

Oh What a Glorious Budget

AS THE DATE of the Budget drew near all were wondering who was going to 'get it in the neck'.

The workers expected to pay and were not disappointed, except this time the 'con man' wrapped up his proposals in silver paper and tied them with a faint pink bow.

In the last few months the word 'Anarchy' has been bandied around by employers and unions alike, in their criminal ignorance, they classify anarchy as chaos, therefore, by their book the Chancellor's budget is 'bloody anarchy' but no, broadly speaking everyone is satisfied with the budget including bankers overseas, after all they are the people who matter, they are our pawn-brokers.

It was obvious to all, that Callaghan had to get the cash from somewhere. What must have happened was that on the night prior to the budget Callaghan had a nightmare and as a result, Britain is lumbered with the 'Selective Employment Tax' (SET).

According to the Government White Paper the purpose of the tax is to achieve two main objectives. (a) Improve the structure of the tax system by re-dressing the balance between services and manufacturing. (b) Encouraging economy in the use of labour in the services, in other words greater mobility of labour.

This sounds all very nice in terms of modern economics, driving the labour into the export industries. To be perfectly frank there is very little, if any, overstaffing in the service industries, those types of job are not taken for the size of the wage packet, but for convenience (part-time hours, etc.) and in the terms of a 'lighter job' (not heavy manual or excessive speed), therefore the possibility of forcing labour into the manufacturing industries is very small.

SET also defeats another government objective, the policy of decasualisation.

According to a chief executive of one major contractor the new tax would certainly not further decasualisation of labour in the industry. A company would be more than ever inclined to pay a man off as soon as possible.

The shipbuilding conference welcomed SET. Any move which would attract skilled workmen from the service industries to the shipyard would be more than welcome. If shipbuilding is not a precarious industry, I don't know what is. Who, with any sense, is going to move from a comparatively safe 'service' to shipbuilding? How many souls have been sold to keep Fairfields going?

SET, if it doesn't do anything else will certainly get the 'pressure groups' going. Co-op MPs are going to have to earn their CWS corn. The other big stores, Gamages, etc., are going mad, although I don't really see why, they can pass the cost onto the consumer, if they don't they will defeat the 'real' objective of the tax—the curtailment of spending.

Another important aspect of the tax is the fact that the type of employment which receives no refund, employs the majority of lower paid workers, therefore, what chance do they stand now when making an application for a wage increase? As more and more legislation is churned out from the gasworks at Westminster, the more the Prices and Incomes Policy is exposed. PIB is there to help the 'lower paid workers'. This is one of the biggest lies that has ever been perpetrated by any government.

Taking SET out of its silver wrapping and pale red bow we find that Joe Soap pays as usual. Mr. Callaghan claims there will be a small rise in the cost of living index and sees no reason for further wage claims. Jim, lad, you are due for a shock—the 'City' may play ball with you, but the workers certainly will not.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

Good Luck OLYMPIA PRESS!

IT had to happen one day we knew, but now that those terrible books in the 'Travellers Companion' series are to be published in England, instead of Paris (then smuggled in under plain cover), those guardians of the 'nation's morals' will be putting up a stiff struggle to get them banned.

The first shots have been fired in the *Daily Express* by a certain Robert Pitman who has called them 'filth' and attacked Maurice Girodias who is the publisher.

WHY ALL THE FUSS?

Now there is no law, either here or anywhere else for that matter, that says that one should be forced to read the books of the 'Travellers Companion'

series, or that anyone should be forced to read any book at all, unless it be the Bible which has 'mucky' bits in anyway, so why all the fuss?

The *Daily Express*, always to the front in any battle for the suppression of liberty, unless it be the liberty of the 'haves' to rob the 'havenots', has decided to draw its pure minded middle class reader's notice to something he would otherwise be ignorant of.

You see everyone (including the *Daily Express*) knows that a little 'muck' increases the circulation and is good for business. The best way in puritan Britain (especially in a right wing paper) is to attack it. For you see then you can waste in without anyone suspecting your true motives, which are to make (not a crusade) but money.

'ART' OR PORNOGRAPHY

M. Girodias has been allowed to reply in the columns of the *Daily Express*, and has done so quite well, but it is not the good name of Girodias

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ANARCHY 62

IS ABOUT
VOLUNTARY
SERVITUDE

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A FREUDIAN SLIP

Jack Robinson points out that when, in his article on the General Strike, he referred to 'Havelock Ellis' as blackleg leader of the NUS he meant (of course!) J. Havelock Wilson. Our apologies to any friends of the late Havelock Ellis, without whom sex would have hardly been the same.

Liberty, Equality & Radio-Activity

MUROROA is the location of the French government's hydrogen bomb testing base. It is an atoll 780 miles south-east of Tahiti. The nearest inhabited island is Tureia, 160 miles away and has 60 inhabitants whom the French authorities do not intend to evacuate. The Pitcairn Islands are a nearby British possession. Mr. Harding, the Colonial Office official who is responsible here for the Pitcairns, told me that 70 people live there, and that he was well aware that the tests 'were in the offing'. I wanted to know whether any plans had been made for the evacuation of the Pitcairn Islands, or whether any representations had been made to the French government. He referred me to his Press Officer, whose three days' research produced this answer to all my questions:

'The interests of the people of Pitcairn have been kept in mind and there are arrangements to cover any situation which may arise.'

The same British phlegm characterised the Shaw-Saville line's spokesman, who said he frankly wasn't perturbed by the tests, which he said would start on July 14 (Bastille Day), according to his reading of the *Daily Telegraph*. His ship, the *Southern Cross*, calls at Tahiti on July 2 (according to precise and courteous information from Lloyd's of London) and will be 'well out of the area'.

His other ship, *Northern Star* will, however, return there in August, which is still within the testing period which is scheduled to last until September. He said individual shipowners have not yet been warned—this would be done on a higher level.

The Board of Trade's maritime department has not, however, contacted the Chamber of Shipping, to which shipowners belong. Other shipping lines serving the area are Blue Star and Manz. There is also a Wellington-Pitcairn Islands service depending on the weather. In addition, the area is frequented by fishing boats from as far away as Japan.

The French, according to a New Zealand government spokesman, Mr. Smythe, have been 'very secretive' about the tests. 'We have still not been informed whether the tests are to be underwater, on the ground or in the air. Our shipping has certainly not been forewarned. You can quote me that we are utterly opposed to these tests and have been making strong protests to the French government for the past two years.' He was kind enough to send me a press release, hitherto ignored by the British press, setting out the opinion of an eminent dairy scientist, Dr. W. G. Whittleston.

DAIRY EXPERT ON DANGER FROM NUCLEAR TESTS

The effects of nuclear fall-out from the forthcoming French tests in the Pacific could be far more dangerous and costly to New Zealand than people realised, according to Dr. W. G. Whittleston, a senior dairy scientist. New Zealand had a very strong case against the test to take to the United Nations, Dr. Whittleston said. In 1963, after the resumption of large scale testing, strontium 90 levels in the Northern hemisphere were up to 24 times the Australian (and presumably New Zealand) levels. The start of French testing would reverse this situation and

greatly increase the level of contamination of New Zealand milk, he said. 'It can be said without fear of contradiction that New Zealand and Australia have the radiochemically cleanest dairy produce in the world,' said Dr. Whittleston. 'In Japan there is a tremendous market opening up for our produce at a time when the Common Market may well affect our traditional markets. The Japanese are exceedingly sensitive to radioactive contamination in their food. French testing will destroy the valuable asset we now have in the low strontium 90 level of our product—an asset which could mean millions to us in the future. If we lose this market now we will have a harder fight in the future to displace our competitors', Dr. Whittleston said. 'Japan is only now becoming a consumer of dairy produce in any quantity. Now is the time to get into the market and we have a winning card in our hands—if we can stop the French tests,' he said. —(N.Z. Press Assn.)

