

## The Reluctant Bridegroom

A FEW months ago Jo Grimond had ideas of 'an affair' with the Labour Party. In an interview on television he stated the need for a broad radical approach to political questions. He felt that the Liberal and Labour policies were very close on many issues, the outstanding one that they differed on was steel nationalization. But he felt that on other aspects something could be worked out. When asked whether this was Liberal Party policy, he replied that at this stage it had only been discussion amongst a few of his friends and colleagues.

This idea of a Lib-Lab affair is not completely new in as much as Woodrow Wyatt and Desmond Donnelly had mooted the idea many months previous. The Labour Party's official attitude was, of course, complete rejection but one wonders how many Labour MPs with marginal seats would like an electoral pact with the Liberals. Many voters see very little difference between Liberal and Labour policies, perhaps only in a matter of excess.

The Sunday press last weekend carried banner headlines to the effect that the Liberals had switched their policy and were going in for an all-out attack on the Government. To date the Liberals on occasions have got the Government out of a nasty scrape, particularly on the last big debate, by their abstention. One or two Liberal MPs have no need to court the working class vote and, therefore, are on the right of the party and closer to the Tories, but on the other hand, other Liberal MPs who rely on the working class vote are more partial to the Labour Party and would welcome some form of an alliance. It does appear that Jo Grimond has stuck his neck out on this one and received a nasty shock.

Where does Harold Wilson stand in this strange situation? Whilst officially he must treat the Liberals as his opponents, he certainly must welcome their support when his back is to the wall.

## August 6

IF WE HAD not dropped the bomb on Hiroshima, British and American soldiers would still be fighting in Asian jungles and swamps.

If we had not dropped the bomb on Hiroshima, totalitarian doctrines would threaten Asia.

If we had not dropped the bomb on Hiroshima, our children would not live in peace.

If we had not dropped the bomb on Hiroshima, more soldiers would have to be conscripted and reserves would be needed to fight in Asia.

If we had not dropped the bomb on Hiroshima, the Russians would not have been deterred from aggressive policies and would have felt that they too should have a bomb.

If we had not dropped the bomb on Hiroshima, Japan would have built up its industry and become our commercial rival.

If we had not dropped the bomb on Hiroshima, the United Nations would have been a failure.

If we had not dropped the bomb—Oh, what the hell. We dropped it!

J.R.

If this new Liberal policy of harassing the Government is pressed as hard as they can go, the Labour Government is going to be bang in trouble with its majority of three. But, there again, anything can happen in politics and it is in this sphere, more than any other, that truth is stranger than fiction. How long are we, the Joe Soaps of this country, going to stand for this charade? The antics of the politicians would be laughable if the situation wasn't so serious. Every general and local election they parade their feathers like proud peacocks but when one looks close they are naked starving vultures going one way for this vote—going that way for another, or if necessary sitting comfortably on the fence. There is an old saying that 'bullshit baffles brains' but blimey!—this lot has baffled people for years and will continue to do so unless we take the initiative and start doing things for ourselves and making our own decisions.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

### Subscribe for a friend

Do you know a potential subscriber? Send us five shillings and we will send FREEDOM and ANARCHY for two months, saying that it comes at your suggestion.

MY HUSBAND and I came here when we married. I thought it was somewhere safe and pretty and clean for Debbie to grow up. Thus Mrs. Maureen Goodes, young housewife of Rowley Regis, supporter of a local campaign to get her newly-installed Jamaican neighbours to quit the otherwise all-white street.

The canker of racial hostility is widespread throughout the world and is being aggravated and thrust into prominence by the speed and efficiency of modern communications, the large scale movements of people of one race into areas occupied by another, the emergence of new, often noisy and self-conscious nations among the former colonies of the white race, the cynical exploitation of tension by unscrupulous, power-seeking politicians (Smethwick, Pekin, etc.) and the growing awareness of the gulf between white have nations and coloured have-not nations. In Britain, for instance, a lot of people who have never previously thought about race have recently been forming opinions and many have chosen the attitude of hostility.

Race hostility seems to be a relatively new phenomenon. The cosmopolitan Roman Empire never knew it, and it didn't appear much in the British Empire until the middle of the 19th century. Before then, Englishmen abroad had happily intermarried with Red Indians, Indians and other races they came into contact with. After about 1850 this became socially taboo. It is probable that Victorian scientific progress was the cause of the change. In 1800 a British officer in the tropics was as liable to smallpox and cholera, blisters and saddle-soreness, sweat and fatigue as any member of the indigenous population. By 1900 advances in medicine and communications had taken much of the hardship out of the white man's life and killed the sense of equality for the native populations remained in the Middle Ages.

Race hostility is more widespread in some countries than others. The Latin lands are largely immune. Portugal, a

DAVE AND TINA CUNLIFFE of Screeches Publications, Blackburn, Lancashire, published and despatched on July 13 advance copies of *The Golden Convolvulus*, an anthology of eroticism. As far as they know only one of these was delivered. Others, including a package for Freedom Bookshop, failed to get through. 'On July 27 the police visited us and took away several of our publications', writes Dave Cunliffe. 'As far as we know they (the police) kept well within the law and we let them take away these books, as we considered that the books would verify that we were a literary not a "jerk-off" press. They asked a lot of questions about other little mags, and demanded information (addresses) which we, of course, refused to give them. We also refused to be intimidated or trapped into verbally compromising ourselves. According to the police the local General Post Office Head made a complaint about us and a lot of questioning, centred on the assumption that our periodical is possibly "obscene literature" and that by selling it via the mail we would naturally send it to all those who ordered a copy, who might conceivably be children and so on. The police called next day to inform us that all the books had been forwarded to the Public Prosecutor's office to decide if or not they have a case against us.'

'We are afraid,' conclude Dave and Tina, 'that they might try to take advantage of such an obviously small and vulnerable (financial-wise) set-up as ours despite the dubious validity of any case against us.'

