

RY THE SHEER ACCIDENT of deliberate intention I picked up a book the other day bemoaning the problem of population, how it was necessary to do something about it since the problem would lead to mass unemployment. Later I picked up a second, a Pelican, which developed the same case, how it would lead to unemployment and a lowered standard of living. These two books were written in 1938 and 1947 respectively. Now in 1971 the Government is considering setting up a permanent office to advise it on population trends. This is from the report of the Select Committee on Science and Technology. But the important fact about the writers in 1938 and 1947 is that they



alter the forecast, even the doomladen prophecies of Enoch cannot account for it. In fact it flies in the face of the preachers that we are living in a sex-mad, birthcontrolled abortionist society.

were concerned with an estimated doom by reason of the fact that dangers of unemployment arising sible that, freed of the profit motive decline in the population. Surely growth of population was expand- from over-population and under- (and were man merely a consumer), nothing has happened to radically ing more quickly than the resources population. Other obvious problems man's physical needs could easily of the country. He was rebutted by chist writer, in arguments too wordy to go into here. Nevertheless history proved Malthus wrong. Developments in agriculture and agricultural technology increased production of foodstuffs sufficiently to maintain Indeed, population increase or poputhe huge population growth of the lation decrease, it pays to limit pro-Industrial Revolution. This was gin lands and import of foodstuffs from many lands. Subsequent developments in the prevention of unwanted pregnancies made the second part of Malthus's thesis null necessary. and void. It is just possible that the prophets are wrong again and the permanent office on population will be barking trivial and harmful, which it has up the wrong tree.

from over-population are lack of William Godwin, the English anar- houses, lack of food, lack of social services and amenities. In fact, these problems are perpetually with us as long as there is a monetary value rather than the criterion of human need placed upon them. duction of houses, food and social followed by the opening up of vir- services. If production cannot be limited, built-in obsolescence of consumer-goods and adulteration of foodstuffs is the general practice, making increased consumption

be met.

As every anarchist schoolboy knows, there was a parson called Malthus in 1798 who forecast utter



MHEN, on May 9, the Arrow Mill management at Rochdale, sacked four Pakistani 'doffers' and one English labourer, they caused a strike lasting for multi-shift workers.

immigrant mill workers have successfully to reinstate them. And those workers struck in Rochdale, and must certainly have been the first occasion in this morning sit-in, came out on strike at locality, where a majority of coloured about 6 o'clock in the afternoon. workers have come out in support of a victimised white worker. It all started when a supervisor gave four doffers one week's notice for not grafting hard enough, even though they were on piecework at the time. The doffers then stopped work altogether and were supported by the spinners and labourers who started a sit-in strike. As it was Sunday morning a couple of managers were roused from their beds and summoned to the mill. These then ordered the strikers to return to work or leave the premises. After the workers refused to do either of these things, the police were brought in, and the general manager issued an ultimatum for all the strikers to return to work or be sacked. Several workers then returned to their jobs leaving the four doffers and a labourer to continue the sit-in strike. The managers and the police at this thing for immigrant workers there. For point decided to eject the strikers, who without these immigrant workers, who resisted passively. In spite of this, one are willing to work on nights, much of worker, the labourer Brian Bamford, was the textile industry would be unable to charged with breach of the peace and run as it does at present.

#### assault on a police officer.

#### WORKERS WALK OUT

By Sunday afternoon a mass meeting nearly 24 hours and involving some 60 of Pakistani workers on multi-shift had decided to back the sacked men by It was perhaps the first time that striking until the management was forced who had returned to work during the

At 7.30 that night, the night shift

Curiously enough both the 1947 and 1971 forecasts indicate the

Despite all this, the gross national product keeps on rising, since it largely consists of products useless, been decided to produce because they find a ready market. With the growth of technology it seems pos-

The problem of overcrowding in England is largely confined to a few cities and South-East England. Large areas of Scotland and Wales are comparatively uninhabited. The huddling of masses of people in large cities is a product of the errors of the Industrial Revolution and the succeeding bureaucratic mania for centralization.

To counterbalance the fluctuations of population requires a more flexible system of society with a balance between industry and agriculture, and the re-institution of the smaller community with its reliance on the family unit and small farm rather than on factory farming on exploitative lines.

JACK ROBINSON.



refused to work until the management agreed to take the men back, and the stoppage was complete.

On Monday morning most of the workers went to the union office to meet the local branch official. He urged the men to return to work, but this was rejected and a meeting was fixed up with the management for later on in the day.

