

Freedom

Anarchist Weekly

JUNE 17 1967 Vol 28 No 18



HANDS OFF LICHTENSTEIN!

EVERY NOW and again life confronts us with the necessity of making choices. Offered, as a nightcap, prussic acid or arsenic, we are asked to exercise our God-given reason, our democratic right to choose. Connoisseurs are always around to explain to us the delicious bouquet of prussic acid or the tang imparted to the palate by arsenic; what the vintage years were and our choice of final symptoms — rigor mortis or convulsions. We must choose.

So it is with history. We are asked to choose sides say, so as not to offend anyone (except Lichtensteiners and Andorrans) between Lichtenstein and Andorra. In the kind of conflict that occasionally breaks out we are asked to judge as between the good democratic socialist industrious Lichtenstein and the feudal reactionary socialist agricultural Andorra (or vice versa). We know that Lichtenstein has committed aggressions against Andorra and we also know that Andorra has committed aggressions against Lichtenstein—but who's perfect?

It has no bearing upon our failure to judge, that the conflict has no validity, the method resolved upon for its solution is incapable of solving the problem; that, in fact, the method of solution will undoubtedly multiply the problems; and carries with it the distinct probability that both the protagonists and their respective supporters will disappear in the consequent holocaust. Histories of previous conflicts bear witness to these facts. Whatever happened to Serbia? To democratic Czechoslovakia? To an independent Poland?

We are sure to be accused of neutralism, of shifty evasion or of Simplism in pointing out these basic facts or alternatively we shall be bombarded with chunks of the history of Lichtenstein from one side countered by chunks of the history of Andorra, and accused of Fascist tendencies if we decline to continue an unprofitable correspondence.

It may be that some of our best friends are Lichtensteiners and we yield to no one in our personal admiration of Andorrans, but the exercise of choice as between the governments they suffer under is a task which we must, if we continue to be anarchists, shun.

One may, after all, be human and feel a preference for the democratic socialist way of death as compared to the feudal reactionary way of death,

but to honour this with the implication of a choice of the good rather than a reluctant acceptance of lesser evils is a shifty evasion. The nomination of Lichtenstein (or Andorra as the case may be) as the nation most worthy of our support, is not always nomination as the nation most likely to succeed. (Jehovah is on the side of the big battalions and Allah doubtless has the same preference for the band-wagon.)

Once choice is made abdication or responsibility commences. In order that Andorra can circumvent the stratagems of Lichtenstein (or vice-versa) we must endorse the stratagems of Andorra whatever they may be. Modern war and modern armaments have no regard for the purity of method or justice of a cause. Atomic radiation has no code of honour and napalm has no chivalry. The political implications of a gangrenous wound cannot be compared with the economic potentialities of flame-scarred tissue.

'Peace' is, once war is accepted as a way of settling disputes, a dirty word on both sides and only 'victory', that senseless word, has any purity of meaning.

Freedom is not only the right to choose as our opponents often point out; it is the right not to choose. Some of us may by chance be involved in the collective insanity but this does not make us voluntary or indeed, certified lunatics. The alluring choice between being, as Camus puts it, victims or executioners is no choice at all. Unfortunately the choice of the elected victim is no choice either. A random accident of being born in a particular bed, in a particular country, at a particular time in history determines our future suitability for Belsen, for Hiroshima, for Dresden, for Guernica or for the bombs that may fall on Lichtenstein or Andorra.

We can exercise a little more choice on the option whether we become executioners or not. We may in fact, by the same accident of birth which makes us predestined victims become willy-nilly part of the execution-machine which is the State at war, be it Andorra or be it Lichtenstein. Our only function as a human being at that point, is to become a grain of sand in the works of that machine, with organization we can wreck the machine, with luck we can each retain our own gritty individuality.

JACK ROBINSON.

Propaganda by Deed

FIVE HUNDRED SPANISH WOMEN employees at Bahlsen biscuit factory (Hanover) went on strike on May 4 in solidarity with two of their fellow workers unjustly dismissed, reports UPI News Agency. As a consequence of the strike, 100 women workers were expelled

to Spain under police escort.

The Spanish Press reported on May 25 that a kilo of plastic exploded in the Spanish Embassy at Bonn producing material damage. A member of the Embassy is said to have found on the spot some propaganda threatening the Franco regime, in the name of the Anarchist Iberian Federation (FAI).

Days after, the FAI sent to the European Press a dispatch saying that 'the writing propaganda' placed on the Spanish Embassy door, which the Franco authority was trying to hide, expressed their solidarity with the Spanish workers of Bahlsen factory, expelled from Germany with the Spanish authorities' complicity.

The Dutch police, the Spanish Press further reports, are investigating an offence committed against the Spanish Ambassador's private residence in The Hague. Bottles of 'Molotov Cocktail' were thrown inside the apartment setting fire to Senor Quiroga's office.

A.R.

ANARCHY 76

ON SALE NOW ASKS

How many
Years to 1984?

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

A Good Week for Some

THE WAR WHICH ravaged parts of the Middle East last week was a particularly good one from the point of view of power politicians and arms manufacturers. Within a few days, several hundred tanks and lorries lay smoking in the desert, abandoned arms and equipment lay everywhere and the remains of aircraft littered the Middle East. All the states which waged war came out of it as intact political and economic systems.

All this means that there is a vast amount of arms to be replaced in the Middle East, to be bought by the same number of customers as before and quickly. All in all an excellent state of affairs from the point of view of Wall Street, the Kremlin, the City of London, etc., etc.

The Western powers had the satisfaction of seeing their side win and Russia was able to pose as the 'peace-maker' when it became obvious that the Arabs were going to lose. With Russia somewhat discredited in Arab eyes the psychopaths in Peking see their opening in the Middle East.

Many Arab states had the intense satisfaction of declaring themselves at war with Israel and working up a fine hate-hysteria without actually engaging in hostilities. Encouraged by the brilliant success of Israeli arms the extreme Zionists will want to hold on to the more fertile parts of Jordan that Israel has conquered. They will certainly hold on to Jerusalem for sentimental reasons and because tourists spend so much money there. Thus the legacy of Arab-Israeli hate will be stoked up towards the next conflagration in a few years' time. Inspired by Islam, a religion of retribution, the Arabs will be burning for vengeance. Any moderate counsels, intent on achieving a just compromise in the Middle East, will be swamped by the fanatics who will be encouraged by Western and communist (sic) power-politicians and arms suppliers.

It was a good week too for liars. The Arab leaders have blamed their defeats on US and British air intervention which never happened although there is no reason why it couldn't have happened. This air intervention is now an article of faith for millions in the Middle and Far East. Another big lie was the Israeli government's claim that it only went to war when it could clearly see (on radar) the Egyptian forces on the move. They'll have to explain how, if the Egyptians were on the move first, the Egyptian air force was destroyed on the ground. Zionist propaganda swung into action all over the West parroting the Goebbelsian lie that the Arab aim was the physical extermination of every last Israeli man, woman and child and not just the overthrow of the Israeli state. This propaganda is widely believed and the torrent of pro-Israel, anti-Arab books and films, that have flooded Western bookshops and cinemas for so long, has prepared the ground well.

The Egyptian propaganda service pulled off a brilliant coup in the first hour of the war when they produced a 'captured Israeli pilot' who obligingly described the Israeli attack time-table in a filmed interview which was rushed to the UN. The Israelis claimed to have recorded a conversation between Nasser and Hussein in which the two Arabs were cooking up their story of the 'Western air intervention'. Convenient, was it not, that Israeli eavesdroppers happened to be listening in on just that wavelength and at just that time and that the two Arabs were dim enough to use an unscrambled radio-telephone.

The propaganda services of the belligerents were continually reporting fresh 'gallant advances', 'heroic onslaughts', etc., of which nothing was subsequently heard. It was a frustrating week for the little men in neutral countries who follow wars by sticking pins in maps over their toast and marmalade.