### INTIMIDATION

Later Dave and Tina wrote, 'The police took sample copies of all our current publications. The addresses they seemed most keen to have and which of course we didn't supply were X's (name withheld—J.R.) and our cover-printer. We don't consider on the basis of the printed covers in police possession, that there is the slightest possibility of our printer being prosecuted, but no doubt even a routine visit from the police would intimidate him into refusing to accept all future printing orders.'

Whether the Public Prosecutor will decide to prosecute is, of

# The Virgin Postmaster

course, not known but he has alternative courses including submitting it to the local bench who can, it seems, make a simple destruction order which could be carried out without any discussion of the work's literary merit but to the financial loss of Dave and Tina Cunliffe.

If the matter is fought in a higher court with the consequent heavy legal expenses and the possible conviction with a heavy penalty, the financial loss to Dave and Tina will still be heavy. It is obvious that they will need help.

### PMG A VOYEUR?

The case presents several interesting features, for example, prosecutions initiated by the police are not uncommon. In Bury, not far from Burnley, the Chief Constable borrowed from the local library *Boy* by James Hanley and was so disgusted (presumably) by what he read that the publishers and author were prosecuted and the book was banned—notwithstanding the fact the book was then three years old. It has since been reprinted—twenty years after, with no repercussions. D. H. Lawrence wrote of the 'virgin policemen who blushed for shame.' But confirming the well-known fact that mail is intercepted, it appears to have been a virgin postmaster who opened and delayed the packages of *The Golden Convolvulus* and communicated to the police what he saw. If the Postmaster General wishes to be a voyeur he must expect to blush.

Secondly it has been forecast, and hinted by the Home Secretary, that more rigorous measures will be taken against obscenity (whatever that is). It is possible that to get the non-conformist vote Wilson's Government with their penchant for

doing things on the cheap may bring some spectacular 'obscenity' cases. Since, if there is any case to be made against obscenity, it could apply to works of no literary merit produced for sheer profit—the 'jerk-off' press as Dave Cunliffe describes it. But any prosecution of *The Golden Convolvulus* would be far from these minimal standards. As usual a law made for one thing appears to be being set into motion against another.

### SUPPORT NEEDED

Dennis Gould, who has written from Gloucestershire, asks for support for the Cunliffes in their trouble. He writes to commend their volume *Victims of Our Fear* which is a protest against one of the real obscenities of today—racial intolerance. He asks those who wish to give financial support to write to Screeches Publications, 11 Clematis Street, Blackburn, Lancs. and offers of future financial help in case of prosecution will be welcome.

Among the poems in the *Convolvulus* is one called 'Near sighted prospect of a tobacconist's show case' and starts 'In Fulham it's English Models / In Mayfair it's "learning French" / In Clapham it's "suit repairing" / In Hampstead a serving wench' and concludes 'For this is the sad and desperate hunt / For illegal, needful, forbidden cunt.'

In Number Eight of *Poetmeat* there is a correction slip reading 'The first line of the poem "New York City" on p. 87 should read "Sky-rapers" and not "Skyscrapers" as printed.' A magazine that can make such charming errors and apologies deserves support.

JACK ROBINSON.

## A WORLD FOR DEBBIE

few centuries ago, when faced with under-population, brought in ship-loads of negroes who integrated quite happily with the local population. When two cars crash in Paris and one driver is white and the other coloured they might shout abuse at each other but it is not racial abuse. China has absorbed wave after wave of invaders, assimilated them completely and benefited from their best features. Some of the victims of race hate, however, are not immune to it. Reports from Israel tell that many Jewish settlers from Europe, in spite of the appalling history of persecution they have undergone there, consider themselves 'superior' to Jews who have come to Israel from Asia and Africa and bear the physical stamp of those continents. Jews who are the descendants of 19th century immigrants from Europe are the worst offenders. Living in Asia themselves, they have not noticed the recent lowering of 'racial status' that Europe has undergone vis-a-vis the rest of the world and still harbour the worst delusions of Europe in 1890.

### IN BRITAIN

Race hostility in Britain has long been rampant in the countryside in attitudes towards gypsies. In cities where there are coloured minorities as well as county towns where retired ex-colonials settle, it is also quite widespread. It is also fairly widespread among immigrants. Any English reader doubting the last remark should have gone into the hairdressers by Notting Hill Gate Station under the management they had about a year ago. I doubt if he would have come out not thinking that perhaps Mosley was right after all. You can never tell who is a racist and who isn't. I have met an otherwise vicious and shrew-like landlady

who was quite immune and I have also met otherwise gentle and intelligent people who are fixed believers in racial clap-trap. The idea prevalent in some left-wing circles that race hate and prejudice are the monopoly of the middle and upper classes is quite fallacious. The electors of Smethwick are not of the upper crust. Equally without foundation is the belief that racialism is the monopoly of the sexually warped. Spain, where the Catholic Church cloaks sex in an oppressive morality, is practically free from racialism while that most race-conscious body, the SS, provided concentration camp staff who, after the day's murder was done, returned home in the evenings to become exemplary family men.

In England and America there is an unfortunate tendency on the part of white intellectuals to idealise coloured races. The recent film 'The Hill' contains a blatant example. Set in an army glass-house in North Africa during the last war, it follows the fortunes of some soldiers victimised by a sadistic screw. After one of them, by great determination, manages to get started an investigation into their plight, his friends are seen in the closing shots ruining his case by beating up the screw. What marred the film was that the makers had to go and make one of the soldiers a noble negro. While all the other soldiers are shown as hard cases, some even tougher than the screws, the negro is noble. So noble in fact, that when he refuses to wear uniform and runs amok in his underpants the tough screws, overcome presumably by his nobility, just stand watching. The film's attitude to negroes is Crow-Jimism which is every bit as irrational as Jim Crowism and, in the long run, will

probably be equally disastrous.