#### MANAGEMENT CLIMB DOWN

About midday, the management, faced with a total stoppage in one department and the risk of the strike spreading to involve other workers, agreed to reinstate the four doffers. This was clearly a climb-down by a frightened management, and the unity which the strike has generated among Pakistani workers in the Rochdale area can only be a good M.H.

IT HAS BEEN written in the columns

of a number of issues of FREEDOM that the Government's Industrial Relations Bill will become law. We have witnessed the feeble efforts of the TUC to make the Government change its mind. They have mounted an expensive advertising campaign in the national papers, paid for from the weekly dues of Trade unionists, held national rallies and meetings in their members' own time and gathered signatures against the Bill, but at no time have they called for, or organised, direct action against the Government's intention. The TUC, as always, was not prepared to challenge the Government and the apparatus of the State.

None of this held any surprise for anarchists. We did not turn to the TUC or to our individual trade union leaders for a lead. We never demanded that they fight and defeat the Bill, neither did we expect that they would. Unlike many of the political parties and groupings on the 'left', we demanded nothing from the trade union leaders and expected nothing in return. While the International Socialists, the Communist Party and the Socialist Labour League have screamed demands at the TUC from the headlines of their papers, anarchists have pointed out the futility of all this.

It was equally obvious that the campaign of the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions, calling on the trade union bureaucracy to fight the Bill, was also doomed to failure. Their compaign has been built around the support of 'left-wingers', like Scanlon and Jones, and the rallying of workers behind leaders, instead of trying to organise independent action by the rank and file. They, like all leaderships, or those who aspire to that position, fear any growing movement which they cannot channel and control.

#### **ONLY 'STRONGLY ADVISED'**

When the 'left' was defeated at the Croydon Congress of the TUC, both Hugh Scanlon and Jack Jones accepted the defeat and said their unions would not call any more one-day strikes against the Bill. The TUC vote 'strongly advised' unions not to register, which of course gives all unions the opportunity to find 'special circumstances' whereby it becomes vital that they apply for their 'State licence'.

Failure to register means that any industrial action called by such a union will be liable to prosecution for inducing or attempting to induce members to take action. Fines on non-registered unions or on any other organisation who call and promote industrial action have no upper limit. On the other hand, registered unions get tax advantages on their investments. If trade unions refused to comply on registration, the Bill would not be worth the paper that it is written on, but the 'special circumstances' are already being discovered. The National Union of Bank Employees and the National and Local Government Officers' Assocation have already said that they will register, while Lord Cooper, of the General and Municipal Workers' Union, has said that he will recommend registration of his union. Lord Cooper's decision goes against that of the TUC of which he is Chairman. He says the Bill removes the legal protection afforded to trade unions while in furtherance of a trade dispute. The only way to regain this protection is to register. Of course what worries him is the prospect of fines and higher taxes. He also sees the possibility of co-operating with the employers and gaining membership through the agency shops and the anti-poaching Bridlington Agreement.\* Employers, if anything, welcome unions like Lord

Cooper's to keep workers in line and discipline any who challenge management-union agreements.

#### WELCOME REGISTRATION

Lord Cooper and many other trade union leaders really welcome registration and the protection it gives them from their rank and file. Unlike in the past, they will have legal sanctions to assist them in crushing any militancy by their members. Registration is the path to partnership between union leaders and management who both agree on the need for a disciplined working class. One by one, union executives will apply for their licence from the State. They, like the Government, know that the Bill will strengthen their authority. Registered unions could gain members through the agency shops, but these would mostly be only dues-paying ticket holders.

The periods in our history when strikes have been illegal have not meant the prevention of industrial action. In fact, during World War II, when the Order 1305 made strikes illegal, they increased in number each year. The Betteshanger Colliery strike in Kent in 1942 showed the futility of prosecuting thousands of workers determined to remain on strike. Now, as then, solidarity between workers is the only effective weapon to beat the sanctions of the Bill. Such resistance must be controlled by the workers themselves. Reliance on trade union leaders would be fatal. Any illusions that union executives would fight the law could mean defeat for the workers and the organisations that they have built up and maintained.



