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THE AFRICANS HAVE NOT SPOKEN—YET!

MITH AN ERA of improved communications upon us it becomes more and more difficult to communicate. The technological complexity with which pontifical utterances and soporific banalities can be bounced off outer space is only matched by the technological complexity with which events (or non-events) are communicated. An example of the use of complexity to conceal thought or to veil the real nature of a problem is that of the bomb. The question as to whether killing men is likely to lead to peace is obscured by a dance of the seven veils in reverse (as it were), till we are left with the woolly problem: Does the proliferation of nuclear deterrents escalate the likelihood of confrontation or does the provision of preemptive strike capability inhibit the aggressive potential of an aggressor?

Something similar is taking place with regard to Rhodesia. We are being asked to consider the effect of sanctions upon Britain's economic position; to consider the effects of oil shortage upon Rhodesia; to consider the political relations between South Africa, Rhodesia and ourselves; magic formulae are incanted: 'multilateral mandatory sanctions'; 'working documents'; 'statements of principles'; 'constitutional issues of legality'; all of them very admirable talking points no doubt, but all calculated, if not designed. to obscure the real issue about Rhodesia.

Dr. Johnson, that old reactionary, who sometimes (by the laws of average?) spoke commonsense, once said, 'A man is seldom so innocently employed as when making money.' This is not true in every respect but in the case of the communicators it is invariably so. The journals which 'innocently employ' their time in showing us how to make money (i.e. The Wall Street Journal in the US and the Financial Times over here) are innocent to the point naivete when it comes to communicating the news. Not for them the bleeding heart of the liberals, the purple prose of the left or the orotund sentimentalities of the right.

The strip-tease of the Seven Veils is down to the bare facts of 'what is there in it for anyone-me, in particular?' On November 9 Ronald Butt, the political editor boiled down the issue in Rhodesia into two sentences:

'After a year in which the sanctions

designed to bring the Rhodesians to heel within a few months had failed to take effect, the Prime Minister talked to Mr. Smith face-to-face on the "Tiger" and offered terms that were never likely to be acceptable to the Rhodesian Front. Then, having failed to secure acceptance of the "working document" in Salisbury, the Prime Minister castigated the Rhodesian regime for its wickedness and Mr. Smith for weakness. Promptly, Mr. Wilson announced that Britain would go on with sanctions—and thereupon sent Mr. Brown to New York with the express purpose of seeing that these sanctions should not be so strong as to cause trouble in southern Africa-even if this meant making it impossible for them to bring the Rhodesian regime down, as designed.

Can anyone put it more briefly than

As a matter of fact somebody didbut quite unwittingly. Our own dear Harold Wilson orating in the House of Commons on December 5 said, 'It was clear that "power for its own sake" and the insistence on retaining that power in the hands of a small unrepresentative minority' had dictated the outcome. He was speaking, of course, of Ian Smith but surely he has summed up for us, who believe in the dangers of political power, the whole situation.

Is not Mr. Wilson interested in power for its own sake? What is this struggle between Smith and Wilson, between Heath and Wilson, except a struggle for power?

One voice has not been heard in this clamour. The voice of the African, not only one would imagine, because their political leaders have been silencedand what are their political leaders but seekers for power?—but also because this struggle, above their heads, has no reality for them.

They have not spoken—Yet!

JACK ROBINSON.

Business us Usual in Vietnam

THE PROOF of the validity of

anarchist thinking and the apparent effectiveness of our propaganda is contained in a short sentence in this week's 'Out of this World' column. The sentence refers to a shipment of steel from China to the United States and from there to Saigon. No need usually to enlarge on such a matter, to fulminate against the wicked Chinese traitors who sell steel to their enemies: we now all know that this is commonplace, that trade between warring nation-states continues merrily, that should the Americans run out of steel to bomb Vietnam the polite Chinese would be only too glad to oblige.

So when the story came into this office the other day that one of the largest firms in this country is also trading merrily with the South-Vietnamese and the US military we were not at all surprised. Neither were we astounded that here was a factory where Communists have always been prominent. The wry

joke that goes around in the factory: 'Don't worry mate, we are all doing our bit for the war effort' leaves us unamused.

After all, we are informed by the Board of Trade, that our trade with South Vietnam is about £2 million a year and our greatest export is Scotch whisky for the American troops. Better than napalm? But it must make a lot of Scottish distillers happy that they also help in the war effort.

But in the same way that nobody in his right mind would lead a protest march to the United Glass Bottle Manufacturers door - because they make the bottle which contains the whisky that the GI drinks whilst he burns a Vietnam village with napalm manufactured by the Dow Chemical Co.—a protest march last Sunday to the London offices of the Dow Chemical Co. was just as ineffective.

The organisers of the communist YPC march forgot to check the address. But even if they found the Dow Chemical Co.'s building in 105

Wigmore Street (WEL 4441), did they consider that the English section of the Dow Chemical Co. manufactures not napalm but antibiotics and also a material called Lurex which women find very useful as the cold wind blows up their miniskirts?"

We live in a world where international trade reflects the organised violence of the nation-states. Our traders will sell and ship bibles, contraceptives, guns, bandages, rockets, engines and napalm in one cargo. When an American senator asks for the 'bombing of British ships' which supply. Hanoi he is merely reflecting a genuine bewilderment that many people share. Who is a friend? Who is an enemy? Who knows?

Not until there is an anarchist revolution in the world will such 'contradictions' be resolved. Our analysis is correct and the people of the world must take note or continue to live in something more than a fool's paradise.

Travellers' Rights

THIS time of year is always a critical one for gipsies and travellers, trying to establish themselves for the winter in tolerable surroundings in some place where they can also make a living.

The campaign in the London Borough of Bromley last year showed the possibilities of concerted action by gipsies and their friends in the settled community. This year organised activity is spreading. as indicated in the recent press reports of successful resistance to eviction from sites at Newham and Romford.

Of course, these struggles take place in many other countries. On the Continent this has led to the setting up of an International Gipsy Committee based in Paris and representing a large part of the 12 million gipsies organised into 25 associations scattered throughout the world.

As Britain was not represented, and to discuss the formation of the necessary national association a meeting of gipsies and travellers was held at the 'Bull's Head', St. Paul's Cray in the London Borough of Bromley.

Gratton Puxon, secretary of the Gipsy Liaison Committee operating from c/o Greenways, Knockholt, near Sevenoaks, Kent, has received news from many gipsies, some of whom attended the meeting and others sent messages of support from Monmouthshire, Hertfordshire, Gloucestershire, Lancashire, Staffordshire, Co. Amagh, Lincolnshire, Cork, Worcestershire, Kent, Middlesex and Glasgow.

It was hoped that the meeting would generate a more hopeful spirit among these oppressed people, leading to more vigorous action to establish their neglected human rights.