The week which was so good for politicians and businessmen was a bad one for ordinary people. Several thousand Jordanians fled their homes at the approach of the Israeli army and are now destitute. The Israelis waged war with a ferocity and efficiency that must be the envy of Arab commanders. They managed to smash an American ship in the Mediterranean killing and wounding many sailors. They also killed Indian and Irish UN soldiers. However, the Israeli government has apologised to the countries concerned so that's all right. The Israelis are reported to have freely used napalm. The Arab Air Forces were shot up at the beginning of hostilities so they had no chance.

The soldiers of the various armies went through hell although by now those who came out alive are probably thinking that it wasn't so bad especially if they are on the winning side. Tank warfare is among the cruelest. An armour-piercing shell does not go through a tank in two round holes. The intense heat of impact on the side of the tank melts the armour plating sending into the interior a spray of molten metal. Alternatively, if the tank catches fire and the crew try to escape through the hatch, the enemy machine-gun the first man when he is half-way through so his corpse jams the escape route. Thus the rest of the crew fry. This is a standard tactic in the glorious art of war. But both the Arabs and Israelis were eager for war. They surged through Cairo chanting 'We want war'. They were happy when the one-eyed fanatic, Dayan, was appointed Defence Minister. They adored (and still do) Nasser, Dayan, the Star of David, Islam, Zionism, Arab nationalism and similar rubbish. When will they ever learn?

But it was a good week for power politicians and armament manufacturers.

JEFF ROBINSON.

THE COY COPS

OUR FRIENDS of *International Times* have of late been having some trouble with what they term 'the fuzz'. Readers of this journal will recall they were raided by the drug squad on what seemed to be an obscenity charge and vast quantities of irrelevant material—back numbers, distributor lists, William Burroughs novels, magazines, ash-tray dottles—were taken away by the police.

Weeks passed, the police hung on to the material 'evidence' in their usual fashion and, being without a distributors' list, it occasioned some inconvenience to *IT*. (FREEDOM had similar trouble back in 1945.)

International Times not having any anarchist compunction about using the law to defeat the law, finally issued a writ against the police for return of their

property. It appears that the police had read all the back numbers or got bored (or frightened) and decided to make no charges and return it.

By a pure coincidence, the day the police with their lorry came back to Southampton Row a Film School Unit was in possession with cables, floodlights, microphones and cameras. Seeing all this, a Mr. Beal (as we think he was) delegated by the police to return the lorry load of *ci-devant* narcotics or pseudo-pornography declined to appear before the film cameras carrying any of the works of William Burroughs or returning used fag-ends. He contended that he and his men were not photogenic and declined to appear in an Indica Rogues' Gallery.

There the matter and the property still rest in Scotland Yard's hands. Also in the hands of the authorities (for nine months) is John Hopkins, the one-time editorial assistant of *IT* (and creator of the London Free School), who was given this stiff sentence accompanied by some high-grade moralising by the magistrate for possession of 'pot'. What legal (or illegal?) action is *International Times* and its in-crowd of hippy hoorahs doing about it? Poking bananas through the bars?

JACK ROBINSON.

Trial in Madrid

IT IS pure coincidence that the trial of the five Spanish anarchists (Alicia Mur, Luis Edo, Antonio Canete, Alberto Herrera and Jesus Rodriguez) has been fixed for July 4 (American Independence Day) in Madrid.

They are charged with attempted kidnapping of a 'high-ranking American' in Spain (see FREEDOM, 26.11.66) and are to be tried by a tribunal of 'Public Order'.

The prosecution is demanding heavy sentences ranging from six to 15 years. Four lawyers are defending our comrades but the judiciary proceedings and sentences rest mainly with Franco's judges.

Comrades are asked by the CNT Relations Committee in exile to send letters and telegrams to the Minister of Justice in Madrid so that the Minister will be aware of our solidarity with the imprisoned comrades.

They are in the Carabanchel Prison, together with Stuart Christie who, we hear, has won an important victory. He

asked to be transferred to the political prisoners' section so that he can be with the Spanish comrades. Stuart intended to go on a hunger strike if his request was not granted. The transfer means great sacrifices for Stuart because he loses personal privileges for good conduct, but he is much happier now that he is at last recognised as a political prisoner.

Alfred Morris, MP, who in the past, off his own bat, has asked questions in the House about Stuart and led a delegation to the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs has once more pleasantly surprised us by calling a meeting in the House of Commons on Stuart's behalf, and has notified all MPs interested in Stuart's case.

At this small meeting representatives of the Christie-Carballo Committee were present together with an observer from the NCCL and Mr. Benedict Birkberg, Stuart's lawyer. Mr. Hugh Delargy was the other MP present.

R.

8-page
FREEDOM
next week
Order Now!

books?

We can supply any book in print

SECONDHAND. We have a large stock of secondhand books. Try us for what you want or better still visit us.

This week's selection.

LITERATURE, POETRY, ETC.

- Essays, Poems and Tales H. W. Nevinson 7/6
- The World of Mr. Dooley Finley Peter Dunne (paperback) 5/-
- Mr. Dooley's Philosophy Finley Peter Dunne 3/-
- Mr. Dooley's Opinions Finley Peter Dunne 4/-
- Selected Works Oscar Wilde 10/-
- The Very Things That Happen Russell Edson (paperback) 3/6
- Archy's Life of Mehitabel Don Marquis 3/-
- Betty Hope's 'Survive With Me' R. G. G. Price 5/-
- I, Flook: an Autobiography (ill.) Trog (paperback) 3/-
- Supersozzled Nights John Rety (the same!) 5/-
- This England (1933) (ed.) Gerald Barry 3/6
- The Astonishing Island Winifred Holtby 6/-
- Social Security No. 438-10-1408 O. C. Pupree 3/6
- Cupid and Psyche and Other Tales Apuleius 3/6
- New Lyrical Ballads Maurice Carpenter, Jack Lindsay, Honor Arundel 5/-
- Straw in the Hair: an Anthology of Nonsensical and Surrealist Verse (ed.) Denys Kilham Roberts 4/6
- Og and Other Ogres Reginald Reynolds 5/-

Postage Extra

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 3756

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 8/6 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 13/6

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

MICHAEL BAKUNIN

Marxism, Freedom and the State (ed.) K. J. Kenafick (paper) 7/6

MARIE-LOUISE BERNERI

Neither East nor West (Selected Writings) (paper) 6/-

THE CRYSTAL SPIRIT. A STUDY OF GEORGE ORWELL by George Woodcock (Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1966; Jonathan Cape, London, 1967. 50s.).

THIS MOST RECENT of George Woodcock's biographies—they include Kropotkin, Proudhon, Godwin and Oscar Wilde, as well as a History of Anarchism—like its predecessors, is admirably put together. It is divided into four parts: the first, and shortest, consists of Woodcock's own recollections of Orwell who he first met in 1942; part two is the longest and is an analysis of the 'themes of Orwell's fiction', while part three on the Revolutionary Patriot, is a study of 'Conservatism and Rebellion in Orwell's World View' and the volume ends with an examination of Orwell as 'Critic and Stylist'.

It must be pointed out that a number of passages from the original American edition have been 'cut' in the English edition. In the 43-page first section, I have noted no less than 16 'cuts', some of only a sentence or even a word, but two of over a page each. One of these long cuts purports to be the story of how the British Anarchists refused to publish Orwell's *Animal Farm* in 1944 after it had been turned down by four publishers. I am not surprised Woodcock decided to excise this spiteful and untrue story from the English edition. But the story remains in the American edition, the first section of which was reprinted some time ago in *Esquire*, and one can imagine that another hack historian will, in years to come, revive it.

In his chapter on the 'Man Remembered', Woodcock also has in places a bad memory. He writes for instance of Orwell:

'He was not uninterested in women—after all, he married twice—but he never made a display of the fact, and one extraordinarily beautiful girl who was on very friendly terms with both of us, and who could turn almost any man's head with a single flash of her great eyes, remarked to me with some pique that Orwell was the only one among her male acquaintances who never made her feel he was aware of her as a woman.'