MR. JEREMY WESTALL is to have else the CRC was trying to do is difficult his salary suspended by the Com- to see. We stated in our letter that we munity Relations Commission. He is a are unhappy about the situation in Newcommunity relations officer in Newham, ham, and this is the reason why we East London. The reason is that he shall stop the grant to cover Newham's blamed Right-wing fanatics and National Front and National Democratic Party supporters for the arson in immigrant homes. To do so apparently is not 'conducive to good community relations'. Evidently the truth should be suppressed and immigrants should put up with hav- war. At the present stage all that is ing their homes set on fire. Everyone needed is that people shall speak out. should keep quiet. It is hoped that in The evil has not yet grown to the prothis way trouble will be avoided. Poli- portions it reached in Germany. Probticians love to denounce those who are ably at present most of the population, not ready to support their wars as though by no means free from prejudice, 'appeasers', and refer to the Hitler have not yet reached the stage when they period. Well here is an example of consider it legitimate to try to burn appeasement all right! Let us not do their neighbours in their beds. However, anything to upset the Nazis of Newham if silence is preserved when attacks of at all costs. People said nice things this kind take place, in time everyone about Hitler and in the end countless will come to take them for granted, as millions died. Is this going to happen again? International Community. The Com- will be far more dangerous to oppose munity Relations Commission gives a grant to the community to cover his salary. In suspending this grant the CRC hypocritically denies that it was trying to force the community to dismiss Mr. Westall, though exactly what

community relations officer's salary for the time being.'

They must be unhappy, these sweet gentlemen, but not half as unhappy as the people who had fire thrown into their houses! There is no need to fight a they take for granted other traditional brutalities. By then the movements of Mr. Westall works for the Newham the Right will have become so strong it them than it is now.

We must all give our support to courageous individuals like Mr. Westall, who are prepared to tell what is really happening, regardless of consequences to themselves. A.W.U.

#### NOT ANTI-UNION

Workers have once again been led up the garden path of calling upon leaderships to do something for them when it is plain from their everyday experience on the shop-floor that you do not place too much reliance on trade union officials, but act for yourselves. The same lesson applies to the Industrial Relations Bill.

This Bill will become law, but it is not anti-trade union. The first of these two statements was considered heresy only a short while ago, while the second is still misunderstood by 'left-wing' militants. It is drawn up to attack and break the organisation which has been painstakingly built up by shop stewards. The Government hopes to effectively prevent workers from gaining higher wages and control over their job conditions by making any action they take outside the law. In other words the Government wants workers to lose all their dignity and merely accept what is handed to them by the employer and their trade union.

#### P.T.

\*Having gained an agency shop giving the GMWU sole negotiating rights, the anti-poaching Bridlington Agreement would prevent other unions from recruiting members. Such was the situation at Pilkingtons. Many firms would welcome trade unionism on these terms.

FREEDOM SELLING

Petticoat Lane, London

Meet Freedom Press, 11 a.m.

Whit Sunday, May 30.

## 'the inmates have taken over'

THE TRIVIAL IN ART or politics by its very nature demands an audience participation. A child or a mentally sick person's attempt at painting, the political demonstration called merely to enable some weekend Che Guevara to lead the faithful around the park, a call for strike action over some minor issue not worth discussing, or a demoralised American army sitting out its last hot hours in the fields of Vietnam through egotistical sentimental pity, boredom or savage irritation, forces the audience to take over the action.

The banality of the child's or the

#### AROUND THE GALLERIES

mentally sick person's paintings bring out all the jargon of the paperback psychiatrists seeking to read profound meanings in pretty daubs. The faithful are quick to realize the futility of its ineffectual self-proclaimed leader and always produces its own leadership and its own action, while every strike produces a militant strike committee ready to fight the office-holders' abandoned battle, and the unfortunate armies of the New World sulk in their tents like strawsucking cracker-barrel kings chewing their acid, pumping their horse and fighting a private fragging war against the commissioned ranks. When men are called to give their time and aspirations to a worthless objective they must finally destroy not only the objective but themselves. This floor of the Tate Gallery, flower-arranged week there is no great political causes a few squares of unmarked fibreglass for the Town to march for, but we are or reverently and most meticulously laid most fortunate that the world of the out a rubbish dump on a Gallery floor, arts have provided a full flowering one is in the end left with what one

two of our major public galleries.

It is the Robert Morris Exhibition of Sculpture at the Tate Gallery that must win the plastic palm for its demand for audience participation managed to empty the Gallery of its finest works half way through the act as the audience accepted the invitation to clamber up and over rocking boards and swaying cupboards in an aesthetic mad minuet. And they carried away the wounded that plunged to the Tate floors, removed the moveable works of Morris's art sculptures, and gave the empty room over to the long night and free entrance. Robert Morris is one of those earnest middle-aged Americans whom one respects from a safe distance.

