themselves'. The East German Uprising showed just how remote and alienated the bureaucracy and ruling class were from the interests of its subjects. The very autonomy and independence of the ruling class necessitated an Uprising, because all other means of expression had been denied to the East German people; there was no other course of action.

Secondly, it clearly revealed that under a totalitarian government the meanest demand resolves itself into a revolutionary objective. Thus the simple demand for a reduction in the norms transformed itself overnight into a demand for the Government's removal. There was not a factory or town in East Germany in which free and secret elections were not a cardinal issue. Fundamentally, the whole Uprising centred round a simple desire to live like human beings. The East German regime trembled at this since its whole existence was geared to translating human lives into units of production. The Plans did not elevate the status of the worker; they harnessed him; they made no provision for humanity. For failure, weakness, anger, joy, sorrow, laughter. The very concept of Individuality was eliminated. Ironic, therefore,

that the East German Government should explain the Uprising away in terms of 'fascist provocateurs', and 'Nazi criminals'; ironic because the very regime itself was not far removed from the tyranny it claimed to replace.

### THOUSANDS ACTING AS ONE

Thirdly, the fact that the whole of East Germany rose in open revolt within 48 hours is of tremendous significance. From the Stalinalee to 350 towns and villages thousands of individuals, irrespective of origin, character, sex or class, acted as ONE. They achieved in one day what the East German leaders had been claiming to do for eight years—forge a classless society. The bureaucracy had succeeded in uniting all classes of the population against them. The Polish and Hungarian Revolts took much the same pattern; it therefore appears as if (in industrialized Europe at any rate) we are witnessing an entirely new phenomenon: a truly classless revolution, for the stage has been reached when increased bureaucratization of Life, automation, more efficient mechanization (and now the introduction of cybernetics) is alienating both the middle and working class strata of society. The de-personalization of work, and the growing redundancy of the human being, has transformed the original class struggle into a struggle of human beings against inhuman society, a struggle graduating from a purely economic plane on to a social one.

## Police Break Up Faster!

LEGAL AID does not apply to Police Court cases in Scotland, but we managed to get an hour's conversation with a friendly lawyer, which was of considerable help. We thus had to defend ourselves when we came up for trial on May 26, only to find that part of the charge, relating to the 'illegal' demonstration, had been dropped. The Burgh Prosecutor had obviously decided that the charge was too weak to press. He then produced five police witnesses, including an inspector, to prove that a cap belonging to one of our friends had been out in front of us to collect money. They agreed on everything except the position of the cap; distances of from 1-2 feet to 4-5 yards were given, thus casting doubt on the rest of their evidence (four yards would be the middle of the High Street).

The first defence witness was set upon by the Burgh Prosecutor, who, finding that he could intimidate him, lost his temper (not for the first time in his career) and was told off by the Clerk of the Court for doing so.

A break for lunch was then called, presumably to let him cool off. Then more witnesses on our side and the case was found 'Not Proven.' At this point the Burgh Prosecutor fell through the floor and asked for a 'stated case' (an appeal). Although the case may yet go against us, we hope that our success so far will encourage others in similar circumstances.

TONY HUGHES,  
MICHAEL MALET,  
UNA STEPHENSON,  
on behalf of Dundee YCND  
and Dundee Committee of 100.

The success or failure of the East German revolt is of no import here; that there was an uprising is of tantamount importance. Because it took place and, because it was possible, it implied a defeat of those whom the insurrectionaries sought to overthrow. Now, twelve years later, not more than a hundred yards beyond the East Berlin Wall runs a long street, dusty, unobtrusive, ominously quiet. The guides will not tell you that it changed its name—but it did—from Stalinalee to Karl-Marx Allee. Once again, History stands corrected.

And the future? There is little room for optimism. The growing demands for German Unity, put forward by the West German Government, and amplified by a mighty range of the latest American weapons, put the people of the Eastern sector in a compromising position. Should the events of June, 1953, repeat themselves, it is more than likely the West Germans will use it as a pretext for launching their 'great unifying mission'. East Germany has certainly reason to fear Bonn; the German army is now equipped with 'tactical' and 'strategic' nuclear weapons, and there can be little doubt about their intentions for using them. It is up to Ulbricht; he must be made to realize his great Republic is not the mighty alternative to Fascism he believes it to be. The sooner he realizes that the only defence for East Germany rests, in the last analysis, in the hands of the East German people, and that their interests must come first (even before those of the Cominform), the better for Eastern Germany—and the peace of all Europe.

BILL JAMIESON.

### PROPOSED GROUPS

**NORTHOLT ANARCHISTS.** Projected formation of group contact Jim Huggins, 173 Kingshill Avenue, Northolt, Middlesex or Miss Jean McLean, 6 Epsom Close, Northolt Park, Middlesex.