I can assure Woodcock that this remark was not made about Orwell. Woodcock's memory is also at fault so far as the magazine *Now* is concerned. He writes that in 1945 Orwell

'became a loyal and interested supporter of *Now*, the literary magazine which I was running at the time. He was the first person to send a substantial cheque to the fund which I established in a vain attempt to stem the magazine's losses, and to one of the issues, in 1946, he contributed his magnificent and terrible essay, "How the Poor Die".'

It now suits Woodcock to present *Now* as a literary magazine, but when, in 1943, Freedom Press took over the publication of the magazine, Woodcock in his introductory note as editor declared,

'When this year, I decided to collaborate with Freedom Press in preparing a series of volumes of literary and social writings, the title of *Now* was transferred to the new venture, which in many ways, is the natural conclusion of the line of development represented by the review.'

One has only to glance through the six 72-page issues which were brought out by Freedom Press (under Woodcock's editorship) to realise that this was no 'literary magazine'. Orwell's essay was in fact published in the last of the Freedom Press series, in company with writings by Camillo Berneri, John Hewetson, Dachine Rainer and Paul Goodman. Woodcock and his wife took over production and distribution of the magazine

THE TWO GEORGES

as from Number 7, and only in Number 8 appeared the begging editorial ('This is *Now's* first begging editorial' is the opening sentence) and it was presumably to this appeal that Orwell subscribed. These are all minor matters, agreed, but obviously if Woodcock is going to write about minor events, there is no reason then why they should not be presented accurately.

Obviously Professor Woodcock has a 'blockage' somewhere so far as the anarchists are concerned. And one day perhaps an anarchist should do a Woodcock-type study on Woodcock, and one might discover that his antagonisms are the result of having been so influenced by them in the 1942-49 period that even when he wanted to discard them, he could not stop writing about them! After all, apart from his travel books, his main literary output has been about anarchists (Kropotkin, Proudhon, Godwin), libertarians (Wilde, Orwell) and, of his two published Histories, one is about Anarchism!

I think that Woodcock's critical analysis of Orwell's writings, interesting as it is to anybody interested in Orwell, leads one to no conclusion as to what Orwell believed, or stood for politically, for the reason, as Woodcock points out, that a great deal of 'the protean complexity that often characterized his thoughts and arguments... came from the fact that Orwell was a man who tended to glory in his contradictions and in the unsystematic nature of his thought.' To my mind this is a key statement which explains why even so systematic an investigator as Woodcock cannot present anything but a confused and virtually worthless picture from his analysis of Orwell's writings. For instance, how is one expected to unravel the following?

'We can assume, in fact, that all of Orwell's novels are politically oriented, even if they are not propagandistic in the narrow sense. He himself even claimed that "no book is genuinely free from political bias". But in accepting Orwell's license to seek a strong political motivation in everything he wrote after his first apprentice years, we have merely cleared away one question to face another, more confusing question, regarding what lies beyond the political aspect. In "Why I Write" he claimed that his starting point in writing was "always a feeling of partisanship, a sense of injustice", and said that he never set out with the intent of producing a work of art, though the aesthetic experience entered necessarily into the process of writing. And dealing with the elusive and perhaps contradictory nature of a writer's motives, he went on to say: "All writers are vain, selfish and lazy, and at the very bottom of their motives there lies a mystery. Writing a book is a horrible, exhausting struggle, like a long bout of some painful illness. ... And yet it is also true that one can write nothing readable unless one constantly struggles

to efface one's own personality. Good prose is like a windowpane". Such a statement from an author who talks so much about his own experiences may at first seem somewhat disingenuous, and it is true that in trying to efface the personality of Eric Blair, he merely succeeded in creating the persona of George Orwell, which stands much nearer to the imaginative world he was portraying in his novels. ...

And the *Crystal Spirit* is of this order in the main and though his fellow writers and literary critics are falling over one another in declaring Woodcock's analysis a masterpiece, they seem unable to tell their readers what conclusions they draw therefrom.

I think that if one were to be content to look upon Orwell as a writer, and not as a political thinker or propagandist, a clearer picture could emerge which would do him justice. In the opening sentence of his preface, Woodcock says that 'many people have argued that the man they knew as George Orwell was more important as a personality than as a writer, for what he was than for what he said'. I am unable to comprehend such judgments. Orwell is known to millions of people who have read his writings. As a personality he is known to a few people, some of whom are now trading on their acquaintance with him, but when one thinks of a personality in this context, Orwell, if anything, tended to avoid the personality cult (indeed this may well explain his aggressivity in his polemical writings).

The question which will be posed in due course, I think, is: 'Orwell's writings have been read by millions of people. What political impact have they had in fact?' If, as Woodcock concludes,

'the central figure of every Orwell novel is a solitary, detached by some scar in his past from the world in which he finds himself, compelled to live the double existence of the misfit, and after inevitable and ineffectual rebellion, doomed to fail and be destroyed or finally and hopelessly to be enslaved. Here we reach the point where polemical contradictions merge in the artist's consistent vision.'

then it is clear that the impact will be negative and we should expect a wave of defeatism. Orwell died in 1950. His writings enjoy a popularity they never received when he wrote them, yet who would be so intellectually dishonest as to declare that the 'solitary' today found himself 'compelled to live the double existence of the misfit'? On the contrary, we are living in the age of the 'misfit'. We are about to make homosexuality between 'consenting adults' legally OK; abortion, assuming that the Government finds the time to debate it, will also be given a new lease of life; and there is a strong movement in favour of dissolving marriages for the obvious reason that two people dislike each other rather than the technical one that they have been caught in bed with somebody other than their legal spouse.

And Orwell, who was not a propagandist, never initiated a campaign; but neither was he opposed. In other words, he was neither engaged, nor committed, in the political struggle, one way or the other, as a writer, irrespective of what he may have felt as an individual. As an individual I imagine that Orwell was even more mixed up than he was as a writer, but from my point of view this did not prevent me from valuing his friendship and mourning his death (only a few days after our last meeting at University College Hospital when I found him 'full of beans' and waiting to be flown out to Switzerland and recovery).

Woodcock writes that 'Far to the left, the neo-Orwellians also include the

Anarchists, who have hailed *Nineteen Eighty-Four* as the exposition in brilliant fiction of all that Bakunin ever said against the Marxist view of the state' and adds by way of reproach that 'they forget that once, in his essay on Gandhi, Orwell put an unerring finger on the totalitarian element in anarchism itself' which Woodcock defines as 'the nightmare of a society ruled by a public opinion so powerful that it can take the place of the law' (my italics).

The anarchists have never wanted or needed Orwell as an ally, politically speaking, and it would be interesting to know who are the anarcho-neo-Orwellians Woodcock had in mind, in view of the fact that in the American editions, he accuses the English anarchists of being so wrapped-up in 'left-wing factionalism' that they could not see the publishing potentialities of '*Animal Farm*'!

If we are at the stage where, to quote Woodcock, 'people of widely differing viewpoints—conservatives and anarchists, socialists and liberals, ageing academics and young writers born old—find encouragement for their attitudes in a single author's work' then, he concludes, 'we can reasonably assume that each of them is missing something, and that the work considered as a whole must be a good deal more complex than it appears at first sight'. And so Woodcock assumes that Orwell 'wrote with an appearance of simplicity which concealed the protean complexity that often characterized his thoughts and arguments'. Politically speaking (I cannot pretend to appraise Orwell as a writer) Orwell is a bad propagandist. He has no political opinions yet at the same time he is dogmatic when he writes about political themes. He is not engaged (committed) in the political struggle yet in the post-war years which are the most important, positive, constructive period, Orwell, the honest war-monger, the denouncer of the wartime pacifists and anti-militarists as 'neo-fascists', becomes the best-seller of American reaction *malgré lui*. So, if one is assessing Orwell as a propagandist, one must declare that he has served the ends of reaction and not of radicalism.