It was to allay Australian and New Zealand fears that journalists from those countries were 'shown around' Muroroa. Here they were shown a computer which can forecast wind direction and were assured that France 'will not explode atomic devices until a computer advises that winds will carry the fallout clear of inhabited islands'. Such a wind would carry the fallout westerly, not in the direction of New Zealand and Australia.

This assurance has failed to satisfy the latter two countries, who are continuing their protests, and has succeeded in alarming the Latin American countries in whose direction the wind will be blowing (taking in the Pitcairn and Cook Islands in its route), who in turn fear a threat to another basic industry, in this case fishing.

Only recently Ecuador, Chile, Colombia and Peru combined to expand and co-ordinate their fishing industries. The French tests may well ruin all this. The second secretary of the Peruvian Embassy was only too eager to talk to somebody about it. He said that he was in Tokyo at the time of the last tests and that he had been 'very apprehensive'. There were many 'complications'—he recalled the sufferings caused to Japanese fishermen and the radioactivity of their catch. He gave me permission to quote from a letter from President Belaunde Terry to General De Gaulle.

The Peruvian people and its Government are following the reports announcing the forthcoming French atomic experiments in the Tuamotu Archipelago in the Pacific Ocean with great concern. Unfortunately, within the present development of nuclear science it is not possible to categorically affirm the harmlessness of atomic experiments, whose dangerous effects are still unknown and which could cause countless damage to the health of the peoples of the affected region, to the wealth of the sea and other sources of production in that very sea or in the adjacent coastal waters, as well as having unforeseeable repercussions of another nature...

Opposition against the French tests is widespread in Latin America. At a recent meeting in Mexico, the 21-countries commission for the denuclearisation of Latin America, called for a halt to nuclear tests 'which might endanger the health of the peoples of Latin America or damage their maritime or other natural resources.'

The information officer for the Atomic Energy Authority told me that he was

**FRENCH TEST
ACTION MEETING
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FOOD & POPULATION

AT A RECENT meeting of the LAG in the 'Lamb and Flag', the question was raised, 'Did the speaker realize that the most important question at the moment was that of the population explosion and food shortage, etc.?'

As the subject of the meeting was 'Desert Islands', a talk on isolationism, I have yet to discover the purpose of the question, other than the airing of the questioner's point of view (quite irrelevant to the discussion).

Undaunted by the reply of the speaker who said he did appreciate the gravity of the matter, the questioner then went on at some length to expound his theories on population control, in particular the aborting of every woman's third child (perhaps he may want to set an example by 'topping' Prince Andrew).

The question of man in 1,000,000 years' time was raised. I have never heard such tripe in all my life. I have a shrewd idea that I may not be around in 1,000,000 years' time hence I am more concerned at the problems of the day.

Let's consider the facts. Is the world over-populated? I think not. On a recent visit to New Zealand I was surprised to find when flying over Canada and North America how sparsely populated it was, bearing in mind that England has a population of 60,000,000, yet is only one-tenth the area of Texas. So I think that America with its 180,000,000 has a bit of room. Then there is Australia with an area almost the equivalent of the USA, yet with a population of only 10,000,000. Even allowing for their desert, I would say there's a fair amount of room.

These two countries are not the only examples. But would Australia, which is crying out for more population, consider letting in the Asians? Definitely not. This has been a matter of some controversy in both Australia and New Zealand, where mixture of both social and racial prejudice prevails. However, it is considered good practice by these countries to keep coloureds out, as this prevents any additional racial problems.

worried about the tests. 'Mind you, here we only deal with the peaceful uses of atomic energy,' he said. He had been worried about the Russian, American and British tests also at the time.

This was echoed by the spokesman for the United States Embassy in London. 'We signed the test ban treaty and we have kept to it. We denounced the Chinese high altitude tests and we equally denounce the French tests.' But he was not sure whether his government had made any special representations to President De Gaulle. 'It's all very well for the French scientists to say that the fallout will be dispersed. We also made mistakes in the past. Methods of calculation are more sophisticated now, but following our tests in the Pacific, radioactive dust fell on places where it should not have done.' He added: 'These tests may set a precedent for resumption by other Powers. Any, even a minimum amount of rise in the level of radioactivity, is dangerous. The US would welcome a total test ban if some sort of verification could be worked out.'

When asked what could be done to stop the French tests, Mr. Petters said, 'Nothing. They have embarked on this series and nothing will shift them. The same with China—they don't listen to anybody and they only talk to Albania.' He didn't think sending ships into the area would restrain the French; they would go ahead and if there were casualties they would say: it's your own fault—we damn well told you to keep out.

The Russian Press Attache was just as gloomy. 'France has a constitutional government and so has China. It permits them to do what they like and we cannot interfere. We would like to see total disarmament and would like people in all countries to think about this seriously, because the alternative is going to be war.'

What other opposition is there? The New Zealand peace movement was trying to build boats to go into the area. This project seems to have fallen through for lack of money. A New Zealand railway union has appealed to French railway unions to help to stop the tests. In France there have been small demonstrations. It is reported that the chairman of the Tahitian Assembly has been arrested and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment for treason. On this there is hardly any information.

New Zealand butter, Peruvian fishing are in danger, the livelihood of sailors and dockers at stake; the colourful beauty of Polynesia menaced by the dark cloud of radioactive contamination. The number of malformed children will be increased, the world brought one step nearer to nuclear war.

There was nothing but courtesy and co-operation from the many government officials contacted. But they were spokesmen for countries who are in this case victims not perpetrators, or of those who felt relieved that they were not really involved. The real governmental answer came from the French:

'French Embassy here. French tests? I'm sorry, sir. We have no information. The Press Attache is busy.'

JOHN RETY.

Now consider India. Is India over-populated or is it a question of lack of food and housing which is more a question of under-development? Thousands are dying through starvation, yet in 1962 the American Government paid \$1,000,000,000 in subsidies to farmers to destroy their grain (most Christians that I have met seem to think it improper to suggest to the Americans that they should give their grain away rather than destroy it).

Japan is a country that has a food shortage. Its people are particularly prone to fish eating. New Zealand has a coast prolific in fish. Small fishing boats travel over 1,000 miles from Japan to fish the New Zealand waters. However the New Zealanders have extended their territorial waters to six miles instead of three to counter this. This is somewhat reminiscent of the old parable of the monkey placing a fence around the apple tree forcing all the other monkeys to steal.

Thus it would appear that the problem is not one of land shortage, or of the need for abortion, but one of greed and unequal distribution.

KEN WHINES.

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THEY ARE DOING the same for the nineteen-thirties, now, as they did for the First World War—books and radio series, learned talks and reappraisals through tinted glass. There is almost a suggestion of a half-heroic age before apathy diminished us all: Auden and Isherwood prancing, crusaders brawling for the supremacy of causes, Left Book Club setting the pace and mass-observers assiduous with notebooks. Before the myths take root, then...