**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 Stotfold Road, Arlesey, Beds.

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

**HULL & YORKSHIRE (East Riding).** Anyone interested in forming anarchist group contact R. A. Baker, 6 The Oval, Chestnut Avenue, Willerby, E. Yorks. Phone: Hull 58543.

**SUNDERLAND (Co. Durham).** Proposed Anarchist Discussion Group. (Syndicalists welcome) at Geoff. Edwards, 'Side House', St. George's Terrace, Roker, Sunderland, Co. Durham.

**GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP.** Correspondence: Joe Embleton, top Left, 11 Balford Street, Glasgow.  
Meetings at Horseshoe Bar, Drury Street, Tuesdays at 8 p.m.  
**MANCHESTER & SALFORD ANARCHIST GROUP.** For information contact c/o 4 Ouse St., Weaste, Salford 5, Lancs. Open air meetings Sundays at Old Shambles, Victoria St. at 8 p.m. FREEDOM selling Saturday afternoon, Central Library.  
**OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION GROUP.** Every Wednesday at Jack Geraghty's, 8 York Road, Manchester, 21.  
**MERSEYSIDE FEDERATION.** Enquiries: Barbara Renshaw, 4 Clarence Road, Devonshire Park, Birkenhead, Cheshire.  
**ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP.** Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.  
**OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact H. G. Mellor, Merton College, Oxford.  
**SURREY ANARCHISTS** are invited to meetings on the first Thursday of every month at Chris Torrance's (63 North Street, Carshalton, Surrey—please ring three times) and on the 3rd Thursday of every month at M. Dykes, 8 Court Drive, Sutton, Surrey. Both meetings 7.30 p.m.



'YOU'RE BLEEDIN' well soft, mate,' he said; 'you just don't know nuffin'.' We stood in the Pentonville Road, outside the great thick walls of the newly-built prison there, and watched the carts lumbering up the dung-strewn road. It was Saturday evening and we had no money for beer.

'But I think that's a very good idea of mine about books,' I went on. 'Lots more people can read nowadays. We could read to educate ourselves, or for entertainment, or simply to pass the time when we've got nothing better to do—like now. A book is not like a glass of beer or a wad of tobacco; hundreds, thousands of men can get enjoyment from it one after another—and the book is still there to go on being enjoyed.'

'Like an 'ore you mean,' he said with a leer. 'Yes I enjoy a good read meself—as well as the other. I often gets a paper of a Sunday and it keeps me 'appy for hours. When I was a kid I used to read books, oh yes, all I could lay me 'ands on. But they cost money; they're a rich man's pleasure and always will be. That idea of yours now, you couldn't organize it, see. You'd need libraries of books like the rich 'ave, and you don't tell me you'd 'ave a mob of men crowdin' in for a read of an evening like into a boozery. Would you make 'em pay at the door? Some would complain 'cause others 'ad read more for their money than they 'ad—and what would you do if two men wanted the same book? They'd start fightin' in your library, they would. You just couldn't organize a reading-shop like that, you couldn't.'

He was always quick to seize upon and criticise the ideas of anyone else, particularly those ideas concerned with a happier future. Yet he was an intelligent man, far brighter than any of my other poor work-mates. He had been a Chartist in his time, but after the failure of that movement all he had left was bitterness and a contempt for the working man.

'No, I would not try to organize libraries like that,' I continued, 'for one thing the libraries would be free to all—you would not pay at the door.'

'You're off your nut.' 'Have you ever heard of the free libraries at Mechanics' Institutes? Not all the well-to-do are selfish hogs; some benefactors have given quite large quantities of books to stock these libraries.'

'Well as a matter of fact I 'ave heard of 'em, and used them. Never seen such a collection of useless books in me life. Religious trash, unreadable treatises on astronomy, out-of-date memoirs of pompous nit-wits, in short all the lumber that's been cleared off shelves and took up room in rich men's attics. Don't you give me none of that line, mate. I know. They may give the likes of us something to elevate our minds, or turn our thoughts to God, or such-like, but they don't want us to educate ourselves, bloody Jesus no! We might start asking questions then!'

'Well perhaps you're right that books given in charity are not of the best. But surely, working men could club together to buy books. Or indeed we could demand that books be bought and libraries built out of the public funds to which we contribute. Water, drainage, street paving and lighting are considered public necessities, and all of us contribute to them in rates or through the rents we pay. Why not books? They should be considered a public necessity.'

'Look mate, the've made us pay for this,' he slapped the newly built prison

wall, 'and this 'ere's something that can be organized. The boss class organize it. But can you see the working man organizing or respecting a free public library?'

'Yes, I can—in time. I would have them quite free. Men, women and children could go in and not only read there, but take a book or two home to their dwellings to read at their leisure. Children could improve their scholarship and enlarge their understanding, artisans could study and improve their understanding of their trade, and all should read for pleasure. Why are things costly and restricted to a few? Because of shortage. But with knowledge or literary fantasy there can be no restriction. The printing press can strike out a million copies of one man's book, and all that is added is the cost of paper and some extra labour. Books should be in plenty; all should have access. Then no one will need to wish to steal them. When the library users had read a book they would wish to read yet another, and in going to get a new book they would return the old as being of no further interest to them.'

