

Freedom

Anarchist Weekly 6d

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Is the World Run for People?

SUB-SONIC DEMO

THE PROBLEM WAS, when is a sonic boom not a sonic boom? The Government considers their experiments with Lightning jet fighters a benefit to society but to burst a paper bag in Whitehall is, as I expected, a breach of the peace.

Need I tell you that this is bloody hypocrisy? The Government is composed of utter nitwits and the sooner they are removed to the Tower, the better for everyone.

The demonstrators assembled outside No. 10 Downing Street and alongside the Ministry of Defence. Having been duly supplied with balloons and paper bags provided by enterprising individuals, everyone was thrown out of Downing Street by 'a police chief superintendent (in plain clothes), two superintendents, two inspectors, a sergeant, and 15 constables (one armed with a hailer)'. At this point I hope that all readers will join me in wishing Chief Superintendent Victor Gilbert good luck in the Special Branch. Back in Whitehall we remained undaunted, and so individual booms were made but we were moved on, and on, and on—yet nothing stopped the endless succession of explosions although ammunition reserves began to get dangerously low.

After the detonation of a fire cracker

and a smoke bomb, the police chased us up Whitehall towards Trafalgar Square; but we foiled our pursuers by boarding a London Transport omnibus, disembarking beside the Houses of Parliament. At this moment the Harlow Anarchist Federation noticed that Big Ben had seemingly failed to strike half past eight.

Inspired by such a resounding victory we returned to Downing Street only to be moved on again to Horse Guards, where some marched across Horse Guards Parade, quickly followed by four bluebottles; the others carried on to Trafalgar Square. Later we revisited Whitehall but the majority were discouraged by prowling inspectors in the company of whiteroofed police vans, which were roaming about like jilted tarts hoping to pick something up.

Although the demonstration did not take place as planned, two factors can be deduced from the ludicrously over-vigilant police. The first is that the authorities are scared stiff of anything outside the narrow limits of their own understanding, and secondly that they do not like sonic booms. So, to see if the police will arrest Anthony Wedgewood-Benn, wait for the next thrilling instalment of sonic tests.

NIGEL WILSON.

EVERY NOW and again one gets indications that forces other than the human race have seized control. Scars of concrete are slashed across the countryside for the motor-car, great weals of tarmac appear on farmland for the benefit of the jet plane, screaming furies saw through our nerves for those same jets; we are told that we may (without notice) be bruised and deafened by—God help us!—Concord; our telephone is reduced to a meaningless jumble of numbers; our post to a zip codification; our envelopes standardized; our stamps treated with chemical substances; our addresses changed and house names banned to conform; our food pre-packaged and standard-sized to suit the supermarket, the deep-freeze and the long-haul transport; our newspapers narrowing down one by one to the one product which will suit the mass-market; our cinemas exterminated one by one because of their failure to become a mass entertainment; the book trade reaching out for the mass bestseller; man at work becoming more and more the appendage of a machine, man at leisure becoming more and more the viewer of a machine product, and man being valued most of all as the consumer of machine products.

As Emerson said, 'Things are in the saddle and ride mankind.' It is worse than that. We are under the permanent illusion that we are in the saddle and use the machine for our benefit so that we may produce plenty of the goods we need and increase our leisure so that we may have ample time to consume the products of the machine and eventually widen our cultural background so that we may enrich our lives and experience. Apart from the no doubt purely technical minor flaw that all these goods (with one or two exceptions) are produced only so long as they make a profit, people seem to be constantly regarded as a means and not as an end in themselves.

The aeroplane, which is now regarded as the ideal method of travel from one country to another at great speed, is the ideal example of a means becoming an end. To cut minutes off a journey in a field of transport which is highly competitive, it is necessary to develop the aeroplane for speed, regardless of the noise thereby engendered which inconveniences a great many more people than the passengers whose lives have been lengthened by those few minutes saved. Additionally, it is also necessary to prepare vast areas of land so that the jet plane may land and take off in the maximum amount of space available for this to be done in safety. The greater the speed, the greater the land required. That this land may be more usefully employed for housing or agriculture is never conceded. At the same time so that the gain on the flight time may not be lost on journeys to airports, the airports must be relatively near centres of population with the consequent harassment of the overflight noise to urban populations. The success and popularity of any airport which can offer these facilities carries within itself the seed of its own destruction, for the over-packing of airline schedules, the clogging of the arteries to the airport, and the cancer-like growth of ancillary services to the airport, spell in themselves the doom of the airport. Nothing fails like success.

A casual study of passenger lists of people arriving by air does not impress one with the necessity for so many people to travel so fast on journeys for so little purpose. One can understand wage-slaves going on holiday maximising their free time by travelling by air to wherever one goes these days but does not this mean that many must work overtime in order to pay the extra air fares. In this pattern of wasting time (at work) in order to save time (on holiday) seems like a false economy. One can visualise

the rushed life of a popular performer who must pack in as much as possible in a career before the fans grow tired. The busy airline schedules of the businessman, to whom time is money, may call forth some sympathy for his ulcers. But the government executives who fly thither and yon on errands for we, the people, do not carry a conviction that their journeys are really necessary. As to the top echelons, they always go by private plane or a plane that belongs to Us, the public.

Tolstoy once noted the discrepancy between the speed of travel and the importance of the destination. We are caught in a world where the machines compete in speed with machines and we, willy-nilly, are hurled through space in the womb of the screaming monster, or go about our machine-dictated duties down below, jarred out of our routine now and again by the whine of planes up above or the boom of the sound-breaking waves. However, we can step up the volume of the transistor which will effectively blot out noise, silence conversation and thought.

One hears at this point the voice of progress—'You can't put the clock back' and dull mutterings of 'spinning wheels', 'luddism', 'reactionary'. In fact you can put the clock back, the clock occasionally stops with disastrous results. It is sometimes necessary to put the clock back because it is wrong and it is later than we think. In the same way it is sometimes necessary to turn back along the road because we have taken a wrong turning and we are lost. Progress, that sign-post of the progressives, is an indication of motion and not of direction.

The tyranny of technology can only be defeated by peoples and not by governments since governments have become in themselves machines for the running of individuals.

JACK ROBINSON.

Harlow

HARLOW is one of the non-creations which arose out of the dung that passes for brains in the heads of state 'planners'. The town's square, concrete heart may, however, soon be quickened by the spirit of revolt. Since the founding of the Harlow Anarchist Federation a year ago, there has been a spectacular rise in the interest shown in anarchism.

