

Freedom

Anarchist Weekly 6d

SEPTEMBER 30 1967 Vol 28 No 30

WHERE DID ALL THE VOTERS GO?

WALTHAMSTOW WEST ELECTED a Tory MP. Not that it matters all that much, telling the difference between the policies of any of the political parties is very nigh impossible.

Where did Labour's supporters go?—they did the most sensible thing anyone can do on polling day, they watched television. *Love Story* was quite good, so I understand.

The Tories are jubilant, why I can't imagine. In terms of votes, they gained possibly a thousand. The Liberals, as usual, claim a victory, they have more victorious defeats than the Communist Party.

The two Independents had a 'go'. The result followed the usual pattern for Independents—they were flattened. It is no good these boys fighting in the top ranks, they cannot give the weight away. I know, I have had my bottom tanned enough times.

Walthamstow is the birthplace of William Morris, the Socialist pioneer. These days Morris is remembered for his artistry, not his politics. Walthamstow Labour Parties, East and West, shudder at the thoughts of Morris's political views.

In Sumner Road in Walthamstow stands the William Morris Hall, it is used by the Labour Party for its socials and political meetings. At the back of the hall above the door on a shelf stands a bust of William Morris. During many a Labour Party Conference, I have seen that bust nearly topple over in disgust. Before he became Prime Minister, Mr. Gaitskell addressed a meeting in the William Morris Hall supporting German Rearmament, and he won the day—I personally caught the bust as it fell off.

Walthamstow Labour Party has always been respectable, never been tainted to any serious extent with Trotskyists. Solid to the core, they produced a couple of Socialist Lords, McEntee and Attlee.

The real left-wingers in the Party surreptitiously take *Tribune*—I don't think I am 'fingering' anyone by reporting such information. One can see how much the Labour Party merits support in Walthamstow.

Jeremy Thorpe said he thought that the abstentions in West Walthamstow were due to people being fed up with politics. I wish I could believe this to be true. Wilson, just prior to the General Election, will produce a few vote-catching plums, and West Walthamstow will be safely back in the Labour fold.

I honestly believe that people doubt the sincerity of Parliamentary politics, but when the crunch comes they go to the polls like lambs to the slaughter. Why? Because they see no alternative, so they attempt to choose the lesser of the evils presented.

The Walthamstow Labour Party have experienced a shock, such a result was never dreamed of, particularly by Fred Silvester, the Tory candidate.

I can definitely report that there will be a post-mortem, someone has got to take the can back in the local Party. Probably some poor bloody Ward Secretary who may have forgotten to organise the cars or postal vote.

Fred was congratulated by Deakins, they both agreed that it was a good clean fight, they both acted like gentlemen. Fred's supporters then sang 'Land of Hope and Glory', whilst Deakins' supporters attempted a feeble rendering of the 'Red Flag'. A jolly good game chaps, Fred will now join the comedians in the House of Commons, proudly sporting John Harvey's (ex-Tory MP, E. Walthamstow) House of Commons Motor Club badge. What a wonderful game this parliamentary lark is, no wonder there are queues of prospective candidates lining up for seats, it's better than working for a living.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

THE NOBLE INTENTION

Britain. They were then quoted as saying that 'for some time we have been observing the activities of Spanish terrorist elements in foreign countries. We discovered that they were planning a campaign of violence in Madrid and other Spanish cities. Following these investigations it was found that a highly suspicious foreigner had entered the national territory and hitch-hiked to Madrid. He was watched constantly and was arrested by police in Madrid.'

Many comrades felt that the news of an anarchist being arrested with explosives in his possession would do a great deal of harm to the movement here. Here again there was confusion and conflicting statements, for although the Spanish authorities alleged that, under close interrogation, Stuart confessed to carrying these and that they were to be used for anti-Franco activities, when the British Vice-Consul was finally allowed to see him, he said that he was innocent.

Whether he was or was not carrying explosives did not seem to be the issue. The fact was that a comrade had been arrested and was facing the possibility of a very long prison sentence.

This has not changed and what we said in August, 1964, still stands. The fact that we have no proof either of the innocence or guilt of our comrade does not affect the issue. Franco's regime

The Stuart Christie Case

WITHIN HOURS of the news of Stuart Christie's arrest becoming known in this country, comrades in London and Glasgow were in telephonic communication. Although many active militants were at that time (August 1964) at the Libertarian Summer Camp in the South of France, there were enough comrades available to set up at once an effective communication system. By Tuesday an office with telephone was hired in the *Peace News* basement which was fully manned day and night by a voluntary staff. A preliminary meeting was called at the Lucas Arms where the Syndicalist Workers' London branch met on Fridays. This was attended by many comrades anxious about Stuart's arrest, and a large amount of money was raised by all those present for campaign expenses. By this time we knew that Glasgow Anarchists, together with the young socialists, had organised a march to the Spanish Consulate. Here in London there was a continuous vigil outside the Spanish Embassy. Two comrades were allotted the task of writing a leaflet which was approved and printed within 24 hours.

The meeting at the Lucas Arms was tense, and many theories were offered as to what might have happened. The most puzzling aspect was that Stuart, before leaving, told all his friends that he was going to the Summer Camp. This, coupled with the fact that Stuart spoke no Spanish, convinced us that he must have been 'framed' or kidnapped.

Instantaneous support came from everywhere. Placards and banners were hurriedly made, a loudspeaker van was fitted up with a hooded man on a garrotte with the slogan: 'This must not happen to Christie!' By Sunday a large demonstration was mounted by the ad hoc Christie-Carballo Committee. Many hundreds marched from Marble Arch to the Spanish Embassy in Eaton Square, where a deputation from the CNT, the SWF and the LFA handed in a letter of protest.

In Glasgow an equally large crowd gathered outside the Spanish



Consulate and burnt the Spanish flag with a swastika on it. There were also demonstrations in many parts of Europe, especially France and Italy.

The committee rooms were inundated with offers of help and, naturally, besieged by the press who, together with television, were giving Stuart's arrest a lot of attention.

Stuart's message from prison to his mother affirming his innocence made us redouble our efforts to help him.

A solicitor, Mr. Benedict Birnberg, was appointed and was asked to find a barrister willing to fly out to the trial. Mr. Niall MacDermot, QC, MP, agreed to do so, for expenses only, waiving his fee.

The Spanish Authorities, afraid of the mounting pressure of press and public opinion, hurriedly announced the date of a trial by a military tribunal. Although Mr.

MacDermot flew over at once, by the time he got there the proceedings were over.

Stuart Christie was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment and Fernando Carballo to 30 years.

Press accounts of the trial further convinced us that Stuart must have been innocent. Reports published in the *Evening News* and the *Standard* mentioned that Stuart got his explosives at the Summer Camp. By this time we had confirmation that he did not go there.

The sentences were unanimously attacked as being savage and Trafalgar Square was booked for a large demonstration the following Sunday.

By this time fantastic rumours circulated in London about the activities of the Spanish special branch in this country and we were more than convinced that Stuart, who was a well-known militant who, furthermore, signed a petition against Franco, must have been closely followed by the special branch and kidnapped.

Continued on page 2

LIARS & BLACKMAILERS

THE BRITISH PRESS lived up to its glorious reputation by lying throughout about the reception given to Stuart Christie at London Airport. The Express Group had tried to blackmail Christie into signing for them exclusively, and said if he did not take their terms they would put out a dirty story (they had a plane for Glasgow and would say 'Grannie waits in vain'); he did not, and they carried out their threat (suggesting he had blackmailed his protesting mother).

However the rest of the press had besieged Receptions. A few friends of Christie's, and London Anarchists (described in the press as a mythical 'League of Anarchists' and being fifty strong, and 'bearded youngsters'—it so happened there were 24 including two beards, one of whom was the hired driver) turned up to welcome him, following his telephone request to be saved from the press. The press surged forward, punching and kicking. This was reported as being the anarchists punching and kicking; it did so happen the press got the worst of it, partly because they had a preconceived notion of anarchists (a group of innocent French hippies were beaten up by some reporters who thought they were the anarchists—they were merely asking, 'Ees eet Monsieur Wilson?')—while the real anarchists were accused of being *Express* hirelings. This led to an exchange of blows with the *Telegraph*, which retreated with a bleeding nose (and named the anarchists in inverted commas next day, still no doubt believing they were *Express* men).

As an eighteen-stone comrade blocked the escalator, and the group with Mrs. Christie, Stuart, and Mr. Birnberg, hurried off to their car, the press hurled

insults like, 'I say, sir, this is hooliganism,' and 'Do you think the *Express* have a monopoly of the press?' to a collection of anarchists ranging from veterans of the Spanish War to those who cut their political teeth on 'Wilson out, anarchy in'. The press alleged that 'anarchists went wild'; in fact, it was the ladies and gentlemen of the press who went wild and 'swept aside' passengers and those waiting for them. One lady, just back from a Continental holiday and clutching her souvenirs, who had tried to get a look in at the television camera, was whisked away down the escalator, shouting, 'Where's Ethel?' while the courteous representatives of *The Times*, *Telegraph* and *Mirror* shook their fists at her shouting 'Beaverbrook thug'.

The BBC announced that Stuart had 'shrugged aside' anarchists just as he and his mother were celebrating their escape from the press in a West London flat. Mrs. Christie's complaint to the press—'we came back to find peace'—was nicely misrepresented in the *Express* as a reproach to Stuart who had arranged to get away from the mob of pressmen. Everyone finished the evening happy and contented, except the disgruntled journalists who fought it out in Fleet Street and then united to write a dirty story on the anarchist movement. Bitterest was the *Express* with its wasted plane, oddest was the *Guardian* who cribbed the *Express* story, most predictable was the *Telegraph*, strangest was the *Mirror* (where did they see 'fifty bearded youngsters'?—they had more than their share to drink, it is true).

A.M.

ANARCHY 80

NEXT WEEK DISCUSSES WORKERS' CONTROL

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

books?

We can supply any book in print

NEW BOOKS

- Communitas**
Paul & Percival Goodman (paperback) 12/-
- What Is to be Done?**
N. G. Chernyshevsky (paperback) 10/-
- Plays, Prose Writings and Poems**
Oscar Wilde 12/6
- The Peckham Experiment**
Innes H. Pearse and Lucy H. Crocker 12/6
- Anarchism**
George Woodcock (Penguin) 7/6
- The Sane Society** Erich Fromm 12/6
- Reluctant Rebels** Howard Jones 32/6
- Character Analysis** Wilhelm Reich 63/-
- Equality and Power** R. V. Sampson 35/-
- Talks to Parents and Teachers**
Homer Lane 10/6
- About Schools No. 2**
(Canadian magazine) 7/-
- Talking of Summerhill**
A. S. Neill 25/-
- Homer Lane: a Biography**
W. David Wills 40/-
- Growing up Absurd** Paul Goodman 21/-
- The Barns Experiment**
W. David Wills (remainder) 3/6
- To Hell with Culture**
Herbert Read 21/-
- Selected Philosophical Works**
Alexander Herzen (Moscow) 10/-
- Love and Orgasm (on Reich)**
Alexander Lowen 37/6
- Authority and Delinquency in the Modern State** Alex Comfort 10/6
- The Ego and His Own**
Max Stirner (paperback) 15/-

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 3736

FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

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

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

E. MALATESTA
Anarchy Paper 1/-

ALEXANDER BERKMAN
ABC of Anarchism paper 2/6

ALEX COMFORT
Delinquency 6d.

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

RUDOLF ROCKER
Nationalism and Culture cloth 21/-

CHARLES MARTIN
Towards a Free Society 2/6

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

VOLINE
Nineteen-Seventeen (The Russian Revolution Betrayed) cloth 12/6

The Unknown Revolution (Kronstadt 1921, Ukraine 1918-21) cloth 12/6

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

GEORGE BARRETT
The First Person (Selections) 2/6

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 STUART CHRISTIE CASE

Continued from page 1

All our press statements and leaflets were to this effect, giving details of the many Spanish political prisoners, and the horrible execution of comrades Delgado and Granados.

Whilst comrades in this country, in all innocence took this line, those returning from the Summer Camp were more realistic.

N. MacDermot, QC, also returned from Madrid, having seen Stuart, and informed the Christie-Carballo Committee that although Stuart spoke to him in the presence of guards, he was nevertheless convinced that Stuart did knowingly carry explosives.

By that time Stuart was in Spanish police hands for three weeks, ill-treated and frightened. For him to have admitted at that stage that he was not a tool but a willing accomplice would have been dangerous and foolish and may have resulted in death by garroting. To have told MacDermot the truth the day after the trial, in the presence of guards and an interpreter, was a typically courageous act by Stuart.

But the campaign for his release in London definitely got off on the wrong foot and collapsed. The meeting at Trafalgar Square was a fiasco. Although the office was maintained for a few more days and letters for help were still sent out, the campaigners lost heart.

It did not take long for armchair critics, within and without the anarchist movement, to attack the Christie-Carballo Committee for telling lies.

This was, strictly speaking, debatable. If you believe that what you say is true but in fact is not, are you telling the truth or a lie?

But from that moment onwards, the Committee never discussed what Stuart did but mainly referred to the savagery of the sentence and contrasted it with Brendan Behan's prison term for gun-running for the IRA when Behan got two years.

Other critics of the Committee attacked it from a different side. They said innocence or guilt was irrelevant in the context. The Spanish State violently imprisoned thousands, they must be opposed by violence. Was Mandela wrong? Were Freedom Fighters wrong?

The more the pity neither the violent nor non-violent critics did damn all to continue where the Committee left off.

