

## ANTI-ROYALTY SONGS CHARGE

HOMES OF seven members of Glasgow 'Solidarity' were raided last Friday (December 9) and police have confiscated their duplicator and other equipment and literature including all copies of a Folk Song Book, *Irish Republican and anti-royalty songs* (published by Solidarity). The police have also taken away the last edition of *Solidarity*, *Scotland* and also copies of *FREEDOM* and other leaflets. Amongst those whose homes were raided were Jim Fyfe, Norman McLeod, Sam Morris, Jack Selby, Alan Sinclair and George Williamson.

So far four people have been charged with 'publishing, printing and distribution' of the folk song book. More raids and charges are expected.

Our comrades are charged that they 'did between 1st November and 9th December publish, make, print, sell or distribute a publication, Irish Republican and anti-royalty songs. This publication being profane, indecent and obscene'. The present (probably not final) charge comes under the Glasgow Corporation Further Powers Act.

James Wark, who was charged with possessing the pamphlet, was asked to give a rendering of the title page song—a skit on the 'Yellow Submarine' which is frequently sung as 'Bread and margarine'. There is a reference in the song to the Queen's red, white and blue undergarments. The words are by 'Celtic' supporters. Other songs in the six-page duplicated booklet include the 'Patriot Game' by Dominic Behan and 'NAB for Royalty' by Jim McLean (whose support is requested by the accused).

The pamphlet was sold to football fans outside the Celtic ground at Wednesday night's European Cup game between Celtic and Nantes. An anonymous purchaser sent a copy to Glasgow's Chief Constable, Mr. James Robertson. The informer also wrote a letter to the local paper in which he said: 'These are nothing but treacherous and disgusting songs aimed at degrading the royal family.' He further adds: 'In view of the recent publicity given to singing of obscene songs I think if the sale of such song books could be curbed it would go a long way to curtailing such obscenities.'

Chairman of Celtic Football Club, a Mr. Bob Kelly (the boy from Killane?), also condemned the publication. He said, 'I deeply deplore the hawking of any such publication. This is a matter for the police, and we shall be getting in touch with them about it. I hope they will take immediate steps to stop it.'

Most of the Irish songs and all the short vicious anti-royalty songs are regularly sung at Celtic Park despite Mr.

Kelly's protestations. The other more 'sophisticated' songs are sung often in Scottish Folk Clubs.

Some of the songs are Irish Nationalist—all about Bearnagh boghail and Erin's cause befitting the Celtic crowd with their flag of white and gold with the crossed keys. But there are short, pithy comments like:

'Some day we dream  
There will be no Queen  
Or Royal hangers-on  
Or pimps  
Or bosses poncing off our labour.'

More information about the case in next week's *FREEDOM*.

JOHN RETY.

# Massacre in Fleet Street?

A COLD DRAUGHT has started to penetrate the corridors of Fleet Street. The words 'Financial Crisis' spread from one office to another right down 'the Street'. The talk of 'crisis' did not start at the time of the economic freeze but long before that, although purely in terms of advertising the freeze hasn't helped.

The *News Chronicle* murder brought public attention to the supposed poverty of the newspaper proprietors and the story goes on from there. Rumours in Fleet Street are as numerous as pigeons in Trafalgar Square, but one always finds that nearly all of them contain just an element of truth. Every month one hears that a certain paper is on its last legs, and is either going to fold or merge. The *Sketch*, for one, has died a hundred times, but it is still there every morning on the news-stands. The *Sun* is still struggling along (that paper has been in its box more times than I care to remember).

The *Sketch* and *Sun* have now been joined by some very exalted company in the form of the *Daily Mail*, *The Times*, the *Guardian* and the *Observer*, all are reported to be

in a state of 'crisis', and are looking for ways and means of getting out of trouble. Two methods have been attempted to date. Strict internal economies in the case of the *Sun* and selling out as in the possible case of *The Times*. The begging question is what is the root cause? And the straight answer is 'advertising', no adverts—no papers, it's as simple as that. The number of pages of a newspaper is determined by the amount of advertising available, you could have a bloody world crisis, but if X and Y are not advertising it's too bad. Advertisers are not too keen on Saturday editions, because the travelling public is less, note the drop in pages of your Saturday paper compared to the rest of the week. Surely there is not less news at that period of the week. Who dictates to who?

A small fortune is needed to start a newspaper, and adverts must be forthcoming to keep it going—otherwise a quick and easy death. In other words the economics of a newspaper are largely in the hands of the advertisers, and they are treated with specially prepared silk gloves. Newspaper proprietors do protest most strongly at the very idea of such an indignity but never-

theless their journalists play up to the 'Houses of Fashion' and the exclusive holiday resorts. One doesn't bite the hand that feeds you irrespective of the cost in terms of 'freedom'.

The cause which is most publicised as the reason for the newspaper crisis is the so-called enhanced wages and conditions of the printing workers. Whenever the newspaper industry is being discussed the opportunity is never let slide to slam the printing workers. Ten to fifteen years ago the newspaper proprietors did very nicely thank you off the backs of the printworkers, in comparison they are not doing so well, hence the screams of 'crisis'.

The fact of the matter is that newspapers are either, a political mouthpiece, an advertising brochure, an intellectual exercise for a business consortium, a comic, or all three. News and information is of a secondary consideration, and to be perfectly frank, this is the priority the newspaper reading public choose, why else the high circulation of the *Daily Mirror*, *Sunday Mirror* and *News of the World*? Do we really prefer comics?

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

## Will They Stick Together?

'BRITAIN KEEPS THE DOOR OPEN FOR RHODESIA SETTLEMENT'.

This was the title of an article in the *Sunday Telegraph* (on 11.12.66). Wilson having made so many concessions to the racist Rhodesian Government that it must have been composed of lunatics not to accept them, is going to give them more time? What is going to happen now is anybody's guess. I had thought that they would have come to some kind of agreement by now. But no; the door is going to be left open again, and we are going to be bored by more and more pages about whether Ian Smith is a nice man, whether he is under the control of the 'right wing' of his Party (I thought that his Party was all right wing), whether the United Nations will bring in oil sanctions, whether they will be able to enforce them... this could go on for ever.

One must always keep in mind, however, that the Rhodesian Front Party was elected to power for one reason. To keep the Africans from having any say in the affairs of Rhodesia. Sir Roy Welensky was dumped because he was considered too soft, and Ian Smith was elected to take a harder line against the 'socialist' government in Britain. These people actually looked upon the Africans as human beings (I don't think that the Rhodesians ever looked on the Africans at all before this trouble) and wanted to poke their noses in the internal affairs of Rhodesia.

AFRICANS DON'T WANT THE VOTE

Of course during television interviews the ordinary 'white' Rhodesian, shown living at home on his modest £2,000 a year (which we are informed goes a lot further than it would in Britain), says that the Africans want nothing to do with politics, don't wish to have the vote and are quite content to let the 'whites' run the country for them. In a very comic scene, one dear kind Christian gentleman actually asked his 'boy' if he wanted the 'blacks' to run the country. Wonder of wonders the 'boy' replied that he didn't. Of course when the reporter asked Africans in the street whether they wanted the vote they answered, 'Yes', but this would only prove to the average 'white' that the reporter was a troublemaker and probably a communist as well.

SMITH

Mr. Wilson and his colleagues claim that Ian Smith is all things to all men. He says one thing on board the *Tiger* and quite a different thing when he gets home to Salisbury. Indeed Mr. Smith comes

out of this affair looking rather like a naughty child who, when called before the kindly headmaster, is humble and obsequious and, when he stands again in the playground among the other small boys, becomes arrogant and naughty once again. Of course Ian Smith may have been playing for time and all these negotiations may have been a farce, though he may have been sensible enough to see that whatever Wilson might give away, once it does get out of his hands the new

headmaster might not be so kind. There is talk in the press of the right wing in Rhodesia wanting to dump Smith and if this is so his successor will certainly take a harder line.

SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa may not, however, be prepared to sink over the issue of Rhodesia. This was made rather clear when a member of the South African Government asked Wilson on Sunday last to swallow his pride and let Smith

off the hook. This would stop the Rhodesians making a last stand fight and the end of it all being another Congo. So for the first time we have seen a sign of weakness in the attitude of the South Africans in their support for Smith.

The South Africans know that Smith is depending on them and they also know that they must not show any signs of weakness. They are obviously frightened of being dragged into the conflict and in spite of all their tough talk have no wish for this to happen. Also the fact that they mentioned the Congo shows that Mr. Smith cannot expect a great deal of help from them. It seems rather comic that the herrenvolk in South Africa should ask favours from

Continued on page 3

## FIRST EXIT FROM DUBLIN

THERE are 8,000 books banned in the Republic. 'If you see one on our shelves, please inform us.' Thus reads a notice in one of Dublin's bookshops on entering its doors. This as one would say is the story of my life—the story of the strangled writer in the Irish Republic, in a Republic which the Government Party and the Opposition will concur, Pearce and Connelly fought and died for. *The Murder Machine* is the title of one of Pearce's books on pre-1916 Irish education. Earlier this year during a controversy between the Bishop of Galway and the Minister for Education over proposed comprehensive schools, Dr. Owen Sheehy Skeffington, a Senator from Trinity College, declared that Ireland's elementary education remained unchanged since Queen Victoria raised the school leaving age to 14. Joyce, O'Casey, Beckett, Wilde, all have been banned in the Republic. Not all of their writings nor all of the time, but at some stage in the history of that tragi-comedy called the Irish Republic these people have had their writing banned. This continues with unabated zeal down to the present day. Recent victims being Edna O'Brien and John McGahern—the latter also lost his job as a national school teacher. The poor man was not only guilty of writing *The Dark*, he also was bold enough to get married in a Helsinki Registry Office. In an interview with his manager—the parish priest as is the custom, the priest asked him about his registry office wedding and would he come back and make arrangements to have a religious wedding. McGahern asked: 'And would I get my job back?' Priest: 'No.'

Last week Ireland took a step forward. A group of actors, actresses and play-

wrights formed the 'Censorship Reform Society'. I say a great step forward because if the group is victorious in its aim, Ireland will have shown that it is capable of defying and defeating the all-mighty clergy. Before the inaugural meeting began however Edna O'Brien was reminded rather sharply that censorship is still in existence. Travelling over for the meeting, five of her books she was carrying were seized by the Customs officials.

The Censorship Reform Society was launched at a packed audience in a Dublin theatre on Sunday, December 4. Many speakers seemed to take the line that censorship in Ireland is so excessive and generalised as to make it unjust and unfair to writers. However some few did pass remarks, that they should strike at the very root of the idea of the Church, the State (or anybody else for that matter) determining what an adult should or should not read. As for instance Hugh Leonard, the playwright, when he said that one of the laws of nature was that the writer and the censor must be enemies. One dealt in truth and the other in morality. People who wanted censorship did not want it for themselves, but for others. He defined a censor as one who knew what was good for other people. Michael Mac Liammoir, the actor, said that if children were not shocked by the Bible and by Shakespeare, they could not be shocked by Edna O'Brien. It seemed to him that if we took Christ literally an insurance company was far less Christian than a brothel. Although James Plunkett, playwright, thought that few people would argue for a system of no censorship whatever, he said that he

grew up in an atmosphere of the most bigoted kind. Referring to the 'nightmare' that James Joyce spoke of, Brendan Kennelly, an English lecturer at Trinity, said censorship in Ireland, was a conspiracy of suppression involving businessmen, the Church and politicians.

The Society intend to sponsor a legal action next Spring over the banning of Edna O'Brien's novels. It is felt that there is very good reason to believe that the censorship board may be acting contrary to the Constitution of the Republic. As such, and if the Society were to win a legal case on these grounds, it would transform the scene in Ireland, where the writer is so frequently cut off from his subject—the Irish people and their sex life.

While I wish the Society the best of luck they must appreciate that they are up against the most powerful pressure group in Ireland—the Roman Catholic Church. While there are many individual clerics who may take what one could call a liberal and enlightened view of censorship, let us have no doubt where they stand basically.

Censorship, as practised in Ireland, is the R.C. Church's first line of defence of their narrow policy on the 'mystique' of sex. The R.C. Church has a large elaborate machine to ensure that fear of the mystery of sex shall haunt every man and woman before and after marriage. After all it is not just censorship of the most lurid sex pictures and photographs that stands to 'come unstuck'. The R.C. Church has its own particular unnatural 'laws' regarding contraceptives, divorce and abortion. These are some of the 'laws' that stand ultimately by the downfall of the most introvert system of censorship imaginable. However, one light in Ireland has been switched on, let us hope that this light will lead us on to tackle 'the mystery'.

D.P.

## ANARCHY 70

NOW ON SALE DISCUSSES

## LIBERTARIAN PSYCHIATRY

ANARCHY is Published by  
FREEDOM PRESS at 2s,  
on first Saturday of every month



# BOOKS for Presents

Please order in good time. Books can be sent direct to your friends, with cards if necessary. Invoices to you.

## SUGGESTED BOOKS

- Qu'est-ce Que La Propriété?**  
Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (paperback) 7/6
- Germinal** Emile Zola (Penguin) 6/-
- The Sexual Revolution**  
Wilhelm Reich (paperback) 20/-
- The Peckham Experiment**  
The Barns Experiment
- W. David Wills 3/6
- Summerhill** A. S. Neill 30/-
- Growing up Absurd** Paul Goodman 21/-
- The Free Family**  
Paul and Jean Ritter 18/-
- Political Justice: Reprint of the Essay on Property**  
William Godwin 6/-
- Caleb Williams**  
William Godwin (paperback) 6/-
- Reflections on Violence**  
Georges Sorel 30/-
- The Ego and his Own**  
Max Stirner (paperback) 15/-
- In the Struggle for Equality** (the story of the Anarchist Red Cross)  
B. Yelensky 17/6
- Pilate's Question** Alfred Reynolds 12/6
- Conscription Conflict** Denis Hayes 7/6
- Darwin and the Naked Lady**  
Alex Comfort 18/-
- Roads to Freedom**  
Bertrand Russell (paper back) 6/-
- and  
(of course)  
Freedom Press Publications listed below

## Freedom Bookshop

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

17a MAXWELL ROAD  
FULHAM SW6 Tel: REN 3736

## FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

### SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM'

- Vol 3 1953: Colonialism on Trial  
Vol 4 1954: Living on a Volcano  
Vol 5 1955: The Immoral Moralists  
Vol 6 1956: Oil and Troubled Waters  
Vol 7 1957: Year One—Sputnik Era  
Vol 8 1958: Socialism in a Wheelchair  
Vol 9 1959: Print, Press & Public  
Vol 10 1960: The Tragedy of Africa  
Vol 11 1961: The People in the Street  
Vol 12 1962: Pilkington v. Beeching  
Vol 13 1963: Forces of Law and Order  
Vol 14 1964: Election Years  
Each volume: paper 7/6 cloth 10/6.  
The paper edition of the **SELECTIONS** is available to readers of **FREEDOM** at 5/6 post free.