We have held indoor meetings of two sorts. One, that held in the Moot House, a local gas shop, has seen discussions led by us as well as Bob Barltrop, Dave Coull and Laurens Otter. We have also held large business meetings where a surprising amount of work has been done. Out of doors, there has been constant leafletting and FREEDOM-selling, which has sometimes been incorporated into public gatherings such as that of July 22 which was addressed by six Anarchists from the outside world, and which attracted a crowd of hundreds. By doing this we have, incidentally, established a precedent for public assembly in that the

fuzz have so far turned a blind eye. (Other local groups have failed to hold meetings comparable to ours . . . the CP, for example, is represented by bods who look like as if they had known Marx himself.)

Anarchism's 'great leap forward' in Harlow, nevertheless, will be at the annual TOWN SHOW, which attracted 100,000 folk last year. Held this time on August 26-27, the show will include an Anarchist stand measuring 15 feet. *Anarchy* and *FREEDOM* will be sold in large amounts and there are to be vast collages and displays. Flowers, balloons, music and bubbles will also be in evidence, but the *pièce de résistance* will be the sale of our own magazine, *OM*, which has emerged after months of very hard work. The Town Show will be preceded by an open forum bearing the title 'Anarchic Harlow' for which a special leaflet has been prepared in two colours (guess what they are!) demanding the popular control of all the local bodies from the council to the factory.

After the show we have already planned a (belated) birthday party for HAF on the evening of August 27. The very next day sees another forum, this time to welcome new members found at the Town Show, and to meet Anarchists from Essex and Herts., who are invited to a special day-discussion on united action.

THE ISLE OF MAN made gestures of independence over pirate radio controversy but finally decided to raise the matter at the Commonwealth Conference. It also asserted its independence by sentencing two youths to be birched for attacking a policeman.

IN ENGLAND, where birching is no longer administered by the courts, the Home Secretary put his progressive hat on and closed down a formerly approved school for excessive use of non-regulation canes (limit 3/4 inch). The Old Etonians who run Londoner's Diary in the *Evening Standard* eloquently testify to the harm done to them by reporting that the cane used 'would be considered a feeble affair in some public schools'. In an issue of the *Evening News*, which front-page headlined 'Canings: Save our School say 32 Boys' there was an article by A. S. Neill entitled 'You've Got to be Free to be Happy'.

A FURTHER PROGRESSIVE pronouncement from the Estimates Committee announced recommendations that imprisonment should be replaced by other treatment for some classes of offenders; it gave its finding that there were few real women criminals; slopping-out should be modified, to reduce its squalor and degradation where it could be done away with (surely not flush toilets in cells?); labour-saving devices for locking and unlocking cell doors should be devised; and finally, conjugal visits (to put the matter deli-

cately) by wives of long-term prisoners should be allowed. Typical reaction by Mr. Neil McElligot, Old Street, London, magistrate: 'In this morning's press one sees the joys to be offered to persons serving sentences, now our masters are preparing every modern convenience. One can only hope that the term "wife" will not be interpreted too liberally.' This was his reaction to an eighteen-year-old youth's complaint about the food in a remand centre. The magistrate said, in view of the MPs' recommendations for prisons, it was understandable that the defendant should think it in order for him to complain.

THE SUNDAY EXPRESS goes to town editorially on the matter, saying, 'A prison sentence is supposed to punish. A long sentence is supposed to punish severely.' John Gordon deplores the rapid closing down of the approved school and, speaking of the Race Relations Act, says, 'Have our coloured immigrants really taken over Britain so thoroughly that a responsible British politician cannot be permitted to discuss the problem which their presence among us has created?'

THE DAILY EXPRESS wrote, 'The law concerning race relations is absurd, dangerous and must be changed . . . far from promoting toleration, the Race Relations Act is eroding free speech. Parliament should not permit this ill-conceived and mischievous legislation to remain on the Statute Book.' This was before the arrest of Michael Abdul Malik and only referred to complaints against Mr. Duncan Sandys by the West Indian Standing Conference. Mr. Sandys said in a statement that he wanted a stop to further Commonwealth immigration, and the paying of fares and generous resettlement grants for immigrants who wish to return home. 'The breeding of millions of half-caste children would merely produce a generation of misfits and create increased tension.' In the *News of the World* (30.7.67) Mr. Sandys said, 'The simple and obvious answer [to immigration] is the right one. Turn off the tap. The entry of all further coloured immi-

grants should be stopped, including the relatives of those who are already here.'

TWO WHITE POLICEMEN in Detroit were charged with the murder of two negroes in a motel during the rioting in Detroit. An investigation was ordered in Detroit into a complaint by four witnesses that a youth of 19, arrested by a policeman for breaking the curfew, was ordered by a policeman to run. 'Please mister don't do that to me,' the youth was heard to plead. 'When I count to ten you had better run,' said the officer. 'Run, or you'll be laying.' But still, a witness said, he did not run. The police accused the youth of starting fires. He replied, 'I didn't set no fire! You don't see no fire.' A woman yelled from a window, 'Don't shoot that boy!' She was told by the police, 'Shut up or I'll blast your head off.' The witnesses said that the youth ran along the street and jumped over a car-bonnet but fell dead from a shotgun blast fired by the officer who ordered him to run. The body lay on the street for two hours before it was picked up. The witnesses were too frightened to approach it.

ON THE TWENTY-SECOND ANNIVERSARY of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima a man, Kuniyoshi Inoue, 62, died of the effects of atomic radiation—of chronic lymphatic gland leukaemia. He was not in Hiroshima when the first bomb was dropped but he was affected by a lingering radiation when he entered the city a week later to search for his brother who had lived there. The US Atomic Energy Commission conducted a low-yield nuclear test equivalent to less than 20,000 tons of TNT at its Nevada test site. This was the 17th announced this year.

RUSSIAN INTERPRETATIONS of the behaviour of light from quasi-stellar galaxies may have increased seven-fold the suspected age of the universe. Until now a widely accepted figure was 10,000 million years, now it has rocketed to 70,000 million years.

JON QUIXOTE.