What I remember is beggars. Our town was a London suburb with a street market, a music-hall, and a thousand beggars. Indeed, I would think there could not have been so many if I did not remember where they stood. In one stretch of fifty yards, for example, there were five. The little legless man who sat on the kerb by the sausage factory, playing a tin whistle. The palsied creature crouched along the wall by a row of pictures pitifully copied from old magazines. The one huddled over an ancient music-box which played only Tosti's 'Goodbye'. The old man outside the Baths, croaking songs in the gutter. And the barrel-organ player, with 'No Pension, No Work' chalked huge and frightening on the side of his instrument.

Further down the High Street a man without hands drew caricatures, holding a thick pencil between his stumps. There was another poor devil, deformed by hydrocephaly, who sat in a chair proffering boxes of matches. Most bore placards—'Ex-Service'; 'Wounded at Mons'—and some showed medals for bravery in battle.

Everybody was out of work. While those wretches begged, able-bodied men walked the streets for work, grovelled and cried for work; the advertisement of a menial, ill-paid job would bring a queue of hundreds. I knew of the dole and the Labour Exchange long before I was aware of what they were. That's

MY NINETEEN-THIRTIES - 1

my big sister, she's going up the Labour. I met this fellow up the Labour. There was a fight today, up the Labour.

Yet, incredible as it seems, things were worse elsewhere. We lived on a corner near the main road. Men would knock at our door and ask for a cup of water or a slice of bread. They were not bums, but decent respectable men who had walked from the Midlands or the North because there might be work in London. Frai! hope; but where they had come from there was no hope at all. In a cotton-mill town, when the mill closed down appeal had ended.

T. S. Eliot wrote in *The Rock* of 'two men to one cigarette': evocative, but of too many cigarettes. The back-street shops split twopenny packets of five and sold them at a halfpenny each. My friend Albert's family had a stall, so he worked on it and had a relative kind of prosperity. Unemployed men whom he had known at school used to hang round the stall in disconsolate idleness. When he took out a cigarette, Albert said, he felt guilty; when he lit it and exhaled the smoke, he felt their eyes boring into him. And always, the pain grown unendurable, someone would shuffle nearer and mutter: 'Let's have a draw of that. Only a draw.'

A man got 15s. 3d. on the dole, and in 1934 the 3d. was lopped. For his wife—but for no other dependant—he got 8s., and 2s. for each child. Thus, a family of five had twenty-nine shillings a week to live. After six months the dole was no longer payable, and the Public Assistance Committee applied the Means Test. To qualify for relief a family had to show that its resources

were exhausted; a relieving officer came round and pointed out the belongings which must be sold before any more money was given.

All this, in and after the depression years. Yet it was not a sudden pestilence, but an intensification of how things had been for as long as anyone remembered. Mass unemployment was taken to be a permanent feature—the industrial reserve army—of the capitalist system. A million was normal. So was its excess by crises. In 1921 the figure rose to two-and-a-quarter millions, and at the peak of the 1929-31 depression it reached nearly three. Whole towns were unemployed; people left school, grew up and married on outdoor relief.

Partly because the depression had led to the spectacular collapse of the second Labour Government, the theory became current that the capitalist system itself had become unworkable and collapsed. This was an old one, dating back to the last century. In the thirties 'collapse' was cried excitedly by the Communists and many of the ILP and the Labour Party. The speakers at the top of my High Street thrilled their crowds with it: it was the decline of Rome, the death-throe of aristocratic France again—the eve of revolution. The crowds, in fact, wanted to hear almost anything. At least one feature which resembled Rome and France was the contempt of many of the rich for the poor. Newspapers reported speeches by incredible public figures who thought the unemployed were simply lazy; George Orwell noted similar phenomena in *The Road to Wigan Pier*.

In this light, it is not difficult to comprehend why numbers of people looked

to Russia. When western capitalism appeared beyond providing anything but destitution, any attempt to build an apparent alternative compelled attention. The Webbs, the most venerable figures of the Left, had produced a massive volume whose title was a slogan—*Soviet Communism: A New Civilization*. The Left Book Club leaned heavily towards Sovietism, and the western powers' hostility to Russia seemed a strong recommendation. At thirty years' distance the adulation of literati and scientists may seem ludicrous, but in the circumstances of the time it was a natural, if naïve, form for humanism to take.

R.B.

GOOD LUCK OLYMPIA PRESS

Continued from page

which is at stake here (he publishes books to make money anyway), it is the freedom to publish and read any kind of books, be they art, literature or just pornography.

No doubt the police (aided and assisted by those noble guardians of other people's morals) will attempt to seize books as they have done in the past, and when they do they will be defended in the courts as 'art' whether they are art or not (a procedure which usually makes the defenders look ridiculous anyway), but the real point of it all is should people be allowed to read what they want to read, or only what their 'betters' want them to?

What is a dirty book? It is a book with sexual episodes in it. It is that simple. What is a puritan? A puritan is a person who gets his kicks stopping other people from getting theirs.

In the argument between Pitman and M. Girodias, the former says that he is firmly in favour of sex. What kind of sex? He doesn't say. He cites a book published by Girodias called *Whips Incorporated* as filth. I haven't read it (and I don't see how anyone so pure of mind as he can have read it either) but I don't suppose that it is much different from the bilge that Ian Fleming wrote, except that the people probably enjoyed beating each other about, and there was more copulation and less anti-communism.

SUBSTITUTES

Fleming's books are a substitute for sex, and so, no doubt is *Whips Incorporated* but, if people get their kicks that way (in fantasy) it's surely better than them getting them in reality beating up kids or something. *Lolita* is now (one would have thought) above reproach, but Pitman finds it 'nasty'. He read it, in fact he says that he must have been one of the first to read it, and that he still thinks it bad for it to have been published. By saying this of course he admits the fact that: (a) He reads 'dirty' books; (b) He gets sent them under plain cover from France; (c) He believes that it's all right for him to read them but not others; (d) He also makes a living by attacking them.

MERCENARY OR 'BENT'

Let those who like 'mucky books' read 'em, and let those who don't, mind their own bloody business. Most people read *Lolita* for the 'mucky' bits (they didn't find any, but that's why they read it). Most people in the States read *Candy* for the 'mucky' bits, so what? By the end of the year millions will have read the 'mucky' bits in *My Life and Loves*.

Why shouldn't they read 'muck' if they want to? Anyway Mr. Pitman, to make a fuss about something which in no way harms you, and in no way prevents you from reading *Ivanhoe* or whatever you prefer—to get hot under the collar over something that cannot affect the 'pure' because they will never know about it, is to say the least, either mercenary or 'bent'.

JACK STEVENSON.

ACTIVITIES

MEETING OF THE N.W. ANARCHIST FEDERATION

THE MEETING was held at the Lord Nelson, on Saturday, April 30. Representatives of Buxton, Chorley, Manchester, Merseyside, Rochdale, and Stoke-on-Trent Groups were present. A Federation Secretary was appointed to act as a co-ordinating centre for the Groups within it.

The Federation decided to look into the possibility of organising a week-end school on the subject of 'Industrial Action'. Dates and venue will be announced later. Mention was made of the proposed visit to Manchester of a member of the Solidarity Group, near to the end of May. It was thought possible that a publication could be brought out in the month of September. The meeting decided to make a further attempt to contact the Manchester Socialist Conference to secure an Anarchist speaker at the end of the May Day march. The provisional date for the next meeting of the Federation was set at June 25.