Look again at Mrs. Goodes, the young mother concerned about her daughter growing up in a street of bitterness where the other white householders are concerned with falling property values. In a sense are not she and they right? Right that values WILL fall, right that the status of the street WILL drop, perhaps keeping away friends and people important to her husband's career, right that an atmosphere of bitterness is no place for a child even though the bitterness she complains of is caused by other whites and the bitterness they complain of is caused by her.

None of the methods of combatting the Mrs. Goodes of the land have had much success, for they rarely square up to the underlying reasons for her hostility nor will they admit that in the last analysis Mrs. Goodes must cure herself. Today we even have well-meaning legislation against race prejudice and highly organised campaigns for more as though the rottenness in men's hearts can be driven out by making some of its more blatant manifestations illegal.

Continued on page 3

## ANARCHY 54

DISCUSSES  
**MARTIN BUBER**  
**GUSTAV LANDAUER**  
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THIS IS A communication from the 'Vietnam Day Committee', an anti-war group founded at the University of California, Berkeley Campus. For the most part, the Committee is composed of students presently attending, or recently attending, the Berkeley Campus of the University of California. There is also a number of teaching assistants and professors who co-operate with the students and in some cases offer assistance and inspiration to them. Mixed in with the rest are a small number of individuals from the Oakland-Berkeley community at large, not connected with the University. However, the most significant element in the committee are the young activist students, a few of whom have come to this movement from the traditional radical groups and parties. Perhaps I'm pushing things by calling them a movement, but the potential for a wide anti-militarist movement developing from such groups as the VDC is greater at this time than from any of the traditional peace groups. The training ground for these young people has been the civil rights struggle in the United States. Such organizations as SNCC (Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee) and CORE and the FSM (Free Speech Movement).

Let me clarify an earlier remark I made. Though there are obviously a number of young important active members of the VDC whose attitudes and vocabulary are derived from old guard political sources (my impression is they come mainly from the Socialist Party and Trotskyite groups with a smattering of Communists), the majority of the VDC members are politically unaligned. One gets the general impression of great political naivete, coupled with an amazing practical, organizational talent and a tremendous fountain of energy and idealism. I sometimes think that the majority of the young people involved know nothing of the political history of the world before the Cuban Revolution. What is more, they almost make it seem that this knowledge is unnecessary and perhaps even stultifying—when they demonstrate their ability to make correct choices and avoid some of the organizational pitfalls of past radical groups.

Maybe a description of how the group functions will be more instructive. For though the VDC is not anarchist in composition these young people certainly show a strong Libertarian direction and purpose in the way they function. My impression is that the most important political influences on these young people are writers like Paul Goodman, Albert Camus and Marx (a strange amalgam). If one sits in at one of the weekly meetings of the VDC, it becomes apparent that one is with a functioning group with action as the criterion and reason for existence. This group is not interested in talk and discussion for its own sake, though in coming to decisions a great deal of discussion takes place. The general meeting consists mainly of committee reports from groups working on different projects. These groups or committees are relatively autonomous and concern themselves with specific projects such as publication of newsletters, bulletins, pamphlets, etc.; a literary committee that is in the process of publishing a book on May 21 and 22 Teach-in at the University of California, Berkeley Campus. This committee is also involved in putting together and distributing a film of the events of these two days. The VDC community action committee

## London Anarchist Group 1 & 2

'Lamb and Flag', Rose Street, off Garrick Street, London, W.C.2. (Leicester Square tube) 7.45 p.m. All welcome. Sundays.

Aug. 15 Donald Room  
 The Challenor Case Re-examined

Aug. 22 Bill Cape  
 Obedience: the Original Sin

Aug. 29 LAG Two meeting and report followed by discussion.

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 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 Ames-

# MORE FROM BERKELEY

We are glad to publish this account by David Koven of the developments among Berkeley students, and also the text of a leaflet (slightly shortened for reasons of space) announcing their plans for Vietnam Day protest activities.

Eds.

is active in Oakland and Berkeley in door to door canvassing of the neighbourhoods with anti-war materials. There are a number of other committees working on different projects, such as the training of speakers, the accumulation of information and material for use of these publications and speakers, and a central co-ordination committee whose main function is that of acting as a liaison group between the various functioning committees and not as a centralized body handing down dictum. Membership to these committees is open to all. The only criterion for joining any of these committees is the willingness to work. The general weekly meeting takes a loose parliamentary form. So loose, in fact, as to almost present a travesty on

## NEWS OF THE VIETNAM DAY COMMITTEE

The Vietnam Day Committee in Berkeley, California, has called October 15 and 16 to be International Days of Protest against American Military Intervention.

We plan a community protest meeting in Berkeley on October 15 to be followed by massive civil disobedience on October 16.

Our present activities are all building toward October 15 and 16. We ask that everyone unite in making these days International Days of Protest:

All groups in the United States are asked to join the VDC and SDS in organizing protest activities on these dates;

Groups outside the United States are asked to support us by organizing massive demonstrations in their own countries.

Through co-ordinated action we can be most effective in opposing the American role in the war in Vietnam. People throughout the world must now move beyond single demonstrations and teach-ins to one massive internationally co-ordinated action. For example: with one day demonstrations at American embassies in Europe, Africa, Latin America and Asia, regional protests in the United States, and civil disobedience in many places, the full impact of world opinion can be brought to bear against the policy of the American government.

Each group should decide for itself what it plans to do, with all possible communication and co-ordination on actions. Press coverage can be maximized if one's action is publicized as part of International Days of Protest. The Vietnam Day Committee (2502 Telegraph Ave., Berkeley 4, Calif., phone 845-6637, or 848-3158) will be happy to serve as information link between groups. Therefore, send information about your plans to us here and we will pass them along. Make copies of this statement and send them to your contacts in other cities and countries.

## ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN

Co-ordinating Secretary: Frank Hirshfield, 4 Albert St., London, N.W.1.

## REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

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

**BRISTOL FEDERATION.** Enquiries to John Coveney, 12 Normanton Road, Clifton, Bristol, 8.

**CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Mike Crowley, 36 Whitaker Road, Tremorfa, Cardiff.

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

**EDINBURGH ANARCHIST GROUP.** Meet fortnightly Star Bar, Northumberland Place, Mondays 7.30 p.m. Correspondence to D. Truman, 13 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh, 3. Tel.: WAVErley 7459.