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'Two-Headed Dog Not British' —THE TIMES

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THE COMMUNICATION of new knowledge often requires the unfamiliar use of old words or even the invention of new ones. Such a use of words must be carefully and precisely explained, if it is to be an effective way of communicating ideas. But those who imagine that they are in possession of new or unfamiliar ideas may fail to explain satisfactorily their extraordinary use of language, either because it may in fact be impossible to justify such a use of language or because its practitioners simply do not want to explain it. In either case the result is a use of language which serves not to communicate ideas but to distinguish those who know the language of the cult from those who do not. This is jargon; the professors of Saturday afternoon enthusiasm gives—the numerous and proliferating brands of non-knowledge in the world today—I read occasionally in my book reviews of some extreme cases of the psephological method which seems to rival the vapidity of the degenerate burkeanism of the apostles of free capitalism¹ need jargon to preserve their identity and self-respect, but even the champions of real and useful new ideas are not immune to its temptation. The temptation to use jargon is the temptation to regard oneself, perhaps together with a select few, as in possession of a special knowledge, and to look down upon the rest of mankind as cruds who cannot possibly ever appreciate it. This attitude is called fascism or authoritarianism and those who would like to examine the historical foundation and original justification for it should read Plato and Aristotle (see my article on Athenian Democracy in *Anarchy* 46 for a discussion of their ideas); and the History of Herodotus contains an interesting report of a discussion of the respective merits of democracy, oligarchy, and monarchy as forms of government. But the unfortunate fact which the title of this article assumes to be true is that even professed anarchists at times relapse into jargon.

Anarchists seem to be particularly vulnerable to the attraction of jargon, which provides them with an impregnable fortress where they can indulge in prophecies of doom, condemning a contemptuous world which dismisses them

A STUDY OF CHILD MENTALITY

ALBERT ANGELO by B. S. Johnson (Constable 21/- bound; Panther 5/- paper).

LIKE HIS FIRST NOVEL, *Travelling People*, this is experimental and contains several different styles, including a section where speech is on the left-hand side of the page and thoughts on the right-hand side. It also contains two pages with holes in them.

Although it is one of the funniest books I have ever read, it has its serious side. It questions the current methods of teaching, especially in the lower streams, and the whole question of discipline. Its message is that children must be interested in the subject that is being taught them and not have it forced down their throats. He shows a rare understanding of child mentality and really gets inside them.

B. S. Johnson is one of the best writers alive today and is, in my opinion, in the same class as Joyce. I urge everyone to read the first three pages of this book and I am confident they will then want to read it all the way through.

ROBERT HALSTEAD.

ANARCHIST JARGON

as, at best, impractical utopians completely ignorant of human nature or as wild terrorists who wish to destroy every social bond so that every man may do exactly as he wants.² But, of course, such self-indulgence merely strengthens the vicious circle of mutual contempt, a vicious circle with which the upholders of the status quo are quite content, but which anarchists as revolutionaries ought to be dedicated to breaking. Jargon not only enables a man to feel intellectually superior to his fellows; at the same time it allows him, behind a facade of rational argument, to wallow in a mess of unconsidered emotion. And this, above all, is what anarchists must avoid in themselves and discourage in others if they desire to be the friends and not the enemies of revolution. The anarchist desires the transformation of all human relationships; he desires the replacement of enmity by true fellowship in all relations between all men; he seeks to achieve this revolution first in his own relations and then—through the encouragement, example and advice which his whole life and not simply a he does what he can to extend the empire of revolution over the whole community of men; short of this there is no stopping place for the revolution and even here there is none for the revolution is eternal as well as universal, no man may simply set it up in his own life and leave it there but he must renew and revive it and make it afresh in every thought and action.

The anarchist in his work of propaganda thus cannot be content with slogans, indeed he cannot use them at all; however penetrating Randolph Bourne's 'war is the health of the state' may be, or Nicolas Walter's brilliant rider: 'and the state is the sickness of society', these are but openings and tentative guides to the fundamental re-examination of man's association with man which is the only road by which individuals will reach an understanding and acceptance of the anarchist argument. Some political attitudes and positions are perhaps essentially incapable of being raised above the level of jargon; it is the glory and the challenge of anarchism that it cannot be reduced to this level without becoming a parody of itself. The fundamental point of anarchism is the possibility in every man that he may live without jargon, in full and free communion with himself, his fellows and the world at

Special Branch and 'Queen' Leaflet

A REPORT in *Peace News* (28.7.67) states that Stanhope Press and the Pirate Press have both been questioned by the Special Branch about the printing of a leaflet, entitled 'Is the Queen really necessary?', which was distributed in Hull by the 'Hull Prices and Incomes Board', when the Queen paid a visit there recently.

The leaflet was reprinted in full in *FREEDOM* (24.6.67) of which we still have copies.

R.

large, looking into himself and experiencing with every breath he draws the true meaning of his indestructible yearning for security and identity; it is but the

¹Degenerate burkeanism is intended as a description of the general arguments or assertions, the most eloquent and best known exponent of which is probably Edmund Burke who, at the time of the French Revolution, warned England and the world of the danger of attempting to reorganise society after a rational model; later statements have not improved the quality of the argument, as I have implied by the prefix degenerate; the literature on the subject is enormous. J. L. Talmon's *The Origin of Totalitarian Democracy* is a good introduction with a stimulatingly anti-revolutionary bias and

aborting and shortsightedly imagining this passion that we see building and maintaining the work and world of jargon; it is in the continual working upon and living by, in the face of whatever trials and frustrations, the possibility of the transcending of jargon that we show our faith and prove ourselves true anarchists.

MARTIN SMALL.

Thurman Arnold's *The Folklore of Capitalism* describes the character of 1930's burkeanism in America.

²It is of course desired by anarchists that every man should do exactly as he wants; but agreement on this score is but the beginning of the real discussion, which concerns the way in which men can learn or be taught to want what they ought to want or what they really want, and extends itself naturally enough into a consideration of the validity of such distinctions between what men say or think they want and what they ought to want or really want without knowing it.

No Gods or Hawkers

YESTERDAY AFTERNOON I sprawled upon a carpet in the backyard, sunning my navel and idling away those wasted hours between dinner and tea. That is until a young female staggered through the door, armed with a bible and some odd dozen evangelical tracts. She blinked at my near nakedness, averted her gaze and squatted uncomfortably on the most distant rug. 'I was upset about your accident,' she shouted, 'because if you had died you would have gone to hell for all eternity.' 'Why?' I murmured, somewhat surprised.

It turned out that she was a strictly convinced fan and follower of Billy Graham. That I was a pagan, sinner and tool of the 'Devil' and that her Jewish tribal 'God' would doubtless wreak his terrible vengeance upon my pitiful human frame. It also transpired that the Roman Catholic Church and most contemporary bishops and theologians were hardly 'true Christians', that 'God' was 'perfect and just', that evolution was a nonsensical notion, that Tina's cat and Arthur Moyses's dog Patch had no hope of 'salvation', that Jesus only advocated non-violence for individuals, not nations, and that I had to be for 'God' or the 'Devil'.