The May Day march (minus the support of the Labour Party—our thanks have been duly registered) was well-attended by comrades. The march passed the Lesser Free Trade Hall where the Labour Party was holding its ecstatic meeting presided over by local dish-washing MPs. On learning of this breakaway group of full 20 persons we, in a magnanimous mood decided not to overwhelm them with our presence. So we duly made our way to the one plot in the land of the free in Manchester—outside the underground car park off Deansgate. Measures have been underfoot long enough to awaken the City

Council to the need for a PUBLIC speaking place and this will no doubt be a much sorer point in Manchester before much longer.

The final meeting was spoken to by members of the YCL, ILP, CP, SC, M/c University Liberals, and for the Anarchists and Syndicalists—Alan Barlow, whose traces of normality were well received.

J.O.B.

MAY DAY

MAY DAY in Glasgow went up in smoke, literally! Clouds of belching white smoke released by ...?..?..? drifted over the Queens Park bandstand and enraged the assembled Labourites. Publicity was very good, the *Scotsman* had a picture showing a Glasgow anarchist struggling with Labour Party Stewards. From the picture I'd say he was winning. Hope they're not too badly hurt, George!

One Trades Council bureaucrat described the disruption as 'organised'. Very perceptive, it takes a great deal of thought to work out that you can't buy smoke bombs in Marks and Spencer's!

Smoke shouldn't really worry Wilson's mob anyway, they're putting up enough smoke screens themselves. Meaningless talk of new social services, while one seventh of the British people live in poverty. Patter about peace and international disarmament, while they support US aggression in Vietnam. Talk of prosperity while they plan to outlaw the strike weapon.

Our Amsterdam comrades have given us a new weapon for protest. Smoke! Can we dare to hope that the revolu-

tionary movement will make full use of this lovely weapon?

During the next few weeks we'll publish the recipe for lots of lovely smoke. After that you're on your own, do what you want with it.

On behalf of Aberdeen Anarchists,
IAN S. SUTHERLAND.

POLISH EMBASSY

IN APRIL 1965 between 12 and 15 individuals, mostly young communists, were arrested in Warsaw for producing a pamphlet. Since then, in trials last July and on January 12 of this year, at least five of them have been imprisoned for three or three and a half years each.

The pamphlet they produced contained criticisms, from a left socialist standpoint, both of the Polish Government, described as a 'bureaucratic dictatorship', and of its reactionary opponents. It demanded workers' democracy based upon workers' councils and a return to 'proletarian internationalism'.

All genuine socialists—regardless of whether they agree with the pamphlet or not—must protest at this treating of socialist critics as criminals by a government that at least claims to be socialist.

A demonstration of protest is being held outside the Polish Embassy in Portland Place on Sunday, May 15 at 3 p.m.

This will be preceded by a March leaving Speakers' Corner (Marble Arch) at 2.30 p.m.

All sections of the left are asked to join us. Bring your own banners and placards.

(Issued by the Libertarian and Socialist Defence Committee, 120 Holland Road, W.14.)

Anarchist Federation of Britain

c/o Freedom Press, 17a Maxwell Road, London, S.W.6.

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.

MAY 15 J.P.S.

Anarchism is not a Humanism

MAY 22 John Papworth

Anarchism as a Method of Organization

MAY 29 Peter Cadogan

Getting rid of the Marxist Hangover

Public Meetings every Sunday Hyde Park, 3 p.m.

Correspondence to David Boughton, 10 Gilbert Place, W.C.1.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

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

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

WANDSWORTH LIBERTARIANS. Correspondence to Tony Cadman, 116 Titchhurst Road, Earlsfield, London, S.W.19.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

ABERDEEN GROUP. Meets at the Adelphi 2.30 p.m. every Sunday. Correspondence to M. Dev. 29 Springhill Crescent, Aberdeen.

ARLESEY GROUP (N. Herts., S. Beds.). Meetings on first Friday of month. Correspondence

to Peter and Maureen Ford, 102 Stotfold Road, Arlesey, Beds.

BEXLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence to Paul Wildish, 2 Cumbrian Avenue, Barnehurst, Kent.

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence: Martin Bragg, 5 The Drive, Hunton Hill, Erdington, Birmingham, 23. Sales and Committee of 100: Gordon Causar, 27 Upper Gungate, Tamworth, Staffs. Peace Action Centres Project: Paul James, 50 Windermere Road, Hanworth, Birmingham, 21. University of Aston Group: Dave Massey, 5 Gladstone Road, Erdington, Birmingham, 23.

BRISTOL FEDERATION. Enquiries to Ian Vine, 3 Freeland Place, Hotwells, Bristol, 8.

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

CHORLEY ANARCHISTS. Contact Alistair Ratray, 35a Devonshire Road, Chorley, Lancs.

COVENTRY ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence Secretary: Eric Harrison, 9 Hermitage Road, Wyken, Coventry.

DUNDEE GROUP. Contact Bob and Una Turnbull, c/o Doctors' Residence, Stracathra Hospital, Brechin, Angus.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP ONE. Correspondence to Robert Lynn, 2b Saracen Head Lane, Glasgow, C.1.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP TWO. Meets 11 Balliol Street every two weeks. Contact Joe Embleton.

HARLOW ANARCHIST GROUP. First meeting Wednesday, February 23 at 14 Centre Avenue, Epping. Enquiries to Keith Nathan, 12 Shawbridge, Harlow or John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping.

ILFORD LIBERTARIANS. Regular meetings and direct action contact 212 Vicarage Road, Leyton, E.10.

LEICESTER ANARCHISTS. Correspondence, Peter Gibbon, 22 Fosse Road Central, West End, Leicester.

LEWISHAM, LONDON, S.E.13. 61b Granville Park. Meeting postponed to May 12 at 7.30 p.m.

MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact: Mike Mitchell, 3 Bakewell Road, Droylesden. Meetings every Tuesday, 8 p.m. at the Lord Nelson, Chapel Street, Manchester.

MERSEYSIDE FEDERATION. Enquiries: Barbara Renshaw, 4 Clarence Road, Devonshire Park, Birkenhead, Cheshire.

NORTHOLT ANARCHISTS. Contact: Jim Huggon, 173 Kingshill Avenue, Northolt, Middlesex. Meetings first and third Wednesday of the month at Jeannie's, 6 Epson Close, Northolt Park, Middlesex, at 7.30 p.m.

NORTH-WEST ESSEX. Meetings on the first Saturday of each month at 7.30 p.m. at Robert Barltrop's, The Old Vicarage, Radwinter, near Saffron Walden.

ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.

OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact H. G. Mellor, Merton College, Oxford.

PLYMOUTH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Contact J. Hill, 79 Underlane, Plymstock, Plymouth, Devon.

READING ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Alan Ross, 116 Belmont Road, Reading, Berks.

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

NORTH WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Regional Secretary: J. Bromley, 44 Doncaster Avenue, Manchester, 20. Buxton: Chris Berrisford, 10 Byron Street, Buxton. Chorley: Alistair Ratray, 35a Devonshire Road, Chorley. Manchester: Mike Mitchell, 3 Bakewell Road,

Droylesden, Manchester. Meetings every Tuesday 8 p.m. Lord Nelson, Chapel Street, Salford.