'If you provided a million, million books they'd all vanish in a week, I tell you. It's 'uman nature. The average man gets away with all 'e can. If you let 'im take something away 'e keeps it. When 'e's read a book 'e tries and sell it, or burn it for fuel, or tear it up to use in the bog. Why do you think they build bloody great prisons like this except because 'uman nature is what it is? Rich or poor, we're all alike.'

'I think that human nature takes many forms depending on the circumstances in which we live. This prison is an act of war, the war of the rich against the poor and desperate. But I do not think it always need be thus. We have talked in the past of the free society and you have always mocked me. Yet you yourself were once campaigning with the Chartists, and all that drove you to such work was another side of human nature—the desire to live in justice and freedom.'

'Don't you tell me nothin' about Chartists—' he broke out in anger, but I went on—

'When I talk of the free society, I mean nothing that is against human nature. Selfishness, or what is apparently so, is even a good thing if it gives us a pride in ourselves and in our own value. Looking around me I see too much abject, cap-doffing selflessness. If these men with whom we work had a proper sense of their own interest we would no longer have to work for starvation wages, but stand up to those who buy and sell us. But to get back to my libraries, I am sure that soon they would command such a public respect that—'

'Ah, it's your free society socialism breaking through again is it? You can't see 'ow the Government is to be overthrown or the capitalists dispossessed, so you lets your fantasy rip on free libraries and such like, to take your mind off the fact of this 'ere prison; the fact that things 'ave come to stay. I'll believe in the possibility of your free society, mate, the faint dim possibility of your free society, when I see the working man, 'is wife and kids going into one of them free public libraries you been talking about. But cor stone the crows, you don't know the first bleedin' thing!'

'Maybe I know things that have never dawned on you, for all your experience,' I said. 'Maybe the free libraries are not such a pipe dream as you imagine, and that their coming will have more relevance to achieving a free society than that great Charter which you carried to Parliament to be mocked at!'

## Price of a General Election Vote is also rising—Times

SECRET NEGOTIATIONS between Whitehall and the Kremlin are reported to transfer the bones of Nikolai Ogarev, Russian revolutionary poet buried at Shooters' Hill, Greenwich, to Moscow; at the same time negotiations are afoot in France to move Alexander Herzen's remains to Moscow. A rumour is reported in the *Sunday Telegraph* (as news) that the *Daily Worker's* future is uncertain, the Italian Communist Party feel that their declining support is due to too much emphasis on day-to-day wage struggles. . . .

THREE MISSING CHILDREN were disappointingly found alive and well in Notting Hill and refused to tell the truth behind their disappearance—even to the *People*. Sonny Liston, whose share of the purse was withheld, declined to let himself fight for longer than two minutes against Cassius Clay, even for seven million British viewers, but Senator Martin's frog won the championship of Calaveras County, California, with a leap of 9 feet 1 inch. Britons were accused of 'grave irregularities' in world

bridge championship and Russians were suspected of dodging tennis matches against South Africa. As a sporting gesture the Conservative chairman of the Committee stage of the Finance Bill voted with the Labour Party after a dead-heat in the voting. Labour Party MPs claim not to have known that the bell tolled for a division. . . .

THE HOUSE OF LORDS gave second reading to a private member's bill which aims to make homosexual conduct between consenting adults in private no longer an offence (this is a recommendation of the Wolfenden Committee). The House of Commons declined to give time (under the ten-minute rule) to a private member's similar bill. Opposition in the Lords came from Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery, who said he had heard that such practices were allowed in France and other Nato countries, but exclaimed amid cheers, 'We are not French and we are not other nationals. We are British, thank God.' General Sir Richard Gale speaking on conscription in BBC's *Panorama* said if

they sent men overseas for only six months they would get a 'Bugger's muddle'. Jamie Copeland, a TV actor, who muffed his lines in a Derby Day poem said, 'Oh Christ!'. Richard Dimbleby (whose vision but not sound was cut off on TV) said, 'Jesus wept'. . . . 3,500 MEMBERS of the National Association of Colliery Overmen, Deputies and Shotfirers went on strike after a colliery deputy was disciplined for swearing at a miner. BEA was sabotaged over Whitsun by unofficial strike of luggage loaders. The chairman of BEA sacked the 300 porters and referred to the strike as a 'ludicrous form of anarchy'. 800 Indians and Pakistanis went on unofficial strike at Courtaulds, Preston, when it was proposed to increase the number of machines they would attend to. One of their leaders said, 'We have no faith in the union at all.' . . .