**VERNON RICHARDS**  
Malatesta: His Life and Ideas  
cloth 21/-; paper 10/6

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

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

**ALEX COMFORT**  
Delinquency 6d.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# EXPERIMENTAL FACTORY FOR PEACE

The peace movement's machinery for settling disputes has failed in the case of Walter Morrison versus the Factory for Peace. Walter Morrison has now decided to apply to an 'outside agency' for the settlement of his claim for wrongful dismissal.—Eds.

**MY RIGHT TO** work in this 'factory' was hard won, as McAlpine and others know, but, when I was asked to come into the factory proper, I must confess that I just couldn't see what I could contribute at that stage, and said so. I felt that my part in the experiment was to assist in getting it under way, and, as a member of its Advisory Council, act as a 'guardian of principle'. Of course it may be, that these principles mean little to many who read this... but to me, they were born in prison, marches, strikes, war and long sleepless hungry nights and days. I have defended the 'factory' against its critics, and sung its praises from one end of the country to the other. Furthermore I know McAlpine the man, better than anyone else in this 'factory' and have always been aware of the hellish problems he must face when he has to deal with the world outside the factory, and consequently the great temptation to avoid issues that make his dealings with the capitalist world of 'dog eat dog' more difficult. But of course I can recall too the day when he, like I, said: 'I'd rather see us all go down the drain than surrender our ideals in favour of competitiveness.' Sadly that day has gone!

My cardinal fault seems to be that I won't accept chargehandship and have remained free enough to be able to take a less authoritarian viewpoint of my workmates productive capabilities. It is my belief, for what it is worth, that this project is nothing more than just another step on the long road to genuine 'workers' control', and that human dignity and concern for others should come before industrial efficiency and individual competitiveness... No doubt financial weakness (the disease of capitalism) has contributed to our present troubles with, of course, lack of tolerance, which I am sure is inherent in us all.

## CONTROLLED WORKERS

Productivity means devotion to the job. Naturally (we hope) the more time one spends at the job, the more goods we turn out; machines are famed for this type of exercise. My main concern here is for people, for it has been my experience, that in any industry, there are always scores of clever highly paid 'practical' people (we now have them here) who make it their sole business to see that other people produce. I am aware of the elementary facts, no production, no money, etc., and hope I am granted the credit of understanding the obvious orthodox economic arguments, and allowed to explain my views on the cornerstone of this experiment, the human element.

It's my contention that if we ever are to expect people to feel they really have control of industry, each one of us...

manager, foreman, the lot, must develop a mutual trust... believe in the spirit of our constitution... a common desire to follow its principles, and the moral courage and the strength, to use words coinciding with what we feel, think, experience, and reason!!

What I am trying to say is, that few among us here, have ever read the constitution, far less understand its aims and principles. Furthermore, it seems to me that, because of our class-based training, we are inclined almost instinctively to work ourselves into a position that will make us indispensable in the eyes of the boss (in this case the dominant individual) in the hope that our future is secured. Thus, if we discredit our workmates by personal criticism of their work, and demonstrative displays of our own capabilities we feel justified. This I am convinced must stop! There should be no need for this people-eating in our set-up. Learn to control the job in all its aspects, and not the lives of your fellowman.

## DISAPPOINTMENT

What I have learned in fact, is that the people who talked big about ending the 'rat race' and restoring 'human dignity' either knew nothing of the enormous revolutionary task they were taking on, or else, like all good Charismatic leaders and con-men seized the right opportunity and right type of people to latch on to.

Therefore, comrades, having said that, I see no possibility of success in practis-

ing industrial democracy without the common desire of everyone to follow its principles. If the big 'brainworkers' of management imagine that they can turn the whole question over to someone else and go their own sweet way with their own comfortable points of view, or are not at least open minded to the problems of the lower paid and least educated 'handworker', then the whole experiment is sure to fail. For the machinery of democracy will not of itself bring about understanding, it is only a machine, it needs power to turn its wheels and power comes from people and if people create bad rules through apathy and haphazard thinking all that happens is the machine gathers power and in time the individual becomes the victim of his own carelessness. The Factory for Peace is still a small enough unit to change its bad rules (and there are many). But as time goes on, and the lies pile upon lies in an effort to justify these same bad rules, protest will grow and the need for some form of fair-play machinery will become a necessity for the less articulate, then the fight to contain the 'rat race' mentality will have to begin all over again. As I am sure it must!

Nevertheless I have asked the Ministry of Labour to have my case taken before an independent industrial tribunal, regarding redundancy payment and contract. I'm tired of playing the game according to friends in dispute. For I am now of the opinion that when the so-called friends show no sign of applying that most important ingredient *truth*, and trust is completely dead, reconciliation is impossible

WALTER MORRISON

# THE SMOULDERING WORD

tag (played with apt timorousness by Oskar Werner), might have come straight from the pages of the colour supplements. Lolling around the house in her night robe, his wife (Julie Christie), bears more than a slight resemblance to the dame in the central heating ads. Here, with its exaltation of the lush and the visual, the 'colour supplement ethic' comes closest to associating itself with the annihilation of the verbal. In a society which has 'never had it so good', it is to protect mass standards of clean living that totalitarian powers will be invoked.

This is the essence of the film: it is a delineation of present trends, a statement of fear, and a warning. As Professor McLuhan has pointed out, we are moving out of the 'Gutenberg' era; the eye cannot answer back. With the retreat of the printed media, we lose something of the inherently durable, even stubborn, qualities unique to the printed word. 'Books disturb people, they make them anti-social,' says Montag. We watch as, page by page, Henry Miller's *Nexus* is licked away by the tongues of flame; the heat bubbles pop on the paperback cover of *Lolita*.

But as Montag, echoing Goethe, declares desperately: 'Behind each book there is a man'.... What symbolism, one wonders, is there in the fact that they still burn books at Battersea Power Station? One conjures up visions of some future sci-fi Marlborough Street, where John Calder goes up in flames surrounded by copies of *Last Exit*—Sir Cyril Black manning the kerosene hose! Or is it more than that?

Certainly, with the advent of television on a mass scale there are those who stand to gain by the diminution of the

printed word and the devaluation of language. To stay in power, to fool the people, the politicians prefer to corrupt, twist language, distort it to suit their own ends; they use it like mud. After all, it was Disraeli who said: 'The greatest misfortune that ever befell the world was the invention of printing'. And he was no fascist. As yet, the visual media are a vast, unexplored area; their full potentialities are unknown, but assuredly immense. In the wake of such developments, the printed word must inevitably lose a great deal of its power and importance. It is this kind of warning that *Fahrenheit 451* presents.

The closing sequences, unlike the rest of the film, bear the by now familiar

## FILM CO-OPERATIVE

**LONDON** Film-Makers Co-operative was set up on October 13, 1966. It aims to aid independent non-commercial film makers by making available a pool of equipment and technical advice, and by facilitating co-operation among film makers in the making of their films.

It will help to get members' films seen by organising screenings and by setting up a distribution library. A regular feature of the Co-op's activities will be open screenings, when anyone who has made a film will be able to bring it along for screening regardless of length, cost or quality. From these open screenings will be picked the films to go into planned programmes and into the distribution library.

Links will be maintained with the New York Film-Makers Co-op and with Co-ops and other groups of film makers in countries throughout the world. Films

Truffaut imprint. Montag, fugitive from a sick society, joins a sort of literary maquis known as the 'book people', so-called because they have each committed their one favourite book to memory, thus safeguarding it for a more sane posterity. With great beauty, but without sentimentality, this final note of optimism clinches the film. The warm, natural colours of the wooded landscape contrast sharply with the reds and harsh yellows of the Polythene Cornucopia. As the first snows of winter fall, a dying man passes on by word of mouth to his small son the last sentences of the book he himself carried in his heart. In human form, *The Republic* of Plato rubs shoulders with *Alice in Wonderland*.

