

Freedom

Anarchist Weekly



DECEMBER 9 1967 Vol 28 No 38

INSURRECTION IN ENGLAND

IT WAS INTERESTING to see in the same issue of FREEDOM two people using the forgotten word of English politics—insurrection. J. McLean writing 'insurrection is a serious business' and John Lawrence that 'nothing short of insurrection will change Government policy'.

We need to do some thinking about this. First about the background.

In the course of the last 200 years a few people and some organisations have talked about insurrection in England (and here I am specifically and deliberately writing about England and not Britain) and there has been enough action to provide us with some evidence to go on.

The Gordon Riots, so much maligned by Dickens in *Barnaby Rudge*, were essentially a serious challenge to the Government's endeavour to suppress the American Revolution by force. The fact that they degenerated into a drunken punch-up has been allowed to obscure what they were really all about.

In the 1830/32 period it was the very real threat of a mass march on London by the Birmingham Political Union of the middle and working classes led by Attwood that tipped the scales in favour of the passing of the Reform Bill.

In 1839/48 the enormous demonstrations of the Chartists and the threat to call the Sacred Month (a political general strike) eventually led to Wellington calling out the army and a vast number of 'specials' to deal with what looked to some like a final showdown.

In our own time the General Strike of 1926 was seen by a minority on both sides as being potentially insurrectional.

IT HAS HAPPENED HERE

For actual insurrection we have to go back exactly 320 years to the great march on London of 1647. It was then that

the revolutionary New Model Army prompted by its regimental agitators, and eventually with Cromwell at its head, refused to obey instructions to go to Ireland and decided instead to displace the reactionary Presbyterian (i.e. conservative) government of Denzil Holles and his friends.

The ground was well prepared. Ensign Joyce and his 500 cavalymen first abducted the King and collected the ordnance train from Oxford. Intensive debates at Newmarket round the revolutionary manifesto 'The Agreement of the People' ensured that every man knew what was at stake. The great march via Royston, Saffron Walden and Ware ended with London falling without firing a shot. The decisive shots had, of course, been already fired in the long years of civil war from 1642 to 1646.

The extraordinary thing is that this march, far and away the most important in the history of modern England, is almost wholly unknown to the very English whose future it determined. The full story appears in Brailsford's *The Levellers*.

The point is taken, I hope, that insurrection is not the un-English subject that apologists for the System and the dogma of gradualism would have us believe.

The revolution of 1647/48 was, of course, betrayed in 1649 but it had happened and there was no going back to the old order. England was landed with the new elitism of prime ministerial government. We still have it. Wilson sits in Cromwell's seat.

It is much more important for us today to know what happened in England in 1648 than for us to know what did or did not happen in Petrograd in 1917. For, as Bunyan said of the story of the period (and he served in the New Model), 'until you know this you are to yourselves unknown'.

TODAY

The current revival of interest in the meaning of insurrection arises mainly from the impending breakdown in American political society over the war in Vietnam and the question of race. In the slower-moving context of our own society there is clearly a widespread recognition that none of the party political leaders of our society has the answers.

What is happening is that our traditional political machinery is slowly running down. The day will come when it stops working altogether because people have stopped acknowledging the authority of the Government. This process is now in train. In the last few years we have had a long series of paper plans produced with great flourish only to come to absolute nothing. Who remembers the great National Plan of only two years ago? What has Wilson's word availed in Rhodesia?

Wilson passes countless new laws and appoints legions of new civil servants but he does nothing. Heath in his place would do exactly the same—nothing. They preside over the System and since they are resolved to uphold it they are its prisoners. The Treasury will not be moved and neither will the Army.

Nothing of substance will happen so long as we can muddle through. Marginal improvements will be possible but that is all. The decision over Standed, for example, is reversible because the Government itself is divided, civil servants and politicians alike, and the grass roots movement is strong.

Matters of substance include things like the East of Suez policy, arms estimates, subordination to the Pentagon, the interest rate, and the decentralisation

Continued on page 2

THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY is Scotland's largest Political Party. Its supporters tend to be younger and more enthusiastic than those of 'English' Parties. With the Scots in the present mood every constituency North of the Border is 'marginal', with the exception of Hamilton. The Tories have been losing ground for a long time. Their freak victory at Pollock was due to Nationalist intervention. The Scottish Tories have quietly dropped their traditional 'Unionist' label, but their future was indicated by a lost deposit at Hamilton. The Liberals have no strength in the cities, and their Highland seats look very shaky indeed. As for the Labour Party, have they got problems! Hamilton was reckoned one of the safest Labour seats. The Party relies heavily on Scotland and Wales. 'Seek not to ask for whom the bell tolls!'

Personally I regard the Nationalist advance with mixed feelings. I shall be delighted to dance at the funerals of the 'English' Parties. But a Government is a Government in London or Edinburgh. I accept that Scotland will probably become 'Independent' some time in the 1970s. Since there will be

RUSSIAN EMBASSY DEMO FOR SINYAVSKY & DANIEL

ON FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1 at 12.15 p.m., John Papworth, Arthur Moyses, Jacob Jarozhki, Graham Keen and Marcelle Fouquet were admitted into a room of the Soviet Embassy there to meet the Soviet Cultural Attaché.

The purpose of these five people was to partake in the representation to the Soviet Ambassador regarding the fate of the imprisoned writers Sinyavsky and Daniel.

For one hour Papworth, Moyses and Jarozhki protested, discussed, argued and pleaded for and on behalf of the two imprisoned Russian writers and throughout the hour the Soviet Cultural Attaché countered with a courteous and urbane flow of clichés.

At 1.15 p.m. the four men and one woman rose to leave.

John Papworth handed over a sealed letter to be forwarded to the Soviet Government, the Soviet Cultural Attaché refused permission to the *Peace News* photographer to take a photograph, hands were shaken and the five people left, leaving behind a genial and smiling Soviet Cultural Attaché on the steps of the house in Kensington Palace Gardens and the Russian writers Sinyavsky and Daniel still within a Soviet prison cell.

DANISH EMBASSY DEMO FOR PREBEN MEEDOM

THE RECEIPT of some photographs showing the police savagely using truncheons in the course of the arrest of Preben Meedom for hitting a police officer (on which charge he was sentenced to 20 days' imprisonment) precipitated the initiation of the protest which had earlier been called for by his comrades.

A number of police and pressmen gathered at the Danish Embassy on Saturday, December 2 at 10 a.m. About ten or fifteen minutes later a few anarchists with posters arrived, and we began handing out leaflets to the few passers-by in Pont Street on a Saturday morning. Some took them, some refused, and a passing painter on reading it offered his felicitations.

We paced desultorily up and down for another half hour, while neighbours peeped from behind curtains and the Embassy staff gathered on a second floor balcony to watch, and at five minutes to eleven I rang the Embassy bell and asked if the Ambassador or one of his staff would receive us to make our representation. The gentle porter had instructions from the Ambassador that if any of us wanted to see him we had to make an appointment by telephone. A couple of us went to the 'phone box on the corner and 'phoned the number in the book, and said we wished to ask for an appointment. After a slight delay the lady came back and gave us another number to ring. While collecting more pennies the doughty A. Moyses took the written memorandum across and handed it in. M. CANIPA.

MOVING FUND

Received to date—£206 10s. 6d.

PREMISES FUND

£199 p.a. has been pledged by comrades

Tartan Power?

an economic crisis at the time (there always is), the first act of the new government will be a wage freeze. We will be asked in the name of Scottish patriotism to sink our differences for the good of the nation.

WHAT KIND OF INDEPENDENCE?