A WEST INDIAN in Rowley Regis refused to re-consider his purchase of a house on an all-white estate although he was approached by the Residents' Association. A Greek-Cypriot immigrant who has spent most of his life in Egypt was turned back twice at Durban, South Africa, because his skin was too dark as he was sunburned. He has now been given a temporary residence permit while his case is investigated. . . .

THE UNITED STATES Supreme Court ruled that if Communist countries send propaganda material to Americans, the Post Office has to deliver it. It holds that the present practice of withholding mail until asked for is an unconstitutional infringement of the right to free speech. The British Postmaster General is said to be considering the reduction of postal deliveries to one per day, and giving priority in delivery to business districts. . . .

THE RUSSIANS claim to have invented a synthetic caviare. According to *Newsweek*, ballet dancer Rudolf Nureyev, spent part of the evening at the opening of a New York discotheque not participating in the Frog, the Mule, the Jerk, the Candy, the Crazy Elephant or any of the other esoteric dances, but in (if we are to believe *Newsweek*) 'nuzzling a model named Susan Hoffman'. . . As she put it, 'He can't dance a damn step.'

JON QUIXOTE.

## Sibelius: Man and Universe

IF RHYTHM AND blues jazz fans are finding an unprecedented strain on their finances recently, lovers of the music of Jean Sibelius must be facing near bankruptcy. 1965 is Sibelius' centenary year and as well as new record releases, the composer is to be featured prominently in this year's Edinburgh Festival.

Of modern composers, Sibelius has aroused more controversy than any other—especially so in left-wing circles. No one who has listened to the more widely known of his works would deny their inherent nationalism and essentially Finnish character any more than one who has read biographies of the man would fail to notice his right-wing tendencies and open contempt of Bolshevism. The peak of Sibelius' composition coincided with a period in Finland's history in which the threat of Russian invasion hung ominously over the whole country. His music reflected not only the fear and uncertainty of his countrymen, but their newly awoken interest in their country and the stirring of national consciousness. The last movement of this second symphony grew to the stature of a national anthem, and the numerous legends of Finnish folk lore which he set to music were so true and coherent an expression of Finnish feeling, that he became a national hero. It therefore came as no surprise to me during a short visit to the Soviet Union to find no Sibelius music obtainable—except for the sweet but innocuous 'Valse Triste'.

I suspect however that the Department of Soviet Culture was motivated to 'out-law' Sibelius for a reason far removed from his greatly overrated 'fascist nationalism'. Those who have heard the first movement of Shostakovich's 'Lenin-grad' symphony and, for example, the Intermezzo from the Karelia Suite (the theme tune, incidentally, for the ITV programme 'This Week') by Sibelius cannot fail to be struck by the fact that the emotional appeal of both compositions run parallel, and with equal force. Both are examples of deeply stirring 'insurrectionary' composition at its best. Where then does the real difference lie? Perhaps in this: that whereas Shostakovich tends to view man in relation to his environment, Sibelius, on the other hand, views him in isolation. The former sees man as controller of events on earth, the latter as impotent in relation to the cosmos. This is why I think the musically minded Marxist is inclined to reject Sibelius where the Individualist would take him to heart.

His symphonies are a case in point. The more one listens to them, the more one becomes conscious of totally new planes of both composition and thought. Sibelius is the only composer (with the possible exception of Wagner) who has conveyed the idea of space—and infinity itself—in musical form. His second symphony has captured the drama of Finnish landscape, its soaring heights and sunken forests with a spaciousness and breathless exhilaration bordering on the sensuous. But it is not the mere witnessing of titanic and indescribable beauty that grips us so much as the experience of it, of being swept through it and liberated into it all at once. We are brought into a typically Sibelian world where the eternal has taken the place of the external. To me at least there has been no musical experience like it; it is the infinite and ultimate in freedom.

If the second symphony is a fantasia of liberation in the cosmos, then the fourth is a nightmare of it. Its mood is as dark as a Finnish forest, its thematic progress sinewy and tense, its ending a deathly obliteration into silence. Of all his symphonies, it is the most introspective and complex, but the sense of utter isolation and remoteness is there, not the isolation of Man, but of One Man, whose mind is as boundless as the infinity which surrounds it.

Critics have claimed that orchestration is not a strong point in Sibelius' music, but if his fifth symphony is anything to go by, the use of brass and woodwind to heighten this contrast between Individual Man and Universe is superb. Leading us up through what seems eternities of incredible beauty our minds are thus prepared for a conflict in the last movement which by itself would be totally incomprehensible.

From the musical view alone Sibelius can claim to have revolutionized symphonic form in almost complete isolation to his European contemporaries. By restoring the balance between symphonic thought and symphonic form, he gave his compositions an air of inevitability, that what he tried to say just could not be expressed in any other form. If his music after persistent hearing has never ceased to appeal, it is for the simple reason that the scenes within it are timeless and universal.

Sibelius often insisted himself that music began where words left off. His centenary year will provide ample opportunities for us to find this out.

