anarchist weekly

15. (50)

JANUARY 30 1971 Vol 32 No 4

NT KNOCK THE POSTMEN

DOSTAL WORKERS are really up against the wall. Despite other workers-Union of Post Office Workers' members who have been on strike since Wednesday, January 20, are fighting an extremely hard and increasingly bitter battle, not only against an intractable yet inefficient employer, but also an avowedly anti-working-class government and a very slimy national press. The UPW is claiming an acrossthe-board increase of 15% for Postmen and Postwomen, PHGs (generally called Sorters), Cleaners, P&TOs (Counter Clerks and others on writing duties), Telephonists and Telegraphists, with a maximum increase get? of £3 a week for those on the top grade. The Union is also demanding a reduction in the incremental scale, i.e. that Postmen, Postwomen and PHGs reach their maximum at 19 instead of 21; that Telephonists reach their maximum at 21 instead of 28, and that P&TOs reach their maximum at 25 instead of 30. offered an overall increase of 8%, gross. Of course, Postmen and Post-

in the incremental scales. The Post most larger towns and cities (but not munications Union, which claims without strike pay. Post Office worconsiderable sympathy from large Office and the Government spokes- in the villages) they get a certain members among the OTOs (overseas kers are very angry indeed. Had sections of 'the public'-that is man, Mr. Chattaway, argue that if amount of overtime-outside of telegraph workers); who are also they been less angry, they could the 15% is granted, the cost of in- Central London this is not all that mainly men. Neither 'union' is sup- have probably caused as much, or land letter rates would have to be excessive, except perhaps at Christraised to 9d. The Union says that mas time. However, the Post Office this is nonsense, and that the Post Corporation — which, surprisingly, Office can't even do simple arith- says it keeps no statistics on the metic! Moreover, the UPW is not subject-accepts a DEP estimate of prepared to take the dispute to arbitration, as it feels that any arbitrators appointed by the Government would not be 'fair' or neutralwhich, of course, is the understatement of the year. Governmentappointed arbitrators, Jack Scamp notwithstanding, never are. What sort of wages do Postmen, Postwomen, P&TOs and Telephonists At present, a Postman or Postwoman reaches a maximum basic wage outside London of £18 8s. a week. Outer London rates are a little higher, and Inner London rates are a little higher still. PHGs also get more than Postmen and Postwomen. Telephonists over 28 earn a basic £17 8s. a week, and most The Post Office Corporation has P&TOs are lucky if they take £25

but has not conceded the reductions women get 'free' uniforms; and in small 'union' called the Telecom- is why they are prepared to strike average postal workers' earnings of around £24 a week. Hardly enough to go to the Bahamas on!

porting the present struggle. They the employer's offer. is insufficient money in the kitty. this time. However, now that the were offered an increase of 4/- a be an indefinite strike, it must be week (honestly!) by the former Tory supported by all other workers with-Government, the UPW had no strike in the Post Office, in transport and fund whatsoever. For over 40 years on the railways and, of course, by of its existence, the UPW never con- Postal Workers abroad-otherwise templated actually going on strike there may be a certain loss of initial in pursuance of higher wages and enthusiasm, resulting in bitterness better working conditions. Such and a drift back to work. At the things were never done! So, even time of writing, there has been very now, the Union has hardly enough little drift back, despite the usual money to pay for the advertisements lies by the press, and some support that it has been inserting in the has come from other workers both national and local press.

even more, chaos and embarrassare, presumably, well satisfied with ment to the Government simply by working-to-rule (and allowing the Over the last ten years or so, the mail to pile up as it did in 1964), UPW has changed considerably. selective one-day strikes throughout Gone is the old cap-in-hand subser- the country and, again as was done vience to their, then, Civil Service before, by just fucking up the Post masters. Union members are not Office works in general. This, in my receiving strike pay, because there view, should have been the tactics Indeed, until 1964, when Postmen UPW has called what it hopes will at home and abroad. Moreover, blackleg Telephonists and the two small scab 'unions' must be exposed for what they are-free riders, who if more than the 8% is conceded will, as in the past, accept it in their

THE UNIONS

The UPW has a membership of between 220,000 and 230,000-an increase of more than 30,000 over the last five or six years; quite an achievement, considering that there has been a slight contraction of the labour force among the manipulative grades, and particularly among Telephonists. The UPW claims to be an industrial union, and its longterm objective is supposed to be the workers' control of the Post Office. Except in booklets given to new members, however, very little is heard of workers' control these days.

Almost every Postman in Britain and Northern Ireland is a member of the UPW; so are most of the the Union. Marxist group. There is also another even in a more militant mood. That

MILITANT

Following the war, a very large number of Post Office entrants came Postwomen, Cleaners, PHGs and from the armed forces. But from P&TOs. Traditionally, the Union about 1950 onwards, many came claims that a majority of female from factory and industrial back-(that is daytime) Telephonists are grounds, the building industry (parmembers, but not male Telephonists ticularly the Southern Irish new who mainly man the switchboards entrants) and, some time later, from at night. In actual fact only about the West Indies and the Indian subhalf the female Telephonists and a continent. Today, there are many very tiny number of male Tele- Irish and Commonwealth workers phonists belong to the UPW. The employed by the Post Office within Telephonists are the weak link of the manipulative grades. They are often among the most militant. About 8,000 male and 3,000 During the 1964 industrial action, female Telephonists are claimed by which included spontaneous walkthe secessionist Telecommunications outs, work-to-rule campaigns, sit-ins Staff Association, formerly the and an official one-day national National Guild of Telephonists, a strike, the UPW really found its typical 'scab' outfit which at least feet for the first time. It had become in the past was largely anti-feminist a real Trade Union. Today, UPW and was led by members and sym- membership-at least among the pathisers of a well-known sectarian Postmen, PHGs and P&TOs-is willing'; Norman Stagg is a left-

THE KISS OF DEATH

IN FEBRUARY 1970, carpenters on the site. They have said in a statement Laing's site of St. Thomas's Hospital came out on strike against the employment of 'lump' labour-only men by a formwork sub-contractor, Whelan & Grant. The union involved, the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, made the dispute official, but this support did not last very long, for the union agreed to the employment of these labour-only merchants so long as they joined the union. The 'settlement' also provided for a negotiated bonus scheme and the operation of the industry's working rule agreement.

Those ASW members who previously had tried to organise the strike and who had taken a stand against labouronly were offered jobs on other Laing contracts. This blatant disregard of members was resented by the rank and file, who on two occasions occupied the union headquarters in protest.*

Now events have shown how right and justified was this anger and indignation, for the ASW has completely failed to bring Whelan & Grant to heel. These facts have come to light, not from the ASW but from an investigation carried out by the employers' paper, Construction News. They report that not only is there no agreed bonus scheme in operation, but the working rule agreement has been ignored. Carpenters working for Whelan & Grant are paid in the usual way on Thursday, but in addition to this, cheques and secret bonuses are paid out on Fridays. These extras are given to the 'regulars' or any workers who have curried favour with the firm. Those who complain are either put on a bad section of the contract or are transferred to another site. Construction News says: 'Unjustified subsistence and travel money, and straight cash handouts are also used as "sweeteners" to keep the carpenters' gangs working quickly, and to stop union attempts to organise proper bonus targets.' The site was described as 'the most uncomfortable and unpleasant job I have ever worked on' and 'completely chaotic and unaccountable as far as pay is concerned'. of regulars who receive these cheques their fellow trade unionists. and who ensure that others do not attempt any union organisation on the *See March 9, 1970, Vol. 31, No. 8.

that their carpenters are paid 'on hourly rate in accordance with the working rule agreement and a bonus payment, tool money, etc.' Laings, the main contractor, have denied all knowledge of these practices on the part of their sub-contractors.