Merseyside: Barbara Renshaw, 4 Clarence Road, Devonshire Park, Birkenhead, Rochdale; Ian Heywood, 16 Mansfield Road, Bamford, Rochdale. Stoke-on-Trent: Bob Blakeman, 52 Weldon Avenue, Weston Coyneb, Stoke-on-Trent.

EAST LONDON FEDERATION

WALTHAM FOREST ANARCHISTS. Contact Lionel Donnelly, 322a Hoe Street, Walthamstow, E.17. Meetings every Thursday at above address.

WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Contact Stephen Higgs, 8 Westbury Road, Forest Gate, E.7.

WEST LONDON FEDERATION. First meeting Monday, May 9, 8 p.m. 'The Anchor', Ealing Broadway. Speaker from 'Solidarity' and discussion.

PROPOSED GROUPS

EALING, LONDON, W.5. If interested contact Don Clarke, c/o 6 The Park, Ealing, W.5.

NOTTING HILL GATE. Anyone interested in reviving the libertarian group get in touch with Brian McGrath, 27 Arundel Gardens, London, W.11.

BELFAST, IRELAND. Contact Peter Stringer, 7 Duffy Street, Belfast, 13.

LONDON, CRYSTAL PALACE/NORWOOD. Please contact Bill and Kate Beveridge, 50 Camden Hill (3 rings), London, S.E.19.

MARLOW AND BUCKINGHAMSHIRE. Get in touch with Stella A. Fauser, 35a Spittal Street, Marlow, Bucks.

ABROAD

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

USA, ALBANY, NEW YORK. Contact E. Straus, 230 Washington Avenue, Albany. Discussion group meets about twice a month.

AUSTRALIA. Sydney Anarchist Group. Public meetings every Sunday in the Domain at 3 p.m.

Correction on Conference

HAVING read Northolt Anarchists and on the whole rather accurate report on the Paris Anarchist Youth Conference, I nevertheless feel I have to correct some misrepresentations and omissions.

We weren't so pleased with the conference or with its (lack of) outcome, but that doesn't matter, it depends on what you expect of a conference rather.

Two statements I feel I definitely have to contradict however. The first is one for which in our country I would be severely taken to task, were it that I had said what NA allege me to have said. I did in fact say that there were three groups in our country (FA, VRYE-Group and the provo's) of which I indeed stated that the latter were in general considered anarchists (by the bourgeois press) but after my opinion, for which opinion I gave the reason, were not that they helped political parties but wanted to put themselves up as a party in the coming municipal elections. The statement that 'they exist to provoke authority to expose its corrupt nature' didn't come from the person who gave this report about Holland (i.e. me). It is a typical provo slogan and was in fact uttered by the single representative of theirs at the conference, a delegate of the Brussels Revo-Group.

In the second place I definitely didn't mean to say that our (DE VRYE's) activity would be mainly to educate the Dutch about the goings-on in Franco-Spain; I meant to say that our first coming activity after the conference would be to do this. Our main activity is formed, and will be formed, by the diffusion of anarchist ideas by means of our diverse publications.

We don't think it was said that 'we, outside Spain, must awaken the Spanish as a whole to the fact that people are everywhere helping in the struggle against Franco'; but I am not sure enough about this to contradict it. Maybe NA heard better than I did at that moment. But surely I must contradict the statement that 'it was felt that CNT had compromised with the communists and

fascists in Spain'. This was not felt generally, as the statement implies; in fact the understanding that some individuals in Spain belonging or having belonged to CNT, made up with the Falange, is too well known in its circumstances, than that such an impression could exist. It is true, however, that CNT in exile wasn't considered any more as fully representative of the Spanish revolutionary exiles, and that the FIJL (Federación Iberica de Juventudes Libertarias) was generally felt to be able to grow up to this position.

When, finally, NA say that 'it was decided that DE VRYE-Group should co-ordinate communication', then I, as representative of DE VRYE-Group cannot do anything else but call this statement bunkum! DE VRYE-Group made a proposition in regard to the installation of an International Secretariat, and pledged itself to the fulfilment of all the tasks that would follow from this proposition. The proposition seems, however, not to have been favoured especially by the French comrades who seem, in our opinion to be a bit over-afraid that any organisational activity should leave Parisian or French hands. I was obliged to state with regard to the above-mentioned 'decision', that my mandate didn't allow me to undertake any other responsibility on this point than that which evolved from our proper proposition. I must have added to this that we didn't think the proposed organisations to be favourable to an effective and efficient flow of the work to be undertaken. In our opinion the organisational structure proposed is awfully oversized in comparison with our actual numbers and importance.

While not being altogether happy with the conference and its result, I agree with Northolt Anarchists that the making of contacts that quite logically accompanied it was a very good thing, and that maybe this was, in some ways, worth the trouble.

ARTHUR MENDES-GEORGES,
co-editor of DE VRYE,
anarchist monthly, Holland.

'New Deal Planned for North American Indians'

-The Times

ACCORDING TO *Newsweek* General William C. Westmorland has calculated that in order to cut its casualties to one-third the US must double the present American force of 215,000. By tripling the force, the US commander estimates the casualties would be cut in half. Neither he, nor *Newsweek* give the answer to the question (not asked by draft boards): how many men should the US have in Vietnam to have no casualties? [Answer on page 4.]

RESIDENTS of Redwood City, California, where napalm is made for the US Government—it recently awarded an \$11 million dollar contract for 100 million pounds of napalm to a Redwood company—have petitioned opposing the leasing of land on which napalm is manufactured. They are objecting on moral grounds to the continuance of such a lease, 3,761 signatures have been secured.

THE MORNING STAR (née the *Daily Worker*) glimmered with an editorial on the front page puffing itself for having 'less space devoted to advertising, and more in proportion to news and articles, than any other paper,' and asks 'readers to compensate for our comparatively small advertising revenue'. On the same page a news item draws attention to Mr. Frank Allaun, MP's question asking Mr. Wilson 'to encourage the survival of smaller circulation papers, such as the *Sunday Citizen*, by asking [government] departments to give an increased share of advertising to such publications.' The *Morning Star* reminds readers that the government had been approached previously for such advertisements to appear

in the *Daily Worker*. Later the *Star* carried an announcement for the People's Press Printing Society that a resolution would be put before the AGM that if the circulation of the *Star* did not exceed that of the *Worker* by December 1966, the name of the paper should revert to the *Worker*. The *Star* is to have crossword puzzles. The *New Statesman* which has had a typographical face-lift is dropping them. The *Times* has had a 'facial' with news now on the front page—it was said to be the only paper which reproduced most fully, certain of the more shocking evidence in the 'Moors' murder trial.

MR. MAURICE GIRODIAS, late of Olympia Press, Paris, and publisher *inter alia* of *The Sex Life of Robinson Crusoe* was guest speaker at Foyle's Literary Luncheon. He has transferred his publishing activities to London, in association with the New English Library.

THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH'S correspondent at the Moors murder trial was Mr. Elwyn Jones who, they somewhat belatedly assured us, was no connection with Mr. Elwyn Jones, QC (who was prosecuting). Six publishers are reported to have books on the stocks about the Moors trial. The National Union of Journalists expressed its 'profound horror' at the *News of the World's* contract with the chief prosecution witness at the Moors trial. It has not yet been disclosed who, if anybody, has contracted for the story of the two defendants, who were both sentenced to life imprisonment.