BILL JAMIESON.

## PRESS FUND

FINANCIAL STATEMENT  
WEEK 21 & 22 AT JUNE 5, 1965:  
Expenses: 22 weeks at £70: £1540  
Income: Sales and Subs.: £1474

DEFICIT £66

Leeds: A.A. 1/-; Brockenhurst: P.M. 6/3;  
Exmouth: A.H. 5/-; Wolverhampton:  
J.K.W.\* 2/-; J.L.\* 3/-; S.E.26: P.S. 10/-;  
Harlow: C.M. 10/-; Indiana: R.C. 5/-;  
Surrey: F.B.\* 5/-; Guildford: F.P. £1 5s.;  
London: A.M. 2/6; Scarborough: C.W.  
£1; Cheltenham: L.G.W.\* 10/-; Birmingham:  
R.D. 5/-; Ohio: T.H. 18/-; Merthyr  
Tydfil: H.W. £1; Glasgow: J.K.S. 3/9;  
Ware: E.B. 10/-; Oxford: Anon\* 5/-;  
Cheshire: A.R. 2/-; Oxford: Anon\* 5/-;  
Londonderry: I.B. 10/-; Bristol: A.N. £1;  
Hull: J.Y. 1/-; Pittsburg: O.S. £1 8s.;  
Wolverhampton: J.K.W.\* 2/-; J.L.\* 10/-;  
Sunbury on Thames: W.A. 15/9; Manchester:  
J.H. 1/-; Wisconsin: K.K. 15/6;  
Cheltenham: L.G.W.\* 10/-; Forrest,  
Australia: H.M. 5/-; Oxford: T.S. 10/-;  
Broxbourne: A.L. 10/-; Surrey: F.B.\* 5/-;  
High Wycombe: J.G. 10/-; Richmond:  
D.D. 10/-; Toronto: R. & S.W. 10/-;  
Donaghadee: J.T. £3; Basingstoke: M.T.  
£1; London: J.R. 2/-; London, E.1: B.S.  
5/-; Belfast: W.G. 7/6; Cardiff: Anarchist  
Group £1 7s.; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.\*  
2/-; J.L.\* 4/6; Harlow: M.R. 10/-; Hayes:  
Anarchist Group 10/8.

TOTAL £24 15 5  
Previously Acknowledged: £456 4 1  
1965 Total to Date £480 19 6

\*Denotes Regular Contributors

## Contact Column

**Spanish.** Young man would give private lessons. Moderate terms. Please phone HAM 6542, Room 21 or 28 or write A. Gonzalez, 11 Fitzjohn's Avenue, N.W.3.

**Got a BSE Licence?** West Midland Committee of 100/Birmingham Group going to Faslane leaving Birmingham 9 p.m. Friday, June 25, leaving Glasgow, Sunday morning 27 have coach but no driver. Any offers? One or more required. Fare paid to and from Birmingham, and expenses. Contact Peter Neville, 12 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham 23 as soon as possible. Seats available 25/-. Book now.

**Leicester Accommodation.** Unfurnished cheap weather-proof accommodation wanted by mature (?) student, wife and two children. Any proposals (sharing, etc.) considered. Mike Radford, 90 Westfield, Harlow, Essex.

**L.A.G. Two.** Barn/Studio/Basement wanted to house meeting place, library, etc. for LAG II. Suggestions, ideas, details and details of rent required to J. Rety, 10 Gilbert Place, W.C.1.

**New Progressive School.** A new co-educational day school, setting out to provide a liberal education in a permissive atmosphere invites enrolments now for children 3-8 for May and 3-13 for September. Write 186 Kirkdale, S.E.26.

**Libertarian Kibbutz.** Student looking for one of these to work at in the Summer. If anyone can recommend one, either agricultural or industrial, please tell George Matthews, c/o University Union, Park Place, Edinburgh 8.

**Accommodation—London.** Anarchist 18, seeks cheap accommodation with others. West London preferred. Contact A.M., 28 Sun Street, Haworth, Keighley, Yorks.

**London Accommodation.** Couple and son (two years) seek 2/3 unfurnished rooms, North London. Box 8.

**Bronia, Mac and Cat (N.H.A.G.).** Want a furnished (unfurnished) or semi-furnished flat near Fulham or Paddington. Any offers or suggestions. Phone: McDonald, BAY 7306. Evenings.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

### SELLERS WANTED FOR ANARCHIST LITERATURE

Support Open-air Meetings, Hyde Park on any Sunday

### MAKE SURE OF YOUR ANARCHIST JOURNALS BY SUBSCRIBING!

#### Freedom WEEKLY

Price 4d. Every Saturday except the first in each month. (40 issues per year.)

#### BY POST:

1 year (40 issues) 20s. (U.S. \$3)  
6 months (20 issues) 10s. (\$1.50)  
3 months (10 issues) 5s. (75c.)