The meeting was very successful in spite of a 'No Gipsies' sign, at the 'Bull's Head' on Sunday, December 11.

There is now in existence a Gipsy Council to look after the interests of the Travellers' Community in Britain and

for a meeting 'to promote human rights', since it was in a week dedicated to human rights activity. When he discoveredfrom newspaper enquiries trying to locate the meeting-that the humans were in fact only gipsies, he immediately visited me to cancel the booking. He explained that neither his regular customers nor the brewery would tolerate gipsies using the premises, because of previous 'trouble'.

The landlord had accepted the booking

However, newspaper attention on Whitbreads and, I hope, our conciliatory but firm attitude persuaded him to reverse his decision.

The meeting was in fact orderly and constructive—even the first-class all-white citizens at the 'Lamb & Flag' couldn't have behaved better if they tried.

After an address from the Secretary-General of the International Gipsy Committee, Vanko Rouda, names flowed in freely for membership of the Council. Membership cards of the Travellers' Community were distributed, bearing the telephone number of the National Council for Civil Liberties for immediate notification of crisis situations involving police or local authorities.

The meeting retired to a more friendly (church) hall for a social gathering. There was also a discussion of the local crisis situation in the London Borough of Bromley. In the district, there must be 50 or more trailers on the main road verges while the council's temporary site won from last year's campaign, stands locked and empty apart from the three families who stayed through the summer. breaking their traditional pattern of going down to Kent for fruit and hops.

One courageous gipsy has taken direct action and re-entered the site. It will be interesting to see how the new impulse towards group organisation will be expressed in the confrontation to come. BRIAN RICHARDSON.

Post-script:

The Council has settled down to work at once.

An encouraging sign is the behaviour of council workmen who refused to evict two gipsy families from a site at St. Mary's Cray. Gratton Puxon told the press: 'This is the first victory for the newly formed Council.'

The libertarian behaviour of the council workman, Mr. Aloysius O'Boyle, cannot be stressed too strongly. He did not just refuse to evict the families but he also told them that if they wanted to leave he would tow them away. 'But I refuse to do the work of a bailiff', he added.

Police stood by 'in case of trouble'. Many complaints have been made by gipsies of the unsympathetic attitude of the police who 'roughly handle our wives and kids'. With such new and old watchdogs standing by as the Gipsy Council and the NCCL the police will have to show more caution.

But the direct action aspect of the struggle must continue to back up the work of the reformists.

ACK BAGET

NOW ON SALE DISCUSSES LIBERTARIAN

ANARCHY 71

PSYCHIATRY

ON SALE JANUARY 7 DISCUSSES

EDUCATION

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

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, it seems, have a regular habit of making fools of themselves, their shouts of protest and vilification acting as a prod liamentary system. These MPs (all 630 of them one imagines) know on which side their bread is buttered. But in a job which too often degenerates into a farcical waste of time, some members no doubt get carried away at the delicious prospect of making the front page. In their attempt (very worthy in itself) to avoid a flood of banal cliches, which is the Wilson trademark, they develop a purple patch, say the wrong things, play to the gallery, so that those headmasterly whips have to be on hand to see that the transgressors return swiftly to the oblivion of the back-benches.

At the height of the Rhodesia fiasco. Reginald Paget was presumptuous enough to challenge King Harold himself, saying (amongst other things) that Wilson could not be trusted. (We know that, but you mustn't say it to his face, though Paget did try to soft-soap Harold by saying he was also 'a very great man' with similarities to Napoleon!!) It was perhaps unfortunate (or was it their slanted sense of humour?) that made one daily rightwing paper state: Labour MP says: 'I will rebel', which would make any anarchist inclined to retort, 'Go on and "rebel" till you're blue in the face-the

whips will deal with you when you sober

In fact it is a bit late in life for 68year-old Mr. Paget to think of becoming to the dying embers of the obsolete par- a 'rebel' or, as I see it, just a damn nuisance to his superiors. He has done all right for himself as Northampton's Labour MP for the past 21 years, and his decision to vote with the 'opposition' after the Rhodesian debate, is perhaps the accumulation of his repressed rightwing yearnings, because even in his own party, he has always been rather a conservative, though continuing to preach 'socialism' to his passive constituents.

The fact that one of the other MPs to join him in voting against the Government was a Liberal no longer matters. and for all Paget's bellicose tub-thumping, no mention was made of the deplorable fact that South Africa holds the whip-hand over Smith and Wilson, and can make both Premiers abject grovellers when the time is ripe for her.

Although court proceedings against the book Last Exit to Brooklyn have been adequately covered in FREEDOM, the supposed merits and demerits of the book as related to the 'obscenity' charge are nothing in comparison with the behaviour in the past weeks of Sir Cyril Black, who has launched a one-man campaign against the book which has reached ridiculous dimensions, which may yet make Sir Cyril squirm with

embarrassment in his squalid mind.

There is something almost frightening about Black's obsessive quest to destroy copies of Last Exit; on December 12 he made his intentions known by saying that he would report anybody selling the book, and would draw on police help, and wouldn't hesitate to prosecute with hope of conducting a trial at the Old Bailey.

John Calder and Marion Boyars struck a blow for commonsense when, soon after hearing this bigot's threats, they stated their refusal to be intimidated. The banning of the book only applies of course in the area in which Sir Cyril's court action was successful, which means increased sales elsewhere, and Messrs. Calder and Boyars can surely do with the publicity, since if the Old Bailey is resorted to, Sir Cyril will have made such an utter fool of himself, that defence counsel should have a quite easy time if they stick to strict reason and logic.

The very term 'liable to deprave and corrupt' is too much of a generalization anyway to hold much water, since magistrates have yet to find a conclusive case whereby a book corrupted its owner or reader, though the pro-Blacks will always point to Ian Brady as a case in question. But Brady was surely already an embittered erotic dreamer before he chanced upon de Sade's writings and, besides, he was more interested in de Sade's theory of murder, which in turn led to his acting out his sexual dreams and his subsequent disowning of any responsibility.

Last Exit is written in a rough-hewn colloquialism which wouldn't endear it

Continued on page 3

M.H.

COMETHING quite interesting has been springing up in the San Francisco/ Berkeley area since my return to the US, and I thought you might like to hear about it.

If you should happen to find yourself in the Haight-Ashbury section of San Francisco, and should wander into any of the hippy-artsy-booky-sandally shops that line Haight Street, you will see signs saying FREE FOOD . . . BECAUSE IT IS YOURS . . . DIGGERS.

If, at four in the afternoon, you should wander over to the brightly painted garage on Page Street you will find an immense pot of hot stew, boxes of bread.

BOOKS FOR TOKENS

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apples, turnips, beans, a rack of clothing. You are free to eat the stew, load up on groceries, clothes, listen to the Beatle records which blare from the phonograph, chat with (usually longhaired, besandalled) friends. Your children can play in the big backyard and occasionally even watch a puppet show.