One feels that it is fortunate for the Town that his creative energies are syphoned off in the harmless charade of meaningful art and not in leading the world's Faithful on some worthy political cause or advising the frag-happy reluctant heroes of American colonial wars. Robert Morris belongs to that if only school of non-creative school of artists. Seemingly incapable of producing an original work of art or extending the newlycreated vistas of their particular non-craft, they act out a literary game-if only one could cover the Alps in plastic sheeting, spray Westminster Abbey with chocolate, paint carnations green, wrap the whole of our coastline in lavatory paper and on and on; if only, as Alice would have said.

felt strips, some fibreglass blocks to rest one's wine glass on, and an indoor rubbish dump. It is all part of that perennial delusion that if one bangs long and loud enough on a drum one will finally produce a meaningful work of art.

If the Town holds that I do Robert Morris ill with these words, then let me quote what Michael Compton, who, with David Sylvester, carries the can for this Exhibition, quotes in his introduction to the Exhibition. Robert Morris 'has proposed for his own mausoleum, "a sealed aluminium tube three miles long. inside which he wishes to be put, housed in an iron coffin suspended from pulleys. Every three months the position of the coffin is to be changed by an attendant who will move along the outside of the tube holding a magnet. On a gravel walk leading to the entrance are swooning maidens, carved in marble in the style of Canova".' When Robert Morris joins all the other immortals in the Great Beyond called Disneyland they can invite me to the wake but strictly for the beer. And for the Town and his frau in her flapping maxi seeking the Old Values, there is three for the price of one at the Hayward Gallery on the wrong side of the river. There appears to be an almost apologetic air in the presentation of the works of Henri Laurens, Arnold Böcklin and Ferdinand Hodler. Henri Laurens' bulbous nude sculptures fill the first two rooms of the Hayward Gallery and his neat array of bronze door-stoppers would seem to justify the remarks by Guy Brett in the catalogue that Laurens' 'cubism is not exploratory like Picasso's . . . he left behind a cubist wit and not yet gained an inner life . . . compared with other modern scuptors his position was not intellectually challenging . . . the thematic basis for his work is conservative and rather vague' and on and on and all unkindly taken out of context. Henri Laurens was a man of small gifts but he was fortunate to thumb a lift on the cubist bandwagon as it lurched through history and yet there was little he could achieve from that

always that innocent onlooker who, by the sheer weight of the mob, is forced up the steps and into some emptied office and by virtue of the notice on the door becomes Commissar for Weights and Measures and part of textbook history. Such a man was Henri Laurens.

The Paintings of Ferdinand Hodler and Arnold Böcklin, also on view within the Hayward Gallery, are the type that one would expect to find on the walls of any bourgeois rathaus. Our own town halls can provide this type of painting literally by the acre and it is good, solid, uninspired and mediocre work that gives a sense of world history to a parochial building.

Critics have sought to find an affinity between Hodler and van Gogh but it is a facile comparison for Hodler has none of van Gogh's neurotic strength, only van Gogh's burning colours illapplied.

Martin Weener ONLY on show in the Pit Lobby of the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden. Martin Weener's colourful drawings are always cheerful and competent and his subject matter ranges from the Amadeus String Quartet to Rudolph Kempe. It is a roll call of Covent Garden greats and Weener's pencil catches the gaiety, the charm and the grace of that small and private world.

While at the Arthur Tooth Gallery at 31 Bruton Street, W.1, Robert Melville plays host to that Gallery's second exhibition of critic's choice. Robert Melville, a man of our time. Art critic for the New Statesman. Permanently young, always immaculately dressed in the finest of youthful fashion. A most gentle man whose opinions, unfortunately for us, always run parallel with his times and never ahead of them. To know the man is to know his choice of works; and his taste for the literary, the erotic and the fashion of the hour is made manifest with his choice of paintings by Peter Blake, Haworth, Allen Jones, Procktor, Self, Hockney and Ovenden. All work of surface charm and off-beat eroticism and painted, in the main, in the crude poster charm of last week's pop arts. Robert Melville has judged ten thousand works of art yet never swayed the course of history. A kind and noble man, slight of build and full of an ancient charm, his intelligence and his cynicism is alien to the brute primitives that make up the Bond Street hucksters, who could catalogue and price the tears of Christ, and complain to the council at the new grown rose growing at their Gallery entrance. Robert Melville is their man but only on his shy silent terms for he moves among them a Greek among Romans.