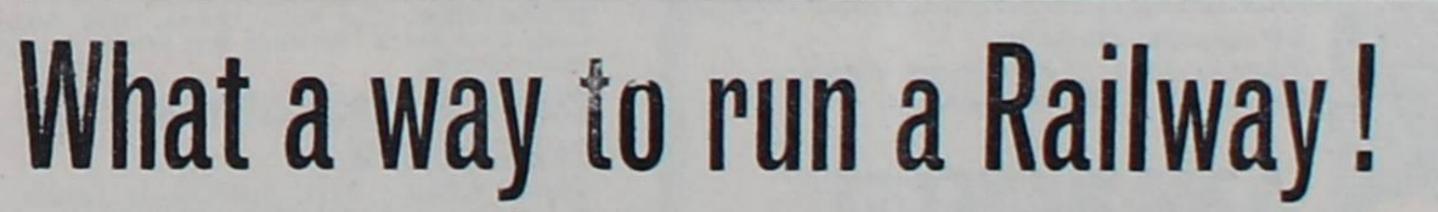
ONLY CARD HOLDERS

Building workers are well aware of these practices and Whelan & Grant are only the tip of the iceberg. But the ASW had full knowledge of this last year and yet chose to make a deal rather than see the site organised by their own members. The men they took into the union were mere card holders and nothing else. The blame for the situation now prevailing. on the site must be placed squarely on the ASW executive. They were as determined as Laings to prevent the site from becoming organised. When the settlement was made last year it was hailed as a defeat for the 'militants', preventing 'another Barbican'. It was also pointed out that this gave full official recognition to labour-only practices. However, the evidence presented in Construction News proves how right were those strikers who stood for so long outside the site. It also shows how hypocritical Laings have been. The head of the company, Mr. Kirby Laing, is also President of the Builders Employers' Federation and negotiates with the unions the very working rules that his company is breaking in allowing Whelan & Grant to carry on these practices. No notice should be taken of employers when they accuse workers of breaking agreements when they so blantantly do the same. Official union support was the kiss of death to the strikers. ASW members were sacrificed so that labour-only scallywags could be organised. The executive of the union carried out this dirty deal and are now applying for a conciliation panel in order to work out yet another deal. Certainly the lessons are clear. It is no good relying on the trade union executives to fight the employers. It Whelan & Grant have a number must be done by workers, organised with

weekly wage envelopes. THE LEADERS

Tom Jackson, Norman Stagg, the assistant general secretary, and other 'leaders' of the UPW are very popular with the membership at present. This is only to be expected. But Post Office workers should be wary of them all the same. Leaders, as history has shown, can never be trusted anyway, and UPW leaders are no exception.

Tom Jackson, the moustachioed, genial, general secretary from Leeds, is a former Labour Party Young Socialist and a present governor of the BBC, whose pet saying on almost all occasions appears to be 'God Continued on page 4



man looking out of his box window routes. Once you get off them you're likely, that it is sold to the interests at two trains, apparently about to collide dead." head-on and all he says is, 'What a Way to Run a Railway'. 'The New Yorker of September 26, 1970, carries an interview with a railway enthusiast who cannot help but notice that the railways of America, like those of Britain, are still embarked on suicidal collision courses. Mr. Frimbo, for that is the enthusiast's name, said to the New Yorker columnist, 'The United States of America is rapidly becoming an undeveloped country again. The Post Office is cutting down on Special Delivery, even though it charges forty-five cents (about 3/6) a letter.' . . . It perhaps should be explained that in the United States mail is, in the majority of cases, not delivered as in Britain, it is collected by the recipient from the post office. (Please keep this information from the new Postmaster, he might get ideas.) Mr. Frimbo went on, 'The railroads, as you know, as I know, as even the members of the Interstate Commerce Commission know, are disappearing. There is no way to get from many American towns to many other American towns these days except by automobile. The Secretary of Transportation seems to think that there is only one means of transportation: the private car. With one person

A N OLD New Yorker joke showed in it. What mass transportation there the government has a policy for transport

a picture of a rather bored signal- is has become centralized on the main as a whole or whether, what is more whose future and profits depend on

P.T.

and learning of their latest proposals for post-Beeching cuts, one feels that the fate of the American railroad will in due course overtake British Rail. For example, as cited by Alistair Graham in The Socialist Leader (2.1.71), British Rail has announced its intention of crude surgery. It was pointed out then that Mr. Marples (the then Transport Minister) made it clear that so far as the future of the railways is concerned wiser as to whether this means that

Gazing at advertising for British Rail the development of road and air transport'.

Mr. Marples has departed from the Government but 'look around, you will see his monuments', for example: in the gigantic flyover at Hammersmith Broadway, which one time bore the proud insignia of the contracting firmclosing the Inverness-Kyle of Lochalsh 'Marples-Ridgeway'. Despite the deparline when the present subsidy runs out. ture of Mr. Marples for fresh concrete Alistair Graham points out that the and motorways new, Tory policy remains Mallaig line is in a similar position and the same. The years of Labour rule that these subsidies were the Labour proudly showed an unchanging policy Government's rather inadequate answer of forgetting the canals, smartening up to the Beeching policy of the previous a few railway networks, leaving the Tory regime (1963). FREEDOMS of 1962 branch lines to wither away, and ex-(see Pilkington vs Beeching, Freedom panding the giant spaghetti of roadways Press) carried many criticisms of this whilst Mr. Marples and his friends contracted.

To return to Mr. Frimbo, 'I have two points to make. Number One. It is my considered judgement that the boys at finances are the first consideration and the Penn Central [New York's main the Minister made it quite clear that railway station] decided about five years decisions to close were Government de- ago to get out of the railroad business cisions. His Parliamentary Secretary (in and into the real estate business.' Since 1962) said, 'Conservative railway policy the advent of Beeching we in this was not a free-for-all, but it was not country too have seen the transformation to have a rigid control'. The editor of of railway sites up and down the FREEDOM went on, 'We are none the country into 'developments' by property Continued on page 2

A Funny Thing Happened at the ICA

the superficial avant-garde and within this and repeated trivia. cultural nursery the pseudo-intelligentsia month. Each exhibition that the ICA mounts seems to end in a well-publicised pratfall but for all that the officers and the rank and file of the ICA, urged on trained and defanged free-loading his and I would not have it any other room for our macabre dance of death.

gallows, for allowing so many young understanding of the subject appears and our society signally fail to do for by the shaman poet of the ICA, house- ours is a society that has no place for the mediocrity and though all those in way to oblivion, continue to fight on high and low office make high sounding animal noises at their conferences of way. Ours is an age of black comedy every man and woman being given every and as such the ICA provide the ball- opportunity to express themselves to the best of their limited ability, after the

THE INSTITUTE of Contemporary I have spent many happy hours within infant grade the universal man of organisers and the name of the ICA Arts in Her Majesty's Mall is a the ICA, I have watched it flower sorrows must accept the best, whether to back them up they could have called fisher of fashionable cultures but its and degenerate into its present weed he likes it or nay, but there will be upon the services of the London-based net is too small and the mesh too gardens in Liz's Mall and in all that no place for the third-rater to act Old Boys' Book collectors' club or the wide for the catch to be of any worth. period I have learned nothing from act out his pathetic fantasies on a public Dime Novel collectors' club of America The Institute is a meeting place for it for whatever was worthwhile sank stage so that we of the great unwashed and with the help of these two groups those middle-class low-browed lovers of into and under that bog of endless and unclaimed must thank the ICA they could have ignored D. C. Thomfor the opportunities they give to a son's reported refusal to give the ICA group 'research facilities', though in the But for all that the ICA has performed few lucky ones to fall on their faces. can act out their fantasies of creative one valuable service that no other or- AAARGH! A CELEBRATION OF context of this exhibition I feel that thinking. It is here that they can ganisation within the Town has done COMICS AT THE INSTITUTE OF it would be like trying to give the kiss shout out their mindless reiterations of and for that they should be honoured. (GULP ??) CONTEMPORARY ARTS of life to an anus. concrete poetry, mime and mouth the While the ICA exhibitions can be the IN THE MALL is, I hold, among It is the fantastic lack of original banalities of the plotless plays, bang most abysmal failures with the catalogue the more unfortunate of their failures drawings that must be held to be the their drums and shake the sheets of providing more information than the and it is a failure that the ICA should major fault of this exhibition and with tin with all the zest, if not the joy, works on display, the ICA, to its credit, rightly be censured for. This could have the whole of the underground press to of tiny children, write big words on is the only institution to give young been one of those memorable exhibitions flip the wrist to, one wonders why this large canvases, listen in uncomprehending and untried, and too often untalented, of some slight historical worth for here should be so but when one accepts a awe to the banal exposition of American men and women an opportunity to was a rare opportunity to highlight a statement by one of the organisers of rhetoric spewed up as the latest phil- organise, arrange and publicise a major peculiar working-class sub-culture that this exhibition to the effect that he osophy, and spend a comfortable hour exhibition. This has been the unac- came into being with the working-class had no knowledge of this subject before or so playing tootsie with the Infinite knowledged function of the ICA and music hall and died with that folk this particular printfest then one must via the vegetable-decked mystic of the in their wasteland of the years they art. Despite, as always, the impressive try and uncurl one's toes and mop must be cheered, on their way to the catalogue, little thought, feeling or the brow. We shall remember Tom Browne's third-raters to make fools of themselves. to have gone into the mounting of this drawings of Tired Tim and Weary Willie, This is a service that our schools exhibition and one feels that those Jack Yeates' (the painter) and sad mad responsible have done no more than Louis Wain's contribution to the world to collect any odd and unrelated comics of the children's comics when these that any publishing house would lend ICA catalogues are pulped for a wonthem and having framed and hung them derful opportunity to open up an area moved to the far end of the ICA to of working-class life has been sadly play their automatic thing of foam wasted by the ICA. George Orwell's essay on the workingrubber pop art for their own amusement. With all the time available to the class children's comic would appear to be compulsory reading for the academic ill-informed and the ICA give a Penguin 1970 reference for the publication of that much-printed opinion, yet that particular essay appeared in 1939, over a quarter of a century ago, in the magazine Continued from page 1 and is protected by the Interstate Com- unprofitable branch-lines. This has Horizon. Orwell's approach to the companies. The central position of rail- merce Commission from unfair compe- involved them in the vicious spiral of working-class comic was that of the loss of passenger traffic by reason of middle-class liberal-minded intellectual peering through the grimy window of a customers getting their own forms of transport. At the same time the rail working-class newsagents' shop and it goods traffic is being creamed off by road transport.