CRITICISM was made of Lord Moran's publication of the inside story of Winston Churchill's last years. Whether this would be a tour of intestinal fortitude is not known but the *New York Times* Book Review (13.3.66) reviewed *Churchill's Last Years* by Roy Howells, a male nurse (appointed in 1958 after the patient had had four strokes). The reviewer said, 'You might suppose that there wasn't much of a book left in him at that point—but this would be to

reckon without the bulldog qualities of the relic industry. After all, Sir Winston still managed to brush his own teeth (three times a day, as it happens, fifteen minutes a time) and there is at least a paragraph in that. He also managed to take numerous baths, ducking his head mischievously on occasion and coming up 'beaming and delightfully pink'. And there were other occupations: burning holes in his pyjamas, for instance, and getting paint on his coat, changing hats and putting on his undershirt without dislodging his cigar'.

A WRITER on the Special Operations Executive's wartime work in France criticises much of the revelations of women agents saying: 'The ghastly story of V.S.'s sufferings, published in her mother's and daughter's lifetime, is so far as I can ascertain completely fictitious'. Further, of Odette, GC, 'Unfortunately her experiences in Ravensbruck had induced in her a state of nervous tension so severe that she had considerable trouble for many months in distinguishing fantasy and reality'. The author concedes that some women agents were tortured but 'the other stories of torture come from the prurient imaginations of authors anxious to make their books sell'.

AN EXILE Spanish-Anarchist group in Rome claim to have kidnapped Monsignor Marcos Urruti-Cocchia, a Spanish priest-diplomat to call the Pope's attention to political prisoners in Spain.

THE VATICAN WEEKLY *Osservatore della Domenica* deplores the installation in a North Italian church of an automatic electric machine for distributing the host (the transubstantiated body of Christ) at Holy Communion. 'This,' it said, 'was one of those false and artificial initiatives which betray . . . the liturgical renewal under way in the Church.'

JON QUIXOTE.

LETTERS & Controversy

bunkers, or it might be writing their own poems or stories, articles or songs.

I am prepared to read poems at anarchist public meetings, and will be happy to take part in London or in the country: failing this, if a chairman or speaker is needed to talk on anarchist ideas or pacifist war-resistance I shall be pleased to help. Here's health to Poets and Singers.

Sincerely,
London, N.W.1 DENNIS GOULD.

Towards Workers' Militias

DENNIS GOULD in his long article which is supposed to be about the pamphlet 'Anarchism: Six Essays by Members of London Anarchist Group' asks 'Who is going to read this pamphlet?'—the answer is surely obvious, the general public will read it. Not just a section of the people, such as the Gandhian pacifists like Mr. Gould. While I agree that there is no such thing as the 'common man', we can safely make some generalisations about the public—for instance, that it is mainly working class, that it does not reject violence in all circumstances, and that it has not accepted non-violence as propagated by (for instance) the Committee of 100.

Comrade Gould (hereafter known as D.G.) quotes Albert Meltzer as saying (more or less) 'Some Anarchists will not tell the people they must take up arms, neither will they tell them they must not.' D.G. answers, surely it is our duty to suggest methods of struggle. I agree. I belong to the third category which Comrade Meltzer left out—the Anarchists who will tell the people to take up arms. And as for 'being prepared to fight in the workers' militias'—surely we should take the initiative in forming them, not just join something formed by another group of people—the workers—we are the workers. I don't look forward to fighting, I think we should lay the emphasis on appealing to the forces of the state either to refuse to act or to come over to us. This has happened in every revolution so far. The better our propaganda, the less bloodshed.

'It is the fashion for *Solidarity* supporters to ridicule non-violence.' Not true. What has happened is that a section of the Libertarian movement makes itself appear ridiculous. There are times when non-violence could be effective. Unfortunately, it would take sensible people to make it so.

As for remaining weak and reliant on occasional demonstrations, perhaps this applies to D.G. but it does not apply to the working class movement which possesses the weapons of syndicalist struggle leading to the general strike, the 'stay in', and the defence of factories and cities under workers' control by the workers' militias.

D.G. talks of 'shrinking groups of supporters'. Supporters of what? The Celtic? I have not noticed the supporters of Anarcho-Syndicalism shrinking. Maybe he means the Committee of 100. It would neither surprise nor worry me if he did.

What D.G. and others like him must realise is that the Anarchist movement is not pacifist and never has been. While he may succeed in bringing some (but not all) comrades to his viewpoint for a time, in a period of intense struggle (surely the very thing he hopes for if he is a revolutionary) the pacifist element will wither away 'like snow upon the desert's dusty face'. And nothing is more certain than that, in a period of intense struggle, many people, previously apathetic will heed the voice of armed-struggle. So there am I, with my fellow workers, plus some soldiers who have 'come over', defending a factory which we now control against the attack of police plus fascist type auxiliaries, when into noman's-land walks D.G. and sits down. I won't shoot him, but I can't speak for the fascists.

People who hold that an armed workers' militia will be necessary to defend the gains of revolution are not bloodthirsty. Neither are they dogmatic. We are sane, adult, responsible people. This is more than can be said for many pacifists. But let us give D.G. the benefit of the doubt. If he can give a well argued case for Anarchists becoming pacifists and attempting to achieve a social revolution by sit-downs and satyagraha, let him do so. Only I would like to ask him—what do we do about the ones who believe in a world governed from Calvary, or the gods of Olympus, or Veganism, or the Pope?

MICHAEL BUCHANAN.

NZ Congress

YOUR ISSUE of January 29 publishes a report on the anarchist conference recently held in New Zealand. In summarizing the contents of the various talks given, your reporter somewhat misrepresents my argument.

My talk was really a criticism of both classical anarchism and Sydney Libertarianism, and not an anarchist criticism of the latter. I distinguished two notions which we tend to run together. One is the notion of *anarchy*, a society without rulers. The other is the notion of *non-coercive and non-authoritarian behaviour*.

Anthropological inquiries have shown that many societies are anarchies in the first sense, thus disposing of the common objection to anarchist proposals that *anarchy*, in the sense of a society without rulers, is unworkable. Political *anarchy* is workable, at least in societies with certain types of economy. But the primitive and peasant anarchies do exhibit coercive and authoritarian features. For this reason it is mistaken to equate *anarchy* with non-coercive and non-authoritarian behaviour as many anarchists do. If we distinguish the two notions we may be led to interpret the authoritarianism of such anarchists as Bakunin as something other than an aberration. Perhaps what they were interested in was *anarchy*. Hence their proposals were directed to establishing that, not to establishing conditions in which people would act in a non-coercive and non-authoritarian manner. The latter notion requires *anarchy* in the first sense, but the former notion does not require non-coercive, etc., behaviour.

I was interested in the article by John Pilgrim in *Anarchy* 58. He seemed to be coming very near the position I presented in my talk.

KENNETH MADDOCK.

WINNING!

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Anarchism vs Socialism

Dear Comrades,

Many of the audience at the Easter Sunday meeting at Conway Hall must have wondered what the vituperation at three minutes to ten was about.

If so, they will find the answer in the current issue of *Oxan*. It contains an article attacking anarchism by Adam Buick, of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, and a reply to it by me. Unfortunately for Buick, I was a prominent member of the SPGB for many years and am well placed to evaluate his claims. He came to Conway Hall to say he didn't like it.

If Buick wants a public argument, I am ready, as a supporter of the Anarchist Federation, to meet him in a public debate on Anarchism v. Socialism in some suitable hall in the London area.