Yet having, with casual ease, draped lengths of grey felt loosely onto the of mediocrity and gentle lunacy to fill started out with. A sad heap of grey

LETTER

### Referenda

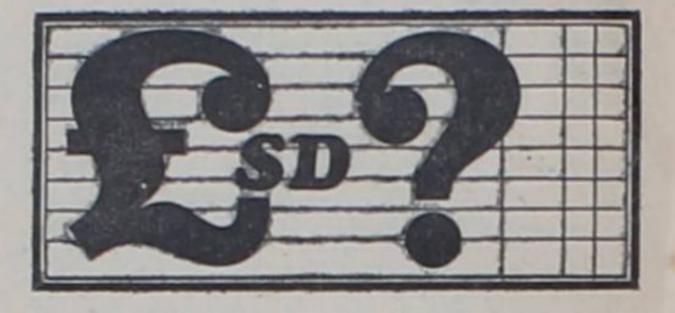
A PART FROM THE grossly unfair they want to raise aren't there, and of compared favourably with our present set-up-the chief fallacy in Brian Behan's thesis is that he ignores the dangers of manipulation in a referendum. The extreme instances of course were De Gaulle's frequent juxtapositions of unlikes in a single yes/no answer: 'Do you want Democracy, do you support De Gaulle?'-either you said 'yes', justifying continuation of Gaullist power or 'no', justifying yet further moves to Bonapartist hierarchy. But there 'are lesser examples of this sort of twisting. What is wrong surely in any conceivable form of formal democracy is that it serves to confuse, serves to make it easy to allow to keep the real issues out of the struggle, serves to allow secrecy, serves to let two parties, the electorate choose a package deal evidence. with no chance of saying that the issues

slur on the Amerindians contained the ones issued they would like to be in the title Wigwam Democracy-for able to cross choose. This allows all though some Amerindian tribes were class issues to be avoided, allows the rigidly hierarchical most appear to have state to concentrate power and merely put off for debate questions that do not threaten that power. Would this be any better, because every so often there was a referendum? I suggest the same people would be choosing when there should be a referendum, what the terms of the questionnaire lifetime yet, despite his heartfelt striving, circulated should be, what information is unable to participate in it. about the issues should be held to be official secrets, and so on. Referenda are, I suggest, even more draperie with Epstein's glorious Genesis. open to manipulation than the present Laurens' carved woman splays out as the original sad sack, mass without set-up, even if it were demonstrated that they were marginally better to divert meaning, occupying space for no other activity away from anarchism to them reason than that the clay was on hand would be criminal folly. I am aware that that last is a little unfair-that they could not be demonstrated to be slightly primitive woman rests in an animal better unless they were tried—but in this repose yet is conscious for the first concentrating on irrelevant issues, make case there is fairly concrete contrary L.O.

Of Arnold Böcklin what can be said except that his Island of the Dead is part of Western sub-culture. Almost all his large allegorical paintings are complete rubbish, badly composed and badly painted. His Island of the Dead painted in 1880 has a magazine-cover feeling of decaying romanticism and Adolf Hitler, who lacked Hermann Goering's understanding of fine art, included thirteen of Böcklin's paintings in his private collection of which the third version of Island of the Dead and the Combat of the Centaurs were deemed to be major contributions. It is for that reason if no other that Hitler should have been placed on trial.

All these four artists are by their own and the world's standards good and honest men. They laboured at their craft and lived full rich lives. Their work is offered for us to judge and if we do not have the courage, the honesty or the understanding to reject it for what it is, third-rate, pedestrian and in some areas mindless hack work, then it is we who rightly stand condemned for not only do we degrade ourselves and delude the ill-informed, but by falsely praising bad work we bring into contempt good work. For all judgement is relative and if any of these four men are held to have produced great works free ride for his ballooning nudes are as of art then I hold that those that make boneless and un-erotic as an untidy pile the claim spit in the face of Michelangelo of sacks of sand for all his work appears and of Rembrandt. to be that striving by a good minor But as the whore says, 'Don't let us craftsman who is conscious of the ferpart on a sour note dearie,' and let ment of an historic movement in his own us draw attention to the drawings of

ARTHUR MOYSE.