is an attitude that seems to be reflexed in this exhibition. I would hold, despite Orwell, that no child was every brainwashed by those halfpenny comics for Orwell and the ICA have lumped -the broad, vulgar and earthy humour of Comic Cuts, Chips, Rainbow and Tiger Tim with the American adult fantasy comic produced for a sadistic and masochistic viewership. The British children's comic was a folk-art peculiar to this country. It was drawn by artists from working-class backgrounds and tormed part of the trinity of the comic postcard and the music hall as a peculiar workingclass art form that the middle-class intellectuals took over only when the working-class had rejected them.

The artists of the American adult comics turned to the German expressionists for their use of overcrowded space and massed black shadows with its cruel and crude characters and it is only Robert Crumb's work in the British and American underground press with its throwback to the open layout of the old Felix the Cat cartoons that has revitalised the comic as an art form, but the British artists of Comic Cuts and Tiger Tim were in the great tradition of Rowlandson wherein the landscapes were clean and clear cut, the poverty real and the rewards material in the form of food and female company and anger was the only evil. The British children's comic of the small crowded newsagents' shop, read in the hot and dusty playground of the primary school or the cold windswept doorway, fulfilled · its part as escapist literature without hurt or harm, for the children of the poor knew too well the grim and awful realities of their lives to be deluded by a halfpenny's gentle laughter. Orwell's world of patronising academic protest at blemishes within the ordered society no longer relates to the anarchist movement, for, for good or ill, we are entering that area of violent action that the Tories have mapped out for the working class and it is not comic.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

Running a Railway

way stations and goods yards have made tition because it is supposed to be of them 'ripe for development'. This process has gone on throughout Labour and Conservative administrations. City coun- passengers. By this method the railways cils with unsolvable traffic problems and limited budgets have found that 'developers' have only been too ready to assist with schemes which apparently solved traffic and financial problems (in some cases personal as well as municipal). To do this many raiway properties have been incorporated and city centres have been scythed to make room for concrete blocks. Mr. Frimbo went on: 'The Penn Central owns great chunks of extraordinarily valuable real estate in the downtown parts of a number of major cities. The real estate would be ripe for development if only the current occupants could be evicted, or persuaded to leave, or put out of business. Most real estate men's minds work this way-I'm not giving away any secrets. Now, the current occupants happen to be railroad stations. Ordinarily, a railroad station is very important to a community. There is, however, an occasion when a railroad station is not an important building. That occasion arises when there aren't any trains."

service to the community for the transport of goods and the conveyance of have become a monopoly and the community has no protection against them. . . . 'They are being turned into monopolies. And all monopolists think in the same way. The Penn Central, which, with the permission of the Interstate Commerce Commission, has become damn near a monopoly in this part of the country, seems to have

There is a rough justice in this for the railways bought up and assuredly murdered the canals in order to eliminate competition. Now they seem to be yielding in their turn to the road transport interests with their 'containerized' traffic. This is a simplification as the realities disclose. As the editor of FREEDOM wrote in July 1962, 'But just as we are now being told that this country is honeycombed with useless, uneconomical railways, so by say 1980 it will be argued that thousands of miles of roads will not be worth maintaining because the only civilized and "economic" way of travelling short distances is by 100-seater helicopters and long distances by rockets. This is not the march of progress but of the profitmakers. First it was the railway companies which sought to destroy the inland waterways. Now it is the road interests seeking to drive trains off the rails. Next it will be air transport seeking to drive road transport off the roads.

discarding of the profit yardstick but achieve economy of effort one dehu-

the Labour Government involved them- manises that effort, we would prefer selves further in the construction of to work longer hours enjoyably than the deadly web of motorways in which fewer hours as automatons. Services many towns are entrapped. At the such as are provided by broadcasting same time they failed to produce a and transport could so easily provide co-ordinated plan for transport. Even all who engage in them, as well as the vaunted electrification of many rail- those who enjoy them, with unlimited way lines made it impossible for the possibilities of self-expression if they railways to handle enormous bulk loads were decentralized. Decentralization (of boilers, etc.) and the overloaded does not exclude co-ordination: on the roads were saddled with gigantic traffic- contrary it becomes imperative in the interests of everybody. It is centrali-This shunting of loads on to the zation which overrides these interests by road meant that the Procrustian solu- demanding that all should conform to tion to the problem of gigantic lorries a common pattern which may suit the through villages (for example in East needs of some, but be completely im-Angla) was to make a road which in practical so far as others are concerned.' Local transport should not have to be a primarily profit-making concern; it should be a public service and where transport facilities exist, be they branch lines, canals, country bus services, they should be run in co-ordination to suit the needs of the communities con-

The second point made by Mr. Frimbo is that the railway is a public utility

the public with only those services which make the largest amount of money. One way or another, it gets subsidies for some of the less profitable services, and I agree it should get more.'

decided that it is its duty to provide

'But suppose the Telephone Company decided to eliminate telephone service in the Catskills [a rural district] because it was not profitable. Suppose the Post Office said, "Sorry, we're losing so much on Rural Free Delivery we'll have to cut it out". Would there be a howl? Well, I'm howling now.'

The chief defence of the nationalization of railways was that it would make for a more efficient service by centralizing control. The railways since nationalization have steadily made a loss which they have tried to recoup by increasing fares and shutting down be a halt to this profit-making and a

the Labour Party in office there would

tangling loads.

nine cases out of ten would destroy or severely cripple the village or blight the environment in which the village was set. Agricultural land is expendable.

To sum up the case put in 1962, 'For us [anarchists] efficiency as applied say, to a service, is the ratio of what the community needs and how eco- cerned; and not allowed to fall into One would have thought that with nomically in terms of human effort it disuse merely because the profit is not can be provided. And we would even there. qualify the latter: for if in order to

JACK ROBINSON.



Road, East Ham, E.6. Tel.: 552 4162. MERSEYSIDE. c/o John Cowan, 172a Lodge Lane, Liverpool 8. Meetings first Sunday in each month, 8 p.m.

ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION

NORTH ESSEX. Write: Peter Newell, 'Acgean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester. BASILDON & WICKFORD. Mick Powell, Glamis House, 24 Cameron Close, Brentwood, Essex.

BISHOPS STORTFORD. Vic Mount, 'Eastview'. Castle Street, Bishops Stortford, Herts. CHELMSFORD. (Mrs.) Eva Archer, Mill House, Purleigh, Chelmsford, Essex.

Keighley

LEEDS. Martin Watkins, Flat D, 90 Clarendon Road, Leeds, LS2 9LB. SHEFFIELD: Dave Jeffries, c/o Students Union, Western Bank, Sheffield, 10. I. C. Wood, 65 Glencoe Road, Sheffield YORK. Keith Nathan, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York.

WELSH FEDERATION

ABERYSTWYTH ANARCHISTS. J. Smith, Nanteos Mans, Aberystwyth, Cards. Bobus Marsland, c/o Students' Union, Laure Place, Aberystwyth, Cards.