Science, philosophy, theology, history, ideals, ethics, morality, sanity, human-brotherhood, solidarity, love, Buddhism, Taoism, Anarchy, reason and logic did little to convince her of my innocence. So, as the sun sank and my hungry belly rumbled, I squatted erect upon my carpet dock and sustained a moving, if not so articulate, plea in my defence. I did not believe in a creator 'God' or any other supernatural entity, including the 'Devil'. Because I and 'Satan' were in agreement on some minor points was scarcely proof that I was a camp-follower or secret Hades agent. Cat and Patch were far more advanced (physically, mentally and spiritually) than many human beings. That because men gang up into bestial herds cannot alter the fact that national wars involve the violent conflict of strangers who have no sane personal dislike and thus no justification for such mindless wickedness and murder. Man has a vegetarian physiology and somebody should have a word in 'God's' ear about that.

As all this seemed to fall on dogmatic ears and an ossified brain, I staged a somewhat petulant defiance. If I was absolutely and irrevocably convinced of

the existence of her 'God', I would be in insurrection against his authoritarian rule. If he reformed and mended his ways, I was convinced we could all live together in peaceful co-existence for eternity. As a last sour adolescent snipe, I evaluated and dissected Billy Graham. I am now condemned to roast on infinity's spit for I failed miserably to convert her. But why she should consider that a pacifist, vegetarian and simple hospital worker, who is faithful to his lawful wedded wife, has a kindly word for the neighbours and abstains from beer and nicotine, is a sin-ridden satanic-tool, I cannot suspect. Somebody has been libelling and blackening my name.

DAVE CUNLIFFE.

Liberty for Thugs?

FREEDOM is to think of the liberty of others and act accordingly. But others will not think of your liberty. That is true today. But as human beings are conditioned by their education and environment, when they realise the fallacy of civilization they often react in an anti-social manner. Yesterday, my pal was stopped in the petit bourgeois district of Ealing by two thugs. They wanted money. They knocked him down. And when he went to protect his face from a kick, his arm was broken. All they got was a library ticket and an employment exchange card. The police are not interested as property was not involved. How would those scribes who prate about non-violence deal with such a situation in a free society?

SEAN MALONE.

8-page FREEDOM next week Order Now!

PROPOSED GROUPS

NORTH EAST ESSEX. Would readers interested in proposed group write to P. Newell, 'Maybush', Maypole Road, Tiptree, Essex.
ELTHAM. 'Sons of Durutti' Group. Get in touch with T. Liddle, 83 Gregory Crescent, London, S.E.9.
BIRKENHEAD. Please get in touch with G. Woodhouse, 59 Cambridge Road, Woodchurch, Birkenhead.
MUCH HADHAM, HERTS. Get in touch with Leslie Riordan, High Street, Much Hadham, Herts.
BATH ANARCHISTS don't exist! Or do they? Contact Roy Emery, 3 Abbey Street, Bath.

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. Gathers-gade, 27, Viborg, 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 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. Anyone 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, Scléssin-Liege, Belgium.
EAST AFRICA. George Matthews would like to make contact. Secondary school teacher from UK. PO Box 90, Kakamega, Kenya.
USA: NORTH-EASTERN MINNESOTA. Contact James W. Cain, 323 Fourth Street, Cloquet, Minn. 55720, USA.
USA: (TREASON). Australian Anarchist, c/o Melbourne University Union or A.R. Giles Peters, c/o same.

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 Shoe, 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).

LEWISHAM. Locations of meetings temporarily altered to 83 Gregory Crescent, London, S.E.9.
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 8 p.m. at Donald and Irene Rounns'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 Michael Day, 86 Rosemount Place, Aberdeen.
BEXLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence to Paul Wildish, 2 Cumbrian Avenue, Barnehurst, 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.
BOLTON. Get in touch with Les Smith, 74 Arnold Street, Bolton, Lancs.
BRIGHTON. Get in touch with 79 Coleman Street, Brighton, 7. Poetry readings every Sunday from 4 to 5 p.m. at the Fishmarket. All poets welcome.
BRESTOL. 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.
HARLOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Enquiries to Keith Nathan, 138 Pennymead, Harlow or John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping.
HERTS. Contact either Stuart Mitchell at South View, Potters Heath Lane, Potters Heath, Welwyn, Herts OR Jeff Clives, 46 Hughendon Road, Marshallswick, St. Albans, Herts.
HULL ANARCHIST GROUP. J. Terpest, 8 p.m. 1st and 3rd Mondays of month. The Cabin, Blue Bell Inn, Queen Street, contact address.
IPSWICH ANARCHISTS. Contact Neil Dean, 74 Cemetery Road, Ipswich, Suffolk.
KILBURN, LONDON. Contact Andrew Dewar, 16 Kilburn House, Malvern Place, London, N.W.6. Meetings 8 p.m. every Tuesday.
LEE, LONDON, S.E.12. Anarchist-Radical Group. Contact 'Paul', c/o Lewisham Group (above).
ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenway, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. 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.
ROCHDALE. Please contact Richard Crawford, 4 Hargreaves Street, Sudden, Rochdale.
ROCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact

Eryl Davies, 22 St. Margaret's Street, Rochester. Fortnightly meetings.
SLOUGH. Contact Sid Rawle, 4 Hillperton Road, Slough, Bucks.

SOUTH EAST ESSEX ANARCHIST GROUP. We would love to hear from fellow-sympathisers in area. All enquiries to M. Powell, 7 Lingeroff, Basildon, Essex.

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

TROWBRIDGE PEACE ACTION GROUP. Contact P. Weston, Chivels, Butts Lane, Kewell, Trowbridge, Wiltshire. Meetings every Tuesday 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House (opp. Bus Station).

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

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

Regional Secretary: Alistair Ratray, 35a Devonshire Road, Chorley.
NORTH WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION, BUXTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: F. A. Gresty, Punchbowl, Manchester Road, Buxton.
CHORLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Anne Marie Fearon, 16 Devonshire Road, Chorley.
LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST PROPAGANDA GROUP AND 'HIPPIE' MOVEMENT. Gerry Bree, 16 Faulkner Square, Liverpool, 8. Meetings weekly. 'Freedom' Sales—Pier Head, Saturdays, Sundays, Evenings.
MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Dave Poulson, 9 Boland Street, Fallowfield, Manchester, 14.

SOUTH WALES ANARCHIST FEDERATION

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP, SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP. All correspondence to—Julian Ross, 11 Wellfield Close, Bishopston, Swansea.

LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION. Meetings—discussions—activities. Contact Peter Ford, 82 North Road, Highgate, N.6. (Tel.: MOU 572.)