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

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parliamentarianism. A chairman of the most informal sort calls for committee reports and discussion on suggestions from the various committees and members attending the meeting. The voting on motions is so informal as to approximate 'consensus'. As for membership, membership cards are distributed (a small fund-raising device), they are never checked, and anyone attending the meeting can inaugurate a motion, vote on it or participate in discussion from the floor. Actually the patience and respect with which every individual is allowed to speak and is listened to, is exemplary and many of our anarchist comrades could learn from these youths.

I think the great difference between the youth that makes up this new group, the VDC, and the previous student groups such as SNCC and the FSM, is their growing awareness that the problems that face them, such as the freedom movement or their relationship to the University Structure or Militarism or Freedom from Poverty, are many sides of a much greater and deeper problem, that is to change society at its very roots. Social Justice is not an abstraction to them, some of whom have been physically beaten or gone to jail for their beliefs. Despite the trouble and suffering many of them have already endured their call for direct action and civil disobedience show that they haven't been deterred. I believe that we are witnessing the birth of a new revolutionary wave in the United States and one of great potential.

July 31, 1965 DAVID KOVEN.

and South Vietnam and the slaughter of the Vietnamese are not sufficient to stir the American conscience. Nor might even be the bombing of China. The National Liberation Front and the Chinese are 'non-people' to Americans. Unlike the civil rights struggle, there is no group in America which suffers directly from the Vietnam war; nor do the American people identify with those who do suffer.

Therefore, we must turn to new tactics to affect American public opinion. We must put OUR bodies on the line. The form of civil disobedience is undecided at this time, but consider this: if, for example, in Berkeley on October 16, thousands of students and others block the gates of the Oakland Army Terminal where munitions are shipped to Vietnam, and are arrested, we think that attention will be focused dramatically on the issues in Vietnam to an extent that no atrocity in Vietnam can match. The issue will be opened. Scenes of thousands of middle-class youth being carried away by military police will be in every American living room. Controversy about these demonstrations will go in churches and in pool rooms. People who would be with us if it were not for their reluctance to take a stand will be put on the spot. We will be in a better position to take the discussion about the war from the campus into the community.

The actual form of the civil disobedience will be discussed throughout the next months in workshops and in meetings. We hope for as much discussion as possible about this question. We think that the most effective form of civil disobedience would be one related to the issues and arguments that we are trying to make. For example, we might consider the en masse breaking of the Espionage Act of 1917 and the Selective Service Act.

Please begin passing the word around and communicating with us. We must unite, and we must begin now.

Barbara Gullahorn  
 Acting Assistant Professor  
 Paul Ivory  
 Jerry Rubin  
 Professor Stephen Smale  
**THE VIETNAM DAY COMMITTEE**  
 2502 Telegraph Avenue  
 Berkeley 4, California  
 Phone: 845-6637  
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## GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP.

Correspondence: Joe Embleton, 11 Balliol Street, Glasgow, C.3.

Meetings at Horseshoe Bar, Drury Street, Tuesdays at 8 p.m.

**MANCHESTER & SALFORD ANARCHIST GROUP.** For information contact c/o 4 Ouse St., Waste, Salford 5, Lancs. Open air meetings Sundays at Old Shambles, Victoria St. at 8 p.m.

**FREEDOM** selling Saturday afternoon, Central Library.

**ILFORD LIBERTARIANS.** Regular meetings and direct action contact W. E. Rodgers, 4 Sheldon Road, Dagenham, Essex.

**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. Next meeting September 19. 5 p.m.

**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.

## SOUTHALL ANARCHIST GROUP.

Get in touch with Roger Sandell, 58 Burns Avenue, Southall, Middlesex.

## PROPOSED GROUPS

**WEST KENT LIBERTARIAN ALLIANCE.** Anybody interested contact Peter J. Clarke, The George, Frant, Sussex.

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

**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.

**LEEDS LIBERTARIAN ALLIANCE.** Anybody interested please contact Roy and Frankie Todd at 15 Clarendon Place, Leeds, 2. Telephone 24282.

**NEW ZEALAND.** Auckland Anarchist Group. Public Meetings every Sunday in Myers Park at 2 p.m.



## The East German Uprising

Dear Friends,  
Perhaps I owe the readers of FREEDOM, and Jörg Christian Fauser in particular, an apology for not producing satisfactory evidence as to the left-wing nature of the East German Uprising in my article. These I omitted purely for reasons of brevity, and lest any further misunderstanding should arise, let me place some of this evidence before you now.

Firstly, it is interesting to note that the Uprising was vigorously supported by sections of the East German population well noted for their left-wing militancy in the past. 'The building workers of Berlin and the steel workers of Hennigsdorf were known for their support of revolutionary actions during the pre-Nazi era, 1918-1923. They were strongholds of the Communist movement in Berlin during that period. Under the Nazis they defied the regime whenever possible.' (H. F. Stille: *The East German Workers' Revolt in "New Internationalist" May-June 1953, page 141*). The record of the workers at the Leuna Chemical Works ('The Red Heart of the Reich') follows a similar pattern. There were mass Communist strikes there in 1918, 1919, 1920 and 1921; they stood on the Left 'where the heart is'. Even a Communist historian wrote of them 30 years later: 'Throughout the grim battle against the soldiery, the revolutionary working class fought like heroes... the battle raged for days and the Leuna bosses fled for their lives' (Article in factory newspaper, "Leuna Echo" of 28.3.51). On June 17, 1953, 3,000 at the Leuna Works took strike action in

solidarity with the Berlin strikers. Later in the day, there was a meeting of 20,000 strikers. "They put forward an imposing list of demands; wages, prices, norms, disarming of the works police, replacement of union officials, dismissal of SED (CP) officials..." (Stefan Brant: *The East German Uprising, pages 98-99*).