They walk among the trees reciting, waiting, ready to liberate the world.

JOHN MACKAY

# Anarchist Federation of Britain

(As there is no national secretariat for enquiries, speakers, etc., please contact local groups.)

**ANARCHIST MEETINGS AT HYDE PARK EVERY SUNDAY AT 2 P.M.**

## 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 Rood's, now at 13 Savernake Road, London, N.W.3.

## REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

**ALTRINCHAM ANARCHIST YOUTH GROUP.** Get in touch with Stephen Richards, 25 North Vale Road, Timperley, Cheshire.

**ABERDEEN GROUP.** Correspondence to M. Dey, 29 Springhill Crescent, Aberdeen.

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

**BELFAST.** Contact: Roy McLoughlin, 46 Mooreland Park, Belfast 11, Ireland.

**BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Dave Massey, 138 Church Road, Erdington, Birmingham, 24.

**UNIVERSITY OF ASTON GROUP.** Contact: D. J. Austin, 5 Kingsbury Road, Erdington, Birmingham.

**BRISTOL.** Contact: Dave Thorne, 49 Cotham Brow, Bristol, 6.

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

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

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

**HALLOW ANARCHIST GROUP.** Enquiries to Keith Nathan, 138 Pennymead, Harlow or John

Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping.  
**HULL ANARCHIST GROUP.** J. Tempest, 89 Fountain Road, Hull. Tel. 212526. Meetings 8 p.m. 1st and 3rd Fridays of month at above address.

**IPSWICH ANARCHISTS.** Contact Neil Dean, 74 Cemetery Road, Ipswich, Suffolk.

**LEWISHAM, LONDON, S.E.13.** 2nd and 4th Thursdays. Meetings at Mike Malet's, 61 Granville Park, Lewisham, S.E.13.

**NEW HAM LIBERTARIANS.** Contact Mick Shenker, 122 Hampton Road, Forest Gate, NOTTING HILL ANARCHIST GROUP.

Correspondence to Brian Joseph, 1st floor, 27 Arundel Gardens, London, W.11. Meeting every first Thursday of the month at 8 p.m., Flat 3, Colville House, W.11.

**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, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson. Next meeting December 18.

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

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

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

**SHEFFIELD.** Contact Robin Lovell, c/o Students' Union, University, Sheffield. Tel. 24076.

**NORTH-WEST FEDERATION**

**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. Brenda Mercer, 6 Breckside Park, Liverpool, 6. Rochdale: Ian Heywood, 16 Mansfield Road, Bamford, Rochdale. Stoke-on-Trent: Bob Blakeman, 52 Weldon Avenue, Weston Coyney, 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

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

**EALING ANARCHIST GROUP.** Get into touch with Adrian Derbyshire, 2 Oakley House, Oakley Avenue, London, W.5.

**LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION.** Meetings—discussions—activities. Contact Peter Ford, 82 North Road, Highgate, N.6. (Tel.: MOU 5702.)

## PROPOSED GROUPS

**BRIGHTON.** Anyone interested get in touch with R. Miller, 2 Percival Terrace, Brighton, 7.

**SWANSEA.** Any interested in Anarchist group please contact Ian Bone via the University, Swansea.

**HERTFORDSHIRE.** Contact Stuart Mitchell, South View, Potters Heath, Welwyn.

**NORTH LONDON ANARCHIST DISCUSSION GROUP.** 'Dolphin' (back of St. Pancras Town Hall). Every Sunday 8 p.m. First meeting December 18. Subject: 'Aims and Principles'. Admission by copy of this paper.

**CAMBRIDGE.** Contact Wallyjon Illingworth, c/o Richmond House, Devon Road, Cambridge.

**MID-MIDDLESEX.** (Harrow, Wembley, Edgware, Hendon.) Anyone interested in forming a libertarian group for discussion and possible action write to Nicolas and Ruth Walter, 4 Vane Close, Kenton, Harrow, Middlesex.

**SOUTH COAST, BRIGHTON, ETC.** Eastbourne, Hastings, Lewes area contact Alan Albon, The

Stable, Glynleigh Farm, Pevensey, Sussex. Phone Hailsham 358.

**WATFORD.** Anyone interested please contact Alan Pritchard, 8 Bedford Street, Watford, Herts.

**MEDWAY TOWNS AREA.** Proposed Group. Eroll Davies, 22 St. Margaret's Street, Rochester, Kent.

**WISBECH.** Anyone interested write Albert Community, Chaptor House, Leverington, Wisbech, Cambridgeshire.

**CAMDEN (LONDON).** Provos. Anarchist/Provo/C.100/Action group—anyone interested please contact Chris Davis at 56 Chalk Farm Road, N.W.1.

**SLOUGH/SOUTH BUCKS.** Please get in touch with R. E. Williams, 8 Maruden Green, Britwell Estate, Slough, Bucks.

**MID-MIDDLESEX GROUP.** An informal meeting of people interested in the idea of forming a libertarian group in the Harrow-Wembley-Edgware-Hendon area will be held from 8 p.m. on Monday, December 19, at Nicolas and Ruth Walter's, 4 Vane Close, Kenton, Harrow, Middlesex (tel.: 204 1764).

**ABROAD**

**U.S.A. NEW YORK CITY.** N.Y. Federation of Anarchists, c/o Torch Bookshop, 641 East 9th Street, N.Y., 10009. Meets every Thursday evening.

**AUSTRALIA.** Anarchist Group, PO Box A 389, Sydney South. Public meetings every Sunday in the Domain, 2 p.m. and Mondays, 72 Oxford Street, Paddington, Sydney, 8 p.m.

**DANISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION.** 52 Mindevej, Soborg-Copenhagen, Denmark.

**VANCOUVER, B.C., CANADA.** Anyone interested in forming anarchist and/or direct action peace group contact Derek A. James, 1844 Grand Boulevard, North Vancouver, B.C., Canada. Tel.: 987-2693.

**U.S.A. VERMONT/NEW HAMPSHIRE.** Discussion/Action group anyone? Contact Ed Strauss, RFD 2 Woodstock, Vermont 05091, USA.

**SWEDEN.** Stockholm Anarchist Federation. Contact Nadir, Box 19104, Stockholm 19, Sweden.

**CANADA: Winnipeg.** Anybody interested in Direct action/anarchy contact G. J. Nasir, 606 Matheson Avenue, Winnipeg, 17, Manitoba.

**BELGIUM: LIEGE.** Provos, c/o Jacques Charlier, 11 Avenue de la Laiterie, Sclessin-Liege, Belgium.



# Different Visions

NEARLY SIX YEARS ago—an official of Duhoon and Holy Loch CND came to Polaris Action to persuade it to abandon its ideas and, instead, to dynamite the Polaris. He would, he said, leave his boat on the foreshore with the necessary equipment and we could take it out. We explained that we thought that the almost certain result of such an action would be an explosion that would blow Scotland to pieces and probably start a nuclear war. We explained that our work was to try to get sailors to desert.

We argued for an hour or more until finally Mike Nolan said: 'Well we've explained to you why we think that action would be a mistake—if you don't agree for God's sake go and do it yourself, if you think it to be right—but don't expect us to do something we consider foolish.' (In the event of course the official concerned's only action was to denounce our unconstitutional methods in the local press.)

This story has a moral for the anarchist movement today, if two people have markedly different visions as to how to attain a changed society, and if neither can convince the other, then there comes a point when continued debate is a waste of time and one must say to the other: 'All right I don't agree, I think you will harm the chances of achieving anarchist revolution if you go ahead in your way, but go on and don't expect me to join you.'