News from Stuart came periodically. A friend of his, Ross Flett, managed to see him in prison. Another friend, Barbara Renshaw, persuaded her local MP, Mr. Alfred Morris, to start taking up the case with the Foreign Office who were reluctant to help. Mr. Birnberg persuaded George Gardiner this year to write an article for the *Sunday Times*. He wrote an effective article. By then, Stuart passed his 'A' levels in English, Spanish and history. Letters from him became more frequent and we were all surprised by the maturity of his thinking.

When Stuart decided to make a final appeal, the political situation was in his favour. Spain had just scored a diplomatic victory when the United Nations found in Spain's favour in the case of Gibraltar. As the UN decreed that the referendum was illegal, the result was

THE KNOWLEDGE that the Ewan Phillips Gallery at 22a Maddox Street, W.1, has given its walls over to an exhibition of Cuban Contemporary Art, raised many a justifiable eyebrow and interest among those who arrived at their social conscience via the brush and the printed word for we are now two generations who have lingered too long at the still waters of the time-dated revolutionary Mexican paintings, Russian and German *avant-garde* works of the bloody twenties, American New Deal socially-committed work and the polemic declarations of the Spanish anti-Fascist War.

These belong to an age when the poster rightly became the manifesto and the guide for those who were unable to assimilate the pedantic economic theories of the hour, while a single poem could crush into a few brief and mighty lines the whole content of the volumes of Marx. It was an age when, for a few government dollars, the artist painted the American Dream on the walls of the Federal Post Offices and the actor declaimed the nationalistic virtues of a country and a government that, as a revolutionary experiment, had decided to practice social aid in a society that had ground to an economic halt in the practice of private greed.

Ours is the age when the fratricidal bitterness of the Spanish conflict has finally found its quiescence in the bound volumes of the official histories, and Franco releases one of our comrades, for the slogans of that heroic moment are but the folk tales, the epics and the legends of an age that we fear to emulate. We love to parse the political pronouncements of the Cuban Government and, of our elite knowledge, explain their mistakes, for we will not muddy our hands in the common stream for fear of soiling our writing paper but, by the sheer pressure of social events, we are forced to align ourselves with any individual or group who takes to the streets to demand a measure of social justice.

It is for this reason that we are willing to seek information from the walls of the Ewan Phillips Gallery in the belief

of no importance to Franco. They could afford to show some magnanimity, which may have improved their relationship with Britain. The petition from Stuart's mother came as a good opportunity for them to show benevolence, without being attacked by the falangists for giving in to British pressure.

Now he is back and he has put the record straight. He was a bit surprised that people did not know as he told MacDermot three years ago.

Three years after he is still an anarchist, but his opinions matured. He went to prison as a boy and came out a man. He did not wish to tell lies, therefore he, with his friends' help, avoided the clutches of the *Daily Express*. He does not wish to live in debt (he owes hundreds of pounds to lawyers, etc.), hence he sold the true story to the *People*.

There are many who will line up wholeheartedly behind Stuart Christie. Others will attack him. Let both sides before they adulterate or criticise him, find out what are his thoughts NOW!

But for me—I am happy that he is back with us at last!

JOHN RETY.

A GLASGOW CORRESPONDENT.

'Glasgow' Happening

ON SATURDAY EVENING several people sat down in George Square, the main square in Glasgow, and began an impromptu open-air folk-song concert. Soon a crowd of about 100 had gathered and were joining in. Everyone sat on a green surface called 'keep off the grass'.

For a while the police watched everyone enjoying themselves—a big change for the 'macfuzz' from watching gang fights.

Eventually, unable to come to terms with such 'unconventional' activity they raided the group, arrested five and on Monday they were fined £20 each for 'breach of the peace' and 'malicious damage'.

This was not a hippy demonstration, but one involving Glasgow's working-class youth. As a result the police were not given any flowers. We are glad to say there is still no love for the police in this city.

AROUND THE GALLERIES

that, as in the past, we shall find a revolutionary situation translated into visual terms. Yet here in this basement Gallery, where the Cuban flag greets the Town and the tape recorder plays the revolutionary songs of the Cuban people as a background to the glass-cased Art Jewellery that is the permanent stock of this Gallery, you will find an interesting exhibition of paintings and sculptures by men and women of Cuban nationality but of the revolutionary art that had the Town's Red Guard commuting between the Liberal Assembly at Blackpool and this Bond Street window onto the revolution there is only disappointment well-painted and well-mounted.

In 1965 Che Guevara, the *Voice of the Cuban Revolution*, wrote a letter to the Montevideo weekly *Marcha* and that letter formed the basis for the book *Man and Socialism in Cuba*. It was within this book that Che Guevara attacked and condemned the class art of social realism and condemned the philistinism of Stalin and Krushchev for giving it their official support.

What Che Guevara, and Miguel Barnet of the *Nacional de Cultura* failed to understand, was that in the first revolutionary phase the artist is always given full freedom of expression if he is willing to act as a medium of propaganda and no matter how heroic, trivial or *avant-garde* his work, it will win the support of the secular arm of the revolution providing the artist acts out his ordained role within the struggle. But when the streets return to normal, the dead are buried, the firing-squads go home, and the offices are ready for the new lodgers, then the cultural committees rise from the sewers of the new society. It is then that the artist must obey the official party line as laid down by Church and State for, by their very nature, these organisations are conservative and they cannot and will not

tolerate the poet, the painter or the writer who questions the frame and fabric of the new society, and it is at this moment that the sterility of history finds its place on the official walls and within the official anthologies. These may be bitter words to apply to an exhibition so worthy in its aims, yet I will hold that it is false to its own public pronouncements.

What this Gallery is showing, and within my terms it is worthy of your attendance, is work by painters who, long before Castro achieved power, had established themselves as artists of the international scene. If their work can claim any allegiance, it must be to the American art world that has fostered most of the styles on exhibition. Martinez offers the fashionable pop painting wherein Castro takes the place of the late Miss Monroe. Rodriguez has the fluid death-haunted brushwork of the contemporary Spanish painters, while Diaz Oliva and Urquiola are represented by sculpture of twisted strips of junkyard iron, or the casting into metal of crudely pummelled clay into the easy-achieved three-dimensional version of a Francis Bacon painting.

All honour to these artists and their work but they represent no one but themselves and the plush and expensive galleries of expense account art. The men and the women working within the factories and the fields in Cuba may be producing a new and revolutionary art but, despite the flag hanging gay in the London air and the revolutionary songs surging from the tape recorder to regiment the Town's *beau-monde* as it marches down the suicidal steps of this basement Gallery, we still have to wait for the social historian to attempt to bring us the underground revolutionary art of the peoples of Cuba. And we must wait.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

CD up in Smoke

ONE NIGHT IN July, three friends went out to the Civil Defence block near Portlethen. With them they had a couple of bottles of petrol which they poured down the ventilation shaft. They then soaked a rag in petrol, lit it, and dropped it in.

We have heard that the block was badly gutted by the fire. It was not published in the press, so we decided to send the news to you. We cannot disclose any more news, but I'm sure what has been done is a just act against the Government, and all our acts finally lead to a more free and better world.

A CORRESPONDENT.

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).

Oct. 1 Business meeting. LFA Pre-conference discussion.

Oct. 8. Post-conference social.

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 Room'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 ANARCHISTS meet 1st and 3rd Wednesdays at 4th at M. Dey's, 142 Walker Road, 2nd and 4th Wednesdays at Liz Smith's, 3 Sinclair Road. Correspondence to either address.

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

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

BIRMINGHAM LIBERTARIAN GROUP. All anarchists, syndicalists, individualists, etc., please contact Geoff and Caroline Charlton, top flat, 8 Lightwoods Hill, Smeethwick, Warley, Wors, 25 mins. from Birmingham City centre. No. 9 bus.

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

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 Tuesday in Archway 187 on the Seaford. Admission is free and all poets welcome. 8.30 p.m. onwards.

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

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

EXETER ANARCHIST GROUP. Get in touch with Anthony Webb, 39 Cowick Lane, St. Thomas, Exeter, Devon.

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 Cloves, 46 Hughendon Road, Marshalls, St. Albans, Herts. Friday, September 22 Johnny Funnell on 'Anarchy and Science Fiction', 8 p.m., 48 Lonsdale Road, Stevenage.

HULL ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact J. Contact 34 Durham Street, Holderness Road.

HULL INDIVIDUALIST ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact 34 Outram Street, Holderness Road, Hull, Yorks.

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.

N.W.6. Meetings 8 p.m. every Tuesday. Public meeting Portobello Road, Saturday, September 30, noon, on corner of Lonsdale and Portobello Road, W.11. Speakers: Jim Huggon and others.

LEE, LONDON, S.E.12. Anarchist-Radical Group. Contact 'Paul', c/o Lewisham Group (above).

NORTH SOMERSET ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Roy Emery, 3 Abbey Street, Bath, or Geoffrey Barfoot, 71 St. Thomas Street, Wells.

ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Kent. Meetings every six weeks at Greenways, 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 ANARCHIST GROUP AND 'HIPPI' GROUP. Contact B. P. Norcott, 116 Lower Gippenhall Lane, Slough, Bucks. Meetings every other Friday.

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

SOUTH WEST MIDDLESEX ANARCHIST 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, Chivele, Butts Lane, Keevil, 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 Rattray, 35a Devonshire Road, Chorley.

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

CHORLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Alistair T. Rattray, 35a Devonshire Road, Chorley.

LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST PROPAGANDA GROUP AND 'HIPPI' 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 5702.)

PROPOSED GROUPS

MUCH HADHAM, HERTS. Get in touch with Leslie Riordan, High Street, Much Hadham, Herts.

SHEFFIELD RADICAL GROUP. Contact S.R.G. 31 Harcourt Road, Sheffield, 10.

LONDON: NOTING HILL. Please get in touch with John Bennett and Marilyn Faddy, Flat 4, 88 Clarendon Road, London, W.11 Tel.: 727 9745.

TORONTO, CANADA. Any Torontonians interested in Anarchism please contact Leonard Tarka, 108 Silverhill Drive, Islington, Ontario, Canada.

S.W. LONDON. Syndicalists, Anarchists, Pacifists and Libertarian-Socialists wanted to form S.W. London Libertarians. Correspondence to: Martin Page, 15 Thornton Avenue, London, S.W.2.

EAST DORSET ANARCHISTS. Please contact Tim Deane, 'Juliet', West Moors, Wimborne, Dorset. Ferndown 3588.

ISLINGTON, LONDON. First meeting at the General Picton pub, Caledonian Road, near King's Cross at 8 p.m. Friday, October 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. Gothersgade, 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.

USA: VERMONT. New Hampshire Anarchist Group. Meets weekly—discussion, individual action. 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, Sclémissin-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.

GROUP: OREGON. Australian Anarchist, c/o Melbourne University Union or A.R. Giles Peters, c/o same.

Neither God Nor Master

Concerning 'Ni Dieu ni Maître' (Neither God nor Master).

(Delphes editions, 25 rue des Boulangers, Paris 5e.)

Interview with Daniel Guérin by Luc Decaunes at 'T E P Magazine', Eastern Theatre, Paris, May 5, 1966.

1. Why have you produced this book these days? Is anarchism really up-to-date?

To begin with, I undertook this huge work of 664 pages, bound in black cloth like a bible, containing both history and anthology, because a publishing house came and asked me to. In passing, I should like to congratulate the Nataf brothers, two young journeymen publishers, who, despite very limited means, did not fear to launch out on this courageous venture. As to the present-day relevance of anarchism, the world of publishing everywhere shows some sign of it. In France, in England, in the United States, in Italy, in Holland, in South America, on every side in most recent times there have appeared either complete works on anarchism or selected texts and monographs by great libertarian thinkers. Why is there this present interest?

Firstly, to try to make reparation for an injustice. A philosophy as original and as germinal as anarchism should not have to fall into oblivion. An attempt is being made to bring it out.

Next, because it is apparent that anarchism as a doctrine of social reconstruction is still alive. Of course, it no longer has much weight in today's affairs, but its ideas have survived with greater success than its followers.

By and large, anarchism remains up-to-date on two counts:

First, for a century now, it has perceived and denounced with the voice of prophecy itself, the future misdeeds of an authoritarian and dictatorial socialism, based on an all-powerful State, and directed by a minority which aims to monopolise the science of historical development.

And then, to this type of socialism, it has opposed another which I will call libertarian, founded on contrary notions, working from below upwards and not from the top down, appealing to the creative initiative of the individual and the spontaneous co-operation of the masses.

Today the serious shortcomings of the first type of socialism are felt exactly in those countries which have built that socialism into dogma. On the level of production, it is seen that it is not sufficiently profitable. And, to correct its excesses, one turns, as in Yugoslavia, to the school of the anarchists.

2. Has anarchism had, and does it still have, connections with Marxism?

I would say that anarchism is inseparable from Marxism. Their quarrel is a family one. They are brothers who are at the same time twins and enemies.

They are two variants of the same, single socialism.

Their origin is common. The ideologues who engendered them drew their inspiration from the working-class movement itself, from the effort undertaken by the workers in the nineteenth century with the final aim of liberation from every burden.

Their long-term strategy and final aim are identical. They want to overthrow capitalism, abolish the State, get rid of all their guardian oppressors, and bestow the social wealth on the workers themselves.

On certain of the methods of reaching these aims, they do not disagree. But this does not go for all of them. There are areas of libertarian thought in the writings of Marx as in the writings of Lenin. Malatesta, the great Italian libertarian, observed that almost all anarchist literature of the nineteenth century 'was impregnated with Marxism'. Bakunin was the translator of *Capital* into Russian.

Their century-long disagreement focuses mainly on the timing of the withering away of the State following a revolution, on the role of minorities (conscientious or powerful?) and also on the utilisation of the methods of middle-class democracy (universal suffrage, etc.). Added to this were a certain number of misunderstandings and verbal squabbles.