I say 'if he wants an argument' because his yelling on Easter Sunday was done at the close of the meeting, when he knew there was no opportunity for a reply. Members of the audience may also judge the quality of Buick's political thought by his accusation about the menacing activities of an 'anarchist bouncer' at the door of the hall. This hulking bully in fact was trying to dissuade six people from bringing in Vietcong flags: he was John Retý, about five feet two.

Radwinter ROBERT BARLTROP.

Apology

Dear Comrades,

I owe Jeff Nuttall an apology, in so far as I believed and imputed that he

was a plant of the Gibbs-Duff's, masquerading as an anarchist in order to discredit us. I suppose I overrated the intelligence of the Dibunff in suspecting that it could make such a good choice if it had done it deliberately. I should be interested to know when, prior to Nuttall's arrival at the Square, there had been this request for an anarchist speaker which we are alleged to have declined. I have bought and enjoyed 'My Own Mag' on two occasions, but I fear it never dawned on me that it was intended as an anarchist magazine.

Yours fraternally,
Witney, Oxon LAURENS OTTER.

More Violence—Less Revolution

The Editors,

Poets like Thoreau would have felt distinctly that Vincent Johnson's letter 'Violence is violence' was an acceptance of the *status quo* and an attitude that violence was a good thing for revolution and anarchism. It was Bart De Ligt who said that 'the more violence the less revolution'.

Like Gandhi, Thoreau said it is better to take up arms to free one man than to do nothing in the name of humanity . . . but he also suggested civil disobedience and, by implication, non-violent resistance. As for poetry being masturbation I suppose it could be. Yet any poet who feels with passion and compassion wishes to share his work, to read his poems, to have them printed so that others might be aroused emotionally and intellectually into creative work themselves (cf. sex). Such creative work might be destroying and removing ugly war reminders . . . pillboxes and

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Seamen Can Win

IN THE LAST five or six years rank and file seamen have become increasingly active, as was illustrated by the unofficial strike in 1960. The National Seamen's Reform Movement played an active part in this struggle, but since that date has declined in strength and influence. But despite this fact, rank and file pressure has carried on consistently. Seamen's conditions have improved, not because of, but in spite of official leadership of the National Union of Seamen. The leadership of the NUS has always been traditionally 'right wing' and could be relied upon to support the 'right wing establishment' at the TUC. In fact the NUS had the doubtful reputation of being one of the finest 'company unions' in the country.

How and why was this allowed to continue? Because of two im-

portant factors: (a) full time officials were allowed to vote; (b) by the very nature of their job contact between seamen was, and is, very difficult. Consistent rank and file organisation and activity is almost impossible. A couple of good rank and file papers have appeared but were unable to overcome the aforementioned difficulties.

One particular issue which has been consistently pressed for by the rank and file was the establishment of ships' delegates (shop stewards on board ship). The very thought of this idea has always been vigorously opposed by both the NUS and the shipowners. After years of agitation and pressure 'a bastard scheme' was dreamed up between the NUS and the shipowners. A pilot scheme allowing NUS appointed ships' delegates to be allocated to some ships for a trial period. Rank and file pressure has again 'won out' in the sense that it has forced the official leadership of the NUS to call an official strike from May 16.

The main point at dispute is the question of overtime at sea. Seamen are demanding a reduction of hours from 56 to 40 hours a week. The employers concede the case for paid overtime but want it spread over three years. The general secretary of the NUS, William Hogarth, and his negotiating committee unanimously recommended acceptance of the employers' offer, claiming they could get no more. The rank and file NUS executive rejected the offer completely. The employers' offer means that, starting from next month, five year service ratings holding efficient deck hand certificates would get approximately £16 per week.

The fact that is not generally known and therefore not appreciated is that the skipper can dock a man's pay for breach of discipline or give a man a bad discharge if he has been a naughty boy. This is all part of the seaman's lot.

At a meeting on the fifteenth of April, the NUS executive stated that in no circumstances would they let the pay dispute be referred to the Prices and Incomes Board. On the same day Ray Gunter called the seamen and the employers to meet him to 'explore the differences'. Hogarth said there was no point in meeting unless there was an im-

proved offer, and the employers stated they would adjust their offer provided it didn't 'cost any more'. Representatives of the NUS and the shipowners met Gunter and explained their respective points of view.

Ford Geddes, the shipowners' chairman, claimed that crews in a number of ships had said they wanted no part in the strike. So what! There has never been a dispute yet which hasn't met with some opposition from some of the workers involved. This is the role of the press to ferret these people out, then 'blow it up' in banner headlines, i.e. *Guardian*, 2.5.66: 'Seamen not Solid for Strike'.

On May 2, Ford Geddes, chairman of the Shipping Federation, issued a statement which included the remark that shipowners would rather have a strike than meet the present demands of the NUS. The owners, it is claimed, would welcome a reference to the PIB or a Court of Inquiry. Obviously the PIB would support the employers but they might not fare quite so well with a Court of Inquiry.

At its annual conference held a few days ago, the NUS unanimously backed its executive's call for strike action. Hogarth made an appeal for unity when he said, 'I'll lead the band if you are 100% behind me'.

On May 5, the Minister of Labour made a second attempt to avert the strike. He met the shipowners the following day, but made no progress.

Sir Donald Andersen, chairman of the P & O group shipping, has sent a personal message to the crews of all 350 ships in the group, in an attempt to break 'solidarity'. He accuses the CP of trying to get a grip of the movement, and the North East coast seamen get special mention in this respect.

Ray Gunter saw the NUS general secretary on May 7, and again 'no progress' was reported.

Interviewed on television after the meeting Hogarth stated that his executive might support a Court of Inquiry if there was a slightly improved offer.

This sounds like a repetition of the railways solution. If Gunter can kid the employers for a further crumb (which in effect means nothing), thereby taking a step towards a Court of Inquiry, he could be home and dry. This would suit Mr. Hogarth and the negotiating committee. Regarding the NUS executive, I doubt whether the crumb would be big enough for them. We can rest assured that within the next few days both Gunter and Hogarth will try to call off the strike, it's in the hands of the rank and file what kind of settlement is finally reached. Seamen, of all people, should never trust leaders, they know them to their cost.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

CALLAGHAN'S ANVIL

AFTER THE APPLAUSE died down in the economic press it suddenly dawned on the pundits that they had been applauding the rather clever trick of an expert pickpocket. The sudden wail of the various entrepreneurs and three card trick men who were going to lose money rose up and have obscured the whole basis of what Jim Callaghan's budget was all about. He has by a very neat trick deflated the economy by two measures, the first is by taxation and the second is by creating a situation conducive to unemployment. Now, it would be rather unwise to think that this budget has been conceived in a vacuum. The rumours amongst the financial tipsters about the disagreements between the Treasury and George Brown's happy bunch of planners have been proved patently false by this budget. It is quite obvious from the way it is hitting at certain sectors of employment that it will depress the labour market so that dear George can get to work on the other side of industry. It seems obvious that the Hungarian Economics bureau have realised that a prices and incomes policy will be impossible to implement in certain areas, particularly amongst so

called 'services', so they had to work a way out of the problem and still make sure that money was being taken out of circulation. Hence the selective employment tax.