AN UNDER-STATEMENT

THE 'Statement' by Jeff Robinson, in your issue of July 29, can be dismissed as empty verbiage so far as its conclusions are concerned—that what is needed is 'Self Liberation', a secular kingdom of God is within you—and that 'what is wanted is inner freedom' (a good dose of Andrews' Liver Salts?) which is 'attainable even within a prison cell'.

What is wanted is not 'inner' freedom from the things 'that produce the loathe-some world in which we live', but actual freedom. If the so-called individualist anarchist stands for a mere imaginary inner freedom, this is what differentiates him from the 'militant revolutionary' or 'collectivist' anarchist.

Such a so-called 'individualist' anarchism was called—when the individualist anarchist, cited by Jeff Robinson, 'Minus One' *et al* as their inspired prophets, were alive to refute any travesties of their opinions—as 'philosophic' anarchism. 'Philosophic anarchists'—especially in the Henry George or single-tax movements—did not work for anarchism, co-operated with governments (one was even in President Wilson's), did not believe that revolution was possible or desirable—but insofar as they accepted that government was not really desirable although to them inevitable, they liked the name 'philosophic anarchists' to give a fashionable tinge of radicalism without any colours that might run.

His description of the difference between 'individual' and 'collectivist' anarchists and their reconcilability or otherwise is based on a misconception of what is individualist anarchism. It is easy to take some of the naive ideas of the individualist-anarchists and make a new philosophy out of them to suit a few individuals needing a new creed. One could do (in some countries, it has been done) the same to 'anarchist communism'. My objection, as one who Jeff Robinson would describe as a collectivist, is that the neo-philosophic anarchists who do not believe anarchism is possible except as inner cleanliness have made the better word 'individualism' a laughing-stock.

The division is between those who see anarchism as a living force, and those who think it an exciting name to use when talking about the need for children's playgrounds. In fact, if 'liberalism' were not so utterly discredited, the latter would be quite contented to be called 'liberals'; and they will very often identify themselves with 'liberalism' as if it were something progressive.

In his answer to M. J. Walsh on a specific issue, elsewhere in the same number, Jeff Robinson betrays his position with a refreshing degree of honesty. One should bear in mind that Robinson is the lad who is always writing the stirring bits about how we should support the Vietcong. 'Always come down on the side of tyranny in the finish', was ever the motto of the 'philosophic anarchist' (compare the conversation between Lenin and Emma Goldman: 'We do not

attack the philosophical anarchists, only the criminals'—'Exactly what they say in America, comrade Lenin').

What about Spain? Down comes Robinson as a quietist on the side of bureaucracy: 'to cause large-scale dissension in the left camp would jeopardise the moderate left's foreign support as well as make things easier militarily for the fascists.' This is a neat and concise summing up of the Great Lie in Spain.

For the sake of the 'foreign support' (nothing; the Western Powers boycotted them; the Czechs would not sell arms except for gold which was in the hands of the Republicans; the Mexicans sold arms willy-nilly; and the Russians contributed nothing but suppression and 'large scale dissension' by shooting down the revolutionary workers). The bureaucracy agreed to co-operate with the Republic too, which meant the fascists won.

If only the CNT-FAI had wiped out the Communist apparatus in the early days! Could the fascists have won 'easier'?—and even if they had, would they have had a 30-year victory?

W.C.I.

A. MELTZER.

Hippies—Hooray

Dear Editor,

As a Liverpool Anarchist who has sympathies with the 'Hippy' Movement, I feel bound to answer last week's (12.8.67) letters from Comrades A. Channing and Dave Coull.

Firstly I think the above comrades should tolerate people who have anarchist sympathies, e.g. hippies. Intolerance is not a symptom of anarchy. The hippy movement, with its dropping out of society as society stands, showed a desire to live in a free and communal society, not one where everything is based on personal gains, etc., and where one is dictated to by a particular state.

Dave Coull seems not to like the idea of pacifism and handing out flowers to policemen (everybody has the right to flowers, even policemen). But the hippies do not see the necessity for a police force, so they came up with the nearest thing yet to a safe method of ridiculing the physical arm of the state and getting away with it. The police, with their violent mentalities, cannot understand this form of pacifism and therefore cannot control it.

Gerry Bree did not spread confusion here in Liverpool. All he did was make genuine anarchist literature, etc., available to people who are in all reality anarchists.

Liverpool

C. LUCAS.

... Hooray!

Dear Sir,

In reply to A. Channing's letter (FREEDOM, 12.8.67), I would like to defend the linking of the Liverpool Anarchist Group with the 'Hippy' movement. In addition to the group's name, the intention was to point out the relevance, to anarchists, of the new movement.

The Hippies (the label is not entirely a suitable one, and is one that they themselves seldom use) have more to do with anarchism than do people who make criticisms without backing them up with actions. The intention of the Hippies is to make this life a little more enjoyable and peaceful, for themselves and for anyone who is willing to be 'turned-on' to their ideas. They do this, not by sitting back and theorizing, but simply by spreading their doctrine of love. Surely their slogan of 'Do your own thing, whenever you want to' is what anarchism is all about.

We should not let ourselves be put off by the exhibitionist fringe that has nothing to say, but always attaches itself to any group or movement that is in the news. The Hippies' message is not that we all wear bells, beads and flowers, but that we wear what we want to wear, and be what we want to be.

R. ABBOTT,
(Liverpool Anarchist
Propaganda Group and
Hippy Movement.)

Freedom Within Capitalism

Dear Comrades,

The psychedelic movement, sex movements, greater freedom in writing movements, are all calling for more liberal attitudes from society. These movements may or may not get greater freedoms; they will in all probability get their goals eventually. I have no quarrel with them, for as a socialist I am morally bound to support them.

Let us get one thing quite clear. All

PRAGMATIC PREMIER, E. Kay.
Frewin 30/-.

'MARY SUDDENLY realised she would have nothing to cook that day at No. 10 . . . "Let's have fish-fingers and peas," said Mary. "Harold loves fish-fingers."'

I should not like to think that anything disagreeable I may be going to say about this book, would prompt anyone to be misguided enough to spend 30/- on it.

I failed to get through more than a couple of chapters when I was in the Dordogne early this summer. Merely to try to read the book seemed an offence against Nature.

'All of us agreed that Harold Wilson should stand' (for the Labour Party Leadership in 1960) 'but he shook his head. "No," he replied, "I wouldn't stand a chance. What I want is the Deputy Leadership. With Hugh as Leader and me as Deputy the Party will steer an even course. He can never get away with this 'fight, fight and fight again' nonsense, of course, and when I am No. Two I'll see to it that he doesn't." We argued until well after midnight. It was seven to one against him, for even his wife was on our side in the belief

these movements, even given their desired freedom, can all be contained within the capitalist system. They in turn can evolve, and will evolve, their own class structures.