No one asks you to prove that you are poor. No one insists that you give anything in return. You are not expected to pray to Jesus. As the signs say, THE FOOD IS FREE . . . BECAUSE IT IS YOURS.

Who are the Diggers? The police, who wish to deliver a health department summons, have been trying to figure that out for several weeks. The Diggers have no leaders, no organization. Whoever offers to cook the daily pot of stew, whoever offers to help in the fixing up, or contributes to the rent of the garage, whoever procures (by whatever means) a sack of vegetables . . . is a Digger. The Diggers were into their third month before, almost holding a highly informal and highly

this retrospective exhibition at the Tate.

the old man murmurs that he desires to

accepted him as a rather quaint by-pro-

duct of our native culture and the minor

honours have fallen upon him year by

year, like winter leaves, yet never could

he feel that he was an accepted part of

the fermenting politics of the arts for he

was always the lonely north country man

who, possessing few close friends, painted

for the sake of company to quote Edwin

In his early work he was a good and

competent painter, knowledgeable in his

craft and capable of sinking into the

role of the kindly teacher within some

northern art school, but he was content

to attend the Manchester College of Art

hours until it was whispered, politely, to

recognized examinations or leave. He left.

tent to let his only son live out his life

in this fashion and it is to the credit of

Lowry's father that it should have been

so for by this unselfish action he saved

one youth from the drudgery of some

waiting office or factory. Lowry had no

desire to practise his craft as a means

of livelihood and he had before him a

sterile future of the lonely and isolated

individual turning his talent into a time-

consuming hobby until the grave became

moved from the residential suburb of

Manchester to the sour industrial living

of Salford, and Lowry, as a painter, was

forced to accept a world that as a citizen

he rejected. It was now that this small

town academic painter began to slough

off the conformity of the art school

training and to evolve his own recognis-

able style. Mullins states that in 1915

Lowry saw Houghton's play Hindle

Wakes and that this play had a strong

In 1909 when he was 22, his parents

a door to peace.

His father, an estate agent, was con-

For too long the Establishment have

paint no more.

Mullins.

exchanged for everything from free showers to reciprocal babysitting.

The name 'Diggers' comes partly from that fine old hip term 'to dig', and, for the historically-minded, from Gerard Winstanley's Digger group of Cromwellian England. These original Diggers practised communal anarchism, and were hunted down by lynch mobs and musketeers.

Groups of the New Diggers are forming, amoeba-like, all over the Bay area. I am told that a Digger stew is now being served, daily, in the park in front of the Berkeley City Hall. The effect on the little Negro urchins in this ghetto-like neighbourhood has also been a joy to watch. At first they came roaring in, grabbing hunks of bread, giggling, screaming and running off, as though they had performed a daring feat of thievery. Gradually they began to realize that nobody minded and they began to show up with bowls and spoons and to help themselves to the stew. Now you can as an afterthought, they got around to with paint-brush and hammer, clumsily food or dances in the park? Even the but earnestly doing their bit. One can Diggers' neighbours are rushing to their enthusiastic meeting where ideas were almost see the ghost of Kropotkin hover-

ing overhead, beaming, rubbing his hands. and muttering 'mutual aid, mutual aid'.

But the Diggers know little of theoretical anarchism. Theirs is the Anarchism of the Deed. To them 'Free' means that you don't have to pay for it . . . the rest follows. And they seem to be right. Except for the rent, they accept no money, indeed, there is no President, Treasurer, etc., who could accept money.

They are entirely voluntary in structure, but somehow, the work always manages to get done. The roof gets fixed, the stew shows up every day at four o'clock. It is the most functional anarchist situation that I have ever come across.

Like their predecessors, the lynch mob and the musketeers are not far behind. There have been bombings of a Digger house and the usual police harassment. But, unlike their predecessors, the Diggers are fighting back with imagination and charm. Even the District Attorney did not have the nerve to prosecute a puppet show that was given on the streets without a permit (that the public need obtain permits from the 'public servants' in order to entertain the public in public is too absurd for even the government to own often see them there in the afternoons up to). And who can object to free defence. The Diggers probably won't

last a thousand years, nor are they the harbingers of the revolution, but in the meantime, that stew tastes awfully damn good. And, as my old Jewish Mother used to say, 'Eat first, we'll make the revolution later'. GRANIA DAVIDSON.

Nae Freedom in Glasgow Libraries

OUR Subscription Department (to glorify it) has received a curt note from the Corporation of Glasgow Libraries Department headed 'FREEDOM': Please note that the subscriptions for three copies of the above periodical will not be renewed for 1967. These are for Maryhill, Parkhead and Townhead District Libraries'. We have no knowledge as to why the citizenry of Glasgow have been deprived of their FREEDOM.

Is it merely a question of cost? Did our rise to sixpence per week prove the last straw that broke the camel's back? We must, if this is the case, look up our Scots joke book again or if the icy blasts of economy campaigns have swept across the Clyde we are prepared to donate FREEDOM FREE to Glasgow libraries. However we believe that it is usually a policy of libraries (varying with the different authorities) not to accept free subscriptions to periodicals lest they expose the ratepayers to the conflicting lures of spiritualism, vegetarianism or Trotskyism.

We feel that this is basically a matter best left to the ratepayers of Glasgow, among whom there are no doubt some people who feel that FREEDOM (and Anarchy) should be in Glasgow public libraries. Since there is no standard procedure for dealing with libraries, or for libraries dealing with Freedom, how this is done is best left to the Glasgow ratepayers.

However, the whole trend of the decline of the library reading-rooms is worth some speculation. Libraries as a rule work on severely limited budgets and are subject to overlordship by councillors, who, as a class, are generally bourgeoisie, puritanical, mean and reactionary. Therefore the spreading of enreading rooms is a hopeless task. Libraries have been known (through the that only people who had nowhere else to go went there. It has also been known for reading rooms to eliminate entirely from their racks the popular papers on the grounds that these were frivolous and the thought, never far from a councillor's mind, that provision of newspapers free was depriving tradespeople of an honest (or dishonest) living. Another aberration witnessed in libraries is the solemn elimination from all newspapers of all racing form and results. Were it possible to eliminate all-moral sidesteps (with which the modern press is rife) no doubt the City Fathers would expunge them.

Surely the provision of a wide variety of newspapers and magazines is one of the functions of a library reading-room and the wider and more varied the choice the better. 'Let FREEDOM and Action there grapple' as Milton might have said 'For who has known truth worsted in a combat?' Maybe Glasgow Council has its doubts.

Come, come, Glasgow! Is it something we said? If it is, we're glad of it.