But the ditch between anarchism and Marxism did not yawn to a gulf until our own time, that is, when the Russian revolution, libertarian and soviet, in October, 1917, had to give way little by little to a formidable State apparatus, a dictatorship and police-state.

Anarchism and the anarchist idea have been liquidated in Russia as have been the soviets themselves.

It is since this time that the bridges have been cut. These bridges, I believe, are there to be rebuilt by the socialists of today. Socialism could yet be regenerated if one succeeded in injecting the anarchist serum into State communism.

3. What useful elements have you found, in the texts gathered in your anthology, for the construction of a socialist society?

These elements are so numerous and so varied that I could not, this evening, enumerate them all. I will limit myself to those I think most important.

To start with, anarchism, since Proudhon, has made itself the advocate of workers' association—what we call today direct action.

Libertarians do not want economic sanction by private capital. Similarly, they reject sanction by the State, for proletarian revolution would be in their view empty of all content if the workers fell under the power of new tyrants: the bureaucrats.

Direct action means workers' control in the factory. The worker frees himself: he is at the same time a producer limited to his special skills and also co-director of the business. He loses his alienation. He also ceases to be a wage-earner. He receives his share of the profits of the business.

But what one has in mind is not the setting up of a kind of collective body of employers, soaked in egoistical interest. All directly-controlled enterprises are unified and interdependent. The only object should be the common good. They follow a plan of interdependence, not bureaucratic, as in State communism, but directed from below and controlled in common by delegates from the various units of production.

Another constructive element in anarchism, is federalism.

The idea of federation was not born in some theorist's brain-box. It grew spontaneously during the French Revolution. In the void created by the foundering of the old absolutist State, the municipalities tried, by federating, to rebuild national unity. The festival of the Federation of July 14, 1790, was that of a voluntary union—a union more solid by far than that imposed by the pleasure of the Prince.

Anarchist federalism means unity without compulsion, i.e. an agreement freely entered into, readily dissoluble, between various basic groups, on the economic as well as administrative level. This pyramid federation links locally, regionally, nationally, indeed internationally, associating at the same time the directly controlled enterprises and the autonomous communes.

Here I should like to recall that the ideas of Lenin on the national question, that is the right of free determination and the right of separation, are borrowed from anarchism.

Again, the soviet republic was in origin a federal republic. Today it is only so on paper.

A third element, which anarchism added later, is revolutionary syndicalism. To assure solidarity and interdependence among the directly-controlled enterprises, and at the same time to animate the communes, primary units of administration, an organisation was necessary stemming directly from the working class and encircling and linking its diverse activities, itself built in federal fashion: such is the role devolving to the trade unions. These, in capitalist society, are simple organs for claims and disputes; in socialist society, they add to their primary function of defending the workers a co-ordinating role, a structural role, an initiating role and a stimulating and educational role. By means of a powerful workers' trade unionism, an indispensable unity can be assured without having to revive the works of the state. In the anarcho-syndicalist Catalonia of 1936, the municipal unit, i.e. the commune, and the local union were the same thing. The CNT tended to merge with the Republic itself.

4. In the revolutionary methods of anarchism, have you found any elements which give a new slant to political affairs?

Anarchism was for a long while simply a doctrine without possibility of application. Then, during the present century, it underwent the test of practical revolutionary activity: during, particularly, the course of the Russian revolution and the Spanish revolution.

The second section of our anthology, the most stirring because the most concrete and living, will be, I believe for many of our readers, a real eye-opener. They will find many things there which are scarcely appreciated or carefully concealed elsewhere.

Take, for example, the extraordinary episode involving the libertarian peasants of Southern Ukraine. Under the driving force of one of them, Nestor Makhno, they made revolutionary guerilla warfare, routing not only the Red Army but also the white interventionist armies of Denikin and Wrangel, set up free soviets at a time when the soviets had already been taken in hand by the bolshevik State, and entered into conflict with the commissars installed in the countryside by the central government. They were finally crushed by a Red Army serving a more and more dictatorial State.

Another episode seems particularly enlightening to me. That was the revolt of the sailors of Kronstadt in March 1921. In our Anthology you will find lengthy extracts from the newspaper which the rebels daily printed: the *Izvestia* of Kronstadt. These sailors were revolutionaries. In 1917 they were on the point of fighting for the communist revolution. Furthermore, they were closely connected with the working class in the factories of Petrograd, then the most important industrial centre in Russia. They dared to clash with the bolshevik powers. They accused the Communist Party of being detached from the masses, of having lost the trust of the workers, of having become bureaucratic. They denounced the taking in hand of the soviets, the State control of the unions. They attacked the all-powerful police machine which weighed on the people, dictating its laws by bullets and terror. They protested against a harsh State capitalism where the workers were nothing but simple employees, exploited as before. They required the re-establishment of soviet democracy, and elections free for all persuasions. Thus, well before the beginning of the reign of Stalin, men of the people were already denounc-

ing in letters of fire the monopolisation of the October revolution by a State communism.

The Spanish revolution has itself shown that despite the tragic circumstances of a civil war soon gravely aggravated by the intervention of foreign power, workers' control can succeed, in the town as in the country, and also the seeking of a reconciliation by libertarians between anarchist principles and the hierarchies and rank, freely adhered to. Here we have evoked the figure of a great anarchist soldier: Durruti.

5. What are the human values which, in your view, form the essence of anarchism?

Anarchism above all values the individual. The free individual is the starting point for anarchist construction of a free society. Here you find again the federalist principle. The individual is free to associate or not to associate, he is always free to break with an association. Such an agreement in the anarchist opinion is far more solid and productive than the so-called social contract of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, in which libertarians see only imposture and social compulsion.

The individual is not a means but an end, the final goal for society. The anarchist wants to help the individual develop to the full, to cultivate and deploy all his creative powers. Society benefits from this in the end as much as the individual, for it is no longer formed of passive beings, servile yes-men, but it is a sum total of free forces, a collection of individual energies.

From this formulation of freedom all anarchist humanism flows, its rejection of religious authority and puritanism in behaviour. In this latter domain, that of sexual liberty, the anarchists, well before Freud, the Rene Guyon rationalists and the existentialists, figured as pioneers.

Tr. G. N. CHARLTON.

How to Start a Work Team

SIXTEEN VOLUNTEERS arrive in a town to undertake a month's work on a planned work project. It's like an ordinary work camp, undertaking voluntary labour—decorating housing association buildings, community centres, youth clubs, old and disabled people's houses; laying out adventure playgrounds and recreation areas; and, when more experienced, erecting partitions, out-houses and single-storey buildings. In any town there are needs that a team of voluntary workers can respond to—first the team would cope with the sorts of jobs mentioned above that are so often ignored by the commercial and welfare systems.

Alongside the basic constructive work is the peace education—using films, a bookstall in the town centre, personal conversations on the work site and in coffee bars and pubs. The main subjects would be war, hunger, apathy, community action, and the different results of work planned in response to need and that done in response to profit.

Accommodation will be in a hall or hostel, as for ordinary work camps. From experience, most of the food and much else will be given by the local producers and retailers. Other necessities can be bought with money collected from door-to-door. People respond well to such a team, even though it is clearly radical pacifist in its approach. The standard of material consumption will undoubtedly be low, but sufficient: the standard of life should be high.

After the project in one town, the team moves on to another place where help has been requested on some work project. In each town the team should gain a few more full-time participants. With an increase in numbers and experience, after a number of month-long projects, the team will be able to split into two and continue separate series of projects in different areas, maintaining an average team size of about sixteen.

With further experience, longer pro-

jects requiring greater community organisation can be undertaken; and peace education can be similarly extended. The team can help Peace Action Groups and radical War on Want branches to start. Later, some team must stop roaming and start a Peace Action Centre in a suitable building, staffed by a full team, still practising the voluntary mutual aid principles. Only at this stage, unfortunately, will a team be able to ask families to join. Before that, team members will mostly be single or married without children. What I aim for is a broad development (co-ordinated but not centralised) of centres and mobile teams, experimenting with many types of work, education and community organisation, in various parts of the country—cities, agricultural areas, new towns, etc.

Where this scheme would differ from conventional work camp organisations is that it would not be a non-political charity, but persist in emphasising the evils behind the needs that exist, and in pointing to the connections between our current way of life and the suffering caused by poverty and war. Secondly, it would not be a holiday activity, but rather a presentation of what values ought to control our everyday lives.

There are two ways of looking at this scheme; both of them are important:

THE IMMEDIATE EFFECTS

In my experience, a programme of constructive work is the best basis for communicating the ideas of unilateralism and non-violence. The fact that you are caring about a local need prompts people to listen to the ideas that you believe in; your work creates a basis for respect, even though agreement may not be reached. Secondly, the work indicates the positive approach which is the reality behind unilateralism. Much of our propaganda talks of what Britain should stop doing, what weapons the Government should scrap—it seems negative, although in reality it is the most positive affirmation of humanity

that we know. The constructive work makes it clear that we affirm our belief in a better way of life. It helps people to compare the creative work that we do and the associated ideas, with the destruction that has been planned by the governments.

I don't believe that what people read in the local and national press about any peace activity is very helpful to our cause. Sometimes the publicity is unsympathetic, and, at best, it's only a few printed words that can easily be forgotten in the barrage of establishment propaganda. Peace education, I would say, requires personal contact, conversation, involvement and challenge. The work camp situation provides a good setting for this sort of contact. Young people can join in at weekends, help in whatever work is being done and talk with a variety of team members on a personal level. (The team would take its 'weekend holiday' in mid-week.) Whether they join or not, I believe they will have gained more from the personal encounter than they could from any literature.

To sum up this section, I believe that the scheme I propose will be better than most methods of campaigning for the ideas we believe in; but I also believe that it will be something more.

THE WIDER IMPLICATIONS

Because it is difficult and distant, we can't shirk the job of preparing for the sort of human society that would be a full expression of the ideas we hold. I would call it a non-violent society, but this is not very different from what many non-authoritarian socialists and constructive anarchists speak of. It seems to me quite possible to initiate pilot schemes of the sort of society we want to achieve. What I aim for is a team practising the values of the non-violent society in the midst of present-day towns and cities; to draw people into this way of life, expand its scope, continuously

Continued on page 6

Lord Cameron's Biased Report

THE RECENT report of the Court of Inquiry, headed by Lord Cameron, into the Barbican and Horseferry Road disputes, is a document which is not only biased against workers, but also exceeds its terms of reference when it recommends alterations to the Working Rule Agreement of the industry. It is not only a vicious attack on union democracy in the building industry, but could also set a precedent for similar inquiries into other industries. As such, it is anti-trade union and recommends proposals which are an attack on the working class of this country.

However, before I examine the report and its recommendations, I think it is important to give a picture of the building industry, as it faces the operatives. I, myself, have worked in the industry since I was sixteen and I think that my experiences are far from uncommon. The first thing that often astonishes outsiders is the casualness of the employment, not only of general labourers, but also of craftsmen, who may have served apprenticeships and achieved educational diplomas for the skill and knowledge of their trade.

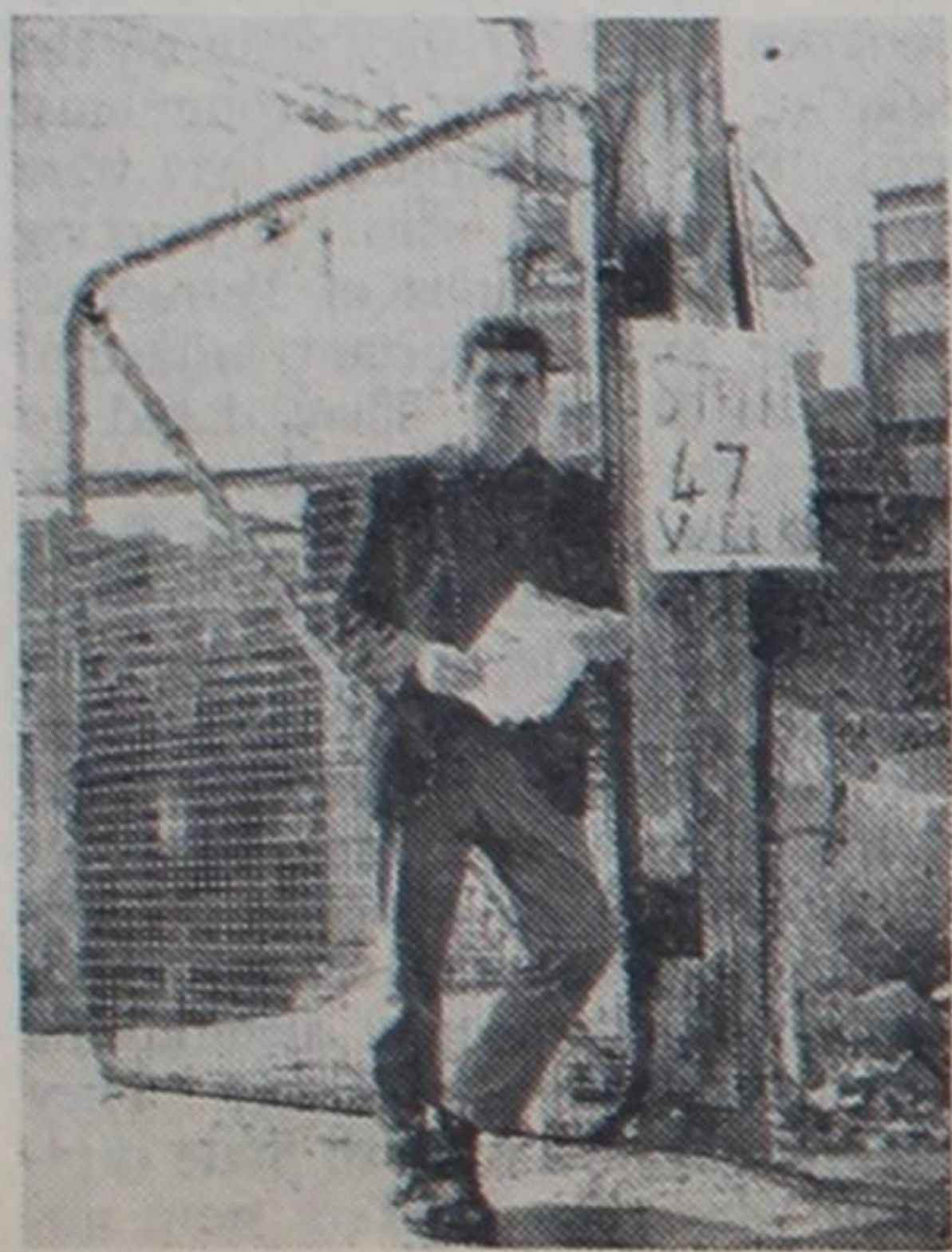
We have been described as 'dry land sailors' and it is not unusual for a building worker to have worked for as many as six different employers during the course of a year. Only about half of the employees in the industry belong to a union and the blame for this situation must be laid at the door of the unions. Time and time again they have been either unable or unwilling to press for high basic rates of pay or adequate working conditions.