#### SPECIAL RATE FOR 2 COPIES:

1 year (40 issues) 30s. (U.S. \$4.50)  
6 months (20 issues) 15s. (\$2.25)

#### BY AIR MAIL:

1 year (40 issues) 45s. (U.S. \$7)

FREEDOM by AIR MAIL, ANARCHY

#### Anarchy MONTHLY

Price 2s. (2s. 3d. or 30c. by post) Appears first Saturday of each month.

#### BY POST:

1 year (12 issues) 25s. (U.S. \$3.50)

BY AIR MAIL: 1 year 47s. (\$7)

#### JOINT SUB. FREEDOM/ANARCHY:

1 year 40s. (\$6), 6 months 20s. (\$3)  
3 months 10s. 6d. (\$1.50)

#### 2 COPIES OF EACH:

1 year 63s. (\$9), 6 months 31s. 6d. (\$4.50)

by SURFACE: 1 year 65s. (\$9.50)

Cheques, P.O.'s and Money Orders should be made out to FREEDOM PRESS, crossed A/c Payee and addressed to the publishers:

### Freedom Press

17a MAXWELL ROAD,  
LONDON, S.W.6 Phone: RENown 3736



# How Building bosses sack militants

THE BUILDING INDUSTRY has been a notoriously insecure one to work in and, in fact, because of the casual nature of employment, operatives have been described as 'dry land sailors'. One can point out improvements, and quite rightly so, to the 'Contracts of Employment Act' which stipulates that 24 hours' notice must be given, at least, when anyone is sacked. However, according to the Working Rule Agreement of the building industry's Joint Council, a worker must have got in six days with the firm before this applies and during this time he can be sacked with only two hours' notice, expiring at the end of normal working hours on any day.

A recent example of this, and this is not an isolated instance, has occurred on the Bernard Sunley job in Horseferry Road, S.W.1. During the last three months a number of men have been sacked in this manner with no reasons given. Things came to a head on Friday, May 14, when a carpenter, a member of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, was sacked. Again no reason was given, the management stating that it reserved 'their right to sack operatives within the first six days—no reason need be given'. When the shop stewards got this reply from the management, a site meeting was called at which it was decided to take unofficial action.

## SUNLEY'S IGNORE COMMISSION

The case of this carpenter was referred to the Regional Disputes Commission. Here, the foreman, who in fact gave the sacking order, said that the man was a good tradesman and timekeeper and as far as he was concerned, he was fully satisfied with his work. The commissions findings condemned the strike action and, although they did not actually say that the carpenter should be re-instated, they said that discussions should take place with a view to re-employing him. The stewards then met the management who refused to discuss anything until the

## Very sorry, but

WE regret to have to announce some increases in subscription rates.

1. To cover increased postage rates coming into force May 17, inland subs. will be from June 1, 1965: Combined FREEDOM/ANARCHY subscription £2 2s. 0d. per year FREEDOM only £1 2s. 6d. per year ANARCHY only £1 6s. 0d. per year
2. Apart from this increase, costs have risen and we have known for some time that the figure shown in weekly financial state as Expenses (£70) falls short of present-day costs; even on last year's figures the expenses amounted to £76, and this year additional typesetting costs have to be added to this, so the current figure is £80.

We are not at present putting up the price of the paper but we shall have to do so at the end of the year unless sales go up.

To encourage new subscriptions we are introducing immediately an introductory Gift Subscription at reduced rate. Send us 5/- and the name of friend you think might be interested and we will send both FREEDOM and ANARCHY for two months.

work. Because of this, a chance to obtain sympathy action from other jobs was lost. It was a pity that the stewards on the Sunley's job were not in close contact with their counterparts on other jobs. Organisation along these lines has been going on and a certain amount of success has been achieved, but generally it is an uphill struggle. Let us hope these lessons have been learned from the present dispute, and now that closer contact has been made, it will be kept up.

However the thing is to get this 'chippy' reinstated. Obviously this six day rule is used to sack men because of their union activities on other jobs. Make no mistake about it, a 'black list' is operated by the employers in London and the 'six day rule', No. 2B in the Working Rule Agreement, is a convenient way of getting rid of militants who have slipped in in the first place. It is a means of preventing any strong organisation emerging on a site, but it must be remembered that the unions are a party to this agreement. As far as Rule 2B stands, no reason has to be given for sacking a man in the first six days of employment.

The commissions have really only recommended talks and have not actually said that the carpenter should be taken back. Now it looks as if no further action will be taken unless the union executives sanction it. If they do this, they will in actual fact be breaking their own agreement with the employers, so this seems unlikely.