Let's look at the SNP's policies. First, what form is independence to take? Well, the SNP is not Republican. It wants Dominion status, within the Commonwealth, under the Crown. As for the economy, it will be basically the same as at present; that is, it will be subject to the whims of the London Stock Exchange and to Wall Street. A few adjustments may be made. Some Nationalists are keen on the corporate state experiment at Fairfield's Shipyard in Glasgow. SNP member, Sean Connerly ('James Bond') visited the yard as a guest of the management. No doubt this indicates an escalation of the class war.

The SNP is a coalition. Some members, such as Mrs. Winifred Ewing, MP for Hamilton, want to get rid of American and English military bases on Scottish soil, but whether this view will prevail remains to be seen. The Party is in favour of NATO membership. It wants a referendum on hanging, which will probably mean a return to the death penalty. Some Nationalists (perhaps a minority) are racists. My Uncle George, Party member for many years, doesn't like Jews (or Sassenachs; or Paddies; or anybody).

The Nationalists talk about land reform, which is something none of the other Parties will touch. In fact, their proposals are very timid. They say that big estates should be broken up if the owners do not cultivate them. This is aimed at the huntin', shootin' and fishin' set. Of course, this reform, if and when it comes, must come by an act of a Scottish parliament—not by expropriation through direct action!

An issue the SNP has so far avoided is religion. When Ireland became 'Independent' the Ulster Unionists objected on the grounds that 'Home rule means Rome rule'. (They were right.) In Ireland the Protestants were in a minority; in Scotland the situation is reversed. The State Schools teach a version of history which is acceptable to the Church of Scotland. The Catholic Schools teach their own, rather different version. The Nationalists can be expected to be very careful in their handling of anything to do with religion.

THE SNP AND THE SCOTTISH ANARCHIST MOVEMENT

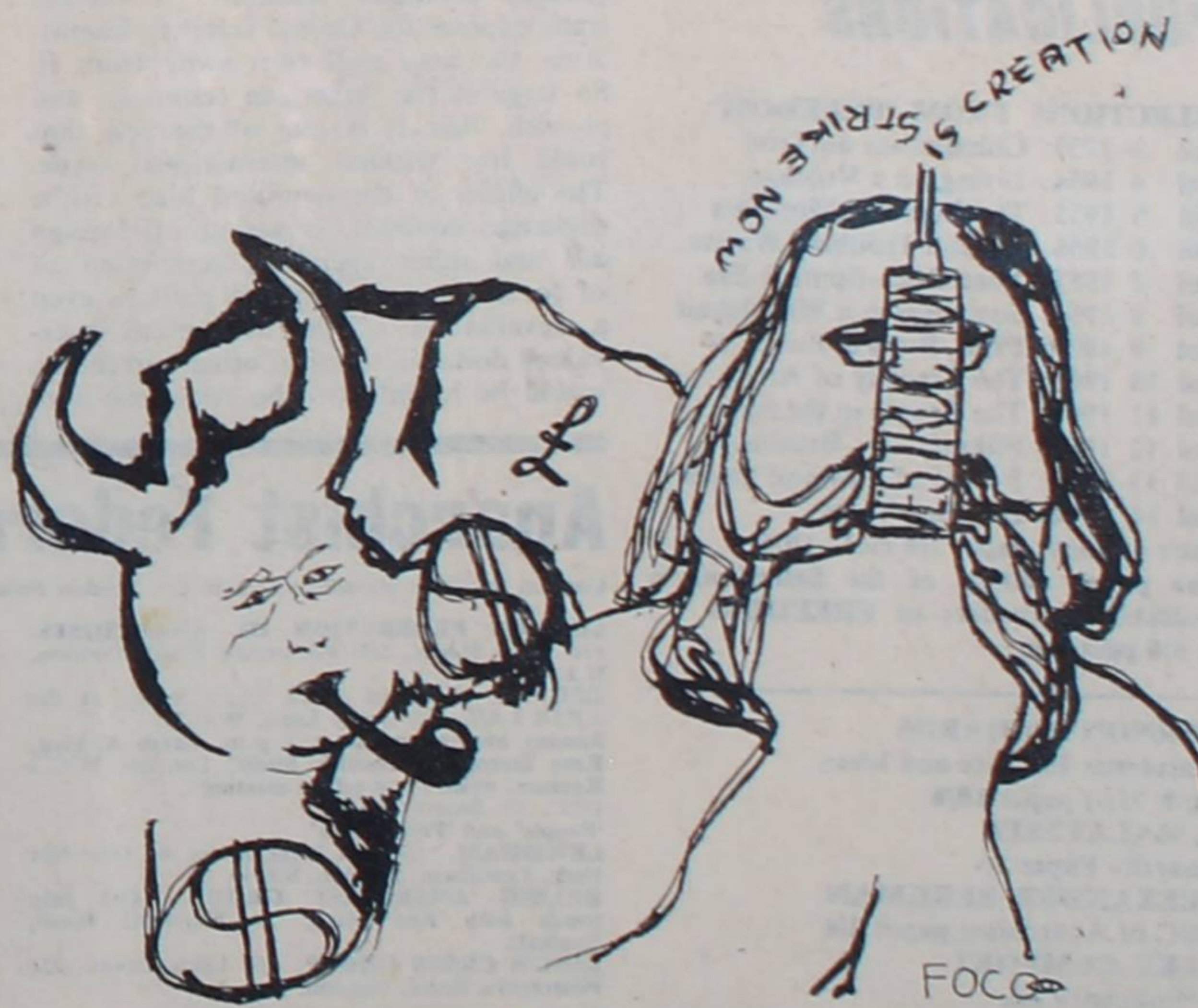
The SNP stands for the Monarchy; for Parliament; for a capitalist economy subject to all the fluctuations of the London market; for class collaboration; it rejects direct action.

The Scottish Anarchists reject Monarchy, Parliament, and capitalism. We recognise that the class struggle will last as long as there is a class system. We have more in common with the oppressed of all countries than we have with any capitalist even if he wears a kilt. We intend to destroy capitalism. We will extend the hand of friendship to the former class enemies—AFTER they have been stripped of all power and privilege. Only then can we begin to build a genuinely free society. We advocate and practise direct action as the means of achieving this.

No doubt the Nationalists will achieve their aim of 'Independence'. But if they seriously believe that talk of 'patriotism' and 'nationhood' will paper over the grim reality of class war, then they are living in cloud cuckoo land. Scotland's anarchists will continue the struggle until the class system and all forms of oppression are ended for good. To the Nationalists we leave 'Queen and Country'. Our aim is liberty.

D.C.

DR. BAKUNIN AND THE DISEASED BEAST



ITS FOOT IN MOUTH, WE
HAVE TO PUT THE WHOLE HERD DOWN

A SUCCESSFUL MEETING

THE meeting on Saturday, December 2, on Ealing Green, organized by Jim Huggon in response to an article in the *Middlesex County Times*, which gave details of an intensive but indiscriminating drive by the police against alleged drug-taking by youths in the Ealing area, was well attended, though this was perhaps indirectly due to foot-and-mouth disease, which was why the meeting kept going till after six.

A leaflet, 'Youth, Drugs and the Police' was distributed outlining the matter in detail, and advising those 'picked-off' by the police what to do should they be searched, subjected to brutality, or have false evidence given against them, and the rights under existing law should anybody feel their freedom is being abused in relation to drug

charges. This leaflet, which is worth learning by heart, can be obtained on application from the Council for Civil Liberties.

The police, for their part, although overtly criticised, left us alone, seeming to be more interested in motorists. This meeting stirred up a lot more reaction than did a similar 'public forum' on Vietnam in the autumn, and anarchists, some of whom had come a fair way to attend, were constantly being questioned by curious and for the most part tolerant onlookers.

Literature sold better than expected, and there is good reason to hope meetings can continue on the Green. For once then, a meeting which came off, rather than the usual damp squib.

R.P.