What general form did the Revolt take? 'Often the demonstrators went first to the prisons to ask for the release of political prisoners; only when their requests were refused did they storm the prisons... Yet in every way they refrained from taking the weapons of the disarmed guards for themselves. In the first place, they wanted to avoid bloodshed... a revolutionary pacifism unheard of in history...' (Norbert Mühlen, quoted in "Non-violence: A Christian Interpretation", page 351). Coupled with this, the use of a classical syndicalist weapon, the general strike, and the free and open election of strike committees at mass meetings to carry on the vital work of administration, these can hardly be classified as the actions characteristic of 'enraged national socialists' as Jörg makes out in his letter.

Even the thousands which disaffected from the Communist Party during the Uprising would seem to suggest that for all these Marxists there must have been a predominantly socialist appeal in the Revolt to make them hand in their Party cards; many Red Army soldiers refrained from firing on the strikers, and many Communists, and Communist Youth Organizations were known to have actively supported the Uprising.

Concerning demands for German Re-unification, these were also put forward by none other than Comde. Molotov

## LETTERS and Controversy Pro-Marx

Dear Editor,

I hope that J. Robinson, in his concluding note of reply to J. C. Fauser, doesn't mean that letters from this source are printed out of some kind of generosity. It is pointless to make the negative remark 'J.C.F. has a ready pen, there are more letters in FREEDOM by him than by anyone else'. Surely it is commendable that a person is prepared to spend time and energy in contributing to the search for the truth of reality, as a prerequisite for changing it. On the other hand, the plea by J. Robinson for J.C.F. to apply his pen and indicate the kind of alternative perspective he would expect the anarchists to be propagandising would, I feel sure, be generally endorsed.

himself at a compulsory Communist meeting at the Leuna Chemical Works. The workers shouted in unison 'We want free elections first!' In other areas, students refused even to discuss the topic. ("Non-violence: A Christian Interpretation", page 353.)

Jörg remarks that 'In any anarchist run industrial community, there would also have to be Plans. And they wouldn't have to make provision for "Humanity: for failure, weakness, anger..." I would strongly disagree here. Socialism, let us remember, is also a programme for the humanization of labour and society; a programme for workers' management of production; a programme which aims at the restoration to men of power over their own lives; a programme which concerns itself with all aspects of society. Compare this to the 'socialism' of the East German regime; compare it to the demands of the insurgents — demands to 'live like human beings', 'reduce working norms', have free elections of union officials and the government itself. These are socialist demands; they have nothing to do with 'fascism'. Had the East German workers any say in the management of the factory, or in decisions that affected them at work — if they had been living in a country which had some form of democracy and freedom of expression — there would have been no German Uprising.

I had an opportunity to visit East Berlin in 1962, but unlike Jörg, I did not see people 'laughing, singing, kissing...'; I saw the guns of the Vopos trained towards the Wall; I saw barbed wire and concrete which makes kissing impossible; I saw long drab streets and the singing was silence. Had I been able to take photographs I could have provided a more detailed description, but the workers' paradise is so incredibly beautiful, it seems, the lenses of our confiscated cameras would have just BUST.

Sincerely Yours,  
Edinburgh, 3  
10.7.65

### SORRY!

Several letters have had to be held over. Could they be shorter, please? —Eds.

## 'IF THE PEACE GROUPS CAN WORK TOGETHER — ANYBODY CAN'

TWENTY YEARS AFTER the victory over Fascism and racialism, the battle was still being fought. Protests were made at the reproduction of the swastika on a stamp commemorating the Battle of Britain; British publishers decided not to publish abridged paper-back version of *Mein Kampf* by Adolf Hitler and Odhams have decided to expunge from their *Concise English Dictionary* the definition of 'Jew' (as a colloquialism) meaning 'Extortionist, money-lender, bargainer' and as a verbal colloquialism 'Jew... to cheat, outwit'. President Johnson signed a bill withdrawing disabilities on negro voting rights, the British Government introduced new legislation strengthening the Commonwealth Immigration Act (including literacy tests), the Australian Labour Party (out of power) decided to modify its policy on a 'White Australia' policy, in pursuance of which a six-year-old Indian Fijian girl was deported. Australian students failed in their kidnapping attempt to prevent the deportation...

DR. DAVID PITT, former Labour candidate, resigned from the London Labour party executive because he said that racial discrimination had become worse since Labour came to power and would deteriorate because of the government's immigration policy. Mrs. Anne Evans, who is on the Labour Party list of prospective Parliamentary candidates, has written to inform the party secretary that because of the government's policy of 'discrimination on grounds of colour' she no longer wishes to be considered as a candidate...

MR. FOLEY, the Under Secretary, Ministry of Economic Affairs, gave it as his earnest hope 'that one day it will be normal for a West Indian woman to appear on TV as an ordinary British housewife extolling the virtues of Brand X.' Meanwhile, *The People* (with a front-page headline 'Coloureds blamed in big strike') runs on page 5 a story of an Indian in Wolverhampton who joined

## Future of the Committee of 100

THE LONDON COMMITTEE of 100 met on July 25 and decided to appoint a full-time Secretary. At the moment they are working with part-time voluntary help and a wage-fund is being organized for the Secretary when the right person is found. From August 9-22 Bill Hetherington will run the office and as half his wages will be paid by the National Committee of 100 this will cut down the expense.

The London Committee is supporting action (pickets, fasts, poster parades) against the war in Vietnam. Speakers and leaflets are available. Campaigns against conscription, germ and gas warfare are also being organized.

The wages fund referred to above is being administered by Paul Pawlowski, Wages Fund, 13 Goodwin Street, to whom all pledges and cash should be sent.

ments?

In a world where it is extremely difficult to find out the real truth of a given situation, wouldn't it be better if the two sides in controversy gave their opinions in a more tentative manner, rather than being hard and fast convictions, to be defended to the last? For myself, I have visited East Germany many times, along with my wife; we have stayed with her sister and family. If, because of these visits, I am expected to have firm conclusions of the situation in that country, I am sorry. I have certain impressions, that is all.