The best hope seems to be further action by the men themselves, although judging from what I heard from one of the stewards, this is unlikely after being out for two weeks already. But if this Rule 2B is to be done away with, a stand must be taken somewhere, sometime. It need not be a withdrawal of labour, but could be a work-to-rule. I feel that if some form of action was to be taken at Horseferry Road, then other jobs would act in sympathy. The situation has changed now and they would not be isolated as before. With the support of other jobs in London, action could be taken to try to get rid of the Rule 2B once and for all. The workers on Sunley's have made a good start, let's hope it can be followed up with further action.

P.T.

men returned to work. It was decided to do this but Sunley's made no attempt to reinstate the sacked man and so they towed tools again.

The case was then taken a stage further in the disputes procedure, to the National Commission, who supported the decision of the Regional Commission, but the management of Sunley's still declined to reinstate the man.

All this has taken two weeks, during which time the strike has been 100%. However this week the men voted to go back to work and at this meeting three district organisers said that they would demand from their Executive Councils an official withdrawal of labour, but in the meantime the men should return to work. In actual fact two unions have made the decision to call an official strike, but it now hinges on the ASW Executive, whose member it is after all that is involved. This is how things stand at the moment, with the ASW decision expected soon.

## CLOSER CONTACT WITH OTHER JOBS

Although this strike was 100%, it was isolated. The strike committee sent out appeals for money to jobs and union branches, but other channels, unofficial ones, were ignored, at least until the return to

## LETTER

### Bank workers unite!

Dear Comrades,  
Having worked in the Midland Bank, before leaving in disgust about a year ago, I read Bill Christopher's short article 'Playing Happy Families' (May 27) with great interest.

The extreme patronising attitude of the Midland and other banks is sickening to anyone who believes in the dignity of work. At present the leaders of the Staff Association are themselves employees—which turns negotiations between them and their bosses into a complete farce. They aren't disagree as their chances of promotion may depend on it.

NUBE works hard to change the system, and has a very large membership, yet nothing is changed as many people working in banks believe firmly in the old negotiating system. This is partly because of their attitudes (they have been lulled by their environment into being complete conservatives in their attitudes to labour and industrial questions—many don't believe Trade Unions should exist!). But also the Bank uses a subtle method of perpetuating the system—the word spreads around that the best chances of promotion are given to Staff Association members. (Yet they are no fools, the best jobs go to 'capable' men, whether they are Union or Association members.) All wage increases and benefits are, of course, publicised as being a result of long 'negotiation' with the Staff Association, even though these 'yes' men had no say in any decision.

As long as workers in banks really believe that they can place complete trust in their bosses, as long as they regard themselves as being a vital part of the capitalist system instead of its tools, the present system will continue. When workers in banks realise that the employers care sod all for their welfare when it really comes to the push, we can expect a more militant labour force. Unfortunately the realisation will probably only come when it is too late—when all but the bosses will be replaced by cybernated accounting systems and the cashiers will be elaborate slot machines. Then they will find themselves out on their ears, wondering why Daddy has stopped buying them ice lollies.

DESMOND HALL.

# FREEDOM

## For Workers' Control

JUNE 12 1965 VOL. 26 No. 18

## FOYLED AGAIN

THE 'settlement' of the strike at Foyle's proved to be a romance. After the strikers had returned to work, the Union commenced negotiations with the management on conditions of work and wages, but Foyle's management refused a happy ending by insisting that wages should be fixed by the industry's Wages Council and not by the union. Foyle's claim that they pay over the minimum rate fixed by the Wages Council in any case, so the plot seems fairly pre-determined.

It is stated by the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers that five other unions are supporting the 'blacking' of Foyle's but it has been pointed out by an eye witness that the postmen—for example—who are supposed to be supporting the strike leave Foyle's parcels outside the picket line and blacklegging workers come out and collect the parcels through the picket line, so something more vigorous needs to be done to halt the numerous Book Clubs which Mrs. Batty—née Christina Foyle—runs. (It will be remembered that Foyle's have run the Right Book Club and the Catholic Book Club in their time.)

A Mr. Ben Perrick of Foyle's wrote to the *Express* to point out that Robert Pitman had erroneously said that Christina Foyle advertises abroad for foreign staff at low wages. Mr. Perrick says that 'every foreign employee at present at Foyle's is here as a result of his or her own application' or as a result of a recommendation from a happy and contented ex-employee. Mr. Perrick agrees with Mr. Pitman that Christina is 'an attractive and able woman'. The *Express* had also printed

a touching anecdote that Mr. Perrick did not deny. 'Only recently,' says Mrs. Batty, 'I had one of our young chaps down working on my husband's yacht. We gave him a tenner for his trouble and dinner at my mother's place—Burlingame Abbey in Essex. I was horrified to find him out there this morning with a banner.' Let us hope he was there again with the banner saying 'We have been betrayed.'

It is doubtless easy for Foyle's to get all the unskilled, part-time, student labour they wish to keep their flow of James Bonds, Churchilliana and text books going but only an effective boycott by buyers (but not by browsers and others) will serve to halt this arrogance of Christina. One of our comrades was threatened with police action for having twice entered Foyle's for the express purpose of leafletting the customers and leaving strike literature in books.