NEXT WEEK:
Joint Publication
with 'Peace News'
**A Message
to the
Military—
Industrial**
from
Paul Goodman

ANARCHY 82

ON SALE NOW
DISCUSSES
**BRAEHEAD
SCHOOL**

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

books for Xmas

We can supply these books (and others) for Xmas gifts. Thus you can benefit your friends and our funds—two for the price of one!

- The Wobblers** Patrick Renshaw 42/-
The Russian Anarchists Paul Avrich 69/-
Selected Philosophical
Alexander Herzen 10/-
Love and Orgasm Alexander Lowen 37/6
To Hell with Culture Herbert Read 21/-
Anarchy and Order Herbert Read 21/-
The Sexual Revolution
Wilhelm Reich 25/-
Character Analysis Wilhelm Reich 63/-
Authority and Delinquency in the Modern State Alex Comfort 10/6
Equality and Power R. V. Sampson 35/-
Talking of Summerhill A. S. Neill 25/-
Homer Lane: a Biography
W. David Wills 40/-
Growing Up Absurd Paul Goodman 21/-
What is to be Done?
N. G. Chernyshevsky (paperback) 10/-
Plays, Prose, Writings and Poems
Oscar Wilde 12/6
The Peckham Experiment
Innes H. Pearce & Lucy H. Crocker 12/6
The Sane Society
Erich Fromm (paperback) 12/6
Fear of Freedom
Erich Fromm (paperback) 10/-
SPECIAL OFFER
STOCKING FILLER
Caleb Williams William Godwin
("What were this Bluebeard's unspeakable crimes")
(paperback, reduced) 3/6
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.

AUL ELTZBACHER

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

RUDOLF ROCKER

Nationalism and Culture
cloth 21/-

CHARLES MARTIN

Towards a Free Society 2/6

JOHN HEWETSON

III-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 STERLING CRISIS, whatever it may have done for Britain, has brought on a major crisis of the international monetary system: the wolves of international finance, having tasted blood, have now turned and begun tearing at each other's throats.

With the new sterling parity safe from challenge for the time being—optimistic guesses put the safe period at twelve months—attention has been directed to the remaining weak points in the international network of currencies. The international financiers, having made their speculative profits on sterling's devaluation, have now shifted the attack to the other, and more important, reserve currency, the American dollar; the speculators are going for an increase in the dollar price of gold.

Buying of gold in the London market, which is the main world market, has been the heaviest in memory, and there is no prospect of more than momentary lulls in the buying pressure. Dollar balances are being converted into gold as rapidly as they can be mobilised.

The United States has firmly reiterated its intention of maintaining the existing gold price of \$35 the ounce, which it can do by selling as much gold as hoarders want at this price. But while the US gold stock is at present worth about thirteen billion dollars, the short-term debts to foreigners (that is, those which could be immediately converted into gold) amount to more than twice this.

The outcome of the speculative purchasing of gold will depend on the extent to which foreign-owned dollars can be mobilised by the speculators, and also the willingness of European central banks to refrain, even if not co-operating with the Americans, from joining the attack by converting their own dollar holdings into gold. The French have already declared their view that the gold price should be increased.

The greater the prospects of success in the attack on gold, the more reluctant will be central banks to hold their dollars: the only satisfactory solution would be for the US to guarantee the gold value of existing dollar balances, which would amount to an admission of the weakness of the dollar.

THE PRICE OF GOLD

Whatever the outcome of the struggle over the gold price, the result is going to be very harmful to world trade, about seventy per cent of which is financed in dollars. The initial running down in dollar holdings is going to put a severe strain upon the cost and availability of trade finance in the first place. Even more harmful, however, is likely to be the effect on American policy.

This latest crisis will greatly strengthen the already strong tendencies in the US towards economic autarchy: if foreign trade exposes the United States to humiliation she may well turn away from it. So large is the American economy, and so rich, that it is one of the few that could live without international trade. The effects of the new and high tariffs, exchange controls, cessation of foreign aid and other spending, restriction of foreign investment, and perhaps even a devaluation of the at present overvalued dollar in terms of other currencies, would be harmful to the American eco-

The Intelligent Anarchist's Guide to Stupid Finance

nomy—but for the rest of the world they would be a disaster.

Thus if the speculators are successful in forcing the United States to increase its selling price of gold in order to conserve its gold stock (or, what amounts to the same thing, to cease to sell gold), the resulting humiliation which the most powerful country in the world must feel could produce savage retaliatory action.

But the dollar is not the only currency whose future has been placed in jeopardy by the sterling devaluation. Many foreign exchange dealers in London are predicting a sticky time for, surprisingly, the Swiss franc.

SWISS FRANC THREATENED

The strength of the Swiss franc in recent years has been due to the continued inflow of funk money from other centres, and the large sums of quasi-legal money which have flowed into numbered accounts as a result of tax evasion, embezzlement, or other shady dealings. But the basic Swiss balance of payments position is not strong.

Now with the pound being for the moment the safest major currency in the

Continued from page 1
of power.

But what happens when the days of muddling through are over? We may reach that day when the US Government invades North Vietnam. If that decision is postponed, then for so long will the crunch be delayed. But the signs are that the day of decision may not be far off. According to Paul Goodman's information (in the current *New York Review*) it may be this December.

VIOLENT OR NON-VIOLENT?

It is worth while to look at the English, American, French and Russian Revolutions to see exactly what it was that made them happen. In each case it was war. Soldiers refused to fight or changed sides, recruits refused to go, taxpayers refused to pay. What began as non-co-operation ended in insurrection. It was all a very empirical process. No master-mind worked it all out.

With the breakdown of established institutions people are compelled to devise some other form of organisation in order to maintain elementary provision of food, light, heat, work, communications and the rest. We are reduced to what John Lilburne called 'a state of nature' and it is interesting that this, translated in our idiom 'square one', is an expression on everyone's lips today.

If the point be taken that we face an insurrectional future it has also to be accepted that none knows what this will mean. Nothing would be more damaging to the success of insurrection than attempts to produce blueprints about it. As in the creative process generally, the first thing to do is to discover the question. Then the hard work starts. The answers will only be slowly wrested from hard experience.

The most important problem (for me) arising out of the experience of past

world, this money is leaving Zurich and going to London. And a large proportion of the speculative buying of gold is emanating from Zurich. The result of all this is to subject the Swiss reserves to a heavy drain, which Switzerland may not be able to withstand (the Swiss authorities have long been aware of the danger, and at one stage foreigners had to pay Swiss banks one per cent per annum for the privilege of lending money to them).

Other currencies, too, must be considered as threatened, either immediately, or ultimately, after the resolution of the dollar-gold crisis. High on the list is the Japanese yen, which is fairly weak already. If the yen were to be forced into a devaluation, of course countries like Australia would have to follow suit. Even if the domino-theory of chain-collapse is nonsense as a theory of international politics, it has a proven validity in international monetary affairs. International banking, like domestic banking in the nineteenth century, is a house of cards—the least breath of alarm and the whole structure can collapse.

INSURRECTION IN ENGLAND

insurrections is that though they have usually been initially non-violent (e.g. John Hampden's refusal to pay Ship Money and the mass desertions from Charles I's army during the attack on Scotland in 1639), they soon became violent when the old order turned to the sword.

Having become violent, and organised as a revolutionary army to defeat the *ancien régime*, the revolution army then becomes the new establishment and crushes its own radical wing (the Levellers at Burford and the Diggers at St. George's Hill).

Can it ever be done differently? Are there grounds for supposing that we have an opportunity denied to our forebears? It could be. No revolution can ever achieve ultimate success in a caste-ridden society, and our century is the first in which that condition is possible. A revolution can only remain a revolution if it can draw on a bottomless well of talent for the solution of its fantastic range of problems. All previous revolutions have eventually dried up partly for this reason—they just did not have the people with the ideas and the ability to fill the vacuum left by the demise of the old order.