In East Germany, I have had no problem in travelling wherever I wished. This summer I had my car with me, and travelled hundreds of miles. It seems to me, then, that if J. Robinson obtained an entry visa to this particular Communist country, he would find no problems of movement and, as I have done, would be able to ask all the questions he wished. The essential point here is whether one is being given objectively truthful answers, and whether the people themselves can ask these same questions, in the places where it matters. Isn't this the same problem in our own country?

On a question of fact made by B. Jamieson, in a previous article, Stalin Allee, now Karl Marx Allee, is not dusty, unobtrusive, and ominously quiet. I found it to be a wide, clean, and handsome main street, flanked by fine shops, restaurants, and cafes, which were far from being deserted. On entering the vicinity of this street, I asked two strangers if this was indeed Stalin Allee. They replied yes, and added the new name, smiling at my rejoinder that Karl Marx Allee was probably a better name anyway.

Bradford, Yorkshire  
B. DOYLE  
27.7.65

## A WORLD FOR DEBBIE

Continued from page 1

Having observed at close hand many people who feel resentment towards coloured immigrants, close relatives as well as neighbours and workmates, I have come to the conclusion that genuine race or colour prejudice is at the bottom of only a tiny number of cases, say 3%. The reason for the hostility of the great majority of whites is almost entirely economic or, as in the case of Mrs. Goodes, family worries arising from other peoples' economic worries—worry about housing shortages, about falling property values and about jobs. There would be similar worries and resentment if there was a large influx into this country of Seventh Day Adventists, Norwegians (blonde bastards) or anyone else. And there would be (and is) objection to any neighbour whose presence reduces property values even if the person was born in that street.

**A CURE**  
What are the attitudes of libertarians to all this? Some of them, having correctly analysed the causes of race hate, go on to point out that such causes would not obtain in a free society. Very good, except that a free society, to put it mildly, is a hell of a way off and the hatred is here and now. Another attitude is to urge crash programmes for providing homes and jobs for immigrants when they arrive and this is a popular attitude because it swings the blame onto capitalism for not having done so already. However, this is not a solution at all because it would merely attract still larger waves of immigrants who would require still more homes and jobs and so on ad infinitum.

What then is the answer? There are two, they would both take a long time but they could actually be solutions.

The first is to raise living standards in Commonwealth lands so that their people won't need to come to Britain to do dirty jobs at low wages.

The second concerns building a climate of opinion whereby the coloured people already here are not treated with hostility.

With the 3% who believe all the clap-trap of racial superiority and inferiority, this is impossible. They are not open to rational argument, parts of their minds are so blocked with primitive emotions and fallacious drivel that it would take years to sort them out. I once tried arguing with the Nazi, Martin Webster, who, although otherwise intelligent, sounded on the subject of race like a gramophone with the needle stuck. But the Websters are a tiny minority and can be ignored. It is the 97% whose hostility has economic grounds who must change and they can only do this by changing their attitudes to economic matters. They will have to learn to live in such a way that wages, property and status are not the be-all and end-all of existence. They will have to learn not to mind when values drop when coloured people move in and when enough of them take this attitude the values won't drop. They will not have to worry about rat-race jobs and the way to do this is to get off the rat-race. They will not have to worry about their precious status and the way to do this is to learn other values. This requires more than just education in the sense of teaching that racial differences are only skin deep and do not matter. What is the good of teaching that at 14 if at the same time you don't teach the student how to avoid the things that make so many people bigots by the time they're 24.

If money and property and status became less highly regarded, people could instead re-discover neighbourliness, warmth, intelligent conversation, variety of taste and opinion. The place where Debbie would grow up might not be especially clean, it wouldn't be particularly pretty, but it would be safe. Safe in the knowledge that there was a high chance that she will become a person of warmth and understanding who has risen above the snob parochialisms and tin can materialism so prevalent today.

R.J.

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# The Devlin Report: A Warning

THE LONG AWAITED Devlin Report has now been published and its content and the recommendations put forward are those which were expected, and are as follows.

The 'first necessity is normal and regular employment', with the abolition of the present 'casual' system. A reduction is needed in the number of employers. For instance, in the London Docks, the present number is 76 and the report recommends that this be cut to 16. It further recommends 'elimination of restrictive practices' and that the National Dock Labour scheme be preserved and perhaps altered if need be in order to adjust itself to any change in the employment of dockers.

All the dockers' unofficial organisations, especially the Royal Group's liaison committee, came under attack and are described as 'wreckers'. The Report states that 'There is undoubtedly a minority in the docks of men who are well aware of the damage that can be done to the national interests by the disruption of the ports. They wield a power out of all proportion to their numbers. The source of that power is the *misconceived loyalty* (my italics) of the docker, and that source must be removed.' Later on the report goes on to reach greater height of patriotic nonsense when it says 'There may be in some of these

unofficial organisations who are traitors in thought, if not in deed.'

To those who prepared this Report, the so-called national interest is equated with those who are in power, not only the present Labour Government, but also those who continually remain in power, because they control the means of production, or, as in the case of the docks, the means of transportation, warehouses, equipment, etc.

## CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

Throughout our lives we are told that loyalty is a good thing, but loyalty to what? The loyalty that exists among dockers is something which has been built up over the generations. It is based on their interests and has proved itself over and over again. It means that you stick by one another through thick and thin—in other words, Solidarity. It is a quality which even the State finds admirable, provided that it is being used for its own ends as in the time of war. But when it is used against the employers, then it becomes 'misconceived'. This surely points to a conflict of interests between the dockers and the employers. A further conflict of interest is shown in the Report, that which exists between the union leadership and the rank and file. The Transport & General Workers' Union was rebuked for losing its authority over the docks, and its attitude of 'nothing can be done about it'. According to Devlin and his cronies, who include Brother Ford, President of the Miners' Union, the union's job is not to represent their members, but to maintain authority over them. Even though the Report attacks the T & GWU, the Acting Assistant General Secretary, Jack Jones, has called it 'constructive and significant' and said that it might help lessen the number of unofficial disputes.