One has only to look at the people who rushed to 'stand by Israel' when the Middle East conflict broke out. (A conflict between Arab/Israeli imperialism. The Jewish and Arab workers lost in the conflict.) Some of the people, who rushed to support Israel, had in previous times supported CND and what have you. All these movements attract a certain percentage of 'unstable' people, I do not mean this in a derogatory sense, but unstable because they do not take the struggle to the very end. They are, I am sure, all good middle-class people.

Likewise in the 'Hippy' movements, etc. Deep down they are all good middle-class people. The National Press is full at the moment of 'Hippies', 'D' Notices, etc.—all diversionist tactics.

The worrying thing about these movements, coupled with this failure of the 'Left' parties, is you are all missing the issues, which are the abolition of capitalism and wage slavery.

Why? Because there is not enough political and agitative education by 'Left-Wing Parties' where it really counts—on the shop floor and in industrial disputes—that is where workers' power is.

Only when you have broken the shackles of capitalism will you then begin to know what freedom really is. They turned up in their thousands for Vietnam in Trafalgar Square recently. Fair enough. But did they turn up in their thousands at Stratford Freightliner Terminal?

Yours fraternally,
KARL I. WATSON.

For Boston Tea-Parties

Gentlemen,

Your June 24 article ('Is the Queen really necessary?') is so magnificently *à propos* that I am sending you a small cheque to help continue this sort of thing. I wish it could be ten times greater, but we've got a show of our own on over here (or rather it is run from here but put on 8,000 miles away) and inflation is getting seriously threatening to my fixed retirement income.

I've long held forth to all and sundry about the high cost of monarchy. Your article gives me the chapter and verse. Please (out of the cheque I enclose) send me at once 10 copies by air mail. I have a number of Anglophile friends to whom I want to administer it. One, an elderly spinster from Boston, is so far gone that, some years ago, she hid herself to Canada and stayed in an hotel while your Prince Charles was getting born, 'so as to be on British soil when the heir arrived'.

I referred to our own 'show' in Vietnam, for which we are paying at the rate of a billion pounds a year. But think what we are getting for our money. Napalm; babies starving; pregnant mothers dismembered; conscientious objectors jailed, McCarthyism rampant again, the Congress passing ridiculous bills against burning the flag and rioting; the Daughters of the American Revolution in full cry and, of course, the casualty lists. You know, of course, that there is no national shot-in-the-arm like a good long casualty list. LSD has nothing on it—with its wakes, its *Pro patria mori* bilge, the exhibitionism of the funeral with flag-draped coffin and pimply-faced boys in uniform firing the volley while the strains of 'Taps' wail across the landscape.

Your show gives you nothing like this, and it costs you almost relatively as

FISH FINGERS AT No. 10

that he should, at all costs, oppose Gaitskell out in the open. Harold argued that to do so would be political suicide for him. "But, surely," one of us said towards the end of the evening, "if you don't fight Gaitskell now everybody will believe that you support his policy through thick and thin and that wouldn't be at all good for you." "And," I chipped in, "if you leave the field clear to Tony Greenwood he will emerge as the alternative Leader; but if you fight Gaitskell openly and fearlessly you will get not only a bigger vote than Greenwood could hope for, but you would be seen to be the alternative Leader." Harold thought a long time before he replied. He was clearly perturbed. . . . Ours was the victory that night. "You know," said Harold Wilson after this long, long pause, "I think you're right". . . . Then he added, with a frown, "Of course, you know that this will cost me the Deputy Leadership."

This sort of thing, interspersed with descriptions of life in and around the

Wilson bungalow in the Isles of Scilly, fills up some 233 pages—an unwitting (and unwitting) essay on Mediocrity. George Orwell would have known how to deal with it.

I hope I am not entirely lacking in human sympathy even for the Wilsons, the Browns and the Stewarts of this world (not to mention the Heaths, the Sandys and the Maudslongs), but ploughing through this dreary catalogue, I simply could not find the smallest piece of common ground between us.

I did wonder about Mrs. Wilson: 'the one-time unilateralist and pacifist'. That pinched smile in all those ghastly snaps.

'Mary always looked forward immensely to her little secret trips to the Garden Suburb. . . .'

It is now History that the Suburb has since moved into Downing Street. And stayed there.

. . . Harold says we must and it will obviously be so much better for Harold.'

DAVID MARKHAM.

LETTERS

much. I don't think there's been a member of the troupe (except perhaps Eddie Windsor) who has had an ounce of charisma since King Charles II. Any other audience but the British would have long since laughed the whole shebang off the boards.

That little item about the special toilet for the royal bottom entranced me. To think that, for one-tenth of the cost of the monarchy, Britain could install a water closet for every single family in the United Kingdom. Such an act would reduce the crime rate at once—to say nothing of the birthrate, although bidets are, I believe, regarded with horrified ignorance in your land, as in our own.

Anyhow, send me the ten copies and I will have great fun with them at cocktail parties and other gang-ups where humour is conspicuous by its absence. Good luck to you—my life would be dull indeed were it not for *Anarchy* and FREEDOM. Long may they wave. . . .
New York 10028 TAYLOR ADAMS.

Stirner & Stirner

Dear Editors,

Paul Chauvet's article on Stirner (29.7.67) misinterprets him on two main points.

Firstly, Stirner was not concerned with 'absolute individual freedom'. On the contrary, he showed up the ambiguity and frequent meaninglessness of the term 'freedom'. He thought that it could only be meaningfully used in the negative sense of being 'rid of' something that oppresses or impedes one.

His primary concern, however, was not 'freedom', but self-ownership: the power of an individual to determine his own life. What 'freedom' an individual can get depends on the extent to which he belongs to himself and has the might to conquer it. There is no such thing, in Stirner's view, as 'absolute freedom'. One might say he was not concerned with freedom—only with freedoms.

Secondly, Stirner was not in the least worried about 'the most vital of all social conditions' or 'a social system which leaves the individual free of all constraint'. Indeed, he was not interested in developing 'men', 'man' or 'society', but himself. His interest lay in individual rebellion, not social revolution or reform.

Far from 'readily' accepting the individual as a 'social being', he stated that while the individual begins life in 'society' (that of his parents) the measure of his independence was the extent to which he freed himself from this and other socially determined relationships and could enter into those of his own creation. He explicitly opposed the union of egoists to society. Not only this, but he emphasized that society can be as oppressive, if not more so, than the State. He was, in fact, one of the first to realize that the disappearance of the State would not necessarily mean the end of coercion and oppression.