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. All correspondence to:-Pete Raymond, 18 Marion Street. Splott, Cardiff. SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Ian Bone, 18 Windsor Street, Uplands, Swansea. Meetings at the above address every Sunday at 7 p.m.

SWANSEA. Contact Ian Bone, 18 Windsor Street, Uplands, Swansea.

TAUNTON. Contact Dave Poulson, 47b Bramley Road, Taunton, Somerset.

YORK. Contact R. Atkins, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York.

LSE. St. Clements Buildings, Houghton Street, W.C.2.

LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY GROUP. At the Anarchist Bookstall, Union Foyer, every Friday lunch time or write Anarchist Group, Student Union, Liverpool University. SCHOOLS ANARCHIST GROUP. Kate & Joe,

3 Withy Lea, Leonard Stanly, nr. Stonehouse, GL10 3NS, Gloucestershire.

SCHOOLS ANARCHIST GROUP - BELFAST AREA. Michael Scott, Longshot, Ballyaughlis, Lisburn UNIVERSITY OF ESSEX. Felicity Frank, Keynes Tower, University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester, Essex.

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. All correspondence to LFA, c/o Freedom Press. BLACK KNIGHT GROUP, 5 Nelson Road, N.8. Meeting Wednesdays.

LAVENDER HILL. Contact C. Broad, 116 Tyneham Road, S.W.11 (228 4086).

NOTTING HILL. Sebastian Scragg, 10 Bassett Road, W.10.

LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION. Peter Ford, 36 Devonshire Road, Mill Hill, N.W.7. NEWHAM. Pat Keen, 26 Farringford Road, E.15.

REGULAR WEEKLY MEETINGS

Wednesday, 8 p.m., at Freedom Hall, 84B Whitechapel High Street, E.1 (Aldgate East Station).

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

BIRMENGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary. Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannafore Road, Rotton Park, Birmingham, 16. Meetings every Sunday, 8 p.m., in the smoke room of St. Martin pub, corner of St. Martin's Lane and Jamaica Row. BOURNEMOUTH AREA. Bob Fry, 30 Douglas Close, Upton, Poole, Dorset. BRIGHTON & HOVE. Nick Heath, Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road, Brighton, Sussex. UNIVERSITY OF ESSEX. Felicity Frank, Keynes Tower, University of Essex, Colchester, Essex. BRISTOL. c/o Ian Stanley, Flat 1, 32 Station Road, Bristol. CORNWALL ANARCHISTS. Brian & Hazel

McGee, Hillcrest Farm, Hicks Mill, Bissoe, Truro. Cornwall. Visiting comrades welcome. PEACE ACTION. Rory Weightman, P.C.T. Peace

Action Group, St. Pauls Road, Portsmouth, Hants.

CROYDON LIBERTARIANS. Laurens and Celia Otter, 35 Natal Road, Thornton Heath, CR4 8QH (653 7546) or contact Keith McCain, 1 Langmead Street, West Norwood, S.E.27. Phone 670 7297. **EDGWARE PEACE ACTION GROUP.** Contact Melvyn Estrin, 84 Edgwarebury Lane, Edgware. Middx.

FARNBOROUGH. 81 Mytchett Road, Mytchett, Camberley, Surrey. Tel.: Farnborough 43811. HERTS. Contact Val and John Funnell, 10 Fry Road, Chells, Stevenage.

LEICESTER. Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilne Street, Leicester, Tel.: 29912.

LOUGHBOROUGH. Peter Davies, 67 Griffin Close, Shepshed, Loughborough, Leics., LE12 9QQ. Tel.: 2117.

MUTUAL AID GROUP. c/o Borrowdale, Carriage Drive, Frodsham, Cheshire.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE. Terry Phillips, 70 Blenheim Walk, Corby, Northants,

NORTH EAST ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact M. Renick, 122 Mowbray Street, Heaton, Newcastle on Tyne 6.

NORTH SOMERSET ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Roy Emery, 3 Abbey Street, Bath. or Geoffrey Barfoot, 71 St. Thomas Street, Wells. **ORPINCTON ANARCHIST GROUP.** Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.

PORTSMOUTH. Ken Bowbrick, 26 Planbledon House, Landport, Portsmouth, Hants.

READING. 26 Bulmershe Road. Tel.: Reading 65645. Meetings every Thursday.

TAUNTON. c/o Dave Poulson, 473 Bramley Road, Taunton, Somerset. WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Regular meetings

and activities contact Mr. T. Plant, 10 Thackgray

EPPING. John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping, Esser.

HARLOW. Stephen Murrell, 34 Sharpecroft, Essex.

LOUGHTON. Group c/o Students' Union. Loughton College of Further Education, Borders Lane, Loughton, Essex.

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

N.W. Federation Sec.: Les Smith, 47 Clarence Street, Primrose, Lancaster,

BLACKPOOL. Contact Christine and Graham, 2 Fenper Avenue, Southshore, Blackpool.

BOLTON. Contact John Hayes, 51 Rydal Road, Bolton

CHORLEY. Contact Kevin Lynch, 6 Garfield Terrace, Chorley.

LANCASTER & MORECAMBE. Les Smith, 47 Clarence Street, Primrose, Lancaster.

MANCHESTER ANARCHISTS AND SYNDI-CALISTS. Jenny Honeyford, 33 Clyde Road, Didsbury, Manchester, 21.

PRESTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Rob Wilkinson, 73 Trafford Street, Preston. Meetings: 'The Wellington Hotel', Glovers Court, Preston. Wednesdays, 8 p.m.

SURREY FEDERATION

DORKING. Mungo Park, 16 Overdale Road, Dorking, Surrey,

EPSOM. G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom. Tel. Epsom 23806.

KINGSTON. Michael Squirrel, 4 Woodgate Ave., Hook, Chessington. GUILDFORD. Contact Epsom Group.

MERTON. Elliot Burns, 13 Amity Grove, London, S.W.19. Tel. 01-946 1444.

YORKSHIRE FEDERATION

Secretary: Contact Leeds Group. HULL: Jim Young, 3 Fredericks Crescent, Hawthorn Avenue, Hull. **KEIGHLEY:** Steve Wood, 26B Cavendish Street, Oxford.

SCOTTISH FEDERATION

All correspondence to Temporary Secretary: Nei Munro, 203 Cornhill Drive, Aberdeen, ABERDEEN & PETERHEAD ANARCHISTS. Contact both groups via Neil Munro, 203 Cornhill Drive, Aberdeen. For 'Freedom' Sales: Ian & Peggy Sutherland, 8 Esslemont Avenue, Aberdeen. Also for contacts in Inverness.

EDINBURGH. Tony Hughes, Top Flat, 40 Angle Park Terrace, Edinburgh 11.

FIFE. Bob and Una Turnbull, Raith Home Farm, Raith Estate, Kirkcaldy.

GLASGOW. Moira Young, 91 Urghead Drive, Glasgow, S.W.1.

ROSS-SHIRE. Contact David Rodgers, Broomfield, Evanton, Ross-shire, Scotland.

NORTHERN IRELAND

BELFAST ANARCHIST GROUP. No address available. Letters c/o Freedom Press.

SOUTHERN IRELAND

STUDENT GROUPS

LOUGHTON. c/o Students Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Borders Lane, Loughton, Essex.

KEELE UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Pete Hannah, c/o Students Union, Umversity of Keele, Staffs.

OXFORD ANARCHISTS. Contact John Nygate, New College, Oxford; Steve Watts, Trinity College,

ABROAD

AUSTRALIA. Federation of Australian Anarchists, P.O. Box A 389, Sydney South, NSW 2000. BELGIUM. Groupe du journal Le Libertaire, 220 rue Vivegnis, Liège.

RADICAL LIBERTARIAN ALLIANCE, Box 2104, Grand Central Station, New York, N.Y. 10017

PROPOSED GROUPS

BERMONDSEY. Roy Heath, 58 Thurburn Square, S.E.1.

MONTREAL, QUEBEC. Anyone interested in forming a Montreal area Anarchist group please contact Ron Sigler. Tel. 489-6432.

EAST ANGLIAN LIBERTARIAN GROUP. John Sullivan, c/o Students Union, U.E.A., Wilberforce Road, Norwich, Norfolk.