For years the anarchist movement was isolated, there being little radical activity going on anywhere, and all we could hope to do was to keep something alive. In those days one did not enquire too closely how the other person envisaged anarchism; it was hardly realistic to envisage anything good. So everyone who called himself anarchist was involved (fairly enough at the time) in a spurious unity, which later became a disadvantage.

The first basic difference that emerged when the chance of radical action once again arose, was the division between the broadly Kropotkinist-Mutual Aid Anarchist Communists, seeing anarchism as the quintessence of humanism and co-operation, and those who like Stirner fused Spencerean Social-Darwinism with a greater or lesser degree of Benthamite enlightened self-interest.

Though at the time this division appeared to aggravate the past bitter-ness which prevented a re-unification of the anarchists in Britain it was not in fact of great consequence. Remnants of the squabble now persist chiefly in the form of a vendetta by the more extreme Social-Darwinians against Anarchist Communism. It is no doubt irritating for Kropotkinists (remembering that *Mutual Aid* was written precisely in answer to Huxley's exposition of the social implications of Darwin, and remembering too that neither Spencer nor Huxley, nor yet even Stirner or Nietzsche ever called themselves anarchists) to read such comments as: 'anyone who has considered what goes for the anarchist movement in London, knows that those who comprise it are mere socialists who reject the state.' After all 'socialists who reject the state', is a precise description of Godwin when he wrote *Political Justice*; the early Proudhon; Bakunin after his breach with Marx and Kropotkin. But such irritation may well do more good than harm.

We now face a new division—whether in the long term it will seem as real as it does now is problematic. If we are to continue advancing it will certainly not be the last such division. In all probability many who now take sides will find themselves with different allies before we are through. Nevertheless this makes the division at this moment no less real, and makes any attempt to maintain a false unity now no less mistaken. None of us who were at the Sunday meeting to which Michael

Duane was asked to speak behaved in a particularly anarchist or laudable manner. When apportioning blame the cry of 'You too' will probably be justly merited. This does not lessen the fact that it revealed different sections of the movement wishing to go in different directions and that no good is served by trying to persuade people, who undoubtedly feel deeply about the course they wish to follow, that they should abandon this for the sake of unity. The sooner we agree to go our several ways the less bitter the parting and the easier it will be in the future to build amicable relations if and when our paths reconverge.

From the position of a provincial attending an LAG meeting for the first time for four-and-a-quarter years, the situation appeared thus:—

Various comrades who had a reason that they did not attempt to specify—and indeed refused to specify at a future meeting—chose to disrupt a meeting addressed by a non-anarchist guest, rather than keep their battles within the group.

The speaker, though he made no pretensions to anarchism had, nevertheless, attempted to introduce Neill-derived ideas of libertarian education into a state school. Hoping (and he was explicit here) thereby to instil a free and questioning spirit in the pupils so that they would not automatically accept the society in which they live, and to demonstrate that freedom works and brings out the fullest possible development in children and adults.

The authorities considered the attempt sufficiently dangerous to sack him and protests were overridden. He conceded that his work had necessitated a constant struggle not merely against the Establishment and authoritarianism in his colleagues but also in himself.

No doubt all sorts of intelligent critical cases could have been made but those who in fact did attack him ignored what he had said and shouted down his attempts to reply, in no case attempting to argue against his actions rather than against the actions of others he himself had criticised.

Before the meeting these comrades alleged that at a previous meeting, people who were then present had threatened to call in the police against them. They did not know the names and refused to point them out to allow the people concerned to confirm or deny the allegation, but nevertheless they knew these people to consider themselves anarchists.

Either there is an adequate reason for this behaviour, in which case there must be such deep conflict as to make it absurd that those with a grievance should still want anything to do with the others, or there is here a deliberate attempt at wrecking. In so far as any coherent policy seemed to emerge from the hub-bub, there was a constant shriek of 'What are you going to do?' used to drown any attempts to explain what the speaker was already doing; and the call not to try and introduce freedom into schools but to pull the lot down. It is obvious that if there is ever to be an anarchist revolution there will certainly be a stage when coercive institutions have to be pulled down, and if schooling cannot be made voluntary, must include them. This might be thought to be a difference over merely a matter of timing, it is not.

What is being rejected by those who would not hear Duane—is not the belief that state education can in the long term be reformed—since the speaker himself said that reforming measures could not be kept within the context of legalism. It is the belief that in order to make people aware of the evils of the state, one must work within institutions to make converts, that this inevitably leads to compromises, but compromises which need not make one the agent of the Establishment. Duane told his pupils (as does Neill) if you sleep with each other and the news gets out the school will be closed, if you think the school is worth keeping you must compromise and conform in this. Any anarchist who claims never to have made a compromise as bad as this, is either a bloody liar, or has castrated himself politically and might as well join the SPGB.

Apart from the sheer stupidity of thinking that with the pitifully weak movement that we have it would be possible to pull down all the coercive institutions; the cry 'Pull them down', as an immediate slogan only makes sense if one argues (as Marx falsely claimed Bakunin argued and as Nachaev in fact did argue), that if a minority movement, backed at most by an international con-

## 'Is British Beef Too Hide-Bound?'—Financial Times

DICK GREGORY, the American comedian, announced he was visiting North Vietnam where he hoped to entertain captured US airmen at Christmas. He called the Vietnam Christmas truce 'hypocritical' and said, 'We should adjust the calendar and make every day Christmas and stop killing people altogether.' He had previously declined to entertain American troops in South Vietnam saying that it would be 'like entertaining a convention of bank robbers'. The US Department of State on being told of his proposed visit to Hanoi referred him to 'section 51-74 of the regulation of the Department of State in column 31 of the Federal Register, page 13,544'. Mr. Gregory at a press conference, confessed that he was unfamiliar with the section, but that if he read it he would probably not understand it. When queried about his political leanings Mr. Gregory said, 'I couldn't be a Communist, if that's what you mean. But I couldn't guarantee that I might not overthrow the country some day.' He further said he had a passionate concern for the captured men on both sides. They had lost their freedom, were under foreign jurisdiction and—what he welcomed—they were in no position to do any more killing. Later it was announced that Hanoi had asked Gregory to postpone his visit for a short time because of the American bombing. They fear (says the *Morning Star*) that the bombing of the Hanoi outskirts and airport would make his landing unsafe. Have the NLF lost control of the air over Hanoi or is Dick Gregory's brand of pacifism unwelcome in Hanoi?

AN IRISHMAN, on the run for 10 months, has appeared in Paris alleging that his family has been persecuted by the Irish police by constant surveillance and telephone tapping. He says he broke out in support of the 50th anniversary of the Irish 1916 rising but after his escape he was court-martialled by the IRA and dismissed from membership.

THE IRISH PRESS claims that the moonshiners never had it so bad since the Garda (police) patrols have been employing mine detectors to look for stills. Nevertheless technology marches on on the other side too, and a raided underground still in mid-Cork was fitted with a telephone, the distilling apparatus was electrically operated and thermostatically controlled. A Garda officer said, 'Judging by the equipment which we have found, the amount of the stuff captured and the new methods being employed by the makers, there is a big increase in demand and supply this year.'