The question is whether Orwell wanted to be considered as a propagandist. I think Woodcock's book makes it quite clear that Orwell considered himself above all as a writer; he has persuaded me to read all that Orwell wrote because he has also convinced me that I must not accept his (Woodcock's) conclusions. This, I should add, is a reason for reading *The Crystal Spirit*... but critically!

V.R.



SIX SHILLINGS EACH WILL BRING THEM 'FREEDOM' AND 'ANARCHY' FOR TWO MONTHS WITH YOUR COMPLIMENTS.

Anarchist Federation of Britain

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

1967 AFB CONFERENCE. Oct. 6, 7, 8. For details of London venue and proposals for agenda apply to LFA.

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. Temporary address c/o Wooden Shoes, 42 New Compton Street, London, W.C.2. Sunday evening meetings 8 p.m. Lamb & Flag, Rose Street, off Garrick Street, London, W.C.2 (Leicester Square tube).

JUNE 11 Action meeting. Subject: London Campaign. JUNE 18 John Rety 'The Anarchist Daily'

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

EARLOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Enquiries to Keith Nathan, 138 Pennycuik, Harlow or John Barwick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping.

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

SOUTHWARK ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Dave Burden, 45b Barry Road, East Dulwich, S.E.22. Proposed meetings to be held on first and third Thursday of each month.

NORTHOLT ANARCHISTS. Contact: Jim Huggon, 173 Kingshill Avenue, Northolt, Middlesex.

EALING ANARCHIST GROUP. Get into touch with Ken King, 54 Norwood Road, Southall.

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 11 p.m. at Donald and Irene Room's, now at 13 Saverne 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 Michael Day, 86 Rosemount Place, Aberdeen.

BEXLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence to Paul Wildish, 2 Cumberlan Avenue, Barnsbury, Kent.

BELFAST: Contact Tony Adams, 11 Winetavern Street, Smithfield Square, Belfast.

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Geoff Charlton, 8 Lightwoods Hill, Bearwood, Smethwick, 41. Regular meetings at Geoff and Caroline's above address, top flat. First Wednesday of month.

RESISTANCE GROUP. C/o Birmingham Peace Action Centre (formerly CND office), Factory Road, Birmingham, 19.

UNIVERSITY OF ASTON GROUP. Contact: Dave Kipling, 87 Kingsbury Road, Erdington, Birmingham 24.

BRIGHTON. All those interested in activities and action should contact Richard Miller, 1/2 Percival Terrace, Brighton, 7.

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

DUNDEE GROUP. Contact Bob and Una Turnbull, 39 Stratheden Park, Stratheden Hospital, by Cupar, Fife.

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

HERTS. GROUP. Contact Stuart Mitchell at 46 Hughendon Road, Marshalswick, St. Albans, Herts.

HULL ANARCHIST GROUP. J. Tempost, 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.

LEE, LONDON, S.E.12. Anarchist-Radical Group. Contact Rodney Hodges, 2 Cambridge

Drive, Lee, S.E.12. NEW HAM LIBERTARIANS. Contact Mick Shenker, 122 Hampton Road, Forest Gate, ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 23. Brian and Maureen Richardson.

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

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

ROCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Eryl Davies, 22 St. Margaret's Street, Rochester. Fortnightly meetings.

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

SLOUGH. Contact Sid Rawle, 4 Hillperton Road, Slough, Bucks.

SOUTH WEST MIDDLESEX ANARCHIST GROUP meets alternate Thursdays and Saturdays, on Eel Pie Island. Contact P. J. Goody, 36 Norman Avenue, Hanworth, Middlesex.

TROWBRIDGE ACTION PEACE GROUP. Contact P. Weston, 'Chivele', Butts Lane, Weevil, Trowbridge, Wiltshire.

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

Regional Secretary: Alistair Rattray, 35a Devonshire Road, Chorley.

NORTH WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION. BUXTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: P. A. Gresty, Punchbowl, Manchester Road, Buxton.

CHORLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Anne Marie Fearon, 16 Devonshire Road, Chorley.

LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST PROPAGANDA GROUP. Gerry Bree, 16 Faulkner Square, Liverpool, 8. Meetings weekly. 'Freedom' Sales—Pier Head, Saturdays, Sundays, Evenings.

MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Dave Poulson, Flat 9, 619 Wilbraham Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Manchester, 21.

EAST LONDON FEDERATION

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

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

SOUTH WALES ANARCHIST FEDERATION

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Mike Cawley, 36 Whitaker Road, Tremorfa, Cardiff. SWANSEA. Please get in touch with Julian Ross, 11 Wellfield Close, Bishopston, Swansea.

PROPOSED GROUPS

ROCHDALE. Please contact Richard Crawford, 4 Hargreaves Street, Sudden, Rochdale.

NORTH EAST ESSEX. Would readers interested in proposed group write to P. Newell, 'Maybush', Maypole Road, Tiptree, Essex.

ELTHAM. 'Sons of Durrutti' Group. Get in touch with T. Liddle, 83 Gregory Crescent, London, S.E.9.

KILBURN, LONDON, N.W.6. Anarchist Group being formed—contact Andrew Dewar, 16 Kilburn House, Malvern Place, London, N.W.6.

ABROAD

AUSTRALIA. Federation of Australian Anarchists, P.O. 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 James, 184 Grand Boulevard, North Vancouver, B.C., Canada. Tel.: 987-2693.

U.S.A. VERMONT/NEW HAMPSHIRE. Discussion group meets weekly. Contact Ed Strauss at 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.

EAST AFRICA. George Matthews would like to make contact. Secondary school teacher from UK. P.O. Box 90, Kakamega, Kenya.

USA: NORTH-EASTERN MINNESOTA. Contact James W. Cain, 323 Fourth Street, Cloquet, Minn. 55720, USA.

An Idea Emerges in a University

LSE: WHAT IT IS AND HOW WE FOUGHT IT. Published by the Open Committee, LSE Socialist Society. 1s. 6d. MOST of the pamphlet, two-thirds, deals with what actually happened at LSE, with some comments and highlights of earlier LSE history. There are one or two omissions—the quasi-parliamentary conduct of union meetings (the number of points of order and information are an interesting comment on the students' lack of power), the speeches in LSE of rank and file workers supporting the students, collections among the students for food and drink that were then made freely available, the novelty of events to most of those participating in them. These apart, this is an exhaustive account. But for this very reason it is not likely to appeal to people outside LSE, especially those who are not students, and that is a great pity.

It is also rather unfair in talking about the free university, which it criticizes both for being an utopian idea, and for keeping to normal school hours. No one expected the overthrow of the existing society at LSE at the time of the events. Thus the very emergence of the idea, and its practical application, were a considerable step forward. Millions of homes in this country heard of the open university on their own doorstep.

What of the attitude of the students themselves towards these events? At several places in the pamphlet the 'moderates' are attacked, sometimes, as with the National Union of Students' President-elect, Martin, fully justified, but mainly not so. It was plain that the majority of students were involved, many for the first time in a strike or direct action. They could hardly be expected to know instantly what they wanted and where they were going, and produce a social analysis of the situation to back this up, such as is given in the last part of the pamphlet.

This critique, the last third of the pamphlet, is good, although rather complicated. Its basic points are that limited examinations of the existing system, such as Robbins, are superficial and basically anti-human—in the case of LSE, the churning out of robot-type social scientists for the use of state and industry. This in turn merely reflects the increasing corporatist hold of the state on all facets of life, including education. 'Overall growth', 'national interest', are terms meaningful to a state system, but not to the individual who is required to produce them. This is well summed up at the end of the pamphlet—'In confronting power at LSE we face a classic situation: we confront the ethos of a ruling class as it penetrates the university and manipulates its minions.'

This time, the 'radicals' failed to persuade the students to extend their action. The former did not know themselves what to do at the crucial point for the further development of events, Monday, March 20, when many of the activists were tired out and the end of term was approaching. A radical alternative did not emerge, but the free university did. Or was it simply that the free university did not turn out as the 'radicals' had wished?