NOTTINGHAM and area. Contact Jim Hewson, 43 Henry Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham. NOVA SCOTIA. P. Ridley, c/o Newport Post Office. Newport, Nova Scotia, Canada. VANCOUVER I.W.W. and Libertarian group. Box 512, Postal St. 'A', Vancouver 1, B.C., Canada. Read 'The Rebel'-please send donation

Please notify us if entries in these columns need amending.

for postage.

20 College Lane, Dublin, 2.

Industrial Relations Bill Sweeping Dirt Under Rug

REMEMBER right both the columns of FREEDOM and those of The Economist have recently suggested that the union bosses secretly favour the Government's Industrial Relations Bill, which they hope will keep the shop floor militants in check; and that most official union opposition to the Bill is really a put-up job to keep the industrial activists happy. This is not the view of Lord Robbins, who has suggested the Bill, far from stifling the militants, will actually play into the hands of the anarchists.

Whichever argument one accepts, the TUC booklet Reason.* which attacks the proposed legislation is worth a read. *Reason-The case against the Government's proposals on Industrial Relations.

The TUC booklet is naturally largely concerned about how the proposed new law will disrupt the existing union organisation and interfere with union practices.

On the question of registration of unions, the TUC is worried that, in order to get a 'State licence', a union will have to have rules which don't conflict with the 'principles' of the Bill. Yet under the proposed new law an unregistered union will be liable to unlimited damages for calling or threatening to call a strike. Not only that, but any individual, if he calls or threatens to call a strike, would be liable to pay unlimited damages. Members of registered unions also would be liable, if they threatened to call a strike without the specific authority of their union.

to stop delivering goods to a firm where the lads are out on strike;

- try to get a gaffer to agree to, or continue, a closed shop arrangement where a man must have a union card before he gets a job;
- to induce or threaten to induce anybody who is party to a legally-binding agreement to break it;
- to strike, threaten a strike or other industrial action in support of workers, on strike elsewhere, who have been ruled as committing an 'unfair industrial action' or are likely to be ruled as committing an 'unfair industrial action'.

Anybody tried and found guilty by the Court or an Industrial Tribunal of an 'unfair industrial action' would be liable to pay compensation. The Court could also issue a legal order to stop the strike, work-to-rule, etc., and if this order were breached imprisonment for contempt would, according to the booklet, 'be virtually automatic'. Workers would have a right to appeal against unfair dismissal. But this would only apply to those with two years' service with their employer. Right of appeal could be withheld from a member of an unregistered union, who was sacked for union activities. A sacked worker would have the job of proving he'd been unfairly dismissed, and even if he won his case, he couldn't claim his job back as a right.

employers have time to prepare.

moment to bring in a direct freeze on wages so soon after the relative failure State interference.

of the Labour Government's freeze in the '60s, seems set on pushing through less direct measures which should have the same effect. This appears to involve encouraging a squeeze on pay rises in tions on growth of the money supply go bust through lack of ready funds. In opposition. this respect the proposed new law may make the bosses' job easier, especially when it comes to cracking down on militants.

Something called 'wage inflation' is the current excuse for this attack on working people. 'Wage inflation' is it said, hits people living on small fixed incomes, pensioners and the non-militant low-paid workers. This, however, is not the Government's chief complaint about the phenomena, for the fact is that 'wage

drawn-out official actions for which the This new direct role by the State is EDEEEEEEEE bound to influence the attitude of the The Government, reluctant at the workers, who may, if the Government is heavy-handed, become openly hostile to

WILL THE WORKERS HIT BACK?

Experience of English workers tends to suggest that the vast majority of workers the public sector, backed up by restric- won't worry about political legislation, until it starts to bite. This is roughly which should, in the spring, effectively what happened with the Labour Governconfront some private firms with the ment's wage freeze, and it will take time situation in which they will either have before this Government's industrial laws to resist their workers' pay demands or become unpopular and meet widespread

> At the moment most workers don't know what's happening, and even the experts don't know how the proposed new law will work out in practice. There are indications, however, that may well. increase industrial disruption.

The Government, concerned as it is with the surface appearance of industrial life, considers that English people being basically law-abiding will fall in with the law once it's been passed. This is a possibility of course, but it is in my inflation', unlike 'demand inflation', in- view more likely that the very real ancreases the workers' pay but also tends archistic tendencies among workers will, if they are denied expression through unofficial action, find another perhaps more damaging outlet. This possibility has not been overlooked in the TUC booklet. Luddism and machine-breaking positively flourished under the shadow of the Combination Acts, and it seems reasonable to assume that the unofficial strike is only one of the more obvious signs of something menacing which runs deep in our way of life. It does not particularly please me to say this, for there is no telling where this kind of thing will end, but a largely hidden increase in industrial sabotage. pilfering, and fiddling, will almost certainly be one outcome, if the Government introduces the proposed new law. Once again we will have another State exercise in sweeping the dirt under the rug, which may improve appearances until the rot sets in. **B.B.**



666666666666666666

Any book not in stock, but in print can be promptly supplied. Book Tokens accepted. Please add postage & cash with order helps.

Authority and Delinquency

Alex Comfort	7/-
Listen Marxist!	2/6
Society of the Spectacle	9/-
Libertarian Analysis No. 1	9/6
The Bolsheviks and Workers' Control	5/-
The Kronstadt Commune Ida Mett	3/6
The General Strike	3/-
World Labour Needs a Union	3/-
Solidarity (Melbourne) Nos. 7 and 8	
1/- 1	each
American Power and the New	
Mandarins Noam Chomsky	8/-
The Incompatibles: Trade Union	

Any loose talk spoken in the heat of the moment could lead to a militant being hauled over the coals before the National Industrial Relations Court (NIRC) at a later date.

Under the proposed new law it would also rank as 'unfair industrial action' and strikes would be illegal where the worker's (whether registered or not) intention

- to try to persuade a boss that a worker should be in a union;
- to try to get a worker sacked;
- to try to get a boss or other workers

ATTACK ON THE WORKERS

The Industrial Relations Bill is really only part of the Government's overall strategy, which is to lower the living standards of the vast majority and to weaken organised labour. The unofficial strikes of recent years, even though they have often been fought out as hole-inthe-corner affairs, have won the workers better incomes mostly at the expense of profits. It is now clear that the spontaneous small-scale strike, which takes the boss by surprise, is far more effective and damaging to business than the long- freezes, and legislation against strikes.

to squeeze profits.

This is the main moan in the Treasury's recent evidence to the Wilberforce inquiry into the power industry. Company profits, it seems, have not risen at all during the past year, resulting generally in narrower profit margins, which in turn is having an 'adverse effect on investment plans by reducing the expected profitability of new investment'.

Most other industrial countries are, as it happens, struggling with similar inflationary pressures, and nobody seems to have a ready answer to this problem. Certainly the recent experience of the recession in the USA tends to suggest that the idea of creating unemployment to combat inflation is no longer a reliable method of tackling the question.

Certainly no amount of Governmental fiscal fiddling or messing with the multiplier appears to work in this situation. The State, therefore, unable to manipulate the economy by tinkering with the tax system, is increasingly being forced to take direct political measures against workers in the form of compulsory wage

Anarchists' Homes Searched

IN THEIR QUEST for clues to the perpetrator of the bomb attack on Robert Carr's home, the police have cast their net far and wide. So far they have not come up with any answer but several people have, in their picturesque phrase, 'been helping them with their enquiries'. It is obvious that such an important 'victim' and the wide publicity given to the attack would make it urgent that something should be done about it. Colin McInnes on one occasion described the police as 'historians', and with their true respect for historical records and modus operandi it was put about that they were looking for a young Scots anarchist who had not been seen at his home or at his place of work for some days. This information was duly given piecemeal in the Evening Standard, by the BBC, and in the Daily Express. It was given out as emanating from Scotland Yard but at one time it seemed that the Yard had been reading the Evening Standard. However all this speculation was set at naught by the individual concerned having an alibi, by his still being at home and at his usual place of work. Additionally, the police had not even visited him! Last week the police visited Ross Flett and Phillip Carver, friends of Stuart Christie. According to the Guardian they searched the premises and took Ross and Phillip to the station for questioning. They were questioned for four hours and refused, despite continual requests, opportunity to phone their lawyer. Finally they were released without any charge being made. Also last week a well-known contributor to FREEDOM was visited, apparently without a search warrant. There also they conducted a perfunctory search but also asked questions about his contributions to FREEDOM, etc. The nature of the questions suggested that they were interested in getting information rather than finding clues. The naivety of expecting anarchists to become police informants is staggering.