THE FINANCIAL TIMES notes (9.12.66) that 'the upward trend in cocoa has been re-

versed', it reports 'the UNCTAD talks in New York on the possibility of a New World Cocoa Conference have broken up—apparently in disarray. The fact that no formal communique has been issued is taken in trade sources in London as an indication that agreement on regulating the world cocoa market is as far off as ever. Dr. Raul Prebisch, the UNCTAD Secretary-General, is understood to be reluctant to try again until the consuming countries make more headway towards a generally accepted minimum price. The ultimate intention is to establish a buffer stock of world cocoa to absorb surpluses and mitigate deficits'. The same issue of *FT* comments on President Johnson's continued refusal to authorise a new agreement covering shipments of American wheat to India. This, they claim, is due to pressure from Republican congressmen and will lead to a gap in US shipments for mid-January. The United States Information Service bulletin under the heading 'New US Aid Planned to meet India's Mounting Food Crisis' ignores this point. Colin Clark of the Oxford University Agricultural Economics Research Institute refuted in the *Guardian* a statement that the world's potential agricultural land was already fully utilized. Professor Clark said only 3% of tropical African land is being utilized. 'If the Indian farmer cultivated his rice as carefully as the Japanese, he would get three to four times the yield from the same area.' Professor Clark concludes, 'The statement that world food supplies have decreased in each of the past three years is a plain error. The recent slowing down of the rate of in-

crease of world food supplies has been to a considerable degree due to deliberate restriction of production in the USA, in face of embarrassing surpluses. This year, most of these restrictions have been removed.' The *Evening Standard*, concluding its series of articles on 'Your Food', sums up the available sources of food and concludes that they could be increased by making the land do more, by fish-farming, improving warfare against vermin, disease and insects which destroy 25% of all food produced; by producing protein from other sources, e.g. oat husks, leaves, petroleum waste(!), algae. He sadly notes however that 'Humans have a tendency to prefer starvation to foods which revolt their stomachs.' It has been decided to refer to the Prices and Incomes Board proposed increases in the price of fertilisers and newsprint.

THE SUNDAY TIMES (joking of course?) suggests referring FREEDOM's proposed price increase to the Prices and Incomes Board. The *Sunday Telegraph* carries a story of the group known as the 'international situationists' who got themselves elected to the students' association at Strasbourg University 'amid general indifference'. They have now announced the forthcoming 'liquidation' of the whole student organization. 'The programme,' claims the *Telegraph*, 'is based largely on the methods of the anarchist Durruti who, during the Spanish Civil War, went from village to village destroying the entire social structure, leaving the survivors to rebuild everything from scratch.'

JON QUIXOTE.

## LETTER

### Drugs

Dear Comrades,

I know virtually nothing about drugs and the consequences of taking them, but I do know a bit about neurosis, and feel that I must take issue with Dave Cunliffe when he writes, 'Even these drugs are mostly abused by kick-seekers and Western psychiatry which uses LSD to brainwash relatively healthy neurotics into an acceptance of the values and aspirations of an unhealthy society.'

Like the peasant, proletarian, American Negro and other social victims, neurotics get glorified by people who are not suffering themselves. The neurotic is usually an unhappy person who cannot cope with the world in which he lives. He goes to the psychotherapist because he wants to be cured of his neurosis, so that he can cope with life and get more fun out of it. Unless he is bullied by his family into going, he

almost invariably goes voluntarily.

The therapist is faced with a dilemma. His patient is sick because society made him so, but it is with this society he has got to learn to deal if he wants to be able to live a fuller life. To some extent he has to learn to conform to its demands.

So what is the therapist to do? There is no hard and fast solution to this problem. Whatever he does he can at least be sure of one thing. However good he is at his job someone is bound to accuse him of 'brainwashing' his patients.

It would be nice if neurotics were social rebels, but in fact most of them tend to inhabit unhappy private worlds, which they long to leave and cannot. They are not much good at fighting the status quo, because they are engaged in a sort of civil war within themselves, and have no energy to spare.

Yours fraternally,

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

### WHERE 'FREEDOM' MAY BE OBTAINED

In London

Albert's, St. Martin's Court, W.C.2.  
Better Books, 94 Charing Cross Rd., W.C.2.  
Bloom, R., 56 Red Lion Street, W.C.1.  
Collet's Bookshop, 66 Charing Cross Rd., W.C.2.  
Coptic Street Newsagent, Coptic St., W.C.1.  
Housman's Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1.  
India Bookshop, 102 Southampton Row, W.C.1.  
Librairie Parisien, 48 Old Compton St., W.1.  
Shelly's, 184 Drury Lane, W.C.2.  
Solosy Ltd., 53 Charing Cross Rd., W.C.2.  
Wooden Shoe, 42 New Compton St., W.C.2.

spiratorial organization, rose in arms against the oppressors they could defeat the state and class society and coerce the majority into becoming free. One would have thought that after the awful example of Bolshevism, no anarchist would now want any truck with such theories. But if a group of comrades, after thought, sincerely decide that this is the way, let them go ahead and not expect those who disagree to go with them, or insist on wrecking all other meetings for this purpose—unless they can put a coherent case that wrecking such meetings is part of their 'Bakunian' work. One is entitled to ask why, in this case, they are not already setting about making explosives. Even if they did not learn how to do so at their schools—the formula for making nitroglycerine (which is extremely simple) can be found in any public library.

Against this stands clearly posed the belief held alike by Kropotkin and by the founders of syndicalism, that anarchism was only possible on a basis of the self-liberation of the vast majority; and that, therefore, until such a majority has moved significantly in an anarchist direction, all activity must be designed as propaganda. Propaganda by the deed no doubt, but nevertheless deeds, designed to convert, to demonstrate the evils of society to those who had not considered them, and the possibilities of freedom to those who had never hoped.

LAURENS OTTER

## WILL THEY STICK TOGETHER?

Continued from page 1

Socialists in Britain. They know too that UNO can't afford for Smith to get away with it. Also swallowing pride is something that they (and Mr. Smith) are certainly not prepared to do.

There is very little doubt, that whatever happens to the 'white' Rhodesians, whether they are starved out by UNO or murdered in their beds by African 'terrorists', or live in the lap of luxury for ever and ever, they will be able to count on the support of the British Conservative Party. There used to be an old saying, 'Scratch a Conservative and you will find a fascist', and whilst this is certainly not true of all Conservative MPs, it is, I feel, of most. Of course fascist is a word that is very over-worked (certainly in left-wing circles), but most fascists, certainly all in this country, are first and foremost racialists.

The Conservative Party feels that they should have kept on talking. Wilson should not have broken off negotiations when they were so near to agreement they say. To quote Mr. Heath, 'The people of Britain are not prepared to see their economy (already in great difficulties) and their financial system ruined, their forces involved in fratricidal strife, in order to wage an economic and military crusade against Southern Africa'. So the 'white' Rhodesians are our brothers and the 'blacks' are not. One can't recall during the 1956 Suez fiasco any worries about the economy being ruined or the whole world (let alone Africa) being plunged into war, for then you see 'we' were bombing helpless 'black' people. The Tories are quite prepared to stand by and watch their brothers living in luxury on the backs of the unarmed Africans just as they are willing to live off your backs here. You only notice the workers if they don't work, when you are a Conservative, and then you notice them long enough to call them scoundrels. After all, if you don't believe in equality, you must believe that some people are better

than others. To put the Conservative philosophy in a nutshell, it is that some people are better than others, and the others are definitely not us.

### WILSON

Harold Wilson has come out of this affair so far with his reputation enormously enhanced. He is the kindly headmaster, so patient with the naughty boys. He offers them good terms and they, scoundrels that they are, shout 'Yaroo' once they get back to Salisbury.