#### PRESS FUND May 9-22 inclusive

New York: L.M. £2.10; Wolverhampton: J.K.W. 10p; J.L. 40p; Brecon: M.M. 40p; Fresno: L.M. £5.50; Ockbrook: M.M.E. 5p; London, N.W.3: Anon 50p; Bristol: Connexion 84p; Detroit: Gruppo Libertad £10; Wolverhampton: J.K.W. 10p; J.L. 40p; London, S.W.6: M.G. £1; New York: L.M. £2.10; London, N.22: K.B. £2.50; Oakland, Calif .: R.E. £1.44; Whittier, Calif.: E.V. £3.86; London: R.R. £20.50; Dundee: A.S.L.T. £1.50; W.A.C. 50p; Woldingham: F.C.B. £1; Los Gatos: Italian Group per C.M. picnic May 15-16 £40; London: Burrell House 20p.

Compare Laurens' Femme debout à la ANARCHY 3 Now on Sale while Epstein's Genesis is a huge gross The Acid Issue carnal hymn to women. His sensuous, from Freedom Press time of the awakening life within her body. In the storming of history's 20p(50c)Winter Palaces and Bastilles there is

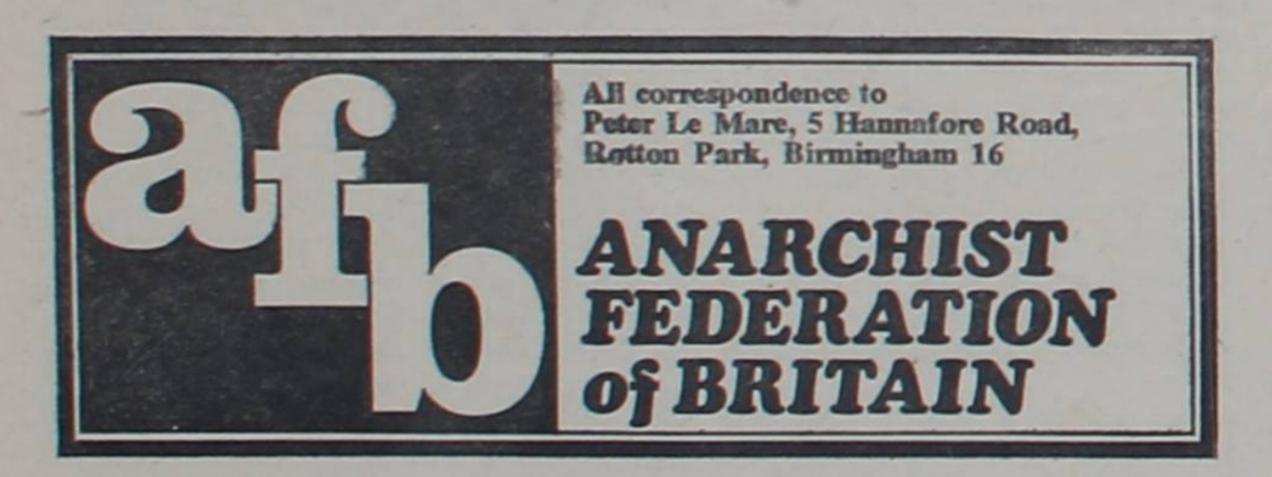
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and activities contact Mr. T. Plant, 10 Thackeray Road, East Ham, E.6. Tel.: 552 4162. MERSEYSIDE. c/o John Cowan, 172a Lodge Lane, Liverpool 8. Meetings first Sunday in each month, 8 p.m.

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KINGSTON. Roger Willis, 69 Woodlands Avenue, New Malden, Surrey.

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, Hawthom Avenue, Hull

SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Ian Bone, 18 Windsor Street, Uplands, Swansea. Meetings at the above address every Sunday at 7 p.m.

#### SCOTTISH FEDERATION

All correspondence to Temporary Secretary: Neil 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.

EDINBURCH. 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 Burghead Drive Glasgow, S.W.1.

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

#### NORTHERN IRELAND

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

#### SOUTHERN IRELAND

20 College Lane, Dublin, 2.

#### 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, University of Keele, Staffs. **OXFORD ANARCHISTS.** Contact Jeremy Brent,

#### 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**

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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 for postage.

Please notify us if entries in these columns need amending.