Whether this is effective or not and whether extra pickets would be useful we do not know but Foyle's as book-sellers have been rumbled for years. In the *Spectator*, not a wildly left-wing journal, Leslie Adrian as a mere consumer of books, ventures the criticism often made of the damnable ignorance of bookshop assistants which is the result of treating books as 'supermarket fodder', and he concludes with the revolutionary suggestion, 'But in general the standard of service in bookshops is low, and looks like getting lower still, unless the assistants who handle books are paid more like professionals (which they ought to be), and less like counterhands at Woolworth's.' Over to you, Christina—and why no strike at Woolworth's?

JACK ROBINSON.

## Keep Open the Channels!

RECENTLY I ATTENDED a conference on Workers' Control held in London by the Voice of the Unions, an unofficial Labourite group running a paper of that name, and the London Co-operative Society. Preceding the conference a special issue of *Hull Left* was produced with interesting articles on Scott Bader and Algeria among other things. Also produced in connection with the conference were papers on 'Workers' Control in Mining', by a group of students at Ruskin College, and a paper on the 'Steel Industry' by a group of academics and steel workers in Sheffield. These papers make forceful criticism of the present industrial structure but offer solutions only in terms of representative democracy and there is no proposal to get rid of management. There is no mention of job enlargement.

The conference was well attended, I should say between one and two hundred people. More important, possibly, half were manual workers. Unfortunately, however, as in the papers, the concept of Workers' Control, in circulation, was one of committees tacked on to the existing management structure. This was exemplified in a speech by Ian Mikardo. He demolished the split loyalty objection to Workers' Control, and basing his argument on the need for a continuous line of communications, he said that workers' representatives should not be full time union officials, but his communications were of course those up and down a pyramid. He gave no indication of ever having heard of self organisation. Discussion included details of the mechanics of the Algerian and Yugoslav systems, and a Yugoslav sat on the Brains Trust on the Sunday afternoon. The latter was irrelevantly devoted to the Government's incomes

policy. A number of contributions were also irrelevant and dealt with the shortcomings of the nationalised industries, from a consumer angle, and of the London Co-operative Society. One contribution by a docker was however very informative. He said that urgent ships are held up, whereas other ships are cleared because the company clearing the other ships got its labour first. Some jobs pay six to seven pounds a day for doing nothing, whereas hard and dirty jobs paid only two pounds a day. All this unknown to the Port of London Authority management, who apparently don't have sufficient information to run the docks. Perhaps it is unlikely that in a rapidly changing situation like the docks that they ever could have. This seems to be almost a text book example of the results of a lack of requisite variety in the control system. (See ANARCHY 31 'Anarchism and the Cybernetics of Self Organising Systems', John McEwan: 'If stability is to be attained the variety of the controlling system must be at least as great as the variety of the system to be controlled'.) I got up and put the case, not very well I am afraid, for self organisation, suggesting that the solution would be for the dockers themselves to decide which ships to go to. I argued against the pyramid structure, pointing out that elected committees could be just as authoritarian as managers. I suggested that what was important to most people was the degree of initiative they were allowed to exert.

Whilst two or three people came up to me afterwards, and said how much they agreed with me, it was obvious that for the most part my remarks fell on uncomprehending ears. There are people better able than myself to put over a libertarian concept of Workers' Control. The pity is that they were not

present. The movement which organised the conference is active and seems to be growing and influential in the Labour and Co-operative Movements. Some of its support seems to have come from the New Left. A few months ago one comrade expressed the fear that the Communists might take on the slogan of Workers' Control, take over the movement and kill the reality. Now it would seem there is a possibility that the Labour Party might take on a watered down version of Workers' Control in the form of a few workers or ex-workers on the boards of nationalised industries plus a proliferation of committees out of touch with shop or factory (ANARCHY 31, p274). I don't think the people supporting this movement are for the most part self-seekers using it to enhance their own power, but that they are blinkered to any system other than that what might be called delegate democracy. This term itself is self-contradictory, if you think about it. From the earliest years we are conditioned at school and elsewhere to regard parliament, local government, etc., as the embodiment of democracy. Hence people find it difficult to think of democracy in terms of non-delegation. It is, however, only by putting over the case for a libertarian system of Workers' Control to people who are at least looking for something different from the present industrial system, that the idea will be spread. On this point there is a conference in Manchester, the third in the series, on Saturday, 19, and Sunday, June 20, 1965, at AEU District Office, 120 Rusholme Road, Manchester 13. Individuals may attend in a personal capacity, applications to Alan Rooney, 8 Ashkirk Street, Manchester 18. I hope I may have persuaded some of the Manchester Group to go along, if they had not already intended to do so.

MICHAEL WOOLLISCROFT.  
Any queries phone ELS 1341 Ext. 37 day  
MAI 5947 evening