It was excellent that the LFA pledged its full support on two separate statements posted on the LSE noticeboard on Friday.

Subscriptions Anyone?

IF YOU HAVE NOT RENEWED YOUR SUBSCRIPTION FOR THIS YEAR

You may be one of a number of subscribers who will not receive any more FREEDOM and ANARCHY after this month. Reminders have been sent out. PLEASE SEND YOUR SUBSCRIPTION NOW!

Subscription Rates

FREEDOM only (per year)

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

ANARCHY only (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

17 and Sunday, 19, and a delegation went down on the Friday to express their solidarity; and also that rank and file workers spoke there. It is good because, as the excellent *Solidarity* leaflet (March 15) put it, 'to see students fight to defend their elected representatives from arbitrary persecution is a big step forward'. Throughout the crucial period of action, the LSE movement was under direct student control. It was something new, something in which they felt involved, an unusual sensation at any place of work in a capitalist society that sells alienation at every labour exchange. Involvement and direct control are the cornerstones of any anarchist society. The events at LSE shook the whole British educational system. It desperately needed the shaking, from the bottom, by students, staff, pupils, teachers. All are needed; Connaught House, as with bureaucracy everywhere, and its executive agents, the Caines, Kidds, Adamsons of this world, are not.

What of the future? With the lifting of the suspensions on April 14, the momentum has gone—the aim, the lifting of the suspensions, having been achieved. Direct action paid off where weeks of patient waiting and reasonableness to the authorities had failed. The positive idea of a free university has emerged. Many of the staff who came to talk to the students at the sit-in, not just those siding with the students, were found to be people who could be talked to and listened to. One in particular, who described himself as a 'hawk with dove-like overtones', must have spoken to a great number of students including the author of this article and also the anarchists who went down to LSE on the night of Friday, March 17. The desirability of a knowledge factory has been questioned. A pattern has been set that others can follow. The struggle for self-administration has arrived in a new field, with tentative links formed with the old industrial struggle for that right. It is a step on the long road to revolution.

Much of what has been said above has been criticism of the pamphlet. But, all said, the Open Committee of the Socialist Society has produced a pamphlet that has cost a lot of time and effort. And I am very grateful, for in so doing they have turned out by far the most accurate account—the newspapers varied between pontification and distortion, in itself a revealing experience for many students—seen so far of the LSE struggles, and the chance to review it. I urge all anarchists to get a copy from: Alan Fowler, 42A Manor Road, London, N.16. M.M.

THANKS COMRADES!

AS THE RESULT of an appeal made personally by a comrade who asks to be identified only by her initial 'A' we have received donations totalling £169 10s. 0d., as listed below. This is being held in reserve for the purpose for which it was given; i.e. to ensure the continuance of the extra four pages while waiting and working for sales to increase.

We thank the following:
C.E. £5; A.S. £5; N.P. £7; R.M. £5; S.C. £5; R.B. £2; G.M. £10; K. & L.B. £2; A.H. 10/-; M. & J.S. £5; J.A. £10; M.D. £3; Messrs. H.O. & McE. £10; Anon. £100.

We are glad to make known our thanks to 'A' for her efforts and also for the financial help she has given the enlarged FREEDOM apart from this special fund, and to all those who responded to her appeal, both those whose contributions are listed above, and also those who would have wished to send money had it been possible. Few of the people approached failed to reply and for this again a special word of recognition is due to 'A' who wrote individually to each—and many of those who replied took the trouble to offer suggestions and ideas. These have been passed over to the Editors to consider for the further improvement of FREEDOM.

P.S.: Contributors to the Press Fund will of course realise that this makes no difference to our regular needs for the fund.

WE GO TO PRESS ON MONDAY. LATEST DATE FOR RECEIPT OF MSS., LETTERS, MEETING NOTICES IS THE MONDAY IN EACH WEEK OF PUBLICATION.

'Govt. Puts Twenty-Four Hrs. Ban on Arms Sales'

—Morning Star

THE ISRAELI AMBASSADOR in London, writing to correct a report in the *Guardian* that 'Israel Says She Fired First Shot' says, 'Concerning the question who fired first, or committed the first act of aggression, my answer was that it is difficult to understand what is meant by the question.' *Private Eye* is reported as being sued (among others) for libel by Lord Campbell, chairman of the *New Statesman*, and Booker Brothers, sugar plantation owners in British Guiana, for the statement (*vis-à-vis* *Encounter* moralising in the *New Statesman*); 'It might also be worth recalling that the CIA were instrumental in organizing the General Strike which succeeded in toppling the government of Cheddi Jagan—a government which constantly threatened state interference in the sugar business'. It is claimed (by the *Guardian*) that this item was planted on *Private Eye* in response to Nicholas Tomalin (of the *New Statesman*) asking readers to compete for the planting of the most 'totally, ludicrous and untrue' stories on *Private Eye*. *Guardian* reports a Reuter's stop-press correction to a photo caption. Originally the photo was captioned: 'A photographer collapsed after a policeman hit him on the head with his truncheon'. Reuter's slightly mysterious correction (according to the *Guardian*) was to: 'A photographer collapsed after a police—by a stone thrown by a demonstrator'. Most is explained by Reuter's 'Correction due to a later police statement'.

IN THE DEMONSTRATION mentioned by Reuter (against a visit by the Shah of Persia to W. Berlin), a 26-year-old student, Benno Ohnseorg, was shot dead in mysterious circumstances by the police. The West Berlin Police President has been suspended at his own request until the end of investigations into the violent clashes between students and police. The Lord Chief Justice ruled that a policeman may act as an agent provocateur if his superior genuinely thinks such action necessary. He was dismissing the action of a woman convicted of soliciting and loitering for prostitution. The court upheld the conduct of a detective officer who drove his car so as to attract the attention of a prostitute. She was arrested after she got into it with him. Mr. Justice Waller, who also sat on the Appeal Bench, said the police procedure was a way of 'distinguishing the innocent from the guilty'.

A SWANSEA COUNTY COURT JUDGE awarded judgement to a clothing firm against the police for trespass during a police raid in a search for stolen dresses. The judge held that he could not accept the submission in this case that a police officer was justified or excused if he seized goods which he believed on reasonable grounds to fall within the description of goods contained in the warrant, nor if he seized goods or things which he believed on reasonable grounds might be material evidence in the prosecution of a criminal offence.

THE COURT-MARTIAL of Captain Howard B. Levy for wilful disobedience, sending an anti-war letter to a sergeant in Vietnam, and talking against the war to 13 patients in the Fort Jackson Clinic was more fully reported in the *International Herald Tribune*. (The Captain was sentenced to three years' hard labour—not four as erroneously stated here last week.) The defence counsel made a Darrow-like speech, 'I know the law's on trial. . . I don't want to create another Sacco-Vanzetti, a man medical students can march for, that the peace movement can rally around.' He concluded with a quote from Eugene V. Debs, the American Socialist when he was convicted [under the Espionage Act] for speaking out against World War I. 'I say now that while there is a lower class, I am in it; while there is a criminal element, I am of it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not free. But take heart, the night is passing, the dawn is rising, the cross is bending and joy cometh with the morning.' A US general court-martial in Vietnam acquitted a Marine Second-Lt. on a charge of premeditated murder in the death of a Vietnamese civilian taken prisoner by his platoon near Hue on March 29. A member of the platoon, a Sergeant, was sentenced to life imprisonment on May 18 for killing the man. The Lieutenant testified that he had given members of his platoon a thumbs-up and thumbs-down (life or death) signal while the prisoner was being questioned only to frighten him. But said the Lieutenant, 'We weren't going to kill the man. We were only trying to scare him and get him to talk.'