On buses and in cafes all over the country Smith is derided by ordinary people, who many left-wingers would think of as racialist. 'Wilson should arm the niggers and let them do the bastards in, and serve them bloody well right.' 'Yes, it's their country, why should those bastards ponce off them?' God moves in mysterious ways his wonders to perform, and men trying to scrape a living on £14 a week are not pleased to be told by Edward Heath that folk living out in the colonies on £30 a week and paying their servants less than the average person here would spend on his dog, are their brothers. They might be Mr. Heath's brothers but they are ponces who deserve all they get mate. People associate themselves with the Africans who are in a less privileged position, but are having to keep a load of parasites too. They feel sorry for them because the unfairness of it all is so obvious.

### VIRTUALLY THE SAME

So now we must wait and see. Personally though, I would like to see the 'boors' in Rhodesia eating mealies under a tree, which they have said they would sooner do than surrender. I hope some kind of agreement will be reached fairly quickly (that gives the African majority the vote, and saves the 'whites' from the fate they so richly deserve), because it would seem a shame that Africa should lose its best men so that things can remain virtually the same.

JAFSIE.

## New Sub Rates

The new rates are:—

FREEDOM only (per year)  
£1 10s. (\$4.50) surface mail  
£2 16s. (\$8.00) airmail

ANARCHY only (unchanged) (per year)  
£1 6s. (\$3.50) surface mail  
£2 7s. (\$7.00) airmail

COMBINED SUBSCRIPTION  
FREEDOM & ANARCHY (per year)  
£2 10s. (\$7.50) surface mail both  
£4 15s. (\$12.50) airmail both

FREEDOM (airmail) &  
ANARCHY (seamail)  
£3 17s. (\$10.50) (per year)



# The ENV Struggle

WHEN the new American management of ENV first announced their intention of closing down the Willesden factory, the shop stewards suspected the motives involved. The new Managing Director, Mr. Townsend, was supposed to have been given the job of making the factory pay, for the management claimed that it was losing £36,000 per month. They said this was because of the existing wage agreements freely negotiated at factory level by the shop stewards. The stewards denied this and the Company said that they would 'open the books' for inspection.

## Contact Column

This column exists for mutual aid. Donations towards cost of typesetting will be welcome.

**Welcome Out!** Reception for Paul Pawlowski by Committee of 100 outside Barlinnie, Glasgow, on morning (8 a.m.) December 23.

**Welcome Home!** Paul Pawlowski will be met at Victoria Coach Station, 10.30 a.m., December 24. Additional welcome welcome.

**Accommodation.** Accommodation wanted anywhere for unmarried mother and baby girl victimised by Birmingham City Council in their divide and rule policy while acting as militant spokesman in Birmingham Homeless Hostels Struggle. At present on NAB. Hopes to return to trade as paint sprayer as soon as day nursery found. Prefers own door key for change. Contact through Peter Neville, 12 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham, 23. Urgently.

**Protest.** Against homelessness. Against harsh regulations at hostels for the homeless. Against the intolerable living conditions hostel families have to put up with. To put an end to the social stigma. To urge more hostel residents to action. Meeting to form Direct Action Group. 128 Hainault Road, Leytonstone, E.11. 3 p.m. Sunday, December 18.

**Free University.** The Creative University of S.E. London is currently being set up for courses in radical, progressive and unconventional subjects, and invites all intellectuals, artists, social reformers as students or instructors. Please send 2/6 blank PO for details. Box 45.

**Work.** Urgent; young couple, both graduates, seek any work in which they can be together (for personal reasons this is more important than the money). John Tittensor, 103a Camden Road, London, N.W.1.

**Chris and Sandy Broad, also Geoff Nicholls.** Please contact Sally Mitchison, 6 Dovecot Road, Edinburgh, 12.

**Accommodation.** Young couple (with two small sons) urgently need 3-room s.c. flat at reasonable rent. Willing to decorate, baby mind, help in house, garden, etc. Box 42.

**Accommodation.** Martin and Sue Gilbert seek unfurnished accommodation in Greater London area — consider sharing — phone PARK 4701.

**Accommodation wanted.** Tourist accommodation wanted. Australian woman, travelling in Europe needs CHEAP accommodation in London for approximately four weeks in February, 1967. Prefer relatively central location. Would also like companion for travels in March. Box 43.

**Accommodation:** Bristol anarchist sympathiser, studious, responsible, teetotaler, needs bedsitter in Bristol. Clifton, Redlands, Hotwell area preferred. Large house. Box No. 44.

**Accommodation.** Fair bed-sitter and separate kitchen, basement, own entrance. Camden Town. £5. Suit quiet couple, married or not. John Tittensor, 103a Camden Road, N.W.1. Any time.

**SWF Social.** In support of FIJL Defence Fund. Saturday, December 17, 8 p.m., at 'Lucas Arms' (upstairs room), 245 Grays Inn Road, W.C.1. Admission 2s. 6d. M.C.: Desmond MacDonald.

**Fund Raising Party.** In Aid of the Easter Anarchist Meeting 1967, 8 p.m. to 1 a.m., Saturday, December 17, 1966. 13 Savernake Road, London, N.W.3. Admission five shillings (and bring a bottle).

If you wish to make contact let us know.

tion. However, when the shop stewards' committee decided to take up the offer and instructed their own accountants to inspect the books, the management declined.

Later, the management switched the blame onto the Government's squeeze. Even this could not stick, because the stewards proved that the squeeze was not affecting the production of commercial vehicles. The Company had also received a rebate from the Selective Employment Tax of £75,000. If this was not enough evidence that the statement was false, the 1964-65 report to the Shareholders indicated that increased profits were expected during the next trading year. All this evidence only helped to prove that what was first expected was in fact true, and that the new management was out to smash the union organisation at the Willesden factory.

Obviously if a company is determined to shut down a factory, there is not much one can do, unless other workers act in solidarity. However the company is now planning to keep the factory open, with a 'stabilised' labour force of 400. At the beginning of November the first lot of men were sacked and about 600 have now got their cards.

What have the unions done to prevent this? The dispute went through the procedural machinery for the engineering industry and at the national level meeting at York, the union recorded a failure to reach an agreement with ENV on the question of closure. However, the union at national level took no action in defence of their members. Soon after the York meeting, ENV started the sackings. The failure on the part of the union, together with the fact that long service workers received large payments, sometimes as much as £500, under the Redundancy Act, helped in weakening the struggle against the management.

### NO BACKING FROM EC

The North London District Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union did instruct their members at ENV to strike when the first sackings took place. Endorsement was sought from the Executive Council, but when Reg Birch moved a motion in support, he got no backing.

Geoff Carlsson, Chairman of the ENV Shop Stewards' Committee, has written about the lack of action on

the part of the unions and their mistake in following the official machinery. 'The day before the first batch of workers were to leave the factory, EC instructions not to strike were passed to the shop stewards. Whatever feeling that existed for action with the factory was completely destroyed by the betrayal. There is still some back-door manoeuvring going on, and it is likely that some compromise will be reached between the "responsible" officials of the two sides. Meanwhile the management will sack a few hundred workers and so weaken the organisation that they can impose new terms and agreements. Nine shop stewards are on the first list to go already.'

'This was probably the only occasion on which we had all gone along the line with the official procedure. We are now paying the price. If we had acted as a factory unit as on previous occasions and (to borrow a phrase from Carron) acted as "werewolves", we would more than likely be in a stronger position today.'

One cannot but agree with Bro. Carlsson and it is a little surprising, knowing some of the past struggles of the ENV workers, that in fact they did go along with official procedure. Past experience has shown, at Fords for example, that this is fatal and that a stand has to be taken by the men themselves. It is easy to write this, but when faced with a situation of the magnitude that faced the ENV workers, it is understandable why they took this course, and, of course, official procedure does sometimes pay off. However it is a method, agreed to by both unions and employers, which really detracts from the actual struggle and takes away the initiative from those taking part.