An industry such as ours needs effective trade union organisation, probably more than one which is on a more permanent basis. Its temporary nature poses tremendous problems for trade union organisation, but there has not been any real attempt to overcome these by the trade union leadership.

THE JUNGLE

Many readers have, no doubt, watched building workers from the public viewing platforms provided by the companies, but do they know of the appalling conditions under which many operatives work? I admit it is often difficult to provide decent facilities in the first stages of some sites, but many companies do not even bother to try. I have had my tea in a damp dirty cellar of the type revealed under the pavement when sites are excavated. I've known sites where two 'sentry boxes' were provided for about 100 men and where the site agent could not be bothered to have lavatory pans connected to an already existing drainage system. These conditions are not just confined to small companies, for large concerns like Tersons and Wallis, have on some sites been reluctant to supply washing facilities and workers wash themselves, in the middle of winter, in an old oil drum filled cold water.

Of course, the workers on these sites just don't sit back and accept these appalling conditions, but try to organise themselves. However, what happens in many cases is that once a shop steward is elected by his workmates, the company immediately sacks him or finds some excuse to transfer him to another site. In a lot of instances, companies are unsuccessful with these tactics, but in many cases they succeed. This is because of the combination of ineffectiveness of union officials and lack of experience by many workers in trade union organi-



LOU LEWIS
Federation Steward
on Myton Site

sation. I have, while being a steward, met craftsmen who are in their sixties and yet have never belonged to or been approached with a view to joining a trade union.

It is an industry which is, for the most part, a jungle and a very dangerous one at that, where many managements

do just what they like, often breaking the WRA of the industry, where men are sacked one day, for no real reason, and others are taken on the next and where men are injured and the companies get out of their responsibilities.

While a Court of Inquiry is set up to look into the two disputes, it is pertinent to ask 'why isn't the industry looked into as a whole?' Effective union organisation will inevitably bring about conflict with the management, but what about the hundreds of cases where employers get out of paying redundancy payments and even when these are taken through the dispute procedure, long delays are experienced because the employers find ways of delaying these meetings.

This is the jungle background to the Barbican and Horseferry Road disputes, one which can only be tamed and made tolerable by effective trade union organisation at site level. This is exactly the sort of organisation that had been built up on both these sites and from this it is obvious that conflict and disputes would occur.

On both sites, either all the operatives, or a section, had been involved in a number of strikes and work-to-rules, several of which had gone through the disputes machinery, with the men's case usually being upheld. The unofficial action was always condemned, but the final decision vindicated this. However, trade unionists throughout the industry are suspicious of the disputes machinery and this is justified, because not only does it delay and postpone the issue, but the trade union leaders who sit on the panels are usually only too willing to side with the employers and ignore the just claims of their members. Direct action often helps to bring these union leaders into line and shake the employers who arbitrate on these panels.

THE MYTON DISPUTE

The closing by Mytons of the Barbican site was preceded by strike action taken by the whole site when the management sacked three steel-fixers for unsatisfactory production, at a time when the site was operating a work-to-rule because the bonus scheme was unacceptable to the scaffolders. The management claimed that they could not relax the bonus targets and that they would refer the matter to an Incentives Panel in accordance with the WRA.

On October 3, Mytons warned the Works Committee (shop stewards' committee), in the following words: 'During the suspension of the bonus scheme the management wish to make it clear that the minimum amount of work expected is that shown in the existing targets. Operatives are warned that any reductions will not be accepted as sufficient. All work is being measured and continual output below basic targets will be

grounds for the termination of the individual's employment.'

On the day the three steel-fixers, one a steward, were sacked, the disputes panel met and agreed that there was a basis for discussion to relax the targets. However, the important thing that came out in Myton's evidence to the inquiry, and which has an important bearing on the dispute, is that production was hindered by the continual alterations to the plans by the architects responsible for the design of the contract. The Cameron Report admits this, but then attacks the Works Committee by saying, 'The consequence of this was to create further difficulties in the operation of the bonus scheme and to provide opportunity for those who wished to cause trouble to do so. We accept the contention that the Works Committee, under the leadership of certain individuals—exploited these difficulties in order to keep the site in a constant state of ferment and also that the union officials directly concerned had lost effective control of the Works Committee and its members.'

First of all, why should workers' bonus earnings suffer because of the 'unusual number of changes in instruction and of design in the course of carrying out this contract'? Surely this is a management problem, to be settled between them, the architect and the clients. In any case, Mytons did not inform the Works Committee or the district union officials of these problems. Secondly, the job of the district union officials, as the Cameron Report implies, is not to control the Works Committee, but to assist and advise them in matters of dispute with the management.

The evidence given at the inquiry shows that the men were quite justified in coming out on strike to defend the jobs of the steel-fixers. Even Mr. Eaton, the regional secretary of the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives, had recommended that the dispute should be officially recognised by the respective Executive Councils. Mytons then decided to close the site 'for an indefinite period'.

On November 1, the Executive Council of the NFBTO recommended that an immediate return to work should be arranged and that the company should be asked to withdraw the dismissal notices. Mr. Eaton met the district officials of the unions to discuss the decision of the Executive Committee, which instructed the District Secretaries to 'direct their members to return to work forthwith' in order 'that proper negotiations shall be opened with the firm with a view to establishing normal work on the site'.

The men accepted this and returned to work. The report says, 'There appears to have been a general belief among men

on the site, and among union officials involved, that a return to work would mean that the notices issued on October 28 would eventually be withdrawn. This belief appears to have sprung from the reference in the Executive Committee's instructions to "establishing normal work on the site". On November 3 the site reopened and Mytons received an enquiry, via Mr. Jayne of the employers' association, from Mr. Weaver, General Secretary of NFBTO, asking whether, in view of the return to work, Mytons would withdraw the notices. The company replied that they would not and so, the following day, when the notices expired, the work on the contract came to a halt.

STOOD BY THEIR STEWARDS

Although the unions reached an agreement with Mytons for the reopening of the site without six members of the Works Committee, so far this has not been achieved. When Mr. Eaton explained the agreement to the employees of Mytons, they rejected it and said they would not return without these six stewards.

On two occasions Mr. Eaton has failed to get the Myton lads back. The Cameron Report says that men employed by Turriffs and Laings 'deterred any operatives who had arrived intending to start work', and later it says that Mr. Eaton was the only union official allowed to address the meeting. He outlined the agreement the union had reached with the firm and advised the men to start work; the meeting subsequently voted not to resume work until the question of the re-employment of the six had been dealt with through the industry's disputes machinery.

Mr. Eaton addressed a second meeting in March, after the National Disputes Committee had concurred with the union-management agreement, and again tried to persuade the Myton lads to return without their stewards, but once again the men refused to go back. In April, Mytons made a desperate attempt to open the site with a new labour force. According to the report they only managed to get 14 men who were willing to scab at a time when there was considerable unemployment in the industry. The coach carrying these men was turned away by a picket line, which had been reinforced by men from other sites in London. No attempt has been made by Mytons since this to reopen the site.

THE SUNLEY DISPUTE

In FREEDOM, 24.12.66, I wrote that the Sunley's management had provoked a strike by introducing a gang system of bonus payments, which would have meant that as many as 50 gangs would have been getting different bonuses, each competing with the other. Sunley's site

Festival—What Festival?

IF EVER THIS country gets round to putting a man on the moon, it should choose an Edinburgh man. No other could be so acclimatized, so much at home in rarefied atmosphere. Huff and puff as much as you like in this city, you will still not muster enough hot air to blow up a balloon, let alone run a Festival.

Scotland's capital is perhaps the most beautiful city in the world; it is certainly the most Protestant. It is austere, devout, puritanical; it is also bigoted, arrogant and dour. Each year, when the Festival comes round, it is like a dram too much.

For this reason, perhaps, the Festival is something of a sinister, indoor affair, the frivolities hidden away, so to speak. Any unsuspecting visitor would have every right to gasp: 'Festival? What Festival?', were it not for the fast multiplying, semi-degenerate lumps of proto-plasm, better known in less Calvinistic circles as young people, congregating outside galleries, theatres and folk-song pubs. There are few indications, apart from the occasional multi-coloured Fringe poster or an AA sign, that anything at all is happening in the capital, never mind an international Festival. Ironically, though, local people still talk in terms of the city 'coming alive' for these three weeks. The mind boggles at the other 49.

Hypocrisy nowadays, rather than shame, is the prevalent attitude to the Festival in this city. Edinburgh people—the ones who count—and do most of the counting where money is concerned—are a profoundly narcissistic lot. Ogle other people's anatomy you may not; ogle your own, you may. For them, the

Festival is just another splendid feature of their much contemplated, over-exposed navel. The City Fathers, squatting like Gargoyles on the Royal Mile, eulogise the culture vultures with one hand and knock off a third of their Corporation grant with the other. Observe, too, the startling progress of the city's much vaunted opera house. You can view it, any time after Venus de Milo has grown live arms. Until that time, Edinburgh can well and truly sing for it.

One wonders, at this point, what in fact happens to the ratepayers' money, considering that the rates here are the highest outside London. Well, last year Lord Provost Herbert (*Ulysses* is the most disgusting film and should be publicly destroyed) Brechin went to the Commonwealth Games in Jamaica—himself, wife and son, that is—flaunting a specially prepared, lavishly illustrated brochure about Edinburgh, and promising at least a £1m. scheme for the Games. To the astonishment—and horror—of those clued up on Edinburgh politics, it was accepted. Later, with the Right Hon. Herbert jaunting round Russia (and incidentally crashing through a chair at a civic dinner in Kiev), the Council decided to axe expenditure down to £650,000—presumably with a more feasible papier maché scheme in mind—thus bringing down the wrath of Games officials.

Meanwhile, back in the Kremlin, Provost Brechin was hurriedly bowing out, leaving behind him a bottle of Leith whisky for Mr. Kosygin and receiving in turn from same a bottle of vodka. (Only later did officials discover the

terrible boob. Both men were staunch teetotalers.)

By this time, Corporation meetings had become something of a Festival in themselves, with councillors giving performances so uproarious that even the Traverse Theatre could be green with envy. Only the opening bars of the city's 21st Festival drowned out the ensuing drama. Herbert, meantime, hot-foot from Russia, had seen to it that the Official Festival Club, where last year he had been witness to scenes of unbridled lechery and snogging to boot, was fettered with entrance regulations, so vindictively complex and ruthlessly enforced, that attendances crashed. It could only happen in Edinburgh, thank God.

Against this background of hypocrisy, bigotry and farce, the Festival is played out amidst—sheer indifference. This is, perhaps, the most disturbing aspect of the affair. For the majority of Edinburgh people, living in slum tenements or in new Corporation flats down in Leith, the Festival means next to nothing. It is—like the faintly heard strains of the Tattoo—a distant affair, for visitors, for other folk. Those agencies, so highly vaunted for their mass appeal—like the Pop Theatre, Pop Poetry, or Pop Art—have failed signally to stand out in this three-week cluster of non-events. They have, instead of converting and changing them, become a part, fossilized and eternally preserved from genuine popularity. Like the Traverse, the Pop Theatre and the Fringe Poetry sessions have an inherent tendency to attract the most esoteric and exclusive of people. The performances become so

many People To See and Places To Be Seen At. The dress, the language, the lifestyles knit together and form a sub-culture so self-sufficient and complete in detail that one wonders whether the actual performance being put on is merely incidental to the main business of social intercourse and display. The externals—the surroundings—become part of it; the shadow becomes the substance; the medium, the message.

But more than this perhaps, sheer economics, rather than social style, is the main factor explaining the growing rift between Festival and city. The cheapest price for most of the concerts is 12/6d.; for the Traverse plays, 7/6d. plus membership fee; for the Festival films, 7/6d. and over; for galleries and exhibitions, the variations are again on a considerably higher theme than those of last year. Each time I tell my friends I can't afford to be audio-tactile on £8 per week, it has a cathartic effect, arousing an immediate, sympathetic response and confessions all round to the effect that they see more of the Festival on television than they would otherwise care to admit.

Nothing is really new in Edinburgh. Unlike London, where each visit reveals for me a city barely recognizable from the last, it has a built-in resistance to anything that is new-fangled or modern, and any real experimentation during the Festival has an even chance of being killed stone dead. In any other city it may be possible to drag the sculptures out of damp dingy halls, to bring poetry and painting onto the streets, where it would really matter, and music, freed from concert hall formalities, into the

open. Then we would have a festival worthy of the name, more accessible, tangible, meaningful than any we have yet had. It is because, to a large extent, all these things are locked away, shut in behind doors, and priced beyond the reach of the mass of people, that they remain commodities, meaningless lumps of experience, remarkable neither for their beauty nor their wonder.