Paul Chauvet has given us what Enzo Martucci has aptly called a 'sweetened Stirner'. However, his attempt to enrol Stirner into the ranks of the social utopians gets no support from *The Ego and His Own*.

Yours sincerely,
S. E. PARKER.

Sacco & Vanzetti

Sir,

I feel that your readers should be reminded that Tuesday, August 22, will be the 40th anniversary of the (judicial) murders of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Meanwhile, can anyone tell me who has reaped any benefit from these murders? The organisations in which the martyrs believed have not (to my knowledge) utilised the event in any way. (Let your readers conduct a simple test—ask their workmates who Sacco and Vanzetti were? How many will guess they are the names of horses?)

The country responsible for the murders, a few years later spawns McCarthyism, which, if it failed to send anyone to the 'chair', yet I feel certain provided the reason for numerous suicides. And as for the corollary of Vietnam—?

True, the two we commemorate have achieved immortality. For instance, they have broken into the 'Encyclopaedia Britannica'. But am I expected to believe that this would have satisfied them?

Is there, after all, such a thing as progress? Or is it merely an illusion, fostered by the disinclination of the 'gutter press' to offend the 'Establishment' by printing stories of injustice—for which we have to refer to the columns of FREEDOM?

Peterborough FRANK WHITE.

SPECIAL THREE-WEEK BUMPER ISSUE OF THE . . . PRESS FUND

We apologise that owing to the absence on holiday of the comrade who does this regularly, the financial statement was omitted last week. The following is the statement for the past three weeks.

WEEKS 30, 31 & 32:	
JULY 29, AUGUST 5 & 12:	
Expenses: 32 weeks at £90:	£2880
Income: Sales and Subs.:	£2214
DEFICIT:	£666

Oxford: Anon* 5/-; Bournemouth: N.F. £1; London, S.W.1: P.K. 4/-; Woodstock, UC: E.S. £3/10/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; London, N.W.1: A.W. 10/-; Oxford: D.M., O.F. £1; Perth: J.D.McE. 10/-; Bath: R.E. 12/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* £1; London, S.E.5: D.L. 10/-; Portland, Oregon: J.C. £4/7/6; Troy, N.Y.: D.W. £4/7/6; London, E.5: G.H. 2/6; Crewe: C.R. 10/-; Grantham: G.I. 5/-; London, N.W.3: R.A.D. 16/3; Wells: G.B. 10/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; London, N.10: C.E. 4/-; Oxford: Anon* 5/-; Corinth, U.C.: T.R. 19/9; Vancouver: J.R. 10/-; Picnic at Corona Del Mar, California, per d'Adenata: £17/10/-; Crompond, N.Y.: J.R. £1; Toronto: E.A. £1/2/6; Kilburn Anarchists: 6/6; West Bromwich: H.W.T. 10/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; Stanmore: M.C. 5/-; Melbourne: K.K. £2; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Lincoln: J.W. 5/-; Liverpool: D.H. 5/8.

TOTAL:	£37 2 2
Previously Acknowledged:	£693 19 1

1967 Total to Date:	£731 1 3
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Dockers and Devlin

PORTWORKERS ARE becoming more aware that they face a growing crisis. The large number of disputes which have affected London, Liverpool, Southampton and Hull are proof of this, for behind these disputes lie the fears and anxieties of portworkers concerning the implementation of recommendations of the Devlin Report on the decasualisation of the industry.

For months now, there has not been enough work and dockers have had to rely on their fall-back

pay. They are realising that when these recommendations are introduced in mid-September, there will be large scale redundancies throughout the ports in the next few years. No redundancy pledges have been given, but with the present surplus of labour, permanent employers are hardly likely to take on more labour than they need.

Statements by port employers indicate that the labour force, in London, will be reduced by 5,000 men in the next three years if decasualisation is to be economic for them. Mr. Hughes, a solicitor to the Port of London Authority, has told the Docks Tribunal on Modernisation that there was a surplus of labour among stevedores, which was serious and likely to get worse. The lighterage section of the industry also has a surplus and Mr. Terrell, the QC representing the lighterage employers at the Tribunal, said that the Docks and Harbours Act of 1966 did not say that all labour should be divided among employers. 'If Parliament had wanted to do so it could have done so in very simple language. This statute is designed to give permanent employment, not to give permanent idleness.'

Of course, dockers have become very sceptical about the decasualisation scheme which is supposed to ensure security of employment. These feelings have led to one of the largest dock gate meetings of more than 3,000 dockers, organised by the unofficial Port Workers' Liaison Committee. At this meeting, it was decided unanimously not to accept decasualisation, unless the employers met their demands for a voluntary early retirement scheme at 60 years with severance pay of £5,000, a pension of £8 10s. per week at 65 years, and a guaranteed wage of £17 per week. This guaranteed wage is £1 above that agreed to by the Dock Modernisation Committee, representing the union and the employers, and approved by the Minister of Labour, Mr. Gunter.

The Minister had hoped to finalise

the decasualisation before Parliament rose, but was prevented by disagreement over pensions. Employers want to lower the retirement age by three years, to 65, but their offers of lump sum payments, ranging from £150-£600 for men between 63 and 67 for early retirement, was turned down by the dockers' delegate conference.

The union wants a higher sum for the simple reason that the fall-back pay alone for a three-year period would be £2,000. This is why the dock gate meeting called for £5,000 severance pay, in order to make it worthwhile for the docker to retire. Speakers at this meeting also forecast strikes if these demands are not met, and it is known that similar demands will be made by liaison committees in other ports. However, the demands are only in response to those of the Devlin Report and those agreed to by the unions and the employers.

The fears of the dockers are now showing themselves, but will it now be too late to mount a struggle?

A fight based on fears of redundancies is one that obviously will gain widespread support, but it is a defensive one. There is no alternative put forward by the liaison committees, except the old vague one of nationalisation, which really attacks the interests of the employers. How much effective control workers in industry can have, under nationalisation, is a point on which we, as Anarchists, have considerable disagreement with our socialist friends, but what is important is that the control, already exercised by dockers over manning and other so-called restrictive practices, should be maintained and extended. What should be guarded against is an attempt by the employers to divide one section against another. All the interests of the portworkers are at stake and it is essential that dockers show the 'misconceived loyalty' (solidarity) that they were accused of having in the Devlin Report.

P.T.