AURENCE STEPHEN LOWRY is a man old in the timing of the years and in the heart. A man of confessed loneliness, without wife or near kin, he has idled away the wasted hours upon the dead canvases. Year by year they have recorded the passing of his long days and now, with the final accolade of

influence on his style and subject matter. This may well be so, for Lowry is not nor ever has been part of the life of the northern people. Always this lonely man has been the spectator, for never once does his brush or pencil record the world behind the facades of his dream factories that flower like abandoned cathedrals within his white wilder-

From 1925 onwards he wandered from industrial town to industrial town taking from each only a few rapid sketches and then within the closed doors of his private world he would paint this grey northern world as he would wish it to be, a blend of fact and remembered fiction, for Lowry will not paint from life, and his sketches were but the briefest notes for the finished work. He was now accepted as a painter of the northern for full ten years as the perennial student scene and he continued to exhibit in seeking no more than to fill the long many open exhibitions while the City Art Gallery of Manchester, to their credit, him that he should either attempt the were the first to acquire one of his paintings for a public collection.

> In 1922 his father died and now Lowry was left with only his mother as his constant companion. Time and time again he decided to give up the pastime of painting but as long as he sold one painting a year he was content to carry on. The small honours came with each passing year with regular exhibitioning at the Royal Academy and membership of the RSBA.

It was in 1938 that A. J. McNeill Reid of Lefevre's saw, by chance, some of Lowry's paintings at Bourlet's, the framers, and from then on Lowry became part of the stable of this important gallery and part of the London scene. nised artists who, by virtue of the fact that their style does not vary year by year, give a cosiness and a feeling of security to the dealer's bank manager and selves when enjoying these pretty paintings, for the fact that they are so willingly accepted lies in their falsification of an

observable social evil. We have, over the last twenty years, lived too long with two dimensional canvases and Lowry's gift to us is a world of depth for with his use of white he has created a barren world where backgrounds and middle distances become lost in a white enclosing fog. This is his sad and lonely world painted by a sad and lonely man. A world of stark and empty beauty, of a cold loveliness that few other contemporary painters have managed to achieve. And then this lonely man peoples these empty wastes with the shells of unenterable factories and a comic charade of hundreds of wormlike men and women. Mullins stated that Lowry was strongly influenced by a 1915 version of Hindle Wakes and in this he offers a Rosebud key to these paintings for they are locked in that mummer's period of comic northerners.

In 1962 Lowry was still painting women in ankle length skirts for, like P. G. Wodehouse, he is a man who has never come to terms with the passing lightenment of the masses via library years. In a society of wage freezing and industrial unrest we are offered a choice of working class images in that we can prodding of councillors) to close down either accept the Marxist/British Rail- reading rooms altogether on the grounds way's poster version of the muscle flapping furnace firers or Lowry's boneless gentles drifting in aimless circles in his open asylums, and it is this extension of the Casey's Court of the nineteen-twenties' halfpenny comic that finds favour with, not only the Establishment, but with the men and women who want a sentimental picture of that hell that Blake called Birmingham and all its suburbs. Like the American painter, Grandma Moses, Lowry has created an artificial world and peopled it with neuters that amuse but never offend, for they are incorruptible for they were dead before the brush touched the canvas.

The introduction within the Tate's catalogue describes Lowry as perhaps the last of the great English eccentrics for He became one of that group of recog- no other reason than that this gentle old man has used his canvases to reflect the loneliness within his own heart but too many a sleek southerner has bought and hung Lowry's paintings as a salve and the spectator. Yet let us not delude our- a sop to his own conscience, for as long as the working people are a cause for amusement they will never be feared.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

Anarchist Federation of

(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 DISGUSSION 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 Rooum'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. BRIGHTON. All those interested in activities and action should contact Richard Miller, 1/2

BRISTOL. Contact: Dave Thorne, 49 Cotham Brow, Bristol, 6. CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Mike Crowley, 36 Whitaker Road, Tremorfa, Cardiff. DUNDEE GROUP. Contact Bob and Una Turnbull, c/o Doctors' Residence, Stracathro

Percival Terrace, Brighton, 7.

Hospital, by Brechin, Angus. GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP ONE. Correspondence to Robert Lynn, 2b Saracen Head Lane, Glasgow, C.1. HARLOW 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 Houses, 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 Green-

ways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson. OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP, Contact H. G. Mellor, Merton College. Oxford. PLYMOUTH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Con-

tact J. Hill, 79 Underlane, Plymstock, Plymouth, READING ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Alan Ross, 116 Belmont Road, Reading, Berks. SHEFFIELD. Contact Robin Lovell, c/e 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 Rattray, 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

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

HERTFORDSHIRE. Contact Stuart Mitchel, South View, Potters Heath, Welwyn. NORTH LONDON ANARCHIST DISCUSSION GROUP. 'Dolphin' (back of St. Pancras Town Hall). Every Sunday 8 p.m. Next meeting: January 1. Subject: Revolution.

Admission by copy of this paper.

CAMBRIDGE. Contact Wallyjon Illingworth, c/o Richmond House, Devon Road, Cambridge. MID-MIDDLESEX. (Harrow, Wembley, Edgware,

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. Erroll Davies, 22 St. Margaret's Street, Rochester, 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 Marunden Green,

Britwell Estate, Slough, Bucks.

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.

ABROAD

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, Sclessint-Liege, Belgium.

Who Said That?

1. Stalin's proposal for world disarmament is a great thing and he must be given credit for being sincere about it.

2. Given a very important issue and a rather small number of bombs, I think that even atomic warfare may be justified.

3. The nemesis of justice struck him dead. So be it! Stolypin (ignoble, sinister and sanguinary) has deserved his fate. The Russia of the proletarians is in festival and awaits the day when dynamite shall pulverize the bones of the Little Father, whose hands are red with blood. The tragic end of Nicholas II will be the dawn of a new period of revolutionary action. We hope for it steadfastly. While awaiting it, glory to the man who has accomplished the sacred gesture of the avenger.

4. I know how much the German nation loves its Führer; I should therefore like to drink his health.

to be considered as the most valuable ally in the world, as long as the world looks to the leadership and spirit of its people for the ruthlessness and tenacity which is determined to fight out a struggle, once begun, by every means and without regard for time and sacrifice right on to the victorious end; which proves that there is no need for the military armaments existing always in any special ratio to those of other states.

6. (To Mussolini.) If I had been an Italian I am sure that I would have been wholeheartedly with you from start to finish in your triumphant struggle against the bestial appetites and passions of Leninism.

7. Father had said that . . . the French would have no right, after the war simply to walk back into Indo-China and reclaim that rich land for no reason other than it had once been their colony.

8. . . the decision which we, as a free nation, have taken, that setting aside thoughts of luxury and easy living, we will as our first task, seek to stand on our own feet, pay our way in the markets of the world, rebuild our warshattered economy and lay the foundations of new additions to our production equipment which, in years to come, will mean a higher standard of living for our people and new industrial greatness for our nation.