Such—and more—is the myth of Edinburgh's Festival. It is 21 years old this year, yet has still no real breakthrough to celebrate, no startling success, no promising hope for its future. It remains, as culture of this type normally does, something of a middle-class affair, blown up out of all proportion to its meaning or permanent worth. No doubt, for years to come, the trumpets shall sound. But here in Edinburgh, you can hardly hear them for the yawns.

Sept. 1967

BILL JAMIESON.

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

on Eleven Months of Struggle

management also wanted the men to clock in for work, already wearing their working clothes, a thing unheard of on building sites. A stand obviously had to be made and the men took strike action. The management called upon the Works Committee to get the men back, but at a mass meeting it was decided not to return and so Sunleys sacked the entire Works Committee for 'industrial misconduct'.

At the Court of Inquiry, the company admitted they had provoked the strike in order to sack the Works Committee and said that Mr. Mills, the President of the NFBTO and executive member of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, had said that 'the troublemakers should be sacked'. He said he would be a member of the NOC and would be sympathetic to the management's case. This was said at a meeting held in the office of Sir Cecil Mant, Controller-General of the Ministry of Public Building and Works, a Government official who was in full knowledge of the plans of the management. In fact Sunley's later wrote to him informing him of what they were going to do.

In provoking this strike, the company broke a 'status quo' procedure agreement, which was to be operated for a month. It would mean 'that a return to the situation prior to the dispute would exist until negotiations have taken place before the management take any disciplinary action'. The management, or rather that directional level of management, broke this agreement, made by Mr. Nutt, the contracts manager, and so, as the report said, 'In acting as they did, however, we are of the opinion that the company were immediately responsible for bringing about this stoppage of work and were to blame in certain important particulars. They destroyed the authority of their own officer, Mr. Nutt, they deliberately broke agreements entered into with full authority by Mr. Nutt only a few days before. They were in breach of their obligation and the WRA and they "failed to make full use of the industry's own conciliation machinery".'

Despite this criticism of the company, the Cameron Report recommends that the Federation Secretary, Jack Henry, and the other members of the Works Committee, should not hold any stewards' credentials on this site when it is reopened. They found the company guilty and punished the Works Committee. They even say they do not want to criticise those who attended the meeting in Sir Cecil Mant's office and go on to say: 'Such meetings and discussions are a regular occurrence in industry and have a proved and recog-

TRAVESTY OF JUSTICE

nised value in the promotion of good industrial relations.' No criticism is made of Sir Cecil Mant, who in actual fact endorsed Sunley's action.

JOINT SITES COMMITTEE

The Cameron Report claims that the Federation steward on the Barbican, Lou Lewis, and on Horseferry Road, Jack Henry, were members of the London Building Workers' Joint Sites Committee. The Report accepts the statements of both companies 'as to the alleged extent to which the disputes and disruptive activities were fomented by this Committee or through its agents, members or other persons acting on its behalf'. In other words, the Cameron Report thinks that the Joint Sites Committee had control of both the Works Committees and yet all decisions were taken by the men on the sites.

The Court had power to subpoena witnesses to give evidence about the Joint Sites Committee and still they accepted the evidence of Sunleys and Mytons and referred to leaflets and articles in papers that this Committee was behind the disputes on the two sites. The Report then says that 'From the evidence presented to us it seems sufficiently established that this is an organisation of shop stewards on London construction sites which owes no allegiance to any recognised industrial organisation and which has taken no part in any regular negotiations concerning wages and conditions of workers on these sites, nor has it claimed any right or interest to do so.'

The Report goes on to say that the Committee is 'unnecessary', but this conclusion is quite outside the purpose of the inquiry. It is because the unions, and in particular the NFBTO, have abandoned regular meetings of stewards for the purpose of consultations and co-ordination, that the Joint Sites Committee has come into existence. It fills a gap caused by the lack of militancy and drive by the unions.

OUTSIDE ITS REFERENCE

The Cameron Report again goes outside its terms of reference when it recommends changes in the WRA concerning the election of stewards. It says that these should be supervised by local union officials and notice should be published in a recognised channel. The election should be by ballot. 'On taking office members of the Committee should be required to give a written undertaking to abide by the rules not only of their own union but the WRA under penalty of suspension, dismissal from the Committee and disqualification from holding

office for the future in the discretion of the appropriate authority, which would in effect in this event be the selected officer or committee of the NFBTO. In addition we recommend that no credentials should be given to a Federation steward from whom credentials have previously been withdrawn.'

The Report infers, without any evidence, that both Jack Henry and Lou Lewis got themselves elected for the 'mischievous desire to disrupt and subvert'. This is just rubbish and the recommendation on the ballot for the election of shop stewards is just a method to try to prevent militants from holding these offices. The supervision by local union officials could mean that these men could see to it that their own choice is given preference. The way that stewards are elected now guarantees that the members elect the steward they want and replace him easily if they want to.

The Report tells the unions to instruct their members not to donate money to unofficial organisations or strikes. The

sympathy with the Works Committee.

The proposals for a return to work at Mytons are those that were agreed to by the unions and management in February, but surely it is still up to the men to decide if they want to go back without their stewards. Again they are not to be consulted, and surely this is a decision that should and must be taken by the men employed on the site before it was closed down.

The Court does not see why the site should not reopen on the basis of the February agreement and says, 'This is all-important in that it will enable the unions to regain control of the situation which they have temporarily lost. If the site is again reopened on these terms, "picketing" would neither have union support nor statutory basis, and, therefore, the preservation of peace and the right of individuals to pass freely to and from the site on their lawful occasions is a matter for the law to secure if attempts are made to infringe or prevent its exercise.' It seems that either the Court is trying to make its own laws or

In the recommendation for the return to work, the Court says that stewards on the sites should be appointed and not elected. This is company unionism and is totally alien to the democratic method by which stewards are at present elected. While the Court blames the Sunley's management for provoking the strike, it recommends that the members of the Works Committee should not hold the positions of stewards. This is a complete travesty of justice, for the Court also goes on to recommend that the site be reopened with the agreements on bonus, and clocking-in should be the same as those in operation before the site was shut down.

The only reason for the victimisation of the Works Committee is because, in the opinion of the Court, they were under the control of the Joint Sites Committee. The whole report is aimed at destroying this Committee and its recommendations are intended to restore the authority of the union executives and the NFBTO over the rank and file. Some might say it is 'inexplicable' that 'a man with the experience and reputation of Mr. Danny McGarvey should have allowed his name to be appended to such an anti-trade union document'. But surely, as a union leader himself, he has faced similar situations from his own members. Danny McGarvey might attack the Government's legislation on incomes, but when it comes to the rank and file undermining the authority of their executives, McGarvey is on the employers' side of the fence. This Report should be thrown out by the building workers. Union executives will obviously try to implement the recommendations. However, the rank and file should resist any attempts, by them, to control the activities and infringe on the democracy that exists in their unions.

If the Myton lads again vote against returning without the six stewards, then every effort should be made by building workers on other sites to ensure that the site is not opened with 'scab' labour. Building workers previously employed by Sunleys should insist less on going back with their original Works Committee. All rank and file union members should make every effort to prevent the introduction of the recommendation of appointed stewards.

It is up to the rank and file building workers to bring final victory to eleven months of struggle and to prevent the union executives and employers from putting site union organisation into a straitjacket.

P.T.



Myton Workers Vote—
Not to Return without their Stewards

executives of unions already do this, but surely this is up to individuals, anyway, and has nothing to do with the inquiry. The whole tone of the Report is biased against any form of militancy. 'Goodwill' is supposed to settle everything and any stand made in defence of conditions is condemned. Even local union officials are condemned for having acted in

just does not know the Trades Disputes Act, 1906, for this Act says nothing about pickets being illegal when they have not got the backing of a union. I think building workers know the law on picketing far better than Lord Cameron and will not be intimidated by this lie.

The Burning of the Reichstag

ON THE NIGHT February 27, 1933, a fire broke out in the palace of the Reichstag, the seat of the German national parliament. The first one to be arrested was the young Dutchman, Marius van der Lubbe, who declared himself to be the author of the fire. Later three Bulgarians, who happened to be in Berlin at this time of crisis, were arrested: George Dimitrov, Taneff and Popov, who were, along with the German leader, Ernest Toergler, implicated in the trial as accessories and instigators of the crime.

The affair explained itself: as Mussolini and Fascism arrived in Italy in 1922 with the complicity of the political parties and Parliament, so, in Germany, Hitler and the Nazis gained power with the aid of the Reichstag; hence a blow at the Reichstag meant a blow at the coup d'etat which had destroyed the Weimar Republic. In fact, elections were in progress to confirm Hitler's Chancellorship, and the Nazi supporters eagerly seized on the Reichstag fire which they attributed to the Communists. This let loose a flood of speculation in which the Communists themselves took part, refusing, like the Nazis, to believe that Van der Lubbe did it alone, and blaming the fire on to the Nazis.

The trial took place the following December in Leipzig, and the main theme was as follows: although Van der Lubbe was declared to be the sole author of the fire, the Nazis exerted themselves to show he had acted on behalf of the Communists, who, meanwhile, had already convinced the rest of the 'anti-fascist' world that Van der Lubbe was a poor weakling who had been used as a tool by the Nazis. In the end, the prosecutor of the Nazi dictatorship had to declare that he was unable to

prove that the three Communists had been implicated and he asked for their discharge on the grounds of insufficient evidence. On behalf of his fellow Communists Dimitrov made this statement, reported textually in *Humanité*, official organ of the French Communist Party (17.12.1933): 'Finally, I must say that I do not accept the conclusions of the Procurator General who asked for our discharge because of "lack of evidence", since this leaves the shadow of suspicion on we Bulgarians. I do demand, therefore, that Van der Lubbe be condemned for having harmed the proletariat, and that we should be indemnified for the time we have wasted here.'

On December 23 following, Van der Lubbe was condemned to death, while the three Bulgarian Communists were released and taken by air to Moscow where George Dimitrov became the Stalinist secretary of the Comintern. Van der Lubbe was decapitated on January 10, 1934.

After the end of the Second World War and the disappearance of the Nazi dictatorship, there were people who remembered the strong support that Van der Lubbe's declarations had aroused in Germany, especially in Holland, where he was known for his sincerity as a militant revolutionary, and then in France and other parts of the world where the anarchists were almost unanimous in defending the man, his statements and his deed. The newspaper, *Adunata*, has tried to follow this affair through the opposition press and has often gone ahead of the progress of the research. We can now inform our readers that the sincerity of Van der Lubbe, who was the hostage of the Nazis and a decoy for the Stalinist dictatorship, has been confirmed by a Tribunal of the City

of West Berlin, where the case of Van der Lubbe was re-examined last June. The Italian newspaper *Messaggero Veneto*, on June 24, 1967, stated, in an article by Mario Passati from West Berlin:

'The ghost which appeared before the Court of Appeal in Berlin was that of Marius van der Lubbe, the twenty-four-year-old bricklayer who was protagonist of the most clamorous trial of this century: the Trial of the Burning of the

stag as a protest against Hitlerite violence.'

'Neither the judges who condemned him to death, nor the historians who later studied the case, wished to believe Van der Lubbe's statements that he had acted alone, and had made his act of protest without instigation from anyone. It was his brother who asked for his rehabilitation by the Court of Appeal in Berlin, whose verdict has aroused so



Reichstag on February 27, 1933, which provoked, or at least served as a pretext for, the Nazi coup d'etat. On the accused's bench sat the Bulgarian Dimitrov who defended himself by attacking the Nazis, and the young Van der Lubbe, who confessed to having fired the Reich-

stag as a protest against Hitlerite violence.

'The magistrates have, in fact, absolved Marius van der Lubbe from the charge of high treason, as a result of which he was condemned to death, but have changed the sentence to one of eight years' imprisonment for malicious incen-

dium, rejecting the claim of the defence who maintained that his defunct client had acted from political motives, and therefore merited rehabilitation.'

It will be seen that the judges of post-Nazi Germany are not much more enlightened than those of the Hitler period. Marius van der Lubbe had, in any case, already been condemned as an instrument of the Nazi tyranny in the so-called 'International Trial' in London, where nearly all serious anti-fascists agreed in swallowing the Stalinist detective stories. But the affair is still not closed because Van der Lubbe's brother has now turned to the Supreme Court in Karlsruhe, invoking a recent law by the Parliament in Bonn, which 'permits resort to the Supreme Court for the cancellation of sentences passed during the Nazi period against the opponents of Hitler'.

'It does seem strange,' writes the above-mentioned Passati, 'that a man can be condemned for malicious incendiaryism who, without any doubt, acted from political motives.'

But all this has now academic value only, so far as the condemned man is concerned. What has been irrevocably established is the fact that he had always told the truth, that he acted alone, free from any political subordination, moved only by his own love of liberty and by his hatred of Nazi barbarity and political hypocrites.

This is just what has always been maintained by his Dutch friends and comrades who knew him, and by the anarchists of Europe and America, who have defended him from denigrations by Nazi, Fascist and Communist politicians.

From *L'Adunata Dei Refrattari* (New York)

tr: j.w.s.

WORKS TEAMS

Continued from page 3

undertake more difficult tasks and experiment with more basic areas of production. The first teams might best be regarded as experiments in voluntary relationships.