BROWN'S HAMMER

Brown's hammer has yet to swing, but since we know already what he is up to, it seems that the Treasury really have been co-operating very well with his new Ministry. The one side of economic life which really can be controlled easily (or so they think) is large-scale manufacturing industry. These particular industries are able to offer higher wages than most and because of labour shortage provide an inflationary effect on the labour market. That is, other industries and occupations have to offer higher wages to compete for their men. Now these large manufacturing industries are going to be the first on Brother Brown's short list for attack.

Unfortunately the British workman has laid his own head on the block for Brown's axe. The first large chunk of wages which will feel the pinch will be his overtime. When of course he realises that his real wages have dropped he will suddenly get all union-minded

Freedom For Workers' Control

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OUTSIDE THE LAW

HARDLY A DAY passes without some attack on the Trade Unions. They have become the whipping boys for many, not only the employers and the politicians, but also for some of the trade union leaders.

Of course, this is nothing new, but there is no doubt that over recent years the clamour for curbing the power of the trade unions has been on the increase. In fact with the change to a Labour Government, it has reached a new peak. One can dismiss a certain amount of it, but it is having an effect. In the last General Election, 'reform' of the Trade Unions was used as a vote catcher by all the three main parties. We do seem to be working up to a position where, by law, the trade unions and their members will be very restricted. The Early Warning Prices and Incomes Bill is part of this, together with the Royal Commission, both designed to shackle the trade union movement of this country.

To read some of the national newspapers, one would think that the unions were all powerful, holding up the 'country and the public to ransom'. All the means of mass communication have been used to make this point, but the unions, on the whole, have completely failed to point out their position in society or to counter these attacks. This massive campaign against them has, I think, succeeded and 'public opinion' is all for curbing their powers. However union members are in a minority, for out of a working population of 24m., only about 9m. are in fact in a union. These figures illustrate a failure on the part of trade unions to show that they are a worthwhile organisation to join.

One of the illusions that has been created is that trade unions are legally privileged, but this is far from the truth and it is quite wrong to assume that they were put on such a strong legal footing with the passing of the Trade Disputes Act of 1906. Trade unions, as such, might now be recognised and accepted, but in fact they are now a means to discipline workers rather than to achieve great social advancement. However, they are only a formal structure, a means of organisation and a part of a much wider and greater body, the Labour Movement. By this I mean the shop stewards' committees, their combines and rank and file

groupings that exist throughout industry. This is a movement that is really involved in the day to day struggles in industry and it is the activities of this that the employers and the Government want to curb.

Apart from the day to day struggle for improved wages and conditions, there is the continual struggle over the legal status of the Trade Unions and the activities of their members. At times, as at the present, due to a strong line being taken by the Government and the employers, this becomes intensified. For instance, in 1927, following the failure of the TUC in the General Strike, the Government outlawed sympathy strikes and this was not repealed until 1946. In the *Rookes v. Barnard* case, the Law Lords found that the defendants were not pursuing rightful trade union objectives but were out to injure the plaintiff. That is one way of looking at it, but the defendants were only acting to ensure a closed shop, which after all is a trade union objective.

WRITS SERVED

Recently, because of an unofficial strike of car delivery drivers, writs have been served on those who are considered to be 'the ringleaders of a conspiracy'. Mr. Lawrence Port, of Port's Deliveries, is claiming damages from these 'wildcat strikers'. If he wins the case then the whole position of the unofficial strike will be very precarious. In fact, legally, there will be no right to strike and any workers who do will be laying themselves wide open for prosecution. But as we all know, 'the Law is an Ass' and it is open to so many interpretations that it is hard to know exactly where one stands.

Common Law is often invoked, cutting across what are called 'trade union legal privileges'. The example most commonly met by strikers being the threat of a charge of obstruction against a picket line. What chance has a striker in a court of law when arrested on this charge. The defendants cannot really expect justice. Those who will pass judgement are far from being impartial. They come from a totally different environment and their mode of living and view of society are those of the employers. If the employers and those who administer the law think they can get away with it, then they will try.

UNITS OF PRODUCTION

Both the Government and the employers want a labour force which will help solve their problems for them in the capitalist struggle for world markets. A labour force which will accept the rationalisation plans of the State and the employers, will accept 3½% wage increases, a certain level of unemployment, being uprooted and moved, and generally treated as a unit of production as opposed to a human being.

It is not by relying on left wing Labour MPs, either of the 'old' or 'new' type, but by having a strong Labour Movement, organised at rank and file level, that these moves to shackle the trade unions will be defeated. A Labour Movement organised in this way can not only prevent any more restrictions from being legally imposed, but can also prevent any more prosecutions.

The trade unions and their members have always been outside the Law. The strength of our own organisations is the safeguard against the Law and it has to be built up and used. As the very moderate General Secretary of the Postal Workers' Union, Mr. Smith, said about the strike weapon, 'If you give up that right you give up the right to call yourselves free men'.

P.T.

NONE

'SPARKS'.

Contact Column

Provo-types. Belgian contact. Christian Stein, 19 Rue Ste. Pierre, Liege, Belgium.

Aberdeen Vietnam Week. June 5-11. Pickets, leafleting, teach-ins, meetings, vigil, etc. Details, support to Bob Comrie, 288 Hardgate, Aberdeen, Scotland.

John Coveney. Tom Cousins and Ian Petrie of Glasgow—and Freedom Press—would like to hear from you.

Rebel Worker. First English number of America's wildest, experimental libertarian socialist journal. 1/- post free from Charles Radcliffe, 13 Redcliffe Road, London, S.W.10 or Freedom Press.

All-Hail! Glasgow Fed. of Anarchists Group 2 recently formed need cash for a loud-hailer which is urgently required for a forthcoming Faslane demo. Donations please to Joe Embleton, 11 Baiol Street, Glasgow.

Hospitality wanted. Sixteen-year-old comrade (male) from Paris would like to stay with family during summer vacation. Write Box 29.

King Hill Hostel. Demonstration outside Minister of Health's house. Meet 3 p.m. Kentish, Town tube station, Sunday, May 22.

Job/Girl/Country. 16-year-old comrade (working-girl, not student) with problem parent (widow) seeks permanent job in country. Preferably near some Peace/Political Activity evenings and weekends. Anything considered. Contact through Peter Neville, 12 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham, 23, urgently.

Anarchist Badges. Red and Black Nuclear Disarmament badges 9d. each, 12 for 5/-, 50 for £1, all post free from Birmingham Anarchist Group, Gordon Causor, 27 Upper Gungate, Tamworth, Staffs.

Accommodation Offered. To responsible person in return for taking child to school some days and a (very) little housework. Write 15 Pennine Mansions, Pennine Drive, Golders Green, N.W.11 or phone MEA 1872.

Accommodation. Young couple seeking accommodation in West or NW London with view to communal flat. Not too expensive. Grateful for any type of reply. Box 27.

Accommodation. Flat or rooms required in London area (preferably unfurnished) by teacher and wife. For one-year period from September. P. and M. Ford, 102 Stofold Road, Arlesey, Beds.

Accommodation Vacant. One bunk empty—happy, tolerant girl wanted in s/c flat, in lowest Lambeth, details REL 5224.

Teachers. Would anyone interested in the idea of a Libertarian or Anarchist Teachers' Association write: A. W. Taylor, Basement Flat 1A, 10 St. Georges Terrace, N.W.1.

Accommodation wanted. Accommodation needed by couple (small income) with boy of 2½ and baby. London. Preferred unfurnished. Reliable and considerate. Box 23.

If you wish to make contact let us know.