### 'be alert for anarchistic outriders in our movement'

R. Briginshaw, General Secretary, Natsopa, writing in the Union Journal, February 1971.

### WHAT'S AN **OUTRIDER?**

WE DON'T KNOW what an 'outrider' is. Mr. Briginshaw uses the word is. Mr. Briginshaw uses the word 'anarchistic' as they use it in the gutter press-to signify chaos and disorder. His phrase 'anarchistic outriders' is meant to conjure up a picture of drunken cowboys galloping down Fleet Street loosing off six-guns in all directions!

Well, WE are anarchists and we all work in print. We don't possess either horses, guns or bombs.



HAVE YOU SEEN THIS MAN? If so, take him to the Union and report him for unconstitutional activity!

# Latin American Unions and U.S. Big Business

**RGANISING** into Trade Unions in many countries of the world is not, to say the least, an easy task. Employers do not exactly welcome it, particularly in Latin America. And yet there are hundreds of people throughout the area engaged in the task of 'assisting' workers to train as Trade Union 'leaders' and organisers. Why? And who are these 'friends of the workers' of Latin America?

Throughout Latin America, there are so-called Trade Union schools. These schools are, generally, run or set up by the infamous 'American Institute For Free Labor Development', which is not actually based in Latin America at all, but in Washington in the good old USA. The Institute has branches scattered about Latin America.

Institute to assist it in furthering a modern conception of democratic Unions and to contribute to developing and stabilising Latin America'. And who were these firms who wanted to encourage 'democratic' Trade Unions among Latin American workers?

They include: Anaconda Copper, International Telephone & Telegraph Corporation, Standard Oil, the United Corporation, Pan Am and Grace & Company. Indeed, the fifty to sixty American corporations who assist in the financing of the AIFLD control over two-thirds of all US capital investments in Latin America-about 20,000,000 dollars all told. Peter Grace of Grace & Co.-who owns large tracts of land in Peru-is on the board of management of the American Institute For Free Labor Development.

over, underline the class collaborationist sentiments of its Big Business backers. Bases of the Economy recommends active Trade Unionists to inculcate respect for their employers in the minds of the workers of Latin America; it instructs them not to oppose lay-offs, and to maintain 'peace' in plants and enterprises in the interests of the 'common cause' (I believe you have a 'common cause' anti-Union outfit in England).

However, US activity among Latin American workers is not limited to the

Anarchists are AGAINST authoritythe rule of one man over anotherwhether it is by a trade union official or a government. We are FOR organisation by free and equal human beings. We don't want to be made unemployed, taxed half silly, or sent off to fight a war on somebody else's say-so. That is what WE call 'chaos and disorder'.

Applying these ideas to trade union affairs we stand for the following:-

#### WE BELIEVE that members should con-

- trol their own unions instead of, as at present, being bossed about by paid officials and threatened with expulsion (the sack) if we don't comply with 'orders'.
- WE BELIEVE that paid officials are not necessary at all. If each Chapel ran its own affairs there would be no need for the present centralised, bureaucratic and very expensive trade union structure.
- WE BELIEVE that the unity of printing trade unionists is best achieved through a FEDERATION of autonomous chapels.
- WE BELIEVE that centralisation means an uncontrolled 'leadership' which makes all the decisions-usually against the interests of the members. (What about the loss of the cost-ofliving bonus-the 'productivity' deals

splitting of SOGAT. When were the members consulted about any of these things?)

WE BELIEVE that all trade unionists have the right to meet freely and talk on any subject without being threatened with the Rule Book.

Mr. Briginshaw has called us disrupters and implied that we favour blowing people up! The only kind of destruction we are interested in is ending the dictatorial structure of trade unions so that the members, who pay the contributions, may have control of their own affairs. If you think that's not a bad idea why not come to our meeting on-

#### THURSDAY, JUNE 3 in the

'COGERS', Salisbury Court, E.C.4 (in The Dive Bar)

**GEORGE HUGHES**, a member of NGA, will chair the meeting, and JOHN LAWRENCE, a member of

The AIFLD was formed in 1962, mainly through the efforts of George Meany's AFL-CIO. And during the last eight years, it is said to have trained as many as 70,000 Trade Unionists. For some Latin American Trade Unionists, three-month courses in the USA itself have been arranged; some going to the University of Loyola in New Orleans. Such students have their return fares paid, receive a monthly bursary and a lump sum, often representing as much as nine months' salary, at the end of their course.

#### WHOSE MONEY

Who, then, are the people backing the AIFLD? Who provides the money?

The Institute has millions of dollars in its coffers. It is financed partly by the AFL-CIO, the US Government through the 'Alliance For Progress' programme and American Big Business itself.