9. It is not the Yellow peril nor the Black peril nor any danger in the wide circuit of colonial and foreign affairs. No. it is here in our midst, close at home, close at hand in the vast growing cities of England and Scotland, and in the dwindling and cramped villages of our denuded countryside. It is there you will find the seed of imperial ruin and national decay — the unnatural gap between rich and poor, the divorce of the people from the land, the want of proper discipline and training in our youth, the exploitation of boy labour, the physical degeneration which seems to follow so swiftly on civilized poverty, the awful jumbles of an obsolete Poor Law, the horrid havoc of the liquor traffic, the constant insecurity in the means of subsistence and employment which breaks the heart of many a sober hard-working man, the absence of any established minimum standard of life and comfort among the workers and at the other end. the swift increase of vulgar, joyless luxury-here are the enemies of Britain. Beware lest they shatter the foundation of her power.

10. We face the certainty of sacrifices in terms of higher living costs and shortages, of many things, of harder work with less reward to our standard of living.

11. One may dislike Hitler's system and yet admire his patriotic achievement. If our country were defeated I hope we should find a champion as admirable to restore our courage and lead us back to our place among the nations.

12. If the financial programme for re-armament runs beyond the physical resources which can be made available.

then rearmament itself becomes the first casualty, the basis of our economy is disrupted and the standard of living, including the social services of our people. is endangered. That, I believe, to be the position today. Recent statements in the House by the Minister of Supply and myself make it clear that we are not getting enough raw materials to maintain our economy, our essential export trade and the size of the rearmament pro-

gramme that we have announced. 13. I am in entire agreement as the Party knows, with Aneurin Bevan on the policy issues involved — on the dangers not only of Mr. Dulles's policy in South-East Asia, but also of German re-armament. Obviously, therefore, it is extremely difficult for me to accept co-option to the vacancy caused by his resignation. . . .

14. Nevertheless what matters in the 5. The British nation will continue last resort is the unity and strength of the Party. I have given a great deal of anxious thought to this question in the last ten days and have not lacked advice. My conclusion is that, in the Party's interests, it is impossible for me to refuse co-option.

Answers

same letter). 14. Harold Wilson (same occasion; February, 1954). of Bevan's post in shadow cabinet, 13. Harold Wilson (on his acceptance .(12.4.45). 12. Harold Wilson (on his resignation, temporaries, 1935). 11. Winston Churchill (Great Conof Trade, February, 1951). 10. Harold Wilson (President, Board date, 1908). 9. Winston Churchill (Liberal candi-Trade, April, 1948). 8. Harold Wilson (President, Board of Elliott Roosevelt in As He Saw It). 7. Franklin Roosevelt (reported, by 6. Winston Churchill (21.1.27). & Blackett, 1938) p. 133). 5. Adolf Hitler (My Struggle (Hurst

4. Josef Stalin (23.8.39).

Lecture, 1948). 2. Bertrand Russell (Halley-Stewart Primaries, 1946). Senator Joe McCarthy (Wisconsin

.(11.9.52

'Nationalise the Money Lenders'-Morning Star

THE FOREIGN OFFICE mislaid the Munich Treaty and Ramsay MacDonald's instructions to the Foreign Office concerning the Zinoviev letter. The Zinoviev letter (published on the eve of the 1924 election and purporting to show the Communist party engaged in a campaign of subversion), was revealed by the Sunday Times to be a forgery sponsored by the Conservative Central Office. . . .

EDGAR YOUNG RECALLED that Sir John Simon when asked why he opposed League oil sanctions against Italy, replied 'We didn't want to smash Mussolini'. Dr. Fidel Castro claimed that the US made secret concessions in October 1962 but that Kruschev should have taken a tougher line to the US. It will be recalled that the US mysteriously withdrew from her bases in Turkey at about that time. Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy is making attempts to have a book about the assassination entitled The Death of a President withdrawn, or substantially amended. The book by William Manchester was commissioned by the Kennedy's, but it is said to contain several adverse comments on President Johnson's behaviour immediately after the assassination. Jack Ruby, killer of Lee Oswald, is reported to have inoperable cancer (previously diagnosed as pneumonia). . .

BILL MOYERS, Baptist Minister, resigned as President Johnson's press-secretary to edit a Long Island newspaper, he is succeeded by a Mr. Christian. American planes bombed Hanoi but America claimed it was the North Vietnamese SAM missiles which returned to ground and destroyed houses in the residential area. . . .

It is claimed by the Observer that China has supplied steel for American military bridges in Vietnam. China protested against the persecution of Chinese by the Portuguese authorities in Macao, and warned Britain and the USA not to interfere. . . .

Two HUNDRED South Vietnamese army recruits training at a rifle-range near Saigon were captured by NLF forces because—it was claimed—their rifles were loaded with blanks. . . .

SWEDEN HAS REFUSED to allow Lord Russell's 'war crimes trial' to be held in Sweden. Ralph Schoenman, American secretary to Bertrand Russell, has had Department, allegedly for visiting North Vietnam. . . .

A SOUTH AFRICAN (white) couple have been told that their daughter of 11 (a genetical throwback) has been classified as 'Coloured' and must leave a boarding school for 'Whites'. Under South African law the girl should not legally live in the same area as her parents-unless, of course, she is employed as a domestic servant. The United Nations General Assembly's political committee approved a resolution proposing mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa as the -only peaceful means of ending its apartheid policies. . . .

A WOMAN AT St. Bartholomew's objected to students being present at her consultation. She said, 'He assured me I would not be used as teaching material since I am a doctor's wife. However, she went on, 'he pointed out that this was the only available room and therefore if I wanted to see him at all it would dents.' She left without the consultation and examination she had come for. . . .

M. JEAN-PIERRE BLOCH, former head of the French police and a former Socialist Minister of the Interior, protested against police brutality in breaking up a Paris demonstration against the Hanoi bombing. M. Bloch received a broken thumb and bruises when he tried to intervene. He said, 'I received a hail of blows and was dragged to the ground. As I got up I was punched in the face. Streaming with blood I was taken away in the police wagon with the demonstrators.' Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, head of the American FBI, has been criticised widely for use of electronic devices for eavesdropping. He has accused Mr. Robert Kennedy, formerly Attorney-General, and now one of his critics, of being well aware and 'exhibiting great interest in pursuing such matters'. An assistant director of the FBI says that Mr. Kennedy when Attorney-General was not told of the electronic devices because authority had already been received from a former Attorney-General and, unlike phonetapping, such devices did not require the authorization of the Attorney-General...