Rank & File Victory, But!—

THE CAMPAIGN to get Jack Rusca reinstated to his elected post of London District Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers has been successful. The 'lay' General Council of the union reached this decision by the odd vote.

Jack Rusca was removed from office in May (FREEDOM 20.5.67) by the executive council, comprising seven full-time officials, for giving support to the members in the Myton and Sunley disputes. This has now been reduced to a three-month suspension from office, starting last May, which means that he will be back at work this week.

It appears that the union appeal machinery has worked. How many union branches appealed against the sacking I do not know, but it was a considerable number and when the general council met, members stopped work to lobby them at the Clapham headquarters. The pressure was considerable.

The executive had suggested to the general council that Jack Rusca be allowed to make an oral appeal as well as his written one, but this was rejected as it is against the constitution of the Society. The executive and George Smith, the General Secretary, were worried that it would look bad that no oral appeal was allowed if, on losing his appeal, Jack Rusca took legal proceedings to obtain his reinstatement.

This reversal of the sacking is not only a victory for the rank and file who elected Bro. Rusca, but also a defeat for

the right wing reactionary executive. However, the struggle does not end here, for there is also the question of the three London management committee members who were suspended from holding any official position, including stewards' credentials, for three years. Although their period of office on the management committee ends in December, their appeal against this suspension was turned down by the general council and every effort should be made to ensure that they can again play their full part in the union.

It is essential that members have control over their union and that executives, although elected, should not have such powers as the ASW has wielded of late. It is only when faced with events of this nature that one really starts looking into the rule book. Executive powers are very wide and far reaching and it is no wonder that some want permanent positions for, once there, without any elections, they rule the roost.

While it is important to strengthen and extend the influence of unofficial groupings in industry, it is also vital to keep the control of a union by the membership. Although many good militants go bent once they are in, control and the right of recall by the rank and file would put paid to their game if they did. It is up to the rank and file to make their unions the most effective weapon possible against the employers.

P.T.

Freedom For Workers' Control

AUGUST 19 1967 Vol 28 No 25

THE UNIONS AND WORKERS' CONTROL

IT WOULD BE a bad do if libertarian ideas were never adopted, being of no practical use to the present society. Influencing society in a libertarian direction is our aim! Therefore, the Labour Movement's interest in Workers' Control, with its obvious political and industrial advantages, indicates their acceptance that industry can best be run as we've suggested all along.

The trouble is we're not exploiting the trend and building up our influence in the unions. We lack the organisation to make any impact in the trade unions. Forever reacting to the actions of others! That's no good! We must take the initiative in industry's bread and butter battle, both at the branch and on the bench.

In my own union, the TGWU, the case for workers' representatives in factory management, has been put by Jack Jones, Assistant Executive Secretary, as follows:—

'Management should be free to manage on a day to day basis, but should be called upon to justify their decisions to a Joint Authority at its own as well as a higher level.

'At workplace level the Manager and his senior staff would sit with an agreed number of elected shop stewards, who would primarily represent those on whose behalf they were appointed.

'Policy questions which workers' representatives would expect to take an interest include:—

- (a) Efficient use of manpower and equipment.
- (b) Pay and productivity, other than those decided nationally.
- (c) Discipline, joint control over hiring and firing.
- (d) Safety—including power to stop dangerous processes.
- (e) Ensuring adequate welfare provisions.
- (f) Selection of supervisors.
- (g) Control of overtime working.
- (h) Ensuring access to adequate training for workpeople and shop stewards.*

What's wrong with that now? Agreed, it is not full-scale Workers' Control! But whatever does constitute the basic and fundamental principle of Workers' Control, seems a bit remote at the moment.

We are wrong not to extend our influence in the official unions, especially in those already against the Government Freeze. So, too, are we wrong to disassociate ourselves too readily from Jones and other syndicalists, in the official Labour movement. Unofficial activities are not always available, and the shop stewards' movement is tied to the unions. It seems the best thing the anarcho-syndicalists can do is to get in the trade and general unions, and try to give a lead therein.

The TGWU hasn't had a bad recent record, even if its bark has been bigger than its bite. The T&G is against the Government's Prices and Incomes Policy; this stand received overwhelming support at the Blackpool Delegates Conference last month. On wages, the £15 national minimum demanded is much more realistic than the basic union rate laid down by most unions (the national AEU rate

for skilled fitters was £10 11s. 8d. weekly, before the Package Deal, in 1965). The real rates of pay for most workers depend more on local bargaining, and what the shop stewards can get, than on national agreements.

The union favours a high wage-highly productive economy, as against unemployment and anti-trade union legislation. Cousins has even said, referring to possible TUC interference in wages, that 'Our union won't have wage restraint, whoever wraps it up for us'.

A call for a reduction of overseas military spending was also passed by the conference. Not being a craft union, the T&G has a more sensible approach to industrial training. It wants to get rid of the old apprenticeship system.

All trade unions have their faults, 'revolutionary industrial unions' would have their defects too, but these can best be put right inside the recognised workers' movement. We should organise as a body, both in the libertarian movement and the unions. If parties with a worse political record can do better when it comes to industrial influence, it must mean their syndicalists are good, nay better, than ours.

T&G MEMBER.

*Taken from *The Record*, T&G journal.

LETTER

Cheer Up!

Dear Editors,

Mankind as a whole is clearly advancing rapidly towards world-wide catastrophe.

Leaving aside the threat of nuclear war, developments in many independent fields suggest that we are coming to the end of an era. I am thinking of such things as air and water pollution, adulteration and poisoning of food, industrialised agriculture, population expansion (especially urban growth), increasing noise, legal and illegal drug taking, medical malpractices by the majority of doctors and hospitals, and general social fragmentation and alienation.

There is not the slightest indication that our society is capable of dealing with all these grave problems. Governments are increasingly at a loss, and the average man is more and more apathetic (this apathy itself being largely due to his unhealthy environment and habits).

It follows that we should plan for survival, as individuals and small groups, in a world which in our lifetime will gradually sink into chaos. It is too late to dream of converting or saving the majority through anarchism or anything else. Most of the people around us are already dead to all intents and purposes, and we shall simply share their fate if we allow sentimental ideas of democracy and solidarity to obscure that basic fact.

In the big cities of the world, especially, the process of social disintegration is well advanced. Before the end of this century, they will destroy their inhabitants—if not physically, at least mentally and spiritually. There is no human solution, anarchist or otherwise, to big city problems: we must abandon them and try to survive in the villages and small towns.

Even anarchists can be trapped by the lure of big city culture, power and money. Their anarchism will be of little use to them in the city of the future—the near future.

Yours sincerely,

P.L. (Switzerland).