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION for Disarmament and Peace monitored in *Peace Press* a report on the suicide by fire of a 33-year-old Saigon teacher who

was a signatory to a peace petition whose organiser had said, 'If the war continues we will lose not only thousands of lives but all the cultural and human values of our beloved country. . . . Many of my friends seem to have joined the Vietcong. We are losing the elite of our country. These people know the NLF is closely allied with the Communists and we don't like Communism. But they see no future in this government.' *Peace Press* also monitored a report of a raid by a band of terrorists on the School for Youth and Social Service outside Saigon when two girls were killed and nine injured. The *Oberlin Review* which *Peace Press* quotes suspects that the raid was carried out by ARVN (Army of the Republic of Vietnam) and not by the NLF on the not very convincing grounds that the raiders wore ARVN uniforms. . . .

PEACE PRESS in its preceding story of the suicide notes a Vietnamese teacher saying ' . . . her brother-in-law was a district chief, down in the delta, and he was a very good man. The people loved him and they warned him every time the Vietcong came to town. Then they sent an American adviser to help him, and people said he was like the French. They didn't warn him any more. The Vietcong killed him.' Meanwhile the unreliable United States Information Service gives its doubtful figures. Latest casualties from Vietcong terrorism (civilian casualties week ending May 27): killed—sixty-seven; wounded—two hundred and thirty six; abducted—one hundred and seventeen. The equally unreliable *National Guardian* (NY) gives slightly more reliable figures for US casualties from January 1961 to May 6, 1967 as: killed—9,681; 'non-combat' deaths—1,966; wounded—57,824; missing (captured)—504. . . .

REPORTING FROM KENYA the *International Herald Tribune* says that two bedraggled middle-aged Mau Mau fighters clad only in antelope skin cloaks and monkey-skin caps surrendered to the police after hiding in the forests for fourteen years. They said an old man had brought them newspapers to show them that Kenya had won freedom from colonial rule and Jomo Kenyatta was now president.

JON QUIXOTE.

LETTER

history of the oil industry in the Middle East and a great deal of other political, economic and social material that is very hard to come by elsewhere. The fact that Faisal paid for the space that is normally occupied by advertisers may or may not have been made known to the various obviously expert contributors. All one can say, having read the thing from cover to cover, is that it gives an overall impression of objectivity. Anyone who suspects otherwise should read it and see.

Yours sincerely,
PETER CADOGAN,
Secretary,
National Committee of 100.

A REPLY

The visit P. Cadogan is referring to took place six months ago; I was writing about an unpublished visit by King Constantine to this country immediately prior to the coup. Whereas this visit was kept secret, another visit by King Faisal received tremendous publicity (now we know why). *The Times Supplement* was paid for by the Saudi Arabian Government and whether it contained brilliant matter or not it was concealed advertisement.

J.R.

HELP!

WEEK 23, JUNE 10, 1967:
Expenses: 23 weeks at £990: £2070
Income: Sales and Subs.: £1477

DEFICIT: £593

Brighton: P.L. 2/9; Hindhead: F.F. 19/-;
Manchester: J.T. 10/-; Wolverhampton:
J.K.W.* 4/-; J.L.* 6/-; St. Cloud: M.A.
2/6; Oxford: Anon* 5/-; Cheltenham:
L.G.W.* 10/-; London, S.E.5: J.M.
£1/10/2; Bury St. Edmunds: C.P.* 6/-;
Slough: B.N. 5/-; Belfast: W.G. 5/6;
Glasgow: A.J. 1/9.

TOTAL: £5 7 8
Previously Acknowledged: £505 14 6
1967 Total to Date: £511 2 2

*Denotes Regular Contributor.
Gift of Books—Kenton: N.W.; London,
W.14: A.M.; London, N.W.3: J.R.

LEE ANARCHISTS.

SHEIKS AND SHEKELS

Dear Editors,

A propos John Rety's article 'Sheiks and Shekels'.

It is just not true that Constantine's visit was kept secret. We read about it in the papers and tried to organise a picket of his West End hotel (the name of which was also given in the press) but no one was interested. The visit was not a state occasion. Constantine is a big shot in international yachting circles and it appears that it was mostly if not wholly in that connection that he was over here.

For six months before the coup we organised, or helped to organise, an Anglo-Greek study group because we could see trouble coming and wanted to

be prepared for it. But again only a tiny handful turned up from the peace and libertarian movement as such. The meetings proved most valuable and steps are now being taken to see that they continue.

The real test of the movement is what happens in the tough period of campaigning. It is easy to respond to a crisis and to come out on the streets. It is less easy to do the work that makes it possible for us to anticipate the crisis and prepare for it.

Before writing off *The Times Supplement* on Saudi Arabia, John might at least have taken the trouble to look at it. It happens to contain a brilliant potted

ANARCHIST HAPPENINGS?

FOLLOWING THE EXAMPLE of our brothers in America, on June 3 Lee Anarchists, Lewisham Anarchists, the Eltham Sons of Durruti, and their friends held SE London's first provocation — 'cum be-in'-'cum love-in'. About an hour after the proposed starting time we descended on the new Lee Gate shopping centre, playing penny whistles and blowing soap bubbles. Mock duels were fought with water pistols, Dadaist poems and Paul Pawlowski's hash dream were read out loud, free sweets, eggs, bread, balloons, were there for anyone who wanted them. A large banner proclaiming 'anarchy', a black flag, a placard with messages of freedom, a newspaper poster saying 'Lewisham Anarchists in Street Battle with Police'; and a Lee wall poster (on the lines suggested by Pawlowski) for local humanized communications, with matters of interest to the local community and information on the situation generally, were set up. As was a painted canvas, to which the kids added with energy!

Children laughed, lovers kissed, leaflets and copies of FREEDOM and IT were distributed. Passers-by were annoyed, amused and amazed. Some thought it great, some stopped to discuss with us. Those annoyed told us we were 'contaminating the area', and wasting 'the

taxpayers' money', but none called the fuzz.

Later, via a couple of pubs, we moved on to the Royal Artillery at Home display at Woolwich. A high ranking fuzz told us to roll up the black flag and not to give out leaflets, sticking anti-war stickers on the tanks, guns and missiles. We also read a huge amount of army and civil defence propaganda, which we subsequently disposed of. We had discussions with soldiers—two of them thought the best way to end war was to get rid of politicians. A civil defence officer continued to regard us as Russian agents even though we told him we were opposed to all bombs, East or West. When an army band starting playing some dance music, some of us began dancing to it. Some old reactionary got bugged at this. We asked him to turn on and join in, whereupon he rushed off for the police. We split up and no one was arrested. The reaction to the special leaflet we had produced, both from the public, and most of the soldiers who took them, was good.

The display finished and we drifted off homewards well contented with a good day, to our various diversions that lasted well into the night. We hope to hold more happenings soon. Details from . . .

Disclosures at Myton-Sunley

THE WITCH-HUNTING, by sacking, expelling and suspending, of members of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, was no doubt calculated to bias the Court of Inquiry, now taking place under the Chairmanship of Lord Cameron, into the causes and circumstances of the disputes at Mytons and Sunleys.

At the inquiry Mr. Goodfellow, QC, counsel for Mytons, complained about the contradictory and late instructions of the architects. He quoted a letter sent to the City of London Corporation's architects, Messrs. Chamberlain, Powell and Bon, in which Mr. Raikes, Myton's contracts manager, had written that labour relations problems 'had been greatly aggravated both by the complicated and non-repetitive nature of the design and also by repeated

changes and alterations'. The Works Committee (the stewards) had complained that 'these factors had affected both the earnings and the morale of the operatives'.

Mytons say that 'unscrupulous individuals' took advantage of this 'to sow seeds of idleness and discontent'. But, although the management claimed that the unions knew of these problems of continuity, when pressed by Bro. Kemp, of the Transport and General Workers Union, to tell of 'any letter or meetings at which the matter was mentioned', Mr. Higgs, a witness for Mytons, said he was unable to. Of course Mytons did not worry about the low bonus rates that the men were getting. What did worry them was that the men and their Works Committee were determined that they were not going to suffer because of a management problem.