MR. HUGH FRASER, a Tory MP. protested in the House of Commons about the 'privilege' accorded to MPs and Members of the House of Lords of freedom from his passport withdrawn by the State phone-tapping. He said, 'This privilege imprisonment or 'life'. has been extended to the House of Lords

where there are well known to be several members of the Communist party.' The Morning Star solemnly informs us, 'A brand new registration number for the Soviet Ambassador's car was specially devised yesterday by the county council of Kincardineshire (the Mearns). It is 1 SU'. Didn't know the Russians had an ambassador to Scotland. . . .

DEMANDS WERE MADE that the Home Secretary resign because a 'dangerous' prisoner escaped from Dartmoor. The man, Frank Mitchell, had been sentenced to 'life' imprisonment in 1958. He had responded well to treatment in Dartmoor where he had been since 1962 and had not been involved in any violence or prison offence of any kind and had been put on an outside working party from which he had escaped. It was said by the News of the World (which claimed to be in touch with him) that he had been upset by reports of the Home Secretary's speech that a life senhave to be in the presence of the stu- tence would in some cases mean just that The former Governor of Dartmoor who visited Mitchell 'every day for about four years' said, 'I don't think anybody need be afraid of him [Mitchell] except when he is cornered. The title "Mad Axeman" was applied by a newspaper long ago, and I don't think it is a fair description. In his first offence, from the best of my memory, he only threatened to use an axe. To my knowledge he has never been really violent except in confinement. Any man with any spirit is liable to become violent in close confinement.' Warders at Dartmoor successively denied and confirmed that they had expressed no objection to Mitchell joining an outside working party. Mitchell was said to have stated, 'I'll have to break out to draw attention to the length of time I'm being incarcerated.' His former defence counsel, Nemone Lethbridge. said, 'I feel extremely sorry for him. He is not nearly so bad as people make

> AN ARMY REPORT on a former soldier was, 'A good soldier. A useful shot with rifle and Bren.' His record read: 'Hard working and conscientious. Capable of working without supervision. Loyal and has a pleasing manner and is strongly recommended to a future employer.' The ex-soldier, Harry Roberts, with his two companions, John Witney and John Duddy, were sentenced to thirty years'

> > JON QUIXOTE.

Solidarity Raided

3. Benito Mussolini (Lotta di Classo,

Appeal letter to the Editors.

Both lists of our subscribers, sellers, and contacts were taken by Glasgow CID during the raids on several of the Solidarity Groups' homes in Glasgow.

You will appreciate this is now hindering our correspondence work.

We would, therefore, be pleased if your readers who know their addresses were on our files would send them to us.

Yours, Scottish Solidarity, c/o 33 Kelvingrove Street, Glasgow, C.3

GEORGE WILLIAMSON. 14.12.66

'No Exit to Brooklyn'

Dear Sir,

At a board meeting on Tuesday, December 13, we decided not to appeal against the decision to confiscate and destroy three copies of LAST EXIT TO BROOKLYN by Hubert Selby, Jnr., which were in the possession of the Great Marlborough Street magistrate, despite the fact that we have raised an extremely important legal point in this case which we believe would provide grounds for a successful appeal.

The reason for our decision is that this is an issue that goes far beyond a particular book and a particular magistrate's jurisdiction, and is in fact a matter of great public and political importance. The immediate effect of an appeal, by putting the matter again sub judice, would have been to stifle all comment in the Press and elsewhere.

We believe that this is an issue on which free comment and public discussion are absolutely essential if private censorship of the sort being practised by Sir Cyril Black and his colleagues is to be outlawed once and for all.

Yours faithfully, CALDER AND BOYARS LTD. 18 Brewer Street, London, W.1

Subscribe Now

Differing Opinion

Continued from page 4

dustry and are very difficult to get back) are literally worth gold, in terms of the income they guarantee. Thus you get the situation of a man in a printing works doing an unskilled job getting paid two to three times the wages of a labourer for the local council for example. Needless to say this sort of situation encourages nepotism.

The avarice of the printworkers and their employers has already driven several national newspapers out of existence and looks like doing the same for others. The ever-increasing demand for the printed word will, however, doubtless take up any capacity thus left spare and, of course, under capitalism, where demand chronically exceeds supply (and it is one of the functions of the printing unions to ensure that this situation continues), the supplier fixes the price and everybody else pays.

Let us have no illusions about this. It is the rest of us and not Mr. King's profits who supply and will continue to supply the print-workers' affluence.

There are people in our society who do get a very raw deal-council roadmen,

some lorry drivers, the lower paid teachers, to name but a few-but they never seem to feature on the back page of FREEDOM.

Let us be clear on this. Workers can and do exploit other workers but please don't let us have the nonsense of them getting a pat on the back from the back page of FREEDOM for doing so, or before long Mr. King will be getting the same for giving himself a rise. After all I expect even he works.

MICHAEL WOOLLISCROFT.

London, S.W.6 11.12.66

REPLY

I would like to take issue with a couple of points in Mike Woolliscroft's letter.

1. The basic wage for printworkers is not must higher than the national average, enhanced earnings are gained by argument and struggle by the rank and file.

2. I am sorry if I implied that printworkers' demands had anything to do with social justice—it's purely a question of price for labour power.

3. The avarice of printworkers is certainly not responsible for 'killing newspapers'. Newspapers die for political reasons, advertisers' whims and fancies, and whims of the owners.

4. Finally, I do regret that Mike implied that I ignore the difficulties of lesser paid workers. I attempt to get all the information I can, omission is by accident not design.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

FREEDOM will not appear December 31 or January 7

Because of technical difficulties we shall not be publishing FREEDOM on December 31, and because of Anarchy publication date we shall not be appearing on January 7, 1967. We shall return like giants refreshed to cope with our monthly eight-page issue and to collect sixpences for future numbers.

We're in the reda bad way to meet the New Year

WEEK 50, DECEMBER 17, 1966: Expenses: 50 weeks at £80: £4000 Income: Sales and Subs.: £2824

> £1176 DEFICIT:

London: J.R. 10/-; Little Rock: G.L.S. £3/11/3; Londonderry: I.B. 5/-; Utopia: M.W.K.* 10/-; Newport Pagnell: W.S. £5; London, N.W.3: L.P. 8/-; Ware: E.B. 9/-; Stroudsberg, Pa.: F.C.B. 10/6; Reading: L.O. 5/-; Dundee: A.S.L.R. £2/10/-; Toronto: D.C. £2/2/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Calabria: S.S. 6/-; Birmingham: R.D.B. 14/-; Wolverhampton: J.L.* 3/-; J.K.W.* 2/-; London, S.E.19: E.P. 10/-; New York: R.S.C. £7/18/6; Reading: A.R. 2/6; London, N.: A.S. 5/-: London, W.5: Ealing An. Gp.*

> TOTAL: £26 19 3

1966 Total to Date: £1101 1 7

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We NEED £155!