Here are some of the qualities of the scheme which are important for long-term radical changes:

1. While, every day, the team would be contributing more than most in real work, and putting their effort in where it is most needed, they would not be paying taxes which finance the government's war making and other activities.
2. The profit motive has created false objectives for production. What is needed is not necessarily profitable, and vice versa. We must achieve a revolution in values which makes response to need the prime factor in planning our daily work. Response to need will take the team to the poorest part of the town, whereas commercial activity is best done in the parts that are already well provided for. Voluntary work tends to create equality, whereas work done for a profit motive tends to increase the gap between rich and poor, both in Britain and at the international level. Participation in the commercial world also tends to prepare people for war-like attitudes—competition, protection of privileges, control of markets and sources of raw materials, anti-communism or anti-imperialism. The qualities of caring and giving that are normal to voluntary work situations, train people for co-operation.
3. The team would provide a good training ground for the internal sense of responsibility that is essential for a society in which the relevance of central authority must be steadily reduced.
4. This sort of work can provide a complete life for the participants, finding value in the working, social, cultural and personal relationships. It avoids the depressing feeling of banging your head against a brick wall, because the main work is visibly constructive.
5. The way of organising this work almost inevitably (I hope!) avoids the development of bureaucracy and the wastage of capable people in offices, producing vast quantities of paper. We who want to express our care for human needs are often not very capable of doing the actual work that is wanted. Team members will continually learn skills that enable them to give practical aid.
6. We need to provide more opportunities for people who want, at least for a period, to work full-time for the principles that they believe in.
7. Through gaining confidence in achieving local changes with the help of a voluntary work team, we should be able to help people escape from the apathy created by our present political system and create the confidence that war-making and

exploitative systems can be starved of support.

8. Having lost any hope that the Labour Party can be the agency of the sort of principles we hold to, we must start to create an alternative approach to politics, and to life, which does not depend on competing for power at the centre of the system. We can no longer hope to elect people to solve our problems for us; we must do it ourselves, in whatever ways we can find.
9. We can't only use word-propaganda and hope that millions of people can contain in their minds a century's leap of ideas until one day the whole system switches over to a better way of life. We must start creating a real expression of our beliefs which people can see, support and join. We must be involved in productive work on a new basis if we want radical change, it can't come through fine words and spare-time activities.
10. We must find some agency for re-creating a better spirit of community care, rather than the current welfare state system which tends to herd together different categories of dependent people into separate institutions.
11. One desirable characteristic of voluntary work is that workers' control is inevitable. Orders don't make much sense when the line of authority created by the wage-pocket is absent.
12. I hope that this scheme will also provide a good basis for the support of non-violent direct action. Participants won't have to refuse involvement for fear of losing their jobs. If there are peace army type activities abroad that require volunteers who are mentally and physically prepared and available at short notice, these teams might provide such volunteers. Indeed the experience gained in working with such a scheme would be beneficial for anyone, but particularly those who want to undertake service abroad or community work in Britain.

HELP

Volunteers are needed who can be free for at least a few months. They need not be skilled. It is important that volunteers should be in sympathy with both the immediate and long-term aspects of the scheme.

Is there a work project which we could undertake in your district? Unfortunately not many people in the peace movement are much involved in local needs. But I ask those who are, or those who want to, to assist the scheme by finding useful work projects that the first team can undertake.

Money will be needed too, to purchase equipment and tools for the start of the first team. From then on, the team should be self-financing in whatever town it works in.

Borrowdale, Carriage Drive, Frodsham, Cheshire
BARNABY MARTIN.

The Mersey Sound

PENGUIN MODERN POETS No. 13 (The Mersey Sound)—Henri, McGough, Patten. Penguin Books Ltd. 3/6d.

GINSBERG has called Liverpool 'the present centre of the consciousness of the human universe'. An astrologer I know believes that one of the Grand Masters of Egypt is reincarnate in Liverpool and is spreading his good vibrations over a three-mile area around the city. My own explanations of the thriving culture and lively awareness of the place are usually more prosaic.

Guy Gladstone, in his article about the Provos for *Twentieth Century*, points out that it is the dock areas of the world which are producing a living art. In these places—Amsterdam, San Francisco, Liverpool and perhaps Newcastle—the strong local culture of a cosmopolitan population is benefiting from contact with the refinements of middle-class education, and at the same time resisting its negative values and irrelevant imagery. The contradictions and struggles which result are being resolved in fresh and basic art forms.

The Three 'Liverpool Poets'—Adrian Henri, Roger McGough and Brian Patten—have become well known through radio and television appearances, poetry readings, their own small magazine *Underdog* which was first sold round the beat-clubs, individual collections, a number of glossy books by outsiders with money behind them and an LP record of readings.

But the most significant thing to happen to them, and the most fortunate judging by recent events inside Penguin Books Ltd., is their inclusion in the Penguin Modern Poets series at number thirteen. This makes Patten the youngest poet to be represented in the series and, since he left school at fifteen, probably the one with the least formal education. (Not something he regrets, however. 'Poet dying of too much education' is a phrase from one of his poems.)

The compulsory book for sixth-formers and students, taking their first look at the modern poetry shelves in a bookshop, used to be the Corso/Ferlinghetti/Ginsberg edition in the same series. Now it will be this book. Since, like its predecessor, it will also become the inspiration and definitive handbook for a generation of student poets, it is worth taking a look at.

The imagery is real. 'I will hold you gently like broken fruitcake' (McGough). 'Love, smeared across his face like a road accident' (Patten). 'Peasants merry-making after the storm in Canning Street' (Henri).

The dawn bus home, the argument in the kitchen at the party (Too True), are two other images used by Henri, and when he isn't being facetious, or constructing his own backyard legend, or at his sentimental worst as in 'Love is...', he often puts his finger right on the familiar and true thing or picks out the simple phrase which sticks. ('For you everything's gonna be all right'—or was that McGough?)

Unfortunately he is also the worst

flogger-to-death of symbolic plastic flowers—and even they don't last for ever. Readers of *FREEDOM* might forgive Henri for a lot: he wants to paint 'a red-and-black flag flying over parliament' (an anarchist Parliament?!). But if they do, it won't be anything to do with his poetry.

McGough is more sophisticated, sometimes nasty and, as with Henri, his poems often seem an excuse to string a lot of unconnected insights together. (Although

perfect anthology piece in ten years time, provided anthologies are still collected by then.

The label 'pop poetry' has been attached to the work of all three poets. Mailer has said that the best American writing at the moment comes from the popular and reaches out to art, so it isn't a label to be ashamed of. Henri revels in it. Patten could have done without it, and its advantages; but the creation of a 'scene' image, for which Henri and McGough are largely responsible, has given him a flying start.

The appearance of pop poets comes at a time when amazing cross fertilisations are taking place between teenage culture and art. Pop culture breaks through all class and intelligence barriers. (In any students' union building I've been into, the television room is crowded for 'Ready Steady Go' and empty while 'Panorama' is on.) And a big influx of energy, intelligence and talent is raising the standard of young people's clothes, music and magazines.

So poetry is fashionable. So is anarchism. And inevitably streamlined images begin to take over from real people. Adrian Henri is a journalist's dream of a poet, with his beard, glasses and resonant prophetic voice, so naturally he gets the most publicity. Roger McGough would probably prefer to be seen as a cross between the elegant demonic Frenchman and a Liverpool hardknock. Brian Patten, who has no saleable image to speak of, is Wilde's insignificant but real poet. He reads in a balanced and beautiful monotone, and if the words of his poems aren't good enough to stand on their own they have no false expression to fall back upon.

In a city where people are used to taking sides from childhood (Evertonian or Liverpoolian, Conservative or Labour, Catholic or Protestant), it isn't very odd that each of the three poets should have his own supporters and knockers. Mods and the new pop-type hippies choose Adrian—involved, happy and uncritical. Students usually go for Roger—a little more superior and cynical. But I haven't found many Patten supporters (not counting me). Perhaps the name of the magazine which he edited was too prophetic (but I was also a Liverpool supporter while they were in the second division).

It would be too easy to come down on this book from a great height. (Some reviewers have given it pretensions it doesn't have, and then criticised it from standpoints it wasn't written from.) But then I think how great it is and good that anybody at all is seriously writing poetry about life in Liverpool, sticking defiantly and sincerely to chip shop/beat club imagery, and getting it to an audience—creating the audience, in fact, from the 'intelligent beat music fan'. This seems to be the most important point about the whole 'scene' thing: that the three poets aren't the artificial fruits of a hothouse literary scene but the flowering of the ordinary consciousness of the city's young people.

J.O.C.



some of these insights are very good.)
'you are the moment
before the warbooks in the public
library
turned into frogs and croaked khaki
obscurities.'
or: 'you are the moment
before the buspeople turned into
teeth
and chewed the inspector
for no other reason than he was
doing his duty.'

In contrast to the poems of the other two, Patten's poems always grow organically out of one idea or one feeling which then disciplines the contents of the poem. His 'Maud 1967', in spite of a recent revision which makes it more grammatical but less fluent, will be a

DON'T BUY FUR COATS

MY WIFE, like most other women, is interested in fashion. Fashion trends at the moment are strongly towards fur (doubtless a capitalist attempt to cash in on films like *Dr. Zhivago*). Until recently (overlooking the expense angle) I might have been quite amenable to buying my wife a fur coat, but after reading some recent accounts of seal killing and seeing a particularly revolting and convincing leaflet put out by the 'Beauty without Cruelty' organisation, I'm beginning to realise that animals (as well as people!) are being exploited by the capitalist system.

It's a salutary thought, often ignored because we spend so much time mulling over man's inhumanity to man, that every time a pretty young thing uses a hairspray, the chances are that the spray was tested on a live rabbit's eyes. If the rabbit goes blind—the spray's all right. The same goes for perfume—if it blinds a rabbit, it'll knock out a man! When we consider the vast multi-million pound cosmetics market there must be a hell of a lot of cruelty going on—cruelty for the sake of profits. There's a real parallel in this with the way the arms barons try out new weapons in places like Vietnam—man and animals suffer in the cause of mammon.

A current craze exists for sealskin.

Apart from the risk (and it's a real one) of the seals becoming extinct, this is probably the cruelest form of hunting going. Seals don't get shot (at least not in Canada), bullets being expensive. They're clubbed to death and then skinned. There's just one point. Canadian zoologists and animal cruelty workers tell us that 50% of these animals are merely stunned and consequently are skinned alive. I'm no sentimentalist but, by God, I almost wept when I read that the hunters go for the baby seal and one of the most heartrending photographs I've ever seen shows a mother seal trying to suckle life back into a skinned pup.

There's only one way to stop this slaughter—don't buy sealskin. It goes on in Britain too; already fears have been expressed by naturalists that the grey seal is on the decline. Here, at least they shoot them, but is even this a quick death? In order to kill a creature like the seal, one would need a rifle of fairly heavy calibre (usually, I believe, the Lee-Enfield .303 is used). Now I'm a pretty expert shot with this weapon and I wouldn't like to guarantee to hit a bobbing target in the sea (probably showing only its head) from even 50 yards away. So it follows that many seals must escape, badly wounded, to die in agony. We can do something about this too,

for the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries officially carries out seal hunts (particularly in the Lindisfarne Islands). So out with the paper and pen, comrades, and let them know how we feel about it! It won't do much good but every little helps.

Fox fur didn't go out in Granny's day, either. Today fox trimmings adorn the fancy garments of a lot of women. Now it's hard to feel a great deal of real sympathy for the fox, who's a nasty bit of work, really. But fox hunting is big business. It keeps a lot of stables going full blast, breeding nags for the upper classes (and, incredibly, not only the upper classes, this 'sport' is actually getting democratic) and vast sums of money are laid out on hunting rigs. The Government pays out a bounty of 10/- for every fox brush turned into a police station and many a farmer keeps the rifle handy. The result? Reynard too is getting thin on the ground.

A particularly nasty hunting racket, of which I had hardly heard, was reported recently by the *Sunday Times*. Otter hunting. According to the writer, the otter is fast vanishing from our rivers. Now, of all our natural fauna, the otter is probably the most delightful and harmless creature we have. Anyone who has read *King of Bright Water*, and the

sequel, *The Rocks Remain*, will feel very strongly for this charming and beautiful animal. It makes you sick to realise that one solitary otter is hunted by forty hounds. The otter takes longer to die than most animals since his vital organs are protected by thick layers of fat through which the hounds must tear. Rumbles are being heard from various fossils in the Westminster museum, but by the time they get off their bottoms, the otter will be a stuffed dummy like most of them. A lot of them are huntin', shootin', fishin' types, anyway.

The once noble red deer, portrayed by Landseer, is now a mangy specimen, the breed growing weaker and scraggier every year. Deer hunting is really big business in Scotland. Big estates are now run on purely commercial lines for London business men. These worthies buy up estates from impoverished aristos and install themselves as part of the 'lairdocracy'. They even go as far as inventing their own tartan and tweed patterns.

Deer hunting has gained extra 'respectability' ever since a certain little boy (taught by his father, who is President of the World Wild Life Fund) put a bullet through a certain stag. Some of his mummy's relations (who lack her immunity from death duties and income tax) are cashing in on the commercial

aspects of this racket. Deer hunting is getting mechanised too. Portly business men don't make good stalkers. I have personally seen ghillies lay hay on a Cairngorm mountain-side in order to lure deer within range of a fat gentleman, sitting in a Studebaker tracked hill vehicle, behind a rifle with telescopic sights mounted on a tripod. And why not? After all he's paying up to £1,000 a week for it. Within range, incidentally, means anything from a mile to a mile and a half, depending on the weapon employed. The tinkle of empty cartridge cases sounds just like a cash register in full swing. The hunters are interested only in the head and antlers, but venison, on the market, goes for 10/- a pound. The estate collars that.

So there we have it. Mass slaughter under our noses, cruelty perhaps only a few miles away. Killing and maiming so that your wife and mine smell sweet and look nice. Bernard Heuvelmans, in his book *On The Track Of Unknown Animals*, forecasts that land mammals (beyond domestic animals) may be totally exterminated before many years have passed. Man, the great exterminator, is also on the verge of disposing of himself. A mad world, my masters—or—mad masters, my world!