While attacking the unofficial committees, the Report lists what it calls the causes of dissent in the docks. Lack of security heads the list, followed by preferential treatment for the 'blue-eyed boys', lack of responsibility, time wasting practices, casual management, overtime, piecework, welfare amenities and working conditions and TU organisational difficulties. For a start the insecurity lies in the fact that one day the docker might be at work and the next he is not and only gets his 'fall-back' money. This is what is meant by calling the docker casual, but not to the extent that he can get a job elsewhere or perhaps draw unemployment or other State benefits, for which he pays. These are closed to the docker for he is only a part of a pool of labour registered by the Dock Labour Board, who keep his cards. From this pool, the employers can draw labour if they require it. From this inhuman practice of the morning and afternoon call, stems the 'blue-eyed' favourites of the foreman.

## 'BEASTS OF BURDEN'

What of the conditions under which the dockers work? Just prior to the report, Pat Hay, of the unofficial Tilbury Liaison Committee, said that dockers were tired of being used as 'beasts of burden' and that they were refusing to carry excessive loads. He said that even Andrew Crichton, former Chairman of the National Association of Port Employers, himself suggested that 88 lb. is the maximum a man should be expected to carry at one time. The dockers have been humping around much heavier loads than this.

The only time the dockers get protective clothing is when they demand it and this can often lead to some form of action. Wash rooms are a rarity and toilets are often in such a bad state of repair that they are unusable. The stupidity of the employers, unions and

other authorities and their utter contempt for human life is such that, while crying out for men to work between 5 p.m. and 7 p.m. and at the week-ends, they provide no medical facilities at these times. In an industry which is a dangerous one at the best of times, this is a good enough reason alone for not working overtime, but the report does not deal with these niceties.

So far all efforts by the employers and the unions, excepting the National Amalgamated Stevedores & Dockers, to get the docker to accept some plan for 'de-casualisation' have met with failure. The main aim of these schemes, although giving a higher wage for those who do not get work, is to get more control over the docks, putting them on factory-like lines. Of course to the large number of small employers now in the docks, this sort of scheme would be unprofitable, but if the number is to be reduced, then this will pave the way to what is called 'de-casualisation, regular employment', etc., which really amounts to more control.

## ACTION BY THE GOVERNMENT

According to Devlin and his committee, this is a must and the Report recommends that if any scheme drawn up by the employers and the unions is resisted by a 'minority', meaning the unofficial committees and the 'misconceived loyalty' of their supporters, then the Government should impose a scheme for regular employment. Therefore it looks as if we have reached the stage of totalitarianism. They also say that the Dock Labour Board, made up of 50% union officials and 50% employers, 'should take firm action and receive national support (i.e. that of the government) for it, whatever the economic consequences may be'. One of the reasons for the DLB not taking firmer action previously, when unofficial disputes have taken place, is the fact that they know that the 'misconceived loyalty' of the dockers and the principle that 'an injury to one is an injury to all' involve more dockers in the dispute, bringing about the economic consequences they fear.

The Devlin Report is, to my way of thinking, a warning to the dockers and must be acted upon. It is an outline of what they can expect to face in the near future. In many respects, the docker faces probably one of the toughest struggles so far and this time his opponents, the employers and the Government, mean business, particularly the latter. They are determined to smash the rank and file organisation and any resistance to its plans. With the modernisation of the docks costing millions of pounds, the employers are going to make sure that the labour force has been made docile.

What the employers and the Government are worried about is the amount of control the dockers already have, for because of the solidarity which does exist, they more or less dictate what cargoes are to be handled and the rates paid, and while this solidarity exists, it will be very hard for the Government to impose any scheme upon them. At the same time, the liaison which exists between dockers should be strengthened and extended to bring in other workers who are involved in the docks, such as the lorry drivers, seamen, etc., for, after all, if the Government can impose a scheme on the dockers, it might be someone else's turn next.

P.T.

## Apprentices & Young Workers

It is now painfully obvious that no successful apprentice strike can be launched without a determined effort to set up a united apprentice and young workers' organisation. We call on supporters of the political and libertarian left to drop their political differences in the attempt to improve apprentice conditions and organise the apprentice movement.

We appeal to all existing young workers' and apprentices' committees to increase their agitation; we call for all socialists to step up their propaganda on the apprentices' behalf; of all young workers in industry, we urge that they devote all their energies to organising 'one united industrial youth movement', to fight for our industrial demands.

R. S. MARSDEN (NUGMW), M. MELITIA (AUFW), I. SHRYANE (AUFW), B. BAMFORD (ETU), P. FRANCE (AEU), K. BRENNAN (NALGO), B. DEAN (ASSET), A. BARLOW (TGWU), V. JOHNSON (TGWU), B. SHUTTLEWORTH (TGWU).

# FREEDOM For Workers' Control

AUGUST 14 1965 Vol. 26 No. 25

## Solidarity for Clyde Bosses

CLYDE Ship Builders' Association have taken an unusual stand. They have decided to come to the assistance (in practical terms) of one of their fellow members of the Association, John Brown (Clydebank).

Electricians at John Brown's yard are in dispute over payments of an incentive bonus to enable modern production methods to be put into operation. The ETU had decided not to spread the strike throughout the yards but, nevertheless, 15,000 maintenance electricians stopped work in sympathy with John Brown's men. The CSA reply to this action was to instruct its Association members not to engage any of the men on strike until a settlement was reached. They unanimously agreed, they could not allow one company to be victimized by a union in this way 'in what has been, from the outset, a district issue'.

ETU officials state that they had exhausted all the negotiating procedure and it was the employers who were preventing progress. The President of the ETU, Les Cannon, has stated that similar pay-for-productivity bargains have been concluded with other employers to their mutual advantage.