THE GOODMAN FORMULA

The end-product of the Grammar Schools, Red Brick Universities and Technical Colleges may be more revolutionary than we think. There are a million people around who in any previous era would never have got past the elementary stage of their education not because of personal limitations but because the system did not permit otherwise.

Can we meet Paul Goodman's prescription and build an alliance of pro-

Such possibilities are not of course necessarily to be realised. Nobody wants a repetition of the scaring experiences of the international financial collapse of 1931-33.

Despite this, bankers in London and elsewhere are selling dollars heavily and placing more and more funds in the hands of speculative gold-buyers. This is a very profitable business: with the memory of 1931 dim and distant, and with the complacency produced by widespread nodding acquaintance with the vulgarised summaries of the erroneous Keynesian doctrine, no banker is going to stop and consider what the outcome of the joint action of the banks is likely to be. This, as they say, is not their job. Their job is to make hay while the sun shines.

And so, like lemmings, the financiers of the world rush on towards the collapse of the international monetary system and the network of trade.

Whether this suicidal progress can be stopped, no one can say. The feeble attempts at international co-operation by central banks so far do not engender optimism. Keynes, indeed, did teach us how to overcome mass unemployment: but he did not teach us how to prevent intelligent and highly educated men from acting like blind, ignorant fools.

BRON SHATOV.

professional people and the excluded groups: the young, the old, the coloured, the homeless, the small business man and everyone left out by the System? I think we can.

Someone will have to take up the challenge. If we don't someone else will, since the issue is as much one of survival as utopia. If, however, we turn to violence, or if the revolution with or without us turns to violence, it might be possible to solve some immediate problem such as stopping the war in Vietnam but the major struggle will remain to be undertaken later.

One final observation. There will be marginal violence in a non-violent insurrection. It is important that we not be put off by that prospect. In fact we are already well prepared for it. For years now, in every demonstration that we have had, we have known that there might always be a handful of people who would ignore the briefing on non-violence in some way or other. We have never allowed ourselves to be deterred or intimidated by this recognition. We have contained it. We can go on doing so.

Today anger is taking to the streets with good cause. This is something different in quality to the moral indignation that moved us in the same streets in 1958/1963. One does not have to make comparisons between things that are different. Can we put our experience of the old at the disposal of what is new?

If, however, enough of us insist on treating the problem in depth, and deal with the problem of power at the same time as we deal with the problem of war, then it is possible that in the context of a non-violent insurrection against war we may lay the foundations of a free non-violent society. PETER CADOGAN.

Anarchist Federation of Britain

General enquiries should be sent to the London Federation.

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. c/o Libra House, 256 Pentonville Road, London, N.1.
DEC. 11: Anarchist Black Cross Social at the ARTS LAB, 182 Drury Lane, W.C.1.
Sunday evening meetings 8 p.m. Lamb & Flag, Rose Street, off Garrick Street, London, W.C.2.
Readers, writers and sellers meeting
DEC. 10: Stuart Christie
'People' and 'Private Eye'
LEWISHAM. Contact Mike Malet, 61 Granville Park, Lewisham, London, S.E.13.
EALING ANARCHIST GROUP. Get into touch with Ken King, 54 Norwood Road, Southall.
KING'S CROSS GROUP. c/o Libra House, 256 Pentonville Road, London, N.1.

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 Rouou's, new at 13 Savernake Road, London, N.W.3.
2nd and 4th Friday of each month, 8 p.m., at Brenda Mercer's and dj Austin's, 80 Crouch Hill, N.8 (Finsbury Park Underground, 212 bus to door).

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

ABERDEEN ANARCHISTS meet 1st and 3rd Wednesdays of month at M. Dey's, 142 Walker Road, 2nd and 4th Wednesdays at Liz Smith's, 3 Sinclair Road. Correspondence to either address.
ALTRINCHAM ANARCHIST YOUTH GROUP. Get in touch with Stephen Richards, 25 North Vale Road, Timperley, Cheshire.
BEXLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence to Paul Wildish, 2 Cumbrian Avenue, Barnsbury, Kent.
BELFAST: Contact Tony Adams, 11 Winetaverns Street, Smithfield Square, Belfast.
BERMINGHAM LIBERTARIAN GROUP. All anarchists, syndicalists, individualists, etc., please contact Geoff and Caroline Charlton, top flat, 25 Lightwoods Hill, Smeethwick, Warley, Wores.
RESISTANCE GROUP. c/o Birmingham Peace Action Centre (formerly CND office), Factory Road, Birmingham, 19.
BOLTON. Get in touch with Les Smith, 22 Grosvenor Street, Bolton, Lancs.
BOURNEMOUTH AND EAST DORSET ANARCHISTS. Please contact John McCair,

14 Milton Road, Bournemouth (B'm'th 22279) or Tim Deane, Juliet, West Moors, Wimborne, Dorset (Ferndown 3588).

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 and Pat Thorne, 22 Hampton Road, Redland, Bristol, 6.
FIFE LIBERTARIANS. Contact Bob and Una Turnbull, 39 Stratheden Park, Stratheden Hospital, by Cupar, 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.

HERTS. Contact either Stuart Mitchell at South View, Potters Heath Lane, Potters Heath, Welwyn, Herts OR Jeff Cloves, 46 Hughendon Road Marshalswick, St. Albans, Herts.
December 13—Robert Barltrop: 'Decline of the Socialist Movement'. 8 p.m. 48 Lonsdale Road, Stevenage.

HULL ANARCHIST GROUP. c/o J. Tempest, 89 Fountain Road, Beverley, Hull.
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.
LEICESTER PROJECT. Peace/Libertarian action and debate. Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. at 1 The Crescent, King Street, Leicester.

LSE ANARCHIST GROUP. c/o Student Union, London School of Economics, Houghton Street, W.C.2.

NORTH EAST ESSEX. Group meets the first Monday in each month 7.15 p.m. at 91 Brook Street, Tolleshurst Knights, Tiptree, Essex. For further information write P. Newell, 'Maybush', Maypole Road, Tiptree, Essex.

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

NOTTING HILL. Please get in touch with John Bennett and Marilyn Paddy, Flat 4, 88 Clarendon Road, London, W.11. Tel: 727 9745. Meetings every Monday at 7 p.m.

ORFINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.

OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Simon Martin, Oriel College, Oxford.
PLYMOUTH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Contact J. Hill, 79 Underlane, Plymstock, Plymouth, Devon.

READING ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Alan Ross, 116 Belmont Road, Reading, Berks.
SHEFFIELD RADICAL GROUP. Contact Robin Lovell c/o Students' Union, Sheffield
SHEFFIELD ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact S.R.G., 31 Harcourt Road, Sheffield, 10.

SLOUGH ANARCHIST GROUP AND 'HIPPIE' GROUP. Contact B. P. Norcott, 116 Lower Cippemham 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.

S.W. LONDON LIBERTARIANS. Meet every Thursday, 7.30 p.m. at 14 Clapham Court, King's Avenue (Acre Lane end), S.W.4.

SOUTH WEST MIDDLESEX ANARCHIST GROUP meets alternate Thursdays and Saturdays, on Ed Pie Island. Contact P. J. Goody, 56 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.

WEST ESSEX & EAST HERTS

FEDERATION

To be serviced by a newsletter and three-monthly meetings. Groups and individuals are invited to associate: c/o Keith Nathan, 138 Pennymead, Harlow.

Enquiries: contact John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Harlow; contact John Dears, 184 Carter's Mead and/or Geoff Hardy, 6 Redrick's Lane.

Loughton: c/o Students' Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Loughton, Essex.