New Sub Rates

The new rates are:

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

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FREEDOM (airmail) & ANARCHY (seamail) £3 17s. (\$10.50) (per year) for 1967

BLACK & PAGET

Continued from page 1

to some readers for a start (does Sir Cyril wish all books to be 'smooth' and 'polite'), the spate of four-letter words are part of the characters' self-hatred and hatred of their environment. Disneyland and Coney Island though banal, are obviously preferable, but this drab documentary which shows a segment of people living without joy or hope, reminds us that the Mary Poppinses of this world could become junkies.

Meanwhile things could become black for Sir Cyril; even a number of his fellow MPs have considered his action irre-

sponsible, though this may only be another of those wearying Con-Lab dogfights, this one being conducted on the latter party's behalf by Tom Driberg.

One can make all sorts of guesses why an individual will go to the lengths that Sir Cyril has gone to, even beginning with the feeble joke that he is a Tory, and ending with a suggestion which would invoke libel, but I have a feeling that this blimp figure's cause may well and truly be sunk when Steven Marcus publishes his book The Other Victorians early next year; if he cares to wait a little longer he can add a postscript on Sir Cyril Black, who is a throwback to that unlamented lady's reign.

RON PEARL

Printed by Express Printers, London, E.I. Published by Freedom Press, 17a Maxwell Road, London, 3.W.6

15.12.66

Restrictive Practices

IN ANY DISCUSSION on industrial affairs, the question of restrictive practices is bound to arise. It is seen by the employers and the so-called economists as the biggest stumbling-block to progress. Strangely enough everyone is very busy denying that such a state of affairs exists. The unions charge the employers with restrictive practices which is vigorously denied, and vice versa.

Restrictive practices are part and parcel of everyday industrial life, and will continue so long as we work and live under the present system. Far from denying the existence of such practices, they will have to be increased if we, as organised workers are going to at least hold our own against the attacks on our wages and conditions.

Every action taken by workers in defence of their working conditions is classified as 'restrictive', opposition to mobility of labour, control of output, manning scales, you name it and it is classified as 'restrictive'. The reason for such action is perfectly simple, if employers had a free rein wages and conditions would be impossible. Take the building industry as an example, job speed-up means not only a 'bodged effort' but the sack in a couple of weeks, therefore building workers use 'their loaf'. The

building trade is a 'bloody jungle' in which all means of attack or defence. are fair. Or take an example of controlled output. Mass production of pressed parts under piece-work conditions, the more parts turned out by the workers, so the time allowed is cut by the time and motion vultures, therefore the output is controlled by the workers themselves, which in anyone's language is pure 'self defence'.

SEE WHAT I MEAN

Wilson may bleat about tearing up rule books and the pundits may call for increased production but the people who do the work are the people who count, so until such time as they manage their own affairs restrictive practices are in order. Employers practise the art, by pushing the sale of one article and holding back on another, it is all part of the struggle—surely this is what present-day industrial life is all about.

pended without pay until further notice for refusing to co-operate with a works study scheme. According to

a T&GWU spokesman the employers Steel Nut and Joseph Hampton, are attempting to wreck the union set-up in the factory. Included in the suspension are the works convener, shop stewards and members of the committee. Only members connected with union organisation have been hit. Such opposition is probably termed 'restrictive' by Gunter and his crowd, to us it's plain commonsense. in defence of conditions.

RESTRICTIVE PRACTICES NEEDED

The Government is expected to refer two wages councils' awards to the Prices and Incomes Board. One from the Agricultural Board and the other from the Drapery Wages Council. The awards made by the wages councils are truly fabulous. A 7% award by the Drapery Council brings the men's minimum up to £10 19s. rising to £11 7s. The agricultural award brings farmworkers up to £10 16s, for a 44hour week, the average wage of a farmworker is about £14 10s.

Wages Council awards are a lengthy process normally, and if referred to PIB would take longer still. The awards by anyone's standards are 'piddling'. In fact they will be well 'washed out' by the time the workers receive them. The retail price index for November is up, with a further expected rise in January. These are the workers which a wages policy was supposed to help, where-Nine employees have been sus- as, in fact, they have been hoodwinked by the finest confidence tricksters in the game.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

For Workers' Control

DECEMBER 24 1966 Vol 27 No 40

WHO IS LISTENING?

priced 2d. written by Bill Christopher, published by Direct Action.

A LMOST EVERY WEEK on this page you can read an article by B.C. on the latest phase of shop-floor struggle, articles which contain accurate summaries or forecasts of governmental-, trade union- or employer-originated chicanery All that happens to the 'Cinderellas' or the boiler-makers, print and agricultural workers, postmen, busmen, all the 'Joe Soaps', is of vital interest to Bill. Every week he warns against the latest plot on the part of employers, trade union bosses, 'big nobs' of FBI, CBI, TGTWU, XYZ, who are about to take the last scrap of food out of our mouths.

Now here in this pamphlet, which I urge you all to read, Bill Christopher has summarised brilliantly what the Government's Wages and Incomes Bill means, how its separate parts supposed

SMASH THE WAGE FREEZE pamphlet to work and how, in many instances, threaten our livelihoods and civil liberties. How also the crafty politicians managed to make this frightening apparatus into Law, with hardly a snore to contradict these moves from a sleeping

No doubt all the paragraphs of this pernicious Law have been assiduously debated at every bingo-hall, betting shop or television studio in the country. No doubt you who read these notes have fought it all the way (only giving up when the Morning Star or Newsletter told you so).

But consider this: a million men this winter will play out their historical role as the 'Reserve Army of the Unemployed'. That also means at least another million dependants, women, children and old folk in the shadows of worry, want and misery.

The season for charity is soon upon us. Social Security and an incomparable National Health Service will ensure that the progress from begging bowl to the grave will be speedy and decorous. Let the failed writers and sociologists maintain that now we are all classless (except for the 'workers'—that unspeakably authoritarian lot). Bill's concern, however, is with the 'Cinderellas' and the boiler-makers. What they make of his good sense and accurate analysis is yet a mystery to us.

Or are our footsteps dogged by the police and by private 'dicks' of employers for nothing? Let us hope that this pamphlet will be read by many people who will discuss its implications and act upon it. As Bill says: 'If the (Government's) challenge is not taken up seriously, the future for the working people of this country is very bleak in-

How to smash the wage freeze? Bill Christopher's advice is to use guerrilla tactics 'strike here and away, strike there and so on'.

He warns that rank and file committees must resist Communist and Trotskyist politicians who would want to take over the leadership of the struggle, when, in fact, they instructed the workers to vote Labour, knowing full well that the 'freeze' would come.

The Labour Government can also afford to tolerate left-wing parliamentary opposition in view of its majority in the House.

Bill is right. Opposition to the wage freeze must come from the rank and file. But being right and to be known to be right are two different matters. What are the chances of this pamphlet (or this paper) getting the ear of the working JOHN RETY. people?