In the written evidence on behalf of the trade unionists dismissed by Mytons, they point out that 'considerable discontent existed amongst the operatives, mainly due to the kind of Incentive Schemes being operated by the management'. This could be traced to the disparity of earnings. 'Protracted negotiations had taken place between the management on the one hand and the Works Committee and Trade Union officials on the other, in attempts to overcome existing problems. These negotiations, due to the management's attitude (my italics), proved negative'. On a number of occasions either sections or all the operatives refused to operate the management's incentive schemes until they were made more acceptable.

An interesting piece of information was furnished by Mr. Goodfellow in his address to the Court. He claimed that the decision to close the site on November 4 was known to Mr. Weaver, the General Secretary of the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives. It is interesting because the Federation had recommended that the men return to work only two days earlier. They did in fact do this, only to be sacked. If Mr. Weaver did know this, why recommend a return-to-work, unless he thought that the men would not accept and so would give the company a reason for closing the site and dismissing the men.

BLAMING THE JOINT SITES

Mytons have said that they did not want to employ men who were 'outside the control of their union' and we were connected, as they allege, with the Joint Sites Committee. 'We are critical', said Mr. Goodfellow, 'not only of the shop stewards, but also of certain TGWU officers', whom, he said, 'did not have either the will or the ability' to exert any influence over their members. Mytons think that union officials should control and discipline members, but although most do, they came unstuck with Bros. Orwell and Johnson.

Bro. Jack Young, an executive member of the ASW alleged that a 'mysterious' body called the Joint Sites Committee had interfered in the dispute. Lou Lewis, one of the sacked stewards, denied any outside interference and said that all decisions were made by the members on the site.

It was the third day of the Inquiry that proved to be the most revealing. Mr. Avery, a Director of Sunleys, was giving evidence on behalf of the Company and said that the estimated wage bill of £700,000 for the contract was likely to be doubled. The job was to have been completed a month after the site closed down and even then it was a year behind schedule. The contract carried a penalty of £900 per day for late completion and this would probably total more than £180,000.

SACK 'TROUBLEMAKERS'

The company blamed the Joint Sites Committee for the disputes on the job, but both shop stewards and union

officials denied this. When Mr. Avery was closely cross-examined by Bro. Kemp, a TGWU official, he admitted that Sunleys wanted a strike. Earlier, Mr. Webster, Sunley's counsel, stated that Mr. Mills, President of the NFBTO and also an executive member of the ASW said that the 'troublemakers should be sacked' and that the management could count on a national dispute commission endorsing their action. During cross-examination, Mr. Avery stated that this had been said at a meeting on October 17, at which Sir Cecil Mant, Controller General in the Directorate-General of Works at the Ministry, was present and that Sir Cecil had advised Sunley's to take Mr. Mills advice.

Mr. John Sunley, Chairman of the company, was also present at this meeting and he told the court that Mr. Mills had asked that no minutes be kept. Mr. Sunley said that Sir Cecil 'understood what we were doing' and that 'he approved'. This all fits in because it was only three days after this, on October 20, that the works committee was told that the new clocking-on and bonus systems were being introduced immediately, without any further negotiations. It was this unilateral management decision that started the strike.

Many trade unionists have often thought that this sort of collusion went on over the whiskey bottle, but, until now, have not been able to get the proof. No doubt, by the time this is printed, Mr. Mills will have tried to explain himself out of it, but the example is there. It has only come out because certain union officials have not been able to deliver the goods and, as Sunleys have still not succeeded in re-opening their site, the rogues are now falling out.

THE TIP OF THE ICEBERG

Mr. Mills' case is only the revealing of the tip of the iceberg, and one can only hazard a guess as to the size of the whole. However, it shows that the ministry is implicated and that they are party to a move to force a showdown. What the final outcome of the inquiry will be remains to be seen, but surely after this the management's case against those who still picket the Sunley site, falls flat.

Whatever the outcome, the hearings have shown how divorced the executive members are from the rank and file. Already this leadership is showing that it cannot deliver the goods for the employers. The building trade unionists in London, with the assistance of a number of district officials, have shown employers what trade unionism is really about. It is to fight for and defend the interests of working people and is not a means for disciplining members and holding back militancy, that many union officials and the employers believe it is.

What has come out so far in the hearings has strengthened the position of the men who have continued to picket the two sites over all these months. After such a long struggle all building workers should do their utmost to prevent them being defeated, by giving them every assistance possible.

Readers can help by sending money to:

M. Moulihan, 94 Gayton House, Knapp Road, Bow, E.3 (Myton's site), and to Hugh Cassidy, 61 Bengarth Road, Northolt, Middx. (Sunley's site).

P.T.

Theatre — Films — Puppets — Jazz
Dancing — Paintings — Food

Social Evening

(a get-together got together by Mujeres Libres and London Anarchists)

Programme:
Films by Peter Whitehead,
Steve Dwozkin, George Barker and Willard Maas, etc.
'The People Show' (no. 13)
Ian K's Royal Puppets
F. Ricotti's Jazz Quartet
Paintings by David Jenkins
Los Vel Campos Spanish Dancers
JULY 1st (SATURDAY) 6 p.m.-11 p.m.
CONWAY HALL,
RED LION SQUARE, W.C.1
Tickets 6/- (children 2/6)
Available from Freedom Press,
Wooden Shoe and Mujeres Libres

Freedom For Workers' Control

JUNE 17 1967 Vol 28 No 18

GIBRALTAR'S CHEAP LABOUR

A POLICY of cheap labour has long been in force in this British Colony! Spain has always footed the bill in the past, by sending thousands of workers over each day, providing the labour for which there is a crying need in Gibraltar. These workers who come from Spain are paid up to £2 a week less than local Gibraltar labour of the same grade and status.

The Gibraltarians themselves only get £6 14s. weekly for labouring and between £8 and £9 as tradesmen. With the cost of living not much different to that of the English provinces, it is obvious the cheap labour is home grown, as well as hired from Spain. The only decent wages available here are those paid to clerical workers, policemen, and British workers on contract from UK.

Because of the threat that this already reduced Spanish cheap labour may be withdrawn altogether, it is thought likely that the Gibraltar Government may now cultivate another source! Labour is now being brought from Morocco and Malta! We feel it will be this unskilled labour that suffers, when the Government here announces its long-awaited revised wage structure. Tradesmen, we suspect, will be given favourable rises at the labourers' expense. The labourers' wages won't rise anything like as much and, we feel, demarcation will be enforced to the serious disadvantage of the unskilled workers.

Demarcation has already been carried to lunatic lengths here, and this has been none of the union's doing, but a direct result of British Colonial Government. Here we have them all; the skilled and unskilled labourers, the electricians' mates, wiremen, improvers, apprentices, electricians (minor trade), and electrical fitters (major trade), and they're all on different rates of pay. This sort of thing is not confined to the electrical trade, and if there is a remote chance of inventing or creating another trade, grade or any other classification, the lads in the office can do it.

Militants in the Gibraltar Transport & General Workers' Union are determined to combat and minimise the effects of this policy of demarcation and cheap labour. The information already provided by FREEDOM's industrial section has helped give us some idea of the

labourers' rates in the UK, and we hope to be able to get these unskilled workers a reasonable rise. Wages have, in the past, been kept down for all manual workers, but will now have to rise if skilled labour is not to be continually lost to the far better paid police force, fire brigade, and offices. Already, due to this low wage policy, the local Minister of Works has had to threaten to put a stop to the emigration of workers from the Rock and, were it not for the part-time jobs and overtime people do to make their wages up, the situation would be worse.

Unfortunately, the Gibraltar T&GWU is dominated by the governing party politicians who recently tried to impose a wage freeze on all workers here. This political control or influence over the union is deplored by many workers, who refuse to join the union because of this. To other workers in the union it is a continual source of disquiet, because it is obvious that over half the union's members either support another party or don't support any political party.