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 'HIPPIE' MOVEMENT. Gerry Bree, 16 Faulkner Square, Liverpool, 8. Meetings weekly. 'Freedom' Sales—Pier Head, Saturdays, Sundays, Evenings.

MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Dave Poulson, 9 Boland Street, Fallowfield, Manchester, 14.

SOUTH WALES ANARCHIST FEDERATION
CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP, SWANSEA

ANARCHIST GROUP. All correspondence to: Julian Ross, 111 King Edwards Road, Brynmill, Swansea.

ASSOCIATION

LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS'

Meetings—discussions—activities. Contact Peter Ford, 36 Devonshire Road, Mill Hill, London, N.W.7.

PROPOSED GROUPS

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

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

CORNWALL ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact A. C. Jacob, 76 East Hill, St. Austell, Cornwall.

WOLVERHAMPTON. Contact Martin Bashforth at 11 Lyndhurst Road, Wolverhampton.

FULHAM & CHELSEA ANARCHIST GROUP. Get in touch with Mary Canipa, 21 Rumbold Road, Fulham, S.W.6 and/or Richard Bolton, 48 Yeomans Row, Chelsea, S.W.3. Phone: KN1 2288.

CRAWLEY. Get in touch with Ian Pett, 63 Winchester Road, Tilgate, Sussex. Viva Anarchist!

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. Gøttersgade 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 Chartier, 11 Avenue de la Laiterie, Sclessin-Liege, Belgium.

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

USA. James W. Cain, secretary, Insurgency Anarchist Association, 323 Fourth Street, Cloquet, Minnesota 55720, USA.

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

ARTHUR MOYSE'S ARTICLE on Indica, entitled 'Flower or Weed?' is entirely unfounded and completely untrue. I might perhaps be prevailed on to accept a few things that he says about the Arts Laboratory and I am not an admirer of Rothfield's work, but his statements about Miles and about Indica are not only badly written but totally stupid.

His criticism (seems) to focus (?) on two aspects: that Indica books is financially affluent, and therefore, in Mr. Moyses's opinion, a traitor to some vague ideal Mr. Moyses hides deep in the foggy recesses of his confused mind; and that we apparently ban children under 16 years of age from the shop (O, cruel to children!).

First, I should like to instruct the readers of FREEDOM that Mr. Moyses has no inside information on the finances of Indica and is therefore not in any position to make (or unmake) such a ridiculous statement. It is, furthermore, a great achievement for a bookshop which specializes in modern literature, poetry, and philosophy, to be successful. For such a shop to be successful is a tribute to the men who started it, to modern poetry, to the poets, and to the public who patronize it. Poets need an outlet for communication (just like a newspaper such as FREEDOM needs one), and Indica is one of the very few outlets for modern poetry, underground papers, and avant garde literature left in the UK due to economic repression. I think there are only a half dozen such shops in Eire and the UK together, and Indica is now the only one left in London.

GOOD BOOKSHOPS CLOSING DOWN

The demise of Better Books shows how difficult and dangerous it is to participate in such an endeavour. Think how many poetry bookshops have fallen by the wayside due to public neglect—Poetry Bookshop, Pledjades, Kulchur Bücher, Paris Bookshop, Whitmans Bookshop, Shakespeare and Company, and so many others too numerous to name—while the really despicable shops like Foyles, which pays starvation wages, and Smiths which, by its hard-line monopolistic tendencies has the power of censorship over publishers, go merrily on, getting richer and richer.

To patronize the underground shops like Unicorn, Trent Bookshop, Indica, etc., is to deprive the establishment of money and to encourage young writers. The more this is done the better, because the result will be more money circulating in the underground and more publications of writers (political, philosophical and artistic) who are otherwise denied an audience because they are not commercially feasible to a large publisher who deals with large bookshops.

Another factor that Mr. Moyses has not taken into account, because, like most journalists, he wrote about his subject without knowing his subject, is that Indica, on the contrary, has had and will continue to have to fight battles with establishment publishers, mainly due to the fact that we refused to join the Booksellers' Association, a purposeless Edwardian bric-à-brac organization of the establishment which controls the decisions of the bookshops so that their policies will be favourable to the potentates of a dying industry.

I think that had Mr. Moyses meditated a short while on any of these factors he would have not written such a puerile phrase as 'to hell with Miles', which I find particularly stupid as I know Miles not only as my employer but as a friend, and I know him to be a far better person with much higher values than such an irresponsible article might make him seem to readers who do not know him or Indica.

Perhaps one can explain Mr. Moyses's behaviour as that which is typical of the Left: to be so busy biting each other's backs that the enemy defeats them.

IT WAS I—NOT MILES

In regard to the second point, not so important as the first, again one realizes that Mr. Moyses does not know anything about what he is talking. It was I, and not Miles (who disapproved of my decision) who banned children under sixteen from the shop. I might emphasize that the signs says: *Children under sixteen unaccompanied by their parents are not allowed in this shop.* Why? Because ever since I became manager of Indica, I have watched, with great pain, children

Subscription Rates

FREEDOM only (per year):
 £1 10s. (\$4.50) surface mail
 £2 16s. (\$8.00) airmail
 ANARCHY only (per year):
 £1 6s. (\$3.50) surface mail
 £2 7s. (\$7.00) airmail
 COMBINED SUBSCRIPTION
 FREEDOM & ANARCHY (per year):
 £2 10s. (\$7.50) surface mail both
 £4 15s. (\$12.50) airmail both

CHILDREN, PROPERTY AND SOME DIFFICULTIES

stealing from our shop. They are usually in the age range of 9 to 14. They have stolen items which are completely meaningless to them: collection tins, buttons, books, newspapers. They have stolen these items for reasons which we need not go into here as they cannot be rectified by writing about them here nor by taking down that sign. I cannot go with each child and correct the poisoning with which his society and his home and his environment has twisted him. (Would that I could, or that Mr. Moyses could!)

First, after catching them, I tried talking with them, explaining the uselessness of craving and the illusion of possession; they of course laughed at me and would not listen. Then I put up a notice in the shop (which Mr. Moyses did not mention) which said: *If you are thinking of stealing, please do not. Stealing from a bookshop like Indica KILLS an important outlet for modern literature. We have lost personal belongings, wage packets, books, magazines.* This notice seemed to help with stealing as far as adults were concerned, but it did not deter children.

STOPPED THEFTS

However, since I banned children from the shop there has been almost no stealing at all. What really decided me against having children in the shop, is that they mainly come into the shop to make noise and to steal, as we do not have children's books; they had no real focus of interest except to perhaps release

some of their sense of protest at a world they cannot understand nor approve. If they had been adults it might have been possible to cause them to realize that such behaviour is a state of illusion and that it should be directed at real targets and not aimed at random at anyone who is within immediate reach (this latter behaviour is puerile, Mr. Moyses!), but as they were not adults, they had to be banned. (An easy solution, but not so easily reached for the question of responsibility is endless. . .)

Still, I held off putting up such a notice because it went against my grain to ban children from a bookshop, even though we had nothing for them to read. Some boys came in, browsed around the shop, making a great deal of noise. As they left I noticed that one of them had a book in his coat. I walked after them and they bolted, but I grabbed the books from them as they fled. They had stolen three copies of an Alan Watts' book. The next day (for these thieving expeditions were daily) some more boys came into the shop. One of them with a gentle face had his arm in a sling and I thought to my sentimental self, 'Oh, no! Not these! Not that lad, he wouldn't.' After much noise they left of their own volition. I walked to the front of the shop, quite innocently, and when they saw me coming they ran off in all directions, simultaneously flinging down books and badges to slow me down. The boy with the cast flung down handfuls of badges

Don't Blame Only the Government

Dear Friends,
 In reference to your very good article 'Solidarity With The Miners'. While I would agree in principle with everything said, one could easily get the idea that only the Government was responsible for the betrayal of the miners. If we are to dispel the whole illusion of leadership we must definitely look deeper into situations like this.