IAN S. SUTHERLAND.

WILL YOU COMMIT YOURSELF (FINANCIALLY) FOR FREEDOM?

FREEDOM PRESS has to move from its present premises in Fulham. Some time in the very near future we have to get out to make way for the redevelopment that the Fulham Borough Council has planned for this area.

This is not a new, shock decision that has been suddenly sprung upon us. We have known for years that sooner or later we would have to face up to the unpleasant task of moving all our stock, furniture—all the paraphernalia of a publisher's office. It's a daunting prospect, but even more daunting is the prospect of finding suitable premises not too far from the centre of London at a reasonable rent.

Because the premises at Maxwell Road belong to a very good friend of Freedom Press, we have been paying a laughably low rent all the seven years we have been there, and although the premises were by no means ideal for our purposes, they have served us well since we moved from Holborn when the rent went sky-high there.

Now the time has come to face up to the unpleasant reality of the cost of space in London.

For some time the comrades of Freedom Press have been searching for suitable premises, but nothing tangible has emerged. At the present time the best possibility we have is for us to move into the same building as our printers in Whitechapel. This will have certain administrative advantages, but will lead to some inconvenience for those who work most at the office. We would have enough space there, but as they now are, the premises are sorely in need of cleaning and decoration, and of course a lot of preparatory work in the way of decorating, building shelves, partitions, wiring and even plumbing will be necessary before we could work efficiently from there.

One further substantial snag is that the rent will be considerably higher than we are now paying. Nothing less than £1,000 a year would cover our rent and rates and lighting. Heating would probably be on top of that.

One advantage of the place would be that the ground floor could be made available for meetings—holding about as many as the Lamb and Flag—and thus could be used as a social centre or club, if responsible comrades could be found to run it. By that means some small cash return could be brought in.

What the present situation makes clear however is that the good old easy time of getting along with our heads just above water is over.

The movement has now got to face up to the fact that if it wants a publishing house for anarchist literature and periodicals to continue then a responsible attitude to the cost of this enterprise must be adopted.

It is not only this. Our publishing work is continually being held back by lack of funds. There are many publications that Freedom Press should be presenting which are held up for this reason. We conceive as our main responsibility the continuous publication of *FREEDOM* and *Anarchy*, and come what may, this will carry on. But nobody pretends that this is all that the anarchist press should be doing.

There is a broader sense too in which the movement has suffered. This movement needs proper premises for not only the editing and distribution of our periodicals but also for a library, for meeting rooms, for a bookshop, for social functions, for mutual aid—for, in fact, all the functions of an anarchist movement.

What are we to do about it? The first step is being forced upon us. We have to get out of Maxwell Road. As things are we have little choice but to go to the Express Printers building.

From then on we shall have to start paying a rent which will be crippling if it is not properly organised.

There is also, of course, the cost of the move itself and of the work that must be done before we move in. This time we want to get the premises properly finished in advance, so that we don't move into a disorganised set-up which never gets sorted out.

This will take a great deal of cash and hard work. We hope most of the latter will come forward voluntarily. We have to raise a special fund for the former, and we estimate that it will take above £500.

Our proposals therefore are these:
1. We establish now a **Moving Fund**. The purpose of this we have just made obvious and the need is **URGENT**. This fund is now open! The sooner we get this money in (and the more we get!), the better can we make the facilities for the movement.

This is a once-and-for-all fund, to be considered as separate from:

2. The **Premises Fund**, the sole function of which is to cover continuously the rent and rates of the premises used by Freedom Press for its general activities as already carried on—and such part of those premises as can be used for other purposes such as meetings, etc.

3. In order to cover this, we ask our readers everywhere to commit themselves to a certain sum **every year**. The amount we shall need to raise will be a minimum of £1,000 a year. This means that we need one thousand comrades willing to send us £1 every—say—January 1, irrespective of what they may send to the general Press Fund or mutual aid funds as they arise. We mention £1 simply as a unit. Individuals who can manage more, of course, should send more—ten contributions of £100 would do!

4. This fund should aim at eventually raising a capital sufficient to buy our own premises for a centre for anarchist activities. Any surplus over our target of £1,000; the modest interest over the year of the amount in the bank or savings account; any collections or rents paid by groups holding meetings in the premises—additions such as these could be accumulated to make a sum sooner or later to enable us to rid ourselves of paying rent to landlords and having the continual possibility of being thrown out.

This is only a sketchy outline of what must be thrashed out in some detail. What we must know first is the amount of support such an appeal would get.

To get this information, would all those supporters of our work who would commit themselves (in units of £1 per year), please write to Freedom Press saying so—and saying how much? If it looks as though it is on, then we can go ahead and work out the necessary bureaucratic devices to (a) make it work smoothly as an office exercise, and (b) make it embezzlement-proof!

Finally we suggest that if some of the above seems unnecessarily ambitious it is because we think it is time we stopped struggling along on shoe-string economics. If some of it seems too much like playing capitalists, then we can only ask the objectors to go and present their arguments to our landlords, printers and papermakers, to the Council and the Water Board when they send round for their rates, to the Electricity Board and of course, to the Prices and Incomes Board! They set the pace money-wise, not us, and until we can abolish the lot we can only seek to organise to fulfil our own interests to the best of our abilities.

And more than that: if we don't solve the problem of the overheads for Freedom Press it may just have to pack up.

FREEDOM PRESS GROUP.

'Enigmatic Film Made by Ingmar Bergman' — Times

DR. VLADIMIR TKACHENKO left England at his own request, Captain David Taylor and Mr. Trevor Copleston were freed from Algiers, Stuart Christie was freed from Spain. On his release Captain Taylor said, 'Free. I never really understood what that word meant before.'

ODHAM'S PRESS held a 'cash-in' by publishing *Intro*, a hippy-flower-people magazine in psychedelic colour, with adverts indistinguishable from reading-matter and reading-matter indistinguishable from adverts. The front page asks (in white on black), 'What's all the fuss about flower children?' and goes on... Loud cries of free love, junkies, nude parties. It seems any girl who throws off her office clothes on a Friday night and puts on a cut-down Indian bedspread is in danger of having herself labelled. It means nothing to these critics that the vast majority of Britain's hippies are part-timers; week-end flower children with five day a week jobs.' Frank Zappa, leader of the 'Mothers of Invention', confesses in *Intro* that he's in the movement for the money. He says, 'If the hippy movement's idea of changing the world is to sit around the parks, smoking pot, and getting beaten by the cops, they're welcome.' Frank sees, comments *Intro*, himself basically as a businessman. 'Once, those flower idiots asked us to play for nothing at a love-in. Well, we just politely said no, and bowed out quietly.' *Peace News* carries a headline: 'Protection threat to Hippy Industries'; relieved to find it was not a Liberal Conference argument for free trade we found it was an account of how UFO bought itself £180-worth of Black Muslim protection rather than whatever it was the other 'suits' wanted for the same services....

THE MORNING STAR, in the person of Kay Beauchamp, its feature writer (after months of fence-sitting), comes out definitely against soft drugs, concluding, 'If someone got up an advertisement in *The Times* declaring that it would be immoral, in principle, to legalise the use of cannabis, I, for one, would gladly

sign it.' In the course of the article there is a Freudian slip when Kay Beauchamp gives the slogan of the Flower People as 'to live is better than to make war'. Later in the article she mysteriously says, 'Anyone who reads the hippy journal *It or Now* will know that it is completely destructive. One of its slogans is "Pot cures acne", another "All politics is pigshit" and a third: "Marxism is bullshit". It also attacks Ben Whitaker, MP, who wants "a new look taken at the law on marijuana" which, says Kay Beauchamp, 'one might think would please them. Not a bit of it. He is a "chicken-shit intellectual".' Speaking of other opiates, John Lennon in *Intro* said, 'Bangor was incredible, you know. Maharishi reckons the message will get through if we can put it across. What he says about life and the universe is the same message that Jesus, Buddha and Krishna and all the big boys were putting over. Mick came up there and he got a sniff and he was on the phone saying: "Send Keith, send Brian, send them all down. You just get a sniff and you're hooked".' He is believed to have been referring to a Mr. Jagger. The *Express* takes umbrage at a Dick Lester film which shows (for eight seconds) a ventriloquist's dummy resembling Churchill which says, 'Any chance of a battle? I want a battle.' Mr. Lester said, 'The film is aimed at showing the overall responsibility of the war leaders. We are not having a go at any specific leaders.'

A TENANT OF THE Nivasa Housing Society's hostel in Kensington Church took the hostel management before the West London Rent Tribunal about her rent of £7 14s. a week. The chairman of the society said it was ironic that his society, which had been formed to counteract exorbitant rents which some landlords charged students, should itself be brought before the tribunal. The tribunal approved the present rent but said, 'It has not been at all an easy matter to decide what is a fair rent in the circumstances. We had to appreciate that in running a hostel for young people there are overhead expenses which are prob-

ably greater than in the case of an ordinary letting.'

A MAN CHARGED with shooting another man said at the Old Bailey, 'He was a friend. He was a thorough gentleman, apart from seeking to entice my wife away.'

THE FARM AND FOOD SOCIETY has recommended to the Egg Re-organisation Commission that colouring in feeding stuffs to deepen the colour of egg yolks should be banned by law, and also draws attention to retailers passing off eggs as 'free range' because they can get a higher price. It also quotes findings that intensive egg production by battery-farming increases virus infection in laying flocks leading to malformation of shells, distorted egg shapes and shell-wrinkling. Over-production of eggs makes disposal difficult and threatens small producers, says the society. Fishermen in Cornwall dumped 7,000 pounds of pilchards back into the sea because they were not required by the canners. 3,778 people left the Scottish crofting counties in the last five years. The famine still continues in India....

AMERICA IS TO BUILD a £1,800 million anti-ballistic missile defence system against the possibility of Chinese nuclear attack. A 'Backgrounder' issued by the US Information Service, informs us that: 'Any measure of arms control or disarmament obviously involves some element of sacrifice. If the many countries which do not already possess nuclear weapons forswear the right ever to possess them—as is suggested in the draft nuclear non-proliferation treaty now before the Geneva Conference—they sacrifice an option which they may one day choose to exercise.... Mr. Forster [US 'disarmament' delegate] pointed out that "nuclear-weapon states are already well ahead of non-nuclear weapon states as far as balance and progress toward disarmament are concerned."

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the Christian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is to vote on changing its name to 'Peace on Earth Movement'.
JON QUIXOTE.

Stansted and the Autumn Assembly

IT WOULD be highly possible to write a paper on 'The Press Conference' as a way of life with sidelong references to Marshall McLuhan but, groggy with two and a half press conferences and nearly a third (with Stuart Christie), I can only report the facts which is, after all, what a press conference is for.

The first conference was to report progress and to give details of a motor cavalcade (held last Sunday) to save Stansted from becoming London's Third Airport. This was presided over by Peter Cadogan who is Acting Secretary of 'Save Stansted'. This was well attended by the Press and was designed to point out that the reason why Stansted was being insisted upon by the Government as the site of the Airport was because the obvious choice in the Thames Estuary was being used for military purposes. It was also proposed to raise the subject of non-co-operation as a method of conducting the campaign (controversially and characteristically Peter Cadogan has commented in the 'hand-out' at a time when the Enfield dispute has made it clear how much can be done in this direction).

An attractive detailed poster was handed out which is available for display.

The second (and a half) conference was to give details of the International Mobilization for Peace in Vietnam on Saturday, October 21. It was presided over by Douglas Kepper as co-ordinator and included representatives of CND, YCND, BCPV, the young Liberals, the magazine *Resurgence* and (surprise! surprise!) Peter Cadogan of the National Committee of 100.

This conference was poorly attended, only five newspapers and *Peace News*. Douglas Kepper outlined British involvement in the war. We had helped with bases in Thailand, Americans were trained by the British in Johore, Hong-kong was being used by the Americans as a leave-centre, we were supplying hovercraft to the Americans, and Fords of Dagenham were supplying electric motors. Marchers would converge on Trafalgar Square from six different points but there would be only short speeches interspersed with music and poetry.

There would be a torchlight march at

6.15 from Charing Cross Embankment, round (or through?) the West End to Finsbury Town Hall, where there would be a meeting with an international telephone link-up between demonstrations in Washington and various European capitals. Dick Nettleton of CND assured the Press that the speeches here would be short (at £2 a minute), it was asked if it was true that Telstar was being used for this project. It was replied that enquiries were being made at the GPO as to the feasibility of a link-up via Telstar.

Freedom Press's representative asked if there would be freedom for marchers to bring along their own slogans; he was told there would be. He further asked (to put it delicately) were there any groups who had not been asked to attend. He was told that anarchists and 'hippies' would be present. Three anarchist groups had promised to attend and a group of several hippies had been promised.

Following on this Jim Radford gave details of a demonstration on the beach at Scarborough on the first of October (during the Labour Party Conference) when a symbolic burial of the Labour Party will take place starting at 2.30 p.m. Details of this remain to be settled but the Committee of 100 can be contacted at 13 Goodwin Street, ARC 1239.

J.R.

LETTER

A DEBTFUL STORY

Dear Comrades,
I was somewhat surprised at the article on debt in the current *FREEDOM*. 'Although the contributor asserts in capital letters it is TRUE', you must surely perceive that none of this could possibly have happened. If it did, it was totally illegal. Anyway, how did the LEB manage to instruct sheriffs of the High Court for so low a sum? (County Court bailiffs were not, it seems, used.) Perhaps they introduced false affidavits and finally broke in illegally, but if so, the man concerned (who did not like to tell his wife, the real householder) defrauded his good lady of the chance of getting a couple of hundred pounds or more in compensation, if she had chosen to do so. He was obviously a bit of a nit in the first place (how does one develop a 'conscience' at being a greengrocer or a tobacconist? and what did he do when he developed one?—go into local government or get a job in an arms factory?). Finally, it is supine people like him who obviously are afraid to stand on their rights who

stand in the way of everyone else. No doubt if the local aristocrat turns up at my wedding night and demands *droits de seigneur*, he can get away with it if I am frightened that the neighbours might hear and therefore do nothing about it. However, it is no use writing to the papers afterwards 'that such mediaeval treatment still persists must surely be a scandal'. If the story is really true it is a scandal all right but not, this time, 'Caesar' but 'the Romans who let him be Caesar'.