LETTER

DIFFERING

Dear Editors,

Once again on the back page of FREEDOM we have the demands of yet another group of already well-paid workers played up as a struggle of the poor against their oppressors. Having been brought up in a printing town I have no time whatever for the printworkers and their unions. Needless to say I have even less for Mr. King.

The printworkers are already paid appreciably more than the average. OK, we live in a capitalist society in which everybody is out to grab what he or she can get and this is the function of trade unions. I am a member of a trade union. Don't let us pretend, however, that this evil necessity has anything to do with social justice—quite the reverse.

In the case of the printing unions the situation is worse. Entry to printing unions, unskilled as well as skilled, is artificially restricted and print union cards (which lapse if someone leaves the in-Continued on page 3

Attacked from Both Sides

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

Furnished Accommodation. Available £2-£3 per week in semi-community house near Crystal Palace. Box 46. 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,

Accommodation Wanted. Girl wants flat in London sharing with 2/3 others. Lesley Owen, 24 Crawshay Drive, Emmer Green, Reading.

Birmingham, 23. Urgently.

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.

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, teetotaller, 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.

Work Wanted in France. Long shot, Can anyone help married couple (30's) find permanent work-France/Switz.

Box 47. If you wish to make contact let us know.

attacks on the union organisation. They have, of course, not been slow in grasping this opportunity as has been shown in the two disputes taking place at the moment in the construction industry in London. The first is at the Mytons site at the Barbican and the other on the Sunleys multi-million-pound contract for the Ministry of Public Works and Buildings in Horseferry Road.

Both these disputes were a result of provocation on the part of the management. Mytons sacked three steel fixers for alleged 'unsatisfactory production'. Yet, at the time, no one on the site was working bonus targets and so the

charges are ridiculous. Two Incentive Advisory Panels found in favour of the men and advised against sacking, but the company ignored their recommendations. As I wrote in FREEDOM (12.11.66) the Transport and General Workers Union made the dispute official after Mytons had locked out the men and closed down the site for an 'indefinite period'.

Another union, the Amalgamated Union of Building Trades Workers, also recognised the dispute, but so far the largest building union, the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, has not given it official sanction. It must be pointed out that at district level the secretaries and organisers are giving their full back-It is the top leadership which so far is not budging.

I did point out before (12.11.66) that the union executive might try to do a deal whereby a bonus scheme would be agreed to by them, but which could not be altered at site level and that a site industrial dispute procedure would be drawn up to by-pass the shop stewards. So far no deal has been done, but this is mainly because of the T&GWU's sup- dustry's pay award, the NFBTO issued port for the men. It seems that this has a warning that 'disciplinary action' been something of an embarrassment to would be taken against those taking part. the ASW and to the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives. These two were apparently quite willing to negotiate a new bonus and site agreement, possibly in return for 100% trade unionism, and not to fight the sacking of the three steel fixers and the subsequent lock-out,

SUNLEYS SITE

measures have produced an ideal tionary and bureaucratic Federation. It how effective the LJSC has become. situation in which employers can make will also add another stage in the procedural machinery.

On the Sunleys site, the management provoked a strike by introducing a gang system of bonus payment. This would have meant that as many as 50 gangs would have been getting different bonuses. each competing with the other. The stewards had negotiated a collective scheme whereby every man got the same amount, with a guaranteed minimum bonus of 4/- per hour if targets were not reached.

CREDENTIALS WITHDRAWN

Sunleys site management also wanted the men to clock in for work already wearing their working clothes, a thing unheard of on building sites. A stand obviously had to be made and the men took strike action. The management called upon the works committee to get the men back, but at a mass meeting it was decided not to return and so Sunleys sacked the entire works committee for 'industrial misconduct'. The T&GWU were quick to make the strike official, most other unions, including the ASW. are only getting district level backing.

These two disputes highlight the attempts of the employers to smash union organisation in London. Two wellorganised sites have been chosen, deliberately it seems. A similar method is in operation at ENV (FREEDOM, 17.12.66) and if the employers succeed, then other factories or sites in the area have no able support. They are doing this with chance.

of the employers to contend with. Militants supporting the London Joint Sites Committee have also been attacked by the NFBTO. When the LJSC was or- on the sites. ganising the November 7 token strike in protest against the freezing of the in-This week they took that action and have taken away the credentials of three Federation stewards whom they say took part and whose jobs supported the token voke strikes to get them. strike.

'SYNDICALISTS, ANARCHISTS AND SOLIDARISTS'

The Federation and, almost without exception, the affiliated union executives Following this, it appears that affiliated are out to break up the LJSC. They unions to the Federation have agreed know that its strength is growing and that in future they will meet under the that other committees have been formed, needs committees like the LJSC throughauspices of the NFBTO before making and are forming, in other parts of the out industry, linked with one another. any strike official. If in fact the unions country. These committees are linking which do not call on union executives have agreed to this and abide by their up with similar organisations in other and the Government, but organise and decision, it will mean less autonomy for industries. The top union bureaucrats act for themselves. the individual unions and subsequently a had to make this attack and it was ex-

THE GOVERNMENT'S ECONOMIC more centralised control by the reac- pected of them. However, it does show

The LJSC is usually described as 'Communist backed' or 'led', but an article in the Financial Times has gone even further. It said that these committees also have other factions 'such as the Trotskyists'. . . . 'More "intellectual" elements like the Syndicalists, Anarchists and Solidarists sometimes become involved as well.' The article ends up with a very illuminating paragraph: 'Although employers and unions are equally anxious that these unofficial elements should be eliminated, both stress that the damage they do is not large when considered in relation to the whole construction industry. The general feeling is that to a considerable extent a company gets what it deserves, and that by careful watch on who is engaged, coupled with an experienced labour officer who has authority in the company and does not merely head a service department, and good relations with the official unions, most unofficial actions

can be contained'. It would not surprise me if a joint union-employers 'blacklist' of militants is set up, if it is not already in existence. Already a number of ex-trade union officials have become labour

officers and in fact Sunleys employ one.

It must be stressed that while most union executive councils are all out to curb the militants and the LJSC, the officials at district level do give considerthe three Federation stewards and have However, militant trade unionists on so far refused to withdraw their credenbuilding sites have not only the attacks tials as stewards for their sections or trade. The officials are of course tied by procedure and so finally support for the militants must come from the lads

This disciplinary action obviously will encourage the employers to make further attacks on union organisation, where high wages and good conditions are won and enjoyed by the men. If a union-employer deal is negotiated at Mytons, whereby stewards are by-passed, other companies will seek similar deals and perhaps pro-

Rank-and-file organisation can defeat these moves by both the union executive and the employers. Some militants suggest changing the executives, but not only is there insufficient time, but the new ones usually end up with the same attitude as the ones they replace. It

P.T.