When Lord Robens announced that the figures supplied to him by the Ministry of Fuel and Power added up to a reduction in the labour force of some 300,000 over 12 years, many MPs challenged him. Lord Robens replied, 'I didn't make the figures, I just added them up, and the figures can't lie.'

The National Union of Miners sponsor 23 Labour MPs; they also have union officials represented on a number of Government committees including the National Advisory Council for Industry, the National Advisory Council to the Ministry of Labour, the National Advisory Council to the Ministry of Fuel and Power, and the National and Regional Coal Boards. All of these committees are concerned with the planning and the co-ordination of the industry and the regulation of labour, therefore the NUM officials not only had access to these figures, they helped to compile them. Is it possible to believe that the miners' own representatives on all of these committees, and the 23 sponsored MPs couldn't add up the figures? I would go further than Lord Robens and say the figures didn't lie—but the liars certainly figured.

Withdrawing political levy is the first step; now the miners should look at the enemy within their own union. Surely they could do without all these

PRESS FUND

WEEK 48, DECEMBER 2, 1967:
 Expenses: 48 weeks at £90: £4320
 Income: Sales and Subs.: £3133
 DEFICIT: £1187

Reading: A.R. 8/-; Hartfield: D.M. 15/6;
 London, N.W.1: D.R. 10/-; London, S.W.7: R.E. 11/-; Manchester: P.H. 10/-;
 London, N.19: S.H. 11/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Manchester: M.B. 10/-;
 Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-;
 Nottingham: P.B. 5/-; Halesowen: R.D. 10/-; Manchester: M.G. £2/10/-;
 Glasgow: J.B. 15/-; Aberdeen: L.D. 8/6;
 London, S.E.5: D.L. £2/10/-; Stockholm: G.L. £1/6/5; Woodstock: E.S. £6/-;
 London, N.W.11: A.U. 5/-; Reading: M.B. £2/10/-; Heswall: G.D. £3/10/-;
 Scarborough: J.F. 7/6; Cupar: B.T. 11/-;
 Aberdeen: D.G. 11/-

TOTAL: £28 5 11
 Previously Acknowledged: £956 9 1
 1967 Total to Date: £984 15 0

*Denotes Regular Contributor.

LETTERS

officials who seem to be permanently sitting on this or that committee or council and only emerge to confuse the issues and later to reassure the miners that all is well when in fact they have been collaborating with the Government, deliberately planning their own members' unemployment.

While I agree one hundred per cent on the five points that J.L. so ably put, we will only get down to building these types of working-class organisations when we start planning the unemployment of both Government and union officials.

Yours for Freedom and Workers' Control of the Unions and the Industry.
 London. E.S.

Black & White Power

Dear Comrades,
 It is hard to see just what D.C.R.'s recent piece on racial integration or Guy Gladstone's article on Michael X had to do with anarchism. However, they do provide an interesting illustration of the fact that 'white liberalism' and 'Black Power' are merely two sides of the same coin. For D.C.R. the solution is for coloured people to integrate into our rotten society. Guy Gladstone apparently favours 'the building up of immigrant-owned businesses' (however, he does not explain why it is better for a coloured worker to be exploited by a coloured employer than a white one).

If either of them have any proposals on how to change the system that breeds racialism, they do not say so. Instead both merely propose tinkering with this system.

Both these attitudes must be exposed. In particular we must point out that behind the apparent militancy of 'Black Power' lies the belief that black workers have more in common with black exploiters than white workers. Where this lead has been shown in New York where 'militant' H. Raf Brown has advised coloured teachers to scab on the current teachers strike (see October Socialist Current).
 Birmingham. ROGER SANDELL.

out of his sling. I chased them enough to give them a scare.

I then put up that notice on the door to which Mr. Moyses in his peregrinations (or is he a habitué of Indica? for shame!) took offence to. But then, perhaps Mr. Moyses took offence because he is under sixteen. If this is so, let me assure him that he can come to Indica and browse without buying a thing, provided he does not steal, and he need not even bring his mother. We allow anyone who is over sixteen years in mental age, no matter what the chronology of their body.

As for Indica exhaling 'a sour and tainted air of a weed' (an example of Mr. Moyses's *ars poetica*), I must say that personally I think that Indica is certainly doing just as much for the future and for the re-education of the universal *ethos* as FREEDOM is doing. Don't forget that we sell FREEDOM and Anarchy. We sell them because we think them worthwhile, just as we refuse to sell *Process and Life* as we think they are harmful and irresponsible. Mr. Moyses might do us a good turn by trying to sell Indica rather than betraying her when she has done him no harm, nor his vague ideas either. If Mr. Moyses must stamp on his friends' hands, at least he might wear boots and do it efficiently: the impotency and ignorance of his article caused endless amusement amongst those who know what Indica is doing and for what she stands.

Mr. Moyses might furthermore take notice that the Arts Laboratory is not any more connected with Indica than is FREEDOM. He is confusing the fact that many of the same people ('the beats and the hipsters') who buy books at Indica go to the Arts Lab., but then many of the same people also go to Covent Garden Opera and to the Royal Court but he does not call those people 'rejects of Indica'. But then, perhaps since many of the same people read FREEDOM (many buy it at Indica), Mr. Moyses's article was a pathetic attempt at a public self-flagellation, when he witnessed (with his all-seeing eye of a journalist) that many of the 'beaded flower children . . . on that aimless quest for an appointment for an answer to questions that they are unable to formulate' were carrying well-read copies of FREEDOM as they went into that 'tatty cavern'.

O alas, poor man. . .
 ALYOSHA KENSHO,
 (Manager),
 Indica Books Ltd.
 Could letters be kept short,
 please (250 words maximum).
 Editors.

The Municipals

FOR TOO MANY years the municipal busmen have had their wages and working conditions dictated by the National Joint Industrial Council for the Road Passenger Industry. Every small-and-big-time bus operator has used the NJIC agreed rates of pay as a maximum and the employers have collectively outlawed any private or public bus operators who have agreed to pay over the agreed wage rate without the NJIC consent; the simple and obvious result of this is that the municipal busmen now lag £3 per week on the London basic wage.

It was left to a National Committee to prepare a *Busmen's Charter* that would have corrected most of the abuses that the men suffer in regard to wages and working conditions. Certain of the bus operators were prepared to negotiate with the union but the closed shop of employers stood firm and the busmen were forced to take strike action and work-to-rule to press their case. The employers were not slow to react and it ranged from the public inanities of Ald. N. Harris screaming of being 'fleece'd by the incredible effrontery of the unions' and of 'claims that get wilder and wilder' to the muscle men among the employers who cynically withdrew services, hired non-union labour and tore up existing union agreements.

The municipal busmen came out in a solid strike action while the employers are standing solid behind the £13 weekly basic wage rate. The municipal busmen are now appealing to other unions for financial help and a relief fund has now been set up. These busmen in the main work in isolation and they do not have the moral solidarity that the dockers, miners, railwaymen and metropolitan workers possess by virtue of their jobs and geography.

The national press have deliberately chosen to ignore this industrial dispute while the employers are cold-bloodedly preparing to sit the strike out. Your wages and conditions are governed not by the maximum but by the minimum paid to others so that any group of low-paid workers fighting to improve their wages and working conditions are fighting your fight and their struggle is your responsibility.

WHO?

I AM NOT alone in identifying an anarchist tendency in the Reith Lectures of Dr. Edmund Leach. After his third lecture the Bishop of Leicester wrote in a letter to *The Times*:

'The real test of Dr. Edmund Leach's enthusiasm for anarchy will come if and when it breaks out in King's College, Cambridge, with disastrous results to its artistic, aesthetic and administrative reputation.'