J.S. 171.

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

AFB Conference

will be held on
Saturday, October 7,
9.30 a.m.—10 p.m.
Sunday, October 8,
10 a.m.—6 p.m.
at ASQUITH ROOM,
ACTI,
2 SOHO SQUARE, W.1
Provincial comrades requiring accommodation, write to London Federation of Anarchists

Subscribe for a Friend

Falling Behind!

WEEK 38, SEPTEMBER 23, 1967:
Expenses: 38 weeks at £90: £3420
Income: Sales and Subs.: £2532
DEFICIT: £888

Bury St. Edmunds: C.P. 6/-; Westcliff: C.F. 8/-; Horsham: P.W. 2/9; St. Ives: G.E. 10/-; London, S.W.5: J.P. £1; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Boston, Mass.: E.F. £1; Cambridge: R.F. 3/6; South Bucks.: R.W. 5/-.

TOTAL: £4 10 3
Previously Acknowledged: £810 17 6
1967 Total to Date: £815 7 9

*Denotes Regular Contributor.
Gift of Books—London, N.7: Anon; London, N.1: M.K.

Redundancy in the Docks

REDUNDANCY IS GOING to hit dock and shipping industries in a big way in the next few decades—unless dockers and seamen stick together and insist modern methods and mechanisation be used to lighten their labours instead of making them unemployed.

A survey commissioned by the British Transport Board recently found that the number of dockers employed in handling general cargo could be cut by as much as 90 per cent if the industry is fully 'rationalised'. The number of ships on the North Atlantic routes could be cut by as much as 70 per cent it added.

In a thesis prepared for the Institute of Chartered Shipbrokers, Mr. D. J. M. Nolan forecast that by the end of the century cargoes would be

carried by nuclear submarines — automatically controlled from loading to discharge.

Also envisaged are 2,000-ton hovercraft — nuclear powered — carrying containerised cargoes at a speed of 100 knots. These too will be fully automated and the cargoes will be untouched by hand. Docks themselves might eventually not be needed as ships are foreseen that partially submerge in the river mouth to allow loaded barges to float off to their destination.

Great reductions in the number of seamen are also planned. Capt. A. F. Dickson (Chief Marine Superintendent of Shell International Marine Ltd.) has said that 200,000-ton tankers will be common by 1970 and 300,000-ton ones are already being made. The total crews will be 32 men and 'substantial reductions are being made in manning,' he said, as mobility of labour is achieved.

Mr. C. F. Cufley (Shipping Economist and Consultant) has pointed out how automation can increase tonnages to a huge extent while the increase in wages paid out is minute in proportion. Tonnages can be increased by as much as 100,000 tons with no material increase in wages, etc., he said. The daily operational and management costs of a 10,000-ton tanker is £250 while for a 500,000-tonner it is only £725 (50 times the tonnage for three times the wages).

Dockers have already let this process start by allowing 'packaged deals' which employ small numbers of men at certain berths with stacker trucks. There is complete mobility of labour as demarcation and restrictive practices are completely relaxed.

At one berth, for instance, a gang of 16 men are being paid a guaranteed wage of £29 10s. each under these conditions (a total of £472 in wages). Under the old system 120 men would have been employed and under equivalent conditions would earn about £18 each (£2,160 in wages). In other words, the employers make £1,688, the 16 men make £11 10s. and 104 men are unemployed.

And the employers will get away with this so long as enough men are willing to work for the extra wages and put others out of work. But these men should realise that this will only benefit them in the short term. For methods and machines will be improved to cut down manning even further and they have no guarantee that they won't be next to go.

Also the hand of the employer is strengthened by a small labour force and a large pool of unemployed — because the bargaining position of the men is undermined. At the berth quoted earlier, for instance, he can keep the wages of the 16 men steady even though the cost of living rises—because if they refuse to work under his conditions he can easily pick another 16 from the 104 who are scraping a living on unemployment pay.

It hardly seems a 'rationalised' industry to have 16 men working from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m.—and very often working overtime—while 104 are unable to find work. The 16 are in effect supporting the 104—by paying for their dole money in increased taxes.

Surely each man should earn his own living — and most would be eager of the opportunity. A really rationalised industry would be one where the work is shared equally among the men—by reducing hours if necessary.

As the London Dockers Unofficial

Liaison Committee has said: 'Machines were invented to make men's task easier, not to replace him. Men whose muscles ache at the end of a hard, dirty day's work are not likely to be the people to complain when mechanisation is spoken of. It is the employers' insistence on cuts in the manning scales that holds up progress. We would welcome its introduction if it were employed to lighten our labours and reduce the working week.'

The employers' only argument is that they pay for the machinery and the research into it so they should reap the benefits of it. To quash this the unions should pay for the research and introduction of modern machines and methods—as it makes the labours of their members easier. This strictly on the basis of absolutely NO REDUNDANCIES.

Yet the dockers are very often their own worst enemies in this. As Tilbury docker Wally Burley said, at last week's meeting of Tilbury Liaison Committee: 'We have, in effect, caused redundancy ourselves by our own actions in the dock. We have risked our lives by overloading cranes to earn an extra shilling — while there have been men in the compound without work.'

'While we were claiming that baggage rates were not good enough we proved ourselves wrong by stacking them up high to make the job pay. All through jealousy of one man getting a bit more than another and our greed for gold.'

Speaking on the fact that Ray Gunter (Minister of Labour) would only allow dockers in London and Tilbury a guaranteed wage of £16 (elsewhere it's £15) he said: 'If all we are going to get is £16 then do £16 worth of work and no more.'

This is the answer. The men must stick together, do their fair share of work and no more, and not be tempted—by the high wages for the few—or they will put their mates out of work and eventually themselves. M.P.

TU GULF WIDENS

NO CONTRIBUTOR to FREEDOM has deemed this year's TU Congress at Brighton worthy of an article. Is this our detachment from the struggles of the working class, or perhaps our sectarianism, or was it that we were just fed up with these Congresses and there were more important events going on at the time? I think it was the latter. However, although I do not think that the Congress was important in itself, the misconceptions of others about the voting at Brighton are worth commenting on.

Socialists of many varieties are interpreting the results of the block votes as victories for their own policies. It has generally been, according to *The Week*, a victory for the 'left' and they start an editorial with these optimistic words: 'The victories of the left at the TUC conference this week have transformed the political situation in Britain. No longer are the left-wing forces swimming against the stream, no longer do opponents to the Government's disgraceful Vietnam policy and the wage freeze stand on the fringe.' But what does this so-called victory mean? At the very best, not much.

At last year's TUC there was a sizeable minority who voted against the Government's wage freeze policies and yet no real opposition was forthcoming from those union leaders. Now the TUC is supposed to carry on this new 'left' policy, but Mr. Woodcock, the General Secretary, has already made it quite plain he has no intention of fighting the Government. He said that the real work of the TUC was done in committees and that in this 'context, I don't think it (the vote) matters much one way or another.' After all it is the view of the TUC and the overwhelming opinion of the trade union leadership that there must be co-operation between them and the Government and so in Mr. Woodcock's words: 'You don't tell a man you want to do a

Freedom For Workers' Control

SEPTEMBER 30 1967 Vol 28 No 30

MAYBE THE FINAL STRAW

THE NUR HAS offered to pay part of the cost of the 4s. 9d. per day pay claim for 14,000 guards. The union has picked out seven of the 13 points listed in the Railway Board's proposals, which they are prepared to accept.

Sidney Greene, NUR General Secretary, claims that this is one of the first declarations on productivity the executive have made. But it doesn't go far enough for the Railways Board.

Last week the NUR executive turned down by 13 votes to 10 a resolution calling on the guards to stop work. The amendment calling for continued negotiation and ban on second man duties was carried by the same vote.

There is considerable pressure from the branches to call all the guards out, but NUR leaders are standing firm and any guards on strike are out 'unofficial'. The Manchester area are out, 'official' or 'not'. London-based men terminate their journey at Crewe so as not to cover the black area.

Now guess what? There is a Court of Inquiry on the cards. This should establish that the railway-guards have a point but, the 4s. 9d. increase can only be paid over the next couple of years at twopence a week. In the meantime of course the economics will be carried out.

The Board is willing to meet the NUR on Monday, September 25, provided the ban on second man duties is called off. The guards answer to that could be get 'stuffed', irrespective of what the NUR leaders think.

The railwaymen cannot compromise all the time. Guards today, signalmen or porters tomorrow. The only way British Railways can save is at the expense of the railwaymen. Some day some time

the 'final straw' will be laid.

ALL OUT IS THE CALL

Car workers at Vauxhall are still fighting for a better productivity agreement, despite the appeal from the NUVB national executive to go back to normal working so that talks could resume unhampered. The talks went on for eight hours without progress, management wanted resumption without qualifications. That approach is going out of date, it has been broken a couple of times recently, and it is not likely to make much headway this time.

Vauxhall management stated that 7,800 workers would be laid off today (25.9.67), but some would be personally invited to work and if they were prepared to work to established customs and practice they would be allowed in. The oldest game in the book—'divide and rule'—but according to the latest report from the picket line, this is not working out. In this set of circumstances trouble is hoped for, not only by the management but also by the press. There is 'no copy' unless workers are punching each other up.

Pickets that are on the gates at Luton are asking those selected to go in to continue the work to rule. Today's (Monday) mass meetings at Luton, Dunstable and Ellesmere Port, are expected to demand a total strike call. Vauxhall's car workers intend to win.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

are in power. In 1963, Mr. Woodcock proudly said that the TUC had moved from Trafalgar Square to the committee rooms. Whether what they put forward in these committee rooms has ever been carried out, is doubtful. They do not have any power or influence over the Government, but are only consulted after the decisions have been made elsewhere.

The place where the real struggle takes place is not in the leather-upholstered committee rooms or lofty conference halls, but at the place of work. It is here that the Government policies will be defeated, if the necessary action is taken. However, as I pointed out above, the majority of trade unionists do not play an active part in the affairs of their unions. If they did, I feel the State would really be up against it. The majority of activists are usually trying to get this or that member elected to some position and so a lot of energy is wasted when it could be directed to more useful ends.

UNOFFICIAL ORGANISATIONS

The growth of unofficial organisation in industry is a symptom of the gulf that separates the activists and the leadership. The main concern of the activists should be to bring more members, not just to support these organisations, but to play an active part in them. This of course is a difficult task, for although members understand the necessity for trade unions to go on from this, it is a big step and requires a certain political understanding of the role the union leadership plays within the system.

While unofficial organisations are growing, more trade unionists will have to be involved if a real basis of opposition to the policies of the Government is to be created. The tendency is not to look for leaders, but to be more self-reliant and this must spread if any revolutionary movement is to be born. Opposition is not enough, but through these struggles the ability to run and control things for themselves could create a revolutionary movement necessary to abolish the State.

P.T.

Contact Column

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

1967 AFB Conference. October 7 & 8 (not 6 as in previous announcement). Agenda and details have been sent to all listed groups; those who have not received them please write to LFA, c/o 42 New Compton Street, London, W.C.2.

A.M. Where are you? Attorney. Accommodation: East Coast. Teacher (m. single) seeks unfurnished apartment/accommodation Hull. Any leads welcomed. Box 65.

North London Situationist Group. If you are interested in creating the situation and direct action in all spheres, please contact Jean-Paul Bouchenoire, 285a Alexandra Park Road, London, N.22.

Freeman Syndicate holding a weekend at the Clarion Youth Hostel in Hadlow, Kent. Discussion on the possibilities of setting up a secular Kibbutz. Saturday, September 30 — social evening (Jug Band and Jazz Band). Transport being arranged from London Friday night, September 29. Phone 01-574 7461 for details.

Community. Men and women with radical socialist orientation, introverted, with reasonable IQ, pagan sentiments and interest in the group family. SAE to Selene Community, Rhydcwmerau, Llandeilo, Carmarthen, Wales.

For Sale. 7 doz. Ronco 750 stencils, 6/6d. doz., for benefit Press Fund, Freedom Press.

Sane Person required to organize YCND. Some typing required, also imagination and sense of humour. Hard work, but rewarding. Apply to YCND, 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1 (phone 01-837 9254).

Free University: Manchester. Any interest in forming one? If so, write to me with any questions or ideas. Box 66.

Broadmoor patient soon to be released needs job. Replies to A.R. Reading Group.

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

Just off the Press. Anthology of protest-poetry by Flemish, Dutch and English poets, with many drawings and photo-collages. 125 pages, only 10/-. To be had from Freedom Bookshop or direct from Gerda Ides, Post Box 772, Haarlem, Holland (send Int. M.O. in latter case). A Dutch anarchist publication.

Books Hand-bound and Engraved to Order. De-luxe Leather Bindings—Mosaics—Full-leather Parchment—Half-leather Bindings. All books hand-sewn and repaired. Designs for Parchments, Mosaics, are original. For further information contact Mr. J. B. Wagner, c/o American Consulate, Calle Serrano 75, Madrid 6, Spain.

Accommodation. Wanted two comrades to share flat (three rooms and kitchen). Allan Harrison, 285 Alexandra Park Road, N.22, or phone ARC 1239 leaving address.

If you wish to make contact let us know.