Militancy and the Consensus 6/-Man Versus The State Herbert Spencer 8/-

The Crystal Spirit: A study of

George Orwell George Woodcock 8/-The Anxiety Makers Alex Comfort 8/6 The Biological Time-Bomb

G. Rattray Taylor 8/6 Killing No Murder Edward Hyams 8/-A Plea for Captain John Brown

Thoreau 1/9 **Reich Speaks of Freud** 20/-The Function of the Orgasm

Wilhelm Reich 10/-



ESN - If you're Black, get back

THE THREE LETTERS ESN stand West Indian children 'difficult' and an for educationally sub-normal and ESN recommendation is a good way of ESN schools exist throughout the country getting rid of them, the parents are somewith special facilities to deal with times encouraged by headmasters by bechildren who are of very low intelligence. ing told their children will be going to Although this system is open to criticism 'special' schools. Then there is the for the harm this type of labelling does linguistic and social deprivation of the to the children and the wrongness of coloured children prior to school. At the cutting them off from their fellows, it moment West Indians, due to long can be defended on the grounds of the housing waiting lists, are very keen on greater time and care that can be given buying their own property; this means the individual child. a severe drain on financial resources so Now, through a series of accidents, a that the wife has to go out to work. The number of people in the field of comchildren are not always properly cared munity relations have obtained informafor and tragic fire accidents are one tion as regards ESN schools of shattering result of this, with snarling policemen impact on all who care for human justice. pointing to the love the parents have A secret report by the Inner London shown towards their burnt children. Yet Education Authority has been obtained our educational system has a maniacal by people in the race relations business gap between the ages of 3 and 5 when and Race Today* in its January issue there is a severe lack of nursery school publicises just some of the information education; the middle-class play groups that is now currently in circulation. I are for women who can get along to shall just quote from the most relevant collect their children at lunchtime. West paragraph contained in an article 'ESN Indian mothers with the over-burdensome Children-Labelled for Life': 'Perhaps mortgage repayments (and the second the most striking features of the ILEA mortgage involvements of some which are report concern the number of West with them for life) cannot do anything Indian children classified as ESN. In but work all day, leaving children often

to fend for themselves or with 'baby minders'. The resultant lack of educational opportunities is another stepping stone on the path to ESN schools. Added to all this we have to remember the tremendous adaptation to a hostile environment needed by the immigrant community. The Government fabric of community relations which is supposed to be helping with this situation is constantly afraid of getting the Tory chop and is starved of cash. In the local situation the community relations officer has to find money by hook or by crook to help with the appalling problems of the coloured community. In addition the local authority and the police keep an eagle eye on every move made and the West Indian militants fear a sell-out to the Establishment. Race is the major problem this country is going to face in the next decade and the Government response is to plan the introduction of an Immigration Bill which is likely to infringe on every human right known and to strengthen the reactionary element in society by selling arms to South Africa.

1967, 28.4 per cent of children in ESN schools in ILEA were of immigrant origin: of these, 75 per cent were of West Indian origin. Heads felt that 28 per cent of their immigrant children were wrongly placed compared with 7 per cent

KALI.

*Race Today is published by the Institute of Race Relations, 36 Jermyn Street, London, S.W.1, at 4/- monthly.



THE BERTRAND RUSSELL Peace bring this issue into the courtroom, it is necessary, at the very least, to have access Foundation is supporting an interto all the acts of the preliminary investinational campaign to raise the large sums gation carried out by the judges, and of of money that are needed for the followall the previous documentation in coning purposes: nection with bombing taking place (1) To give financial aid to the hunbefore the events of December 1969 in dreds of militants of the Italian left who which appear, as accused, a vast number are on trial for political reasons, in gaol of people mentioned in the Counteror exiled, and who have no means to Investigation. secure an effective political defence. (3) To finance leaflets, posters, records, (2) To help meet the legal costs of the films, public meetings, etc., and any Valpreda trial. These will be very expenother means of diffusion of the truth sive. Copies of the reports of preliminary about the actual repressive policy, with investigations and other papers can be particular reference to the Valpreda, afforded only by wealthy people. In the 'Lotta Continua', Calabresi and Marrone Valpreda trial copies of the report on the trials. judge's preliminary investigations alone (4) To allow the continuation of the (about 20,000 pages) cost 4 million lire counter-investigation, in order to deter-(over £2,500). mine who was really responsible for the Furthermore to be able to put forward bombing of Milan. It is vital that the an effective political defence, it is necescounter-investigation be continued. sary to bring evidence of the links be-(5) A committee is being formed from tween the bombing of December 12, 1969, representatives of socialist groupings in and a long series of crimes that preceded England, to organise the work of this and followed, of the responsibilities of appeal. It will be convened by Stephen Italian reactionary forces connected with Bodington, of the Spokesman editorial the CIA and the Pentagon, who either board, who can be contacted at the plotted the bombing or at least utilised it Foundation's offices, 3-4 Shavers Place, for large-scale repressions. To be able to Haymarket, London, S.W.1.

01-247 9249 London E1 Entrance Angel Alley, Whitechapel Art Gallery exit, Aldgate East Underground Stn.

SPECIMEN COPIES ON REQUEST

Bookshop

Open Afternoons Monday to Saturday 2 p.m. to 6 p.m. **Open Evenings** Wednesday 8 p.m. to 10.30 p.m. close at 8.30 p.m. Thursday

SUBSCRIPTION RATES, 1971

INLAND			
Freedom	12 months	£2.50	(£2 10s.)
	6 months	£1.25	(£1 5s.)
Anarchy	12 issues	£2.00	
	6 issues	£1.00	
Combined	12 months	£4.50	
	6 months	£2.25	
ABROAD (in	1 \$ U.S.)		
Freedom	12 months	\$6.00	
	6 months	\$3.00	
Anarchy	12 issues	\$5.00	
	6 issues	\$3.00	
Combined	12 months	\$11.00	
	6 months	\$6.00	
AIRMAIL			
Freedom	12 months	\$10.00	
	6 months	\$5.00	
Anarchy	12 issues	and the second se	
	6 issues	\$6.00	

of their non-immigrant children.'

Since that time the situation has worsened to a position where 70 per cent of immigrant children in ILEA ESN schools have been found to be wrongly placed. In some Boroughs just outside the ILEA area the situation is thought to be even more alarming and there is said to be proof that it is deliberate educational policy to push a high percentage of coloured children into ESN schools. In this way a coloured proletariat is assured which has been kept educationally sub-normal, since once placed in an ESN school it is nearly impossible to get out.

The way in which the IQ tests measuring intelligence which decide on the children who should go to ESN schools have been compiled is the factor which has led to the present situation. It is already known that IQ tests are asking questions with a middle-class bias, it is even more marked with coloured children. In many cases they have just left an agricultural environment and they are asked questions about the industrial urban environment which are simply outside their experience. Other factors involved are the fact that teachers find

It has been said in the Guardian recently that the police had decided to be more harsh to the anarchists. It is probable that the kid gloves are off, but really we never had the illusion they were on! J. ROBINSON.

Freed

Anthony (Buzz) Ballarin who was sent to Borstal last year following the Brighton squat is to be released on February 3. During the period of his confinement he studied for his 'A' levels, and played on the Borstal rugby team.

Another 4-page leaflet. Two articles from FREE-DOM: The relevance of Anarchism today and Anarchism and Nationalism. Available from Freedom Bookshop for 5/- a hundred, plus 1/4d. postage.

WHEN A TERRORIST act is done, the concerted expressions of horror and unqualified condemnation from all quarters are likely to cause in anarchists a dulling of the shock, a seeking for excuses and justifications in reaction against the presentation of the total blamelessness of the victim and the absolute lack of grounds for the violent act of the perpetrators. It is a reaction we should guard against; not to let our judgement, moral and political, be betrayed by sympathy for the doers who, being hunted by the police then become victims, or by the need for solidarity should they turn out to be anarchists or others opposing the unjust arrangement of society which we are opposed to.