Union organisation that existed at ENV was one that had won some of the best conditions and wages of £27 for a 40 hour week. The management did not like this and the AEU leadership were embarrassed by it when they could only negotiate 3% package deals. Carron does not like this any more than the management, and to expect him and his bureaucrats to win the day for their members was a mistake. This is a mistake that too many make and too few learn from.

P.T.  
\*Resistance, No. 1. London Shop Stewards Defence Committee.

## WE CAN AGREE

MR. JOHN DAVIES, Director General of the Confederation of British Industry, addressing the Law Society's commerce and industry group stated, 'In our economic situation in this country a free-for-all is a great peril. You will have to have something which brings about self-enforced discipline without legal restraint. You have got to plant responsibility for achieving self-imposed discipline on those whom you seek to be responsible'. He then went on to say, 'It would seem that the kernel is this; it may well be that great damage is done to the nation and individuals by the complete liberty of action for exercising irresponsibility of workers or groups of workers.' In other words something has got to be done about the 'bloody-minded workers'. Whilst not advocating legal restraint Mr. Davies believes that 'some device' has got to be found, whereby workers are encouraged to join a union and then the unions take the responsibility of disciplining their members.

Mr. Callaghan, Chancellor of the Exchequer, has a similar point of view. Whilst accusing the Tories of wanting to make the Government declare war on the unions, Mr. Callaghan said: 'Any attempt to change the law relating to trade unions, to which I am not necessarily opposed (my italics) must be done with the full consent of those with whom you are working or the attempt will fail.'

Jim lad, you have the consent 'of those with whom you are working', i.e. motor car manufacturers, the City, the shipowners, surely you don't expect rank

and file workers to help you cut their own throats.

Mr. Callaghan attended his first meeting of the National Economic Development Council on Wednesday, December 7. Members of the NEDC wanted to know the Government's proposals for public spending 1967-8. The Chancellor could not give any definite figures as proposals were still being worked out, but he welcomed any ideas for making savings in the future. Frank Cousins (T&GWU) suggested that the Government might look at the level of defence spending, and from the management side came the suggestion that spending on welfare services should be examined and that some of the more ambitious improvements should be postponed.

Mr. Callaghan stated that the important and over-riding objective was to right the balance of payments. He also assured everyone that the Government recognised the need for adequate profits, otherwise there would be no investment, and without investment there could be no real improvement in the growth rate.

Cutting right through the financial jargon, Brother Jim is playing capitalist economics with the 'big boys', profit can only come from one source 'labour power'. Exploit that to the fullest advantage and profit is assured.

In its evidence to the Royal Commission on the Trade Unions, the National Union of Seamen point out that company law gives shipping companies the privilege of maintaining hidden reserves and therefore puts them at a

# Freedom

## For Workers' Control

DECEMBER 17 1966 Vol 27 No 39

## Talking About the Wage Freeze

SOME 600 delegates from all parts of Britain attended a Conference Against the Wage Freeze, held in London's Beaver Hall on Saturday, December 3. Organised by a number of well-known Shop Stewards' Committees, whose existence is barely tolerated by Trade Union officialdom, it was guaranteed that the bulk of the delegates would be rank and file militants—many of them belonging to the Communist Party, the Socialist Labour League, and various other left wing political organisations.

Essentially this was a rally of shop floor militants and, as such, it revealed very clearly the sort of policies which the political groups are advocating in industry today.

Speaker after speaker denounced the wage freeze, the growing unemployment, and the general policies of the Labour Government, but most of them were at some pains to explain that these views were not held by the 'ordinary' trade unionist who, it was claimed, was either apathetic or even supported the policies of Wilson and Gunter. Not surprisingly, therefore, the policies put forward completely left out of account action by the 'ordinary' trade unionist.

Conference had before it a lengthy 'Declaration of Purpose' sponsored by the conference organisers and obviously inspired by the Communist Party's industrial section. This purpose was defined as calling on the Government 'to abandon the credit squeeze and restore full employment'. 'Pressure' to achieve such a change of policy was to be built up by means of resolutions from all sections of the movement, culminating in a National Week of Protest in February.

This line was furiously opposed by a small group of Trotskyists whose own policy was, however, essentially the same and was summed up in the repeated slogan to 'make the Lefts fight'. This meant, they explained (to a largely incredulous conference) that a nameless group of Left Wing Labour MPs should repudiate Wilson, 'seize power' for themselves and proceed to solve all our problems by 'nationalising all the basic industries'.

The Declaration of Purpose never told us what we were to do if the Government didn't change its policies; and the Trotskyists never told us what we were to do if the 'lefts' declined to stage this comical *coup d'état* in Parliament. Neither

group proposed that the workers themselves should organise and take action to defeat the Prices and Incomes Act, for it was tacitly assumed by both groups that the workers could not, or would not, take action purely on their own behalf.

I have no wish to decry this Conference. Many of the speeches were made by men and women with a lifetime of experience of the workers struggle, and many showed a refreshing realism. The situation is grim. The Trade Union Movement is almost prostrate before the State's attack on basic trade union rights. The standstill period of wage freeze is almost over, six million workers have been deprived of negotiated wage increases and we are now entering the period of 'severe restraint' when only those on about £10 a week will qualify for a few shillings a week wage increase. Yet all the resentment which this situation has created has still not developed into any serious industrial opposition.

It is this virtual paralysis of ten million organised trade unionists, this apparent inability to do anything more positive than pass critical resolutions, which is the real cause for alarm in the working-class movement today.

Under these circumstances it is surely the task of militants to encourage every action (even the smallest) by the workers themselves against the Government. To preach reliance on the Labour Party—Right or Left—to get us out of trouble is not only wrong, ridiculous and essentially futile, it also runs counter to the experience of the 'ordinary' trade unionist, who today feels absolutely disgusted with politicians of all breeds. This is proved by the growing volume of trade unionists 'contracting out' of the political levy, something which, incidentally, the political element at this conference were very much opposed to.

The job today is not to sustain the rapidly dwindling faith in political leaders but to develop this disgust into a positive confidence that the workers themselves—if they have a mind to—can not only smash the Prices and Incomes Act but can eventually build that co-operative socialist society which, it is clear from this Conference, still inspires the shop floor militants.

J.L.

## FREEDOM will not appear December 31 or January 7

disadvantage in the process of collective bargaining.

The whole stinking system is one big racket, but I'm afraid it's no use quoting the usual clichés 'under socialism it will be different' or, 'in a free society all will be well', as at the moment there are not very many people interested in a different sort of society, we are still the 'odd ones'. Many pay lip service to our ideas, many realise the madness of present-day society, then one is forced to pose the question. So?

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

## Hey!

PRESS FUND  
WEEK 49, DECEMBER 10, 1966:  
Expenses: 49 Weeks at £80: £3920  
Income: Sales and Subs.: £2791  
DEFICIT: £1129

London, W.11: D.H. 9/-; Harlow: K.N. 7/-; Aberdeen: Anarchist Group 3/-; London, W.2: S.P. 2/6; Newcastle: B.P. 2/9; London, N.W.1: J.T. 10/-; Bangor, N.I.: J.T. £5; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.\* 2/-; J.L.\* 3/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.\* 10/-; San Francisco: Bay Area Group Proceeds of Fiesta November 26 £35; Liverpool: H.H.J. £10; Bristol: I.P. 3/3; Watford: J.R. 8/-; Wellington, N.Z.: R.H. £2.

TOTAL: £55 0 6  
Previously Acknowledged: £1019 1 10

1966 Total to Date: £1074 2 4

\*Denotes Regular Contributor.  
Gift of Books—London: J.R.