Dr. Leach's fourth lecture must have caused the Bishop further pain:

'The common belief that our more deeply felt moral constraints are shared by all humanity is simply a delusion. Morality is specified by culture; what you ought to do depends on who you are and where you are.'

WHAT?

IN THE controversy between the *Solidarity* group and NW which occupied the other four columns of this page last week, *Solidarity* listed at length the labels they repudiated: *anarcho-liberals, anarcho-fascists, anarcho-pacifists, anarcho-catholics, anarcho-Maoists, anarcho-hippies or individualist anarchists.* They left out the description most often given to them: *anarcho-Marxists.*

The *Solidarity* group's strenuous efforts to avoid the anarchist label suggest a dog running away from its tail.

WHEN?

THE CONTROVERSY reminded me of an idea. Today's anarchists suffer from the disadvantage that many of our predecessors made criticisms of other socialists—Marxists in general and Leninists in particular—which read very well in 1967.

The temptation is to identify ourselves with the heroes of the past—Bakunin, Kropotkin, Malatesta and the rest—glorying in their insights and forgetting their absurdities.

It is true that there is no single anarchist tradition. Or, as *Solidarity* put it, *there is no such thing as a coherent anarchist system of ideas with which one can get to grips.*

The anarchists of the past—the self-styled anarchists—did not automatically agree with one another. They have inspired a variety of groups and tendencies with a common characteristic—excessive reliance on the theories and slogans of yesterday.

In my opinion anarchist traditions are of greater interest to the historian than to the revolutionary. Of course it is important that the revolutionary should study and understand history.

But the thoughts, words and deeds of the self-styled anarchists amount to little more than a footnote on the page of history.

The anarchists of the past were propagandists who failed. They did not fail completely: that the anarchist idea exists today is partly due to them.

There is no reason why we should not repeat what they said if we really cannot improve on it, if we are confident that it represents the summit of human wisdom. Even if we do, the language of the nineteenth century is hardly likely to be the most effective means of communication today.

I am more interested in what is happening now. In anarchist ideas and tendencies which exist whatever they are called by the people associated with them.

As I said three weeks ago I cannot see the point of abandoning the anarchist label. Equally I cannot see the point of ignoring people whose approach is anarchist merely because they do not use the label and because their anarchism is unfamiliar.

WHERE?

UDI HAS DONE nothing for the people of Rhodesia. But it has done wonders for the politicians of Britain.

The men of peace have screamed for war: the men of war have urged restraint, moderation, negotiation.

But the most ridiculous claim inspired by the maintenance of white power in Rhodesia is the liberal one that elsewhere in Africa 'democracy' exists.

I have pleasure in announcing FREEDOM'S new circulation-building competition. The first reader to send me the name of an African country where no political opponent of the government has been murdered or imprisoned in the last five years will win a year's free subscription to the paper.

WYNFORD HICKS.

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



Subscribe for a Friend

LUMPENPROLETARIAT.

Nationalisation & Unemployment

THE NATIONALISATION OF industries was and still is considered by many to be the answer for workers in the private sectors of industry. Most of the trade unions have called for nationalisation at one or more of their conferences.

Workers have welcomed it when it has occurred, but disillusionment has soon followed when it has been realised that nothing has really changed from the workers' point of view. Some have advocated nationalisation as a step towards workers' control. How wrong and disastrous this has been. On the other hand, those Governments that legislated for nationalisation were only too well aware of what they were doing. Nationalisation is a political act

which gives the State a third dimension of industrial power, in addition to social and political power.

The industries that have been nationalised are the basic ones on which the others rely for supplies of materials, power or transportation. The shareholders can be compensated and they can reinvest this money, further expanding the private sector. However, instead of a new era dawning for the workers in nationalised industries, many have suffered low wages and insecurity. Nationalisation, or State capitalism, not only brings economic power to the State, but strengthens capitalism. It frees investment and increases the monopolistic tendencies of the system and also brings the coercive power of the State to bear on the workers it employs.

REORGANISATION OF INDUSTRY

The State has been and is reorganising these nationalised industries in order to bring them in line with the economic facts of life. Producing more and more cars is far more important at the moment than having a network of railways to provide people with a quick and comfortable means of travel. According to our rulers it is better that our supply of power should be based on a fluid that has been transported for hundreds of miles than on a source of energy that lies beneath our feet.

The gas industry, with its power-complex-orientated commercials on television, is another State-run concern which, over the years, has been cutting its labour force, not by sackings maybe, but by natural wastage. It has also become the agency off which the private companies feed. Rather than do the work themselves, the Gas Board gives out numerous contracts to these companies. In fact, I am told that you can pack up your job with the Board on Friday and start with a private company on Monday and still be on the same job in the same hole in the road repairing the same gas-pipe.

The present Government has nationalised steel, but here again workers will face a programme of rationalisation by which many will be sacked. The Wilson Government is carrying out a complete reorganisation of the State-run industries and its economic policies and wage freeze legislation have given employers an opportunity to reorganise their companies and methods of production.

Within this scheme of things workers are finding that all sorts of union-management agreements are being made over their heads without any consultation with the members. This is an important stage in the reorganisation of British capitalism. Workers are finding that they can only rely on their own efforts and that they are having to put more of their energies into fighting their

union executives than the employers. Then, as in the docks, they have had the State making threats of strike-breaking.

NO ALTERNATIVE WORK

We have been told that State intervention into industry would put an end to the old free-for-all and that they would plan things. Yet all that the Government's White Paper on fuel policy plans for is unemployment. Most of the collieries threatened with closure are in areas where there is already an above-average unemployment rate. At one colliery in the Rhondda Valley, a factory was built on an old National Coal Board site, but it only employs girls and now miners in the area are faced with unemployment, with no chance of finding alternative work. There was so much written about the new automated, modernised pits, but now even these are threatened with closure and miners who have already moved to different areas three or four times now face the dole queue.

We were told that the wage freeze was the alternative to unemployment, but the miners, railwaymen, steel workers, dockers and other industrial workers, will be unemployed as well. What the level of this 'pool of unemployment' will be will depend on the needs of those who own and control industry. But, even with a 'pool of unemployed', it is possible to push up wages. However, with the present trend in union-management agreements (measured day-work, package deals, no-strike clauses), it will become very difficult to force an employer to pay up.

RESISTANCE IS GROWING

The policy of the Labour Government is to strengthen capitalism. Workers have to recognise this and realise that the Labour Party does not represent them in any way. It is ridiculous to continue paying out money, in the form of a political levy, to this or any other Party.

Some of the recent industrial struggles have shown that workers are resisting the Government's policies. The struggles are mainly small isolated affairs, but some have gained much support from other sections of the Labour Movement as well as from the industry concerned. Rank and file committees are growing and through these the necessary liaison is being forged. It is the linking on a national scale that is vital, not only to win the present struggles, but also to build a rank and file movement, conscious and militant enough to challenge the economic system of capitalism.

P.T.

Freedom For Workers' Control

DECEMBER 9 1967 Vol 28 No 38

Say 'NO' to the Proposed Print Agreement

THE 'PRINTWORKER' SPECIAL ISSUE

THE AGREEMENT being balloted on at the moment by members of the various print unions in general print and in the provincial newspapers is the latest move by the employers to abolish any idea of a worker being employed to do a specific job, with specific trade union rights, under specific conditions. It would seem also that union leaders are agreeing with the employers' campaign.

The proposed agreement allows for a rise of 16/- a week in the first year and a further 14/- a week in the second year—but the old cost of living bonus is to be discontinued. It is therefore safe to assume that with the way the cost of living is now rising owing to devaluation, increased bank rate, and high Government expenditure on useless armaments, these paltry increases will be wiped out within a year or so by rises in the cost of living.