This is of course evoked by the bomb attack on the home of the Minister for Employment. We don't yet know who thought it up or carried it out, or how serious they intended the result to be, or how they hoped it would affect the man concerned, the present Government, the members of the trades unions, the general public, and the 'Revolutionary Left' in general and the anarchists in particular, if the bombers are anarchists. The police appear to have made anarchists their first guess; the Evening Standard (14.1.71) described an unnamed anarchist 'leader' in his twenties strongly suspected of plotting other bomb attacks in London, and said detectives believed the date-the day of protests against the Government's Industrial Relations Billsignificant, but not the choice of the Employment Minister (my italics), and filled most of the rest of the story with details of attacks on the Spanish Embassy and bombs placed on Iberia Airlines' planes last year in London, Paris and elsewhere (that in London was found by a form of work and style of life they before exploding, I do not remember whether any at Continental airports ex- are the absence of a lively enough sense ploded). The report also referred to the questioning of a man and the holding for 48 hours of a girl-friend of his after the Iberian Airlines incident, which coincide with a report from Anarchist Black Cross printed in FREEDOM (20.6.70) of police attentions paid to equally unnamed anarchists.

Why Terror is not an Anarchist Means

ing the ends desired by anarchists, its rightness or wrongness in any context, and whether it fits any interpretation of anarchist philosophy.

Because I am setting out from the premise of the specific attack on Robert Carr's home, let me state that I am not suggesting it was intended or thought possible to cause death or injury to any occupant of the house. But any attack on property using explosives is liable to cause injury to a living being if anyone is there, and death if the amount of explosive used or damage caused is great enough; therefore it becomes a terrorist act against people. And, although anarchists have a lesser record of killings and terrorism than adherents of other political creeds, and immeasurably less than any government one might select unless one could exclude the smallest republics and newest-established states, assassination and terror are historical ingredients of anarchist activity. Is it elements must be to-modify the pattern

Conservative seven months ago, the fact that the proliferation of rebellious and protesting movements of the last few years have been peopled by a minority of the population, and that even the plight of the squatting homeless did not stir to compassionate help or self-help any numbers of those in the same need or in a position to help, all combine to give an oppressive feeling that the weight is leaden and dead. Yet this is belied by the amount of mental breakdown, the unremitting industrial unrest and unofficial strikes, and the critical attitude to some of the present Government's approaches and the sympathetic coverage given to minority movements and their self-protective organisations in the 'establishment' press; all indications that all is not for the best in the best of all possible worlds. The effect of continued activity and withholding of consent and cooperation by the disparate dissenting the present Government seeks to impose. We have yet to see what the only widespread and powerful section, the trade unions, will do when the provisions of the Industrial Relations Bill are imposed by law; to make any change more fundamental than putting the Labour Party back in the next election, requires, if the change is to be in a libertarian direction, a vastly greater spreading and acceptance of libertarian ideas and programmes among the people who appear to be unsatisfied but unaware of alternatives. The sporadic bomb attack seems to have little connection with or effect on this. In the absence of mass support, when it would be unnecessary, it is merely a demonstration that somebody, somewhere has stronger feelings on the subject or a larger portion of hate in his make-up than other people, which seems to qualify the act as irrelevant.

resigning or secret police desisting from torture because they were asked. In Czarist Russia despotism was tempered with dynamite for many years but the revolution did not occur until external factors changed circumstances and a very large number of people were possessed of similar or related ideas and desires. In Cyprus British soldiers went in terror and eventually the British left, but the majority of the predominant population wanted independence. It is not proven that the terrorism was a necessary expression of the will. The killing of the police chief which resulted in the persecution of the six Basques who recently aroused the sympathy of nearly the whole world can be clearly understood as a rational act, if he was in fact killed by a political opponent, because this was a particular man who was persecuting and torturing people who had no hope of his removal by any other means. Maybe this kind of terror does work by imposing some restraints on the behaviour of successors. What thirty years of guerilla action and attentats have not done is to remove the hated regime. Even supported by the most courageous strikes by quite numerous sections of workers such as the Asturian miners. Why? Is it only because the regime has sufficiently large regiments of armed soldiers and police? Or is it in addition that a large section of the population is doing well enough under the regime, having regained their pre-revolutionary status, and an even larger section had enough of blood and terror during the revolution and civil war, and would rather settle for a degree of 'liberalisation' and 'prosperity', drawing nearer to that of the rest of capitalist Europe? And Spain has a heritage of anarchist thought and aspiration (as well as aristocracy and political communism). 'Accepted' as anarchism has become here in recent years, and real as the anarchistic rejection of our tawdry material society has been on the part of so many young people, we are a long way from an understanding and acceptance of anarchist ideas by a large enough number of

people to make them work. We know the workers could run their factories and produce food and decide what are our real needs without a Minister of Employment; the task is to pass on our confidence to them-adding shareholders and bosses to the list. Surely no one imagines that even if one Minister could be terrified out of his job there wouldn't be another to follow, or that the Government would fold up the Ministry and their Industrial Relations Bill under anything less than massive, concerted pressure from the workers and trade union members affected by it. The official protest of the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party might have rung a bit hollow on Tuesday, January 12; the marches and rallies of several thousand trade unionists held in working hours and in rejection of the TUC advice may have had more reality but indicated that really determined militancy was not evident throughout the millions of trade unionists of the country; the bombs directed at the Minister of Employment seem to demonstrate only that a few people have left the world and taken up residence in a bad television film.

What we can try to assess, and for this it does not matter whether or not this particular act was the work of anarchists, is the value of this kind of act in attain-

What goes on

essential to anarchism, or alien, or irrelevant?

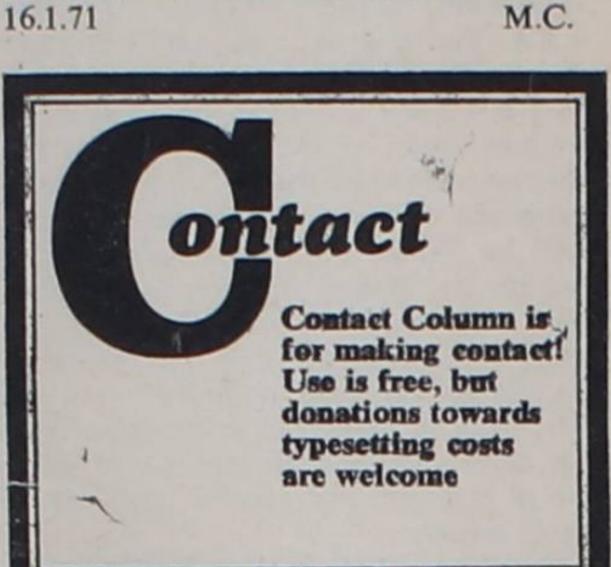
AS A MEANS TO AN ANARCHIST END

Plainly, it is not essential to anarchism, since the essence of anarchism is that it is possible and desirable for human beings to provide each other with all the physical and cultural necessities of life, no individual or group having power to deprive others of these and thereby forcing by fear and necessity those others to provide them with an unjust share and have not chosen. The obstacles to this of injustice, a passion for freedom and awareness of possible alternatives on the part of the subjugated, and the all-toolively consciousness of the value of privilege and the sweets of power on the part of those who hold wealth and wield power. How are these obstacles to be removed?

Of the two, the first seems to be the heaviest to shift. It is not even possible to guess its weight. The fact that about half the adults in this country voted

TERRORISM RIGHT OR WRONG?

Is it a proper or successful means of removing the second obstacle, the desire to hold on to power? This is more problematical, as there are no recorded instances to my knowledge of despots



Room or flat wanted in London for young woman Anarchist from Scotland with young child and another baby due. Due to take up voluntary social work. Douglas Kepper, 23 Sutton Court Road, London, W.4.

- Contact wanted with comrades in West London. Phone Richard Callis at 603 0757.
- Leeds Conference. Pre-Conference Bulletin, an information service giving views, dates of conference, views wanted, etc. Send to Ray Brooks, 79 Norfolk Street, Lancaster, Lancs. Dave Smith, formerly of Southall, can now be contacted at 10 Berwick

to get our Wednesday night meetings (all welcome, every week at 8 p.m. in Freedom Press) off the ground. Not only speakers are required but ideas for less formal activities such as the evening with Julius. If you can help phone Freedom Press or come to the Marquis of Granby, where anarchists meet every Sunday 7.30 to 10.30 p.m. and ask for me. Scheduled right now are:

WE STILL NEED any amount of help

- 1. February 10, Tony Gibson on 'Living through a Revolution'.
- 2. February 17, MEET THE EDITORS: The Editors of FREEDOM will be present to answer questions and explain their work.
- 3. February 24, Sebastian Scragg on 'Towards the Abolition of Money'.
- 4. March 3, Tomasina on Wilhelm Reich'.
- 5. March 10, Julius: 'An evening with the Ranters'.