The ETU is limiting the official strike to John Brown because this is the only yard where procedure over wage negotiations has been exhausted, but they are pressing for productivity agreements at other yards.

James Jack, General Secretary of the Scottish TUC, attempted to get the CSA to lift its lock-out decision but no joy.

More than a thousand shipyard electricians turned up for work at the request of their union but the CSA refused to employ them. The ETU now intends to declare all the strikers official as a result of the lock-out.

Obviously, the employers are after a showdown; their excuse for taking this lock-out action is that they are concerned that the recognition of such a productivity bonus will snowball through other trades i.e. carpenters, engineers, etc. The real crux of the matter is the fact that shipyard employers want their workers to pay for technical advancement, either in terms of redundancy or more work for the same money. We often hear the cry that British ship builders are being priced out of world markets and needless to say shipyard workers take the can back, when in fact the employers are intent on maintaining their profit margin and, therefore, costs can only be cut at the expense of the shipyard workers.

This is the first practical sign of solidarity amongst employers that we have seen for some time; the idea could catch on, the only way to combat this, of course, is solidarity amongst the workers, not only in the industry in dispute, but also in allied industries.

## 'ALL THE CAKE AND EAT IT TOO'

Ten thousand workers in the car industry are facing a lean time; it appears that the employers are really digging their heels in. At the Birmingham Aluminium Castings factory at Smethwick, 80 dye-casters are in dispute over piece-work rates for operating the dye-casting machine. The workers are demanding 35s. per 100 castings, which is 5s. more than the management is prepared to pay. This dispute has been in progress for a month and the workers have suggested to the management that they would return to work so that negotiations could be reopened on the disputed piece-work rate, but that no work should be done on the machine in dispute until a rate had been agreed. This has been rejected by the employer. This is not surprising as employers are like the army, 'Do the job first and scream afterwards'. But, as everyone knows, this is a 'take on'.

The Midlands district organiser of the strikers union (Metal Mechanics) commented on the Company's attitude. He stated, 'If it cannot move an eighth of an inch away from agreements, rules and regulations, then it appears that thousands of workers in the motor industry are going to be kept from their jobs'.

It is reported that the Ministry of Labour will be asked to intervene, which in turn means a compromise as always on the part of the car workers.

Another dispute which has also hit the car industry is by maintenance engineers who service computers. ASSET, the union involved, intends intensifying the dispute. International Computers and Tabulators are the employers of the service engineers so it could possibly mean that ASSET, to intensify the dispute, could pull their members out at one of ICT's own factories.

The motor car industry is making a packet, so much so, that orders are running well ahead of production. The 'boss boys', as usual, want all the cake, the workers at this stage only want a larger portion, but the day will come when they will want, and take, the lot.

B.C.

## HYDE PARK DEVELOPMENT APPEAL

Dear Sir and Brother,

We are requested by the Strike Committee of the above dispute, to put out an appeal for funds to support our members involved.

Twenty-four members withdrew their labour on Tuesday, July 13. The firm had sacked the Shop Steward, which resulted in the members taking industrial action. Resulting from DO negotiations he had been re-employed on the site, but subsequently the firm refused to recognise him as the elected representative of the members. This attitude caused the members to again stop work, and the firm has now discharged all the operatives concerned.

The Strike Committee agreed to support the members in their action and to recommend payment of benefit, also to refer the matter to a Disputes Commission via the Regional Secretary NFBTO.

The EC have deferred a decision pending a report of the Disputes Commission which met on Thursday, July 29 and failed to reach a decision.

Meantime our members continue to picket the site.

Donations should be marked 'Hadens Dispute' and sent to Bro. F. Warman, c/o PTU, 48 Grafton Way, London, W.1.

Yours fraternally,  
T. W. SULLIVAN,  
District Secretary.

## WHO LOSES IN VIETNAM?

With this copy of FREEDOM you should receive a copy of a poster issued by comrades on the Vietnam war. By the generosity of a comrade we are able to send this poster free. Please display it if you can, order more at fourpence each or 30/- a hundred, or repay us for this specimen copy.

It may not be possible to include a poster with all overseas subscriptions so please enquire if you are interested and do not receive one, or if you want another free specimen for friends.

## Contact Column

**Correspondent.** Dutch anarchist—speaks English — wants English anarchist correspondent. Arthur Mendes-Georges, c/o W. de Lobel, Wilgenstraat 58b, Rotterdam 11, The Netherlands.

**Birmingham Group to Libertarian Camp.** ATTENTION! The projected Mini-bus trip is now cancelled due to lack of support.

**Andrew Gordon.** Will Andrew Gordon of Norfolk contact his home?

**Back to the Soil?** Would anyone like a fortnight (August 14-28) on a farm, in return for a few hours help in the house? Anne Albon, The Stable, Glynleigh Farm, Pevensey, Sussex.

**New Zealand Federation of Anarchists.** First Annual Congress, December 26 to January 6. Enquiries Box 5455, Auckland CI, NZ.

**Canadian Camp.** Libertarian Summer Camp to be held on the week-end of August 20 at Doug Worthington's, Church Road, Sooke BC, Canada. Informal discussion groups, etc. Activities to be decided on by the participants.

**French Camp Travel.** Anyone going to Anarchist Summer Camp, France in August with a spare seat? Share expenses. Frances Edwards, c/o Marlow, Manor Farm, Wood Eaton, Oxon.

**Accommodation Wanted.** Young man, ex-freedom-school pupil would like bedsitter with cooking facilities or full board, or share flat with one or two others, South London area, before end of July. Please phone: STReatham 6085.

**Vietnam Posters.** 'Who Loses in Vietnam—Always the People'. 4d. each. 30/- per 100. Orders to Freedom Press.

**Room Wanted—London.** Shift worker would like room with mod. cons. South, or West Kensington. Box 11.

**Fifteen-Year-Old Comrade** from Paris wants to stay with family (including someone of similar age) for the month of August. Write Box 12.

**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.

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

If you wish to make contact let us know.