In the three years between October 1964 and October 1967—which was a period which included a so-called absolute standstill on price increases—the official cost of living rose by 12 points. Under the old cost of living agreement (now abandoned) that meant an automatic rise of 24/- at 2/- a point. How much will it rise in the next two years? That it will rise much higher and much faster is agreed by everybody, so without a cost of living agreement we shall be back where we started within possibly less than 12 months.

WHAT WE GIVE

To get this lousy wage increase members have to swallow clauses like this: 'Members of the Society (SOGAT DIV. 1) to clean the machine and all about them.' What does 'all about them' mean? Maybe we shall have to wash the foreman and the minder down as well as the windows, walls, and anything else that is near the machine.

We are expected to be jacks of all trades. Machine hands can, if this

agreement is accepted, work in warehouses and finishing departments; letterpress minders can run litho machines; compositors can become proofers and so on. The most ludicrous aspect of all this is that the unions have agreed to it 'in order to permit a more efficient use of the labour force in the industry and to provide a better basis of security of employment'.

Yet surely it is obvious to every printworker that this agreement actually means a more intense effort from a reduced labour force. That is the fundamental meaning of all this talk of 'efficiency' and 'realistic manning', etc. It will mean that print profits will rise, unemployment will rise, while print wages will barely, if at all, keep pace with the rise in the cost of living.

The answer lies with the membership of all the unions involved. Vote against this agreement. Send it back to the officials and demand instead:

1. A substantial increase in the basic rate of pay.
2. A reduction of hours with no loss of pay as the only way to fight redundancy.
3. The retention of the cost of living bonus to protect us from Government-engineered rises in the cost of living.

If our unions will not fight for these elementary demands (and these proposals show that the officials, at least, are not very keen to fight) then members and chapels must find the means of bringing the unions under rank and file control. Only then can we be certain of an organised struggle to defend and improve our standard of life.

AN ASLP FOC.

(This leaflet is issued by the Association of Rank and File Printworkers. If you want to know more about the Association, when we meet, what other activities we engage in, etc., write to The 'Printworker', 29 Love Walk, London, S.E.5.)

REFLECTIONS ON THE RAIL STRIKE

AGAIN we see the situation where workers of different unions are in a conflict to the detriment of both. It can be said with all honesty that all railwaymen have to negotiate with the most ham-fisted employers in the country. I would not trust them to buy a newspaper without intimidating the news-vendor.

The dispute is based on fear and craft status. The footplatemen's union, the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen (ASLEF), can visualise their craft union disappearing once the guards enter the locomotive. On the other hand, the policy of the British Railways Board is not only to eliminate guards' vans but guards as well. Therefore the National Union of Railwaymen (NUR) have somehow to substantiate a position on the train for their guards because they are essential for safety.

Both unions are fighting a plan of rationalization of labour initiated by the Government and the Railways Board. Unfortunately each union seeks a solution to its problems at the expense of the other union. This allows Gunter to place the dispute in the terms of an 'inter-union squabble'. This is an ideal situation as far as the Government and the Railways Board are concerned, because from their position they can attack the railwaymen for being irresponsible, and, if there was any public

sympathy, destroy it.

The national press who rarely, if ever, support trade unionists, are 'stirring the muck up' by obtaining interviews with ASLEF men who take an extreme craft position, and guards who retaliate in a like manner. One can also quote remarks from minority union branches who see the dispute in terms of ASLEF v. NUR; it all helps to draw the spotlight away from the real problem, 'rationalization of labour'.

Wilson wants a showdown. His productivity plan has got to be seen working. As has been pointed out in FREEDOM in the last two weeks, the workers are going to pay for devaluation. Wilson is being tough with the railwaymen as an example to private employers. Sections of the printing industry are engaged in a ballot now. If the members reject the proposals (as they should do), then by example Wilson can say to the printing employers, 'The Government has stood firm, you stand firm.' In any case, railwaymen have had interviews with Wilson before and have been talked into a bad compromise.

The Railways Board is becoming increasingly efficient at the 'divide and rule' game. ASLEF has never been consulted on this particular aspect of 'manning' and understandably are 'choked'. What the liaison between ASLEF and the NUR is like is not known, but one would have thought that

Greene, the NUR general secretary, could have foreseen the possible friction with ASLEF when he made the manning agreement, and made a point of discussing the problem with Griffiths, general secretary of ASLEF, beforehand. This might have obviated the present position of having two general secretaries, one on either side of a fence, each waving his own flag.

It must be plain to everyone that railwaymen now, and in the future, face a rough time. They will be used as pawns in the devaluation game. To face this challenge solidarity is essential; maybe it is not easy, but, by Christ! it is commonsense. Public transport in general is seething with discontent, provincial busmen are struggling now, London busmen are far from happy. Tube men at some time or other must get drawn into the battle and, last but not least, railway booking clerks will not be immune even though Gunter was one of their members.

Effective unity will not come from the top, transport workers must unite from the base. They all face the same problems, all pay the same price for food, living accommodation, etc. The Government is united with employers to keep Joe Soap under control; surely it's correct tactics if nothing else, for Joe Soaps to unite in opposition to meet the challenge.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

Contact Column

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

Greek Embassy Plaque. Wanted for 'centre-piece' of exhibition. Will pay for transport and will return. Box No. 70. Box No. 71.

Anarchist Meeting. Monday, December 11. 22 Sandon Street, Liverpool, 8. All welcome.

Student Anarchism. New fiery magazine starting beginning of next year. Enquiries from students, as well as articles, welcome. R. Bebb, LSE Anarchist Group, Students Union, Houghton Street, W.C.2.

Prisoners For Peace Day. This year's list of Conscientious Objectors in the world's prisons is available from WRI, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield. A greeting card from you or the group will be appreciated.

T.N.T. Manchester's first anarchist mag. now out. Single copies 1s. post free; multiple copies 9d. each, plus postage from 9 Boland Street, Manchester, 14.

Removal Van (or other suitable vehicle) wanted for long haul. Can you hire or lend us one for three days in the middle of January? Phone Brian McGee, ARChway 7200.

Camden Libertarians, anxious to preserve the Camden Campaign for Human Rights Year from bureaucracy, wet liberalism and the other ills such as flesh is heir to, should contact David Rose, Secretary, Camden CHRY, 44 Fitzroy Road, NW1—JUN 0711, Ext. 12 (between 2.30 and 4.30 p.m.).

Part-Time Work Wanted. Anything considered. Write G. Gladstone, c/o Freedom Press.

National Committee of 100. Quarterly Meeting, Saturday and Sunday, December 9 and 10. Birmingham, The Old Crown, High Street (near Bull Ring). Saturday 2.30 p.m. Evening Party. Sunday 10.30 a.m. to 4.30 p.m.

Woman with Four Children needs accommodation in cottage/flat/caravan, ANYWHERE where a little toleration is shown towards children. Box

Anarchist Black Cross. To send money and food to anarchists in prison. Secretary: Stuart Christie (c/o Freedom Press).

International Anarchist Camp 1969. Proposed to hold it in S.E. England—offers of assistance, suggestions for suitable sites to Jim Huggon, 173 Kingshill Avenue, Northolt, Middlesex.

'Save Greece Now' Defence Fund. Donations for Terry, Mike and Del) to Bretta Carthey, 8 Vincent Square Mansions, Walcott Street, London, S.W.1.

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.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

NOTICE

The comrades of the 'M. Bakunin' group ask comrades who took part in the Spanish War to send photographs, reproductions, documents, and everything which concerns our activities in Spain to Augusto Pizzigatti, Casella postale 10, Forli (47 100), Italy, so that they can arrange an exhibition.

This material will be passed to the people concerned. We can assure you it will be handled with the greatest care.

GET COMMITTED!