Others who will give talks include Arthur Uloth, Philip Sansom, S. E. Parker ('Reflections on 1984'). Firm dates will be given as soon as possible.

Antediluvian Britain

Rudi Dutschke had sunken into oblivion (partly of his own choosing) as a minor university tutor when our primitive politicians decided to resurrect him as a major threat to British society. It has taken the Danes to demonstrate how ridiculous the whole affair is.

They were given a complete dossier on

partment.

Anarchists who want revolution-freedom for all-cannot take such easy refuge. The problems of social change and education must not be underestimated-but they are problems to be solved. The massive poverty that exists in Britain is a challenge to anarchists, who must be both educators and agitators, to proclaim to the underprivileged that submission to their lot is a badge of slavery. When men have the confidence in themselves, individually first and collectively as a logical development, to change the world they can do it. Confrontation with authority is happily becoming a frequent occurrence and, make no mistake about it, every occasion weakens it and, sometimes only subconsciously, strengthens the realisation in ordinary people that they can control their own destinies. Those who enter into this struggle without illusions-such as the imminence of revolution-will realise that the work calls for painstaking devotion and constancy, that progress often consists of tiny steps forward or even sacrifice today for effects not immediately assured. Is it worthwhile? Well, I think, if you believe in the justice of what you are doing the work itself will bring its own rewards and, given the

campus or, perhaps, a government de- --which apart from an absence of militancy means that the rank and file are merely due-paying numbers on a computer card while the aloof union leadership play their power games-usually chasing office in the Labour Party.

> It is, however, the rank and file who are now manning the picket lines and it is in this situation of emergency that there is opportunity for workers to learn solidarity-not at the hands of a bureaucratic leadership but in practical exercises of mutual aid. The strong union is that in which the membership plays an active role, where officials are directly responsible to the general meetings of workers and delegated to attend to the affairs of the union as fellow workers and not as a new ruling class.

Who needs cops?

Full page advertisements are currently appearing in our daily press calling for recruits for the police force. It seems that today's policeman must be a sociologist, psychologist, political scientist as well as a limb of the law. 'Social upheaval, organised crime, road congestion, community problems' are amongst their daily chores. A more heady task is the obligation 'to maintain the balance between the needs of the community and the individual's rights. By doing so, they

Frank Chapple, spokesman for the electricians' union before the power dispute court of enquiry, has called the bluff of the government as to its vaunted impartiality. Lord Wilberforce, a High Court judge, had his close and active association with the Conservative Party thrown in his face. And how was the second member, Sir Raymond Brookes, chairman of Guest Keen & Nettlefolds, to give impartial judgment on any pay dispute? The third member is Mr. Jim Mortimer, an eminently successful trade union official ('I was a worker once') who is taking up a senior executive position with the London Transport Authority on £8,500 p.a.

Impartial Arbitration?

The Post Office workers have rejected arbitration on the grounds that it would be impossible to obtain impartiality. The salient point is that the parties, workers and employers, are in a position of utter inequality and nobody is impartial. The government appoints the court and whatever decisions are arrived at they must never conflict with the interests of the powers that be. Employers are a fundamental element of the establishmenttheir interests are inviolate. Arbitration boards are established for the primary purpose of maintaining stability in society as presently constituted. As such they are clearly indicted as a weapon in the perpetuation of injustice, poverty, exploitation and industrial slavery.

BILL DWYER.

Avenue, Hayes, Middlesex.

Help Required for Community/Social Action, Hammersmith (Barons Court, West Kensington, Shepherds Bush). Several Projects under way. Comrades who live locally needed. Plenty of work to do. All interested phone Reg 603 0550.

- 1971 World Anarchist Congress, August 1 to 4 in France-exact place will be notified. Contact CRIFA, 132 Rue de Paris, 94-Charenton, France.
- Stop The Cuts Campaign against the attacks being made on our Social Services. To Plan our Campaign against the implementation of these cuts we are organising a Public Meeting, Central Library, Bancroft Road (off Mile End Road), Thursday, February 4, at 7.30 p.m. Support and financial assistance are needed to: M. Houlihan, 85 Swaton Road, Lincoln Estate, E.3, phone 987 8665.
- Meetings at Freedom: Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. For details see 'This World' column.
- Socialist Medical Association. A Day Seminar on the 'Social Causes and Consequences of Addiction' - to Drugs-to Alcohol-to Smoking-to Gambling on Sunday, March 28, 1971, at the NUFTO Hall, 14 Jockey Fields, London, W.C.1 (off Theobalds Road), Holborn. Two sessions: morning 10 a.m. to 12.45 p.m.; after-

Dutschke by the British authorities and declared there was nothing 'to justify a refusal of his request' to take up a teaching position at Aarhus University. The curt Danish announcement concluded:

'Work and residence permits are given in Denmark irrespective of political convictions'.

Poverty and Revolution

Frank Field, Director of the Child Poverty Action Group, in a recent study supported with overwhelming statistical evidence, states that there are a million children living in poverty in Britain today compared with half that number in 1966. We all knew that there is still considerable deprivation in our affluent society but it now transpires that this is being rapidly intensified.

anarchism - introverted individualism maintains that the individual's primary concern is with himself, that the majority the more coherent strike-breakers have of the population can be written off as pointed out that there had been no confar as anarchism is concerned and that sultation on the part of the union leaderthe latter is strictly for a small group of ship. The Union of Post Office Workers

thirst for a society where men will be really free, one does not really have a choice. Durruti once said, 'We carry a new world here in our hearts, that world is growing this minute', and it is this very spirit that is necessary if we are to carry the revolution to the people-to

the people who also happen to need it.

Mini Scabs

The yellow press, conspicuously the evening papers, have been singing the praises of the mini-skirted beauties who have braved the picket lines of their fellow workers to 'play the game' as Sir Halford Reddish put it in a letter to 'The Times'.

Many of these girls come from families that are staunchly conservative and no doubt believe they are 'standing up for Britain', threatened by workers who won't stay in their places. Their member-The most impoverished form of ship of a trade union is a formality for which, unfortunately, the unions themselves are often to blame. Some of elitists to enjoy in the sanctuary of a has been highly conservative in the past

help to preserve our freedom'. Perish freedom!

Even the critics of the police maintain they are a 'necessary evil'. The establishment see them as 'a fine body of men' and they are, as the advertisement clearly shows, represented to the public as an essential and vital civil force. Anarchic critics are asked 'what would you do without them?' and harrowing tales of rape and murder are painted to support the objection. Now the police in New York city have provided an answer to their indispensability. There has been no increase in crime in the city. Obviously the forces that produce crime in society are quite independent of the existence of police. Of course the police are indispensable to the establishment. Their absence would ultimately bring about a radical change in the structure of society as people would need to negotiate with their fellows rather than dictate or obey. All societies find the road to survivalchaos, arising for example from the absence of authority, is a myth that governments propagate to their advantage. And for anarchists it is this very myth which represents the greatest obstacle to winning the faith of the vast majority.



POSTMEN

Continued from page)

wing, but completely loyal, member of the Labour Party, and the other top and very dominant (and dominating) leaders such as Maurice Styles and Jeremiah 'Dick' Lawlor are typical 'undercover' Communist henchmen of many years' standing. Indeed, the Communists, particularly within LDC3 (that is among the London Postmen), have been trying to get control of the UPW for years. To some extent, they have now succeeded. Such men as Lawlor and Styles were yesterday's rebels; today they are part of the Union Establishment. Postal workers should no more put their trust in them than in the bureaucrats who supposedly run the Post Office Corporation. If they do, they may yet get shopped.

RANK-AND-FILE TRADE UNIONIST.

noon 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. Fees: 5/- per session, 10/- per day, per person. Send to 54 Finchley Court, London, N3 1NH.

History Workshops. Saturday and Sunday, February 13 and 14, 1971. Send for full details to: Ruskin College, Oxford.

Exeter Group. Anyone interested in getting a group together contact: Nigel Outten, Westeria House, Cullompton Hill, Bradninch, Exeter. If possible, please write first.

- George Foulser, now squatting as No. 090123, HM Prison, Jebb Avenue, Brixton, S.W.2. Letters, books welcome.
- Urgent. Help fold and dispatch FREEDOM every Thursday from 4 p.m. onwards. Tea served.

NO POST-NO PRESS FUND

But we shall still get bills **EVENTUALLY** so please let us have your contribution after the strike.

But don't blackleg!

Printed by Express Printers, Lossian, B1 Published oy Preedoos Press, London, E.I.