The Gibraltar T&G, as a result of its decision to form a Co-op, taken at the last union conference (see FREEDOM, 22.4.67), has been in touch with the English CWS which, it is believed, is interested in starting a store here. It is clear that the union could not combat the Chamber of Commerce alone, without something more solid than the branch funds for financial support. Nevertheless it is expected that the union itself will control any venture that is undertaken.

In view of the cold war policy of the Spanish State now being projected against Gibraltar, our T&G branch here sent a resolution to the English T&GWU asking them, if possible, to take some measures against Spain. No one dare defend Franco here! All the political parties want the Rock to become part and parcel of Britain or some such close association. Independence is not on for Gib, since the British, who have kept the Rock for its military importance, have never bothered to build a viable economy here. Now this strategic importance seems to be played out, perhaps the best Gibraltar can hope for is some sort of federation with a future democratic regime in Spain.

T&G WORKER.

WANTED—SOLIDARITY

THE 'TRUCE' is over at Roberts Arundel. On Wednesday last week, a one-hour token strike was staged at many Stockport engineering factories, and over 300 workers demonstrated outside the Arundel's plant on Chestergate.

At a meeting outside the gates Bernard Reagan, of the Stockport District Committee of the AEU, told the demonstrators that the fight was on again, and that if the officials could not settle the strike then the rank and file would have to. From the crowd Joe Burke, a steward at Hawker-Siddeley Ltd., gave a warning 'for the benefit of our friends behind us' (the police) that there were lads in different parts of the country who could be called on to reinforce the pickets and that police interference would not be tolerated.

On the demonstration, however, there was no trouble as only five scabs were allowed out of the works, the rest stayed behind till the crowd had dispersed. At one point, the American director, John E. Cox, put a microphone out of the window to record the abuse that was directed at him—if he'd put his head out he'd have got a bit more than abuse. But all this apart, one demonstration

on its own is meaningless, there must be a real attempt made to get mass support for the strikers. For three months there has been no activity at all outside the factory; the officials have demonstrated their impotence and nothing else. We must remember the lesson of February 22, only mass action can bring this reactionary management to its knees. All libertarians and socialists in the area must try and mobilise sympathetic action in their own places of work. In the meantime the strikers urgently need financial support. All donations should be sent to the Strike Committee, 125 Wellington Road, Stockport, Cheshire.

NORTHERN WORKER

July 10 is Stuart Christie's 21st birthday. Cards may be sent direct to Carabanchel Prison, Madrid.

Foodstuffs may be sent to British Consul, Calle Fernando el Santo 16, Madrid, Spain

Contact Column

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

Social—Salford. Manchester Anarchists at 'Lord Nelson', Blackfriars Street, Salford, June 24, 8 p.m. Admission 2/6. In aid of Greek 42.

Manchester Poets, Musicians. Meeting June 17, 2-10 p.m. 2/6. At International Centre, 64 George Street (behind Piccadilly Plaza). All welcome. For kips contact Dave Stringer, c/o Int. Centre.

Hitch to Turkey, or similar destination. Scruff-outs only. Ring Daphne Paulett, Orpington 26444. Any evening, except Thursdays-Saturdays inclusive.

Accommodation—London. Any kind of accommodation wanted from Aug./Sept./Oct. for anarchist-inclined student (male). No petty restrictions. Apply Paul Kidney, 1 West Hill Way, Totteridge, London, N.20.

Accommodation—London. Argentinian comrade (60, male) requires room with a family (some board if possible) and opportunity to learn English. Will pay £4 p.w. (approx.). Box 61.

Printing. Despite rumours to the contrary the Pirate Press is still in business. Orders welcomed. 116 Whitfield Street, London, W.1.

Midsummer Dawn. Malvern Hills, Worcester Beacon. Love and War poetry reading. Organized by The Whisper and Shout.

Summer School. Committee of 100. Aylesmore Farm, Shipston-on-Stour, Warwick. July 29-August 9. Details from John and April Majoram, 47 St. Alban's Road, Leicester.

Sleep-Out. Hampstead Heath (near Whitestone Pond), June 30 dusk to July 1 dawn. Poetry readings. Bring sleeping bags; music; poems; little magazines; bells; incense; beautiful women; gentleness; enquiry. Dusk and dawn poets, write Dennis Gould (below).

Former Junkie. Wants job and accommodation in London. Box 54.

Accommodation. Anarchist seeks accommodation in Camden Town or Islington. Box 50.

Accommodation Wanted—London. Two secretaries. Peace-loving, thoughtful, require bright flatlet; good cooking facilities essential. No petty restrictions. Wanted end of May. With easy access to town. Approx. £5 to £5 5s. p.w. Box 56.

Accommodation Wanted. Camden Town or Kentish Town area. Young couple, expecting first baby, urgently need 2-roomed flat. C/o J. Thurston, 103a Camden Road, London, N.W.1.

Accommodation Wanted. Anarcho-Syndicalist seeks flat in Hackney/Islington area. Box 58.

Stuart Christie. Willing to work in renewed campaign? Write Box 60.

Whisper and Shout. Invite singers/poets to join us. June 13-20 in Bristol; June 26-29 in Reading Area. Contact Dennis Gould, c/o 47 St. Alban's Road, Leicester.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

'SAVE GREECE NOW' DEFENCE FUND

13 Goodwin Street
London N4
Telephone ARC 1239

Chairman
Pat Pottle

Secretary
Susan Abrahams

Treasurer
Bretta Carthey

Dear Friend,

This is an appeal for money on behalf of the 42 people charged with riotous assembly and forcible entry following the peaceful occupation of the Greek Embassy, on the evening of Friday, April 28th.

In Marlborough Street Court, on Saturday, April 29th, Superintendent Butler called the demonstration "an outrage". We feel that the real outrage is what happened in Greece.

The real purpose of the military coup has been openly proclaimed as the prevention of a General Election. The colonels have already launched a whole series of repressive measures. Elected representatives in local government are being replaced by military appointees. Newspapers are censored, the right of assembly denied, mini-skirts and long hair forbidden. Hundreds of trade unions and other working class organizations have been dissolved and outlawed and their funds seized. Thousands of people have been arrested and imprisoned without trial.

These are the real outrages, outrages against which every democrat, liberal, socialist, pacifist and libertarian must now actively struggle.

The 42 have shown the way. Their occupation of the Greek Embassy was a political act. It was a gesture of solidarity with the oppressed and muzzled people of Greece. News of the occupation of the Greek Embassy reverberated throughout the world. It showed people in Greece that people in London cared — and moreover that some were prepared to go beyond pious protest and meaningless resolutions. **The 42 have acted for us all. They have voiced in action what thousands must be feeling. Now it is our turn to show real solidarity with them.**

The treatment of the accused since their arrest has already raised many civil liberty issues which we intend to vigorously pursue. Some of the demonstrators were beaten up in the Embassy. Nearly all were denied bail for over 48 hours. Punitive sureties were insisted upon.

The accused have so far been denied legal aid. Their trial promises to be a protracted affair in which many fundamental issues will be raised. The 42 face serious charges, which could carry very heavy penalties. Every ounce of financial and moral support must be raised for them, throughout the width and breadth of the country. **YOU must help.** The matter is very urgent.

We call on you to act without delay. Discuss the matter with your friends. Discuss it at work. Bring it up at your trade union branch, in your CND group or in your political party. Send every penny you can.

Remember that where fascism rules you will have no right to discuss these matters. That is what our friends in Greece are up against. That is what "our" government is condoning by its silence.

MONEY IS URGENTLY NEEDED. PLEASE SEND POSTAL ORDERS OR CHEQUES TO "Save Greece Now Fund a/c", 13 Goodwin Street, London, N.4, or by credit transfer from any bank to that account at Midland Bank Ltd., 138 Tottenham Court Road, London, W.1.

THE 42 HAVE SPOKEN UP. IT IS NOW UP TO YOU.

Yours sincerely,

Susan Abrahams,
Secretary.