Between its formation in 1962 and the American Unions is an inestimable comend of 1965 alone, sixty American cor- modity. It is as necessary as investments porations donated 500,000 dollars to the in this region.' AIFLD handbooks, more-

Now, why are these giant American corporations, with their vast capital investments, interested in 'democratic' Trade Unions? But, more important, what do they expect 'democratic' Unions and Trade Unionists to do? What does the Institute instruct them to do?

#### **BIG BUSINESS AIMS**

According to Mr. Romualdo, director of the Institute within Latin America, the main aim of the Institute is to foster 'the conception of co-operation among different economic elements of society'. Its object is a 'rapprochement between workers and employers'. Its aim is 'social peace'. And why? Henry Woodbridge, President of the Temper Corporation, answers: 'Without free Unions there can be no free enterprise'; and Thomas Mann, former Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, bluntly declares: 'A skilful guidance of Latin

AIFLD.

#### ROLE OF CIA

More sinister, more widespread, better financed and more insidious is the Central Intelligence Agency, which of course works in co-operation with AIFLD, top officials of the AFL-CIO such as former American Communist Party secretary, and now head of the International Department of the AFL-CIO, Jay Lovestone, and lastly, ORIT, the regional organisation of the International Confederation of Free (!) Trade Unions.

According to the Argentinian Confederation of Labour journal, CGT, the AIFLD and its branches in Latin America are used by the CIA for espionage purposes. The CIA is said to have a network of secret agents who conduct various subversive activities within the Unions with the aim of sabotaging efforts to build militant workers' organisations, and of preventing the workers from becoming class-conscious. These agents maintain close contact with their respective American embassies. Moreover, propaganda material distributed in the name of ORIT among local Trade Unions often come directly from US embassies. Indeed, recently the Bolivian Government which now (this week, at least) has a left-wing nationalist military leadership, ordered the closure of the ORIT Secretariat in La Paz; and the representative of ORIT in the country was expelled for carrying on CIA activity. He was accused of being in the pay of the CIA.

which cost hundreds of jobs-the

SOGAT, will open the discussion.

WILL CALL MYSELF a 'religious' anarchist at the risk of evoking the usual misconceptions associated with that term. I certainly am not an individualist in the sense that some other comrades have recently used the word; rather I believe that the idea of community is as important as the idea of freedom in the practical implications of anarchism.

My journey towards anarchism was complex, gradual, in the end climactic, yet overall it was a logical progression. As a young Christian pacifist with vaguely socialistic ideas and a natural sympathy for the underdog, I was thrust suddenly into the harsh reality of a colonialist set-up. The resulting revelation of capitalism in its crudest, most blatant and aggressive form, kindled my smouldering indignation, in a way which I may never have experienced in my native English environment where the workings of the system are so concealed and overlaid by the blanket of culture and tradition, and its exploitive effects both masked and cushioned by the material rewards of generations of working class struggle.

Against such anger, my pacifist con-

### **RELIGIOUS VIEW OF** ANARGHISM

tralised State, the consolidation of Workers' Power, which would eventually 'wither-away'!

#### DISILLUSIONED

I have now been disillusioned with all this; but more positively I have been recaptured by God. The Hound of Heaven caught up with me, and I am quite convinced that there is an absolute focus of spiritual values, there is a cosmic reality and an eternal purpose which man can glimpse and his heart respond to. Because I believe in God and trust that the purpose is real, valid and good, I believe also in the equality of all human kind and respect the right of all creatures to life and freedom. My enmity towards all which enslaves or exploits is if anything more intense and certainly less selective. Never again can ends justify the means. Ends and means must cohere, for as Martin Luther King says, 'Means represent the ideal in making and the end in process. If a free, just society is our aim, freedom and justice shall dictate our methods of working for it. No person should be physically coerced to achieve it. The real revolution is total and begins with ourselves. We have first to live our principles so far as we possibly can. To my mind nothing is more pathetic than the wealthy socialist financier, unless it is the violent peacemaker. Man must commit himself to live as Jesus taught and lived with an insight one can only describe as divine; yet an insight which may be shared by all who seek it at its source. In summary the way is this: to live and let live, treating others as we would like them to treat us, loving one another, forgiving one another, not judging, not punishing, not seeking restitution of loss, theft or damages, but centring always upon the one is persuaded is but the subjective greater needs of others rather than on our own desires. And to do all this, not at some future time when a different order of society prevails, but to do it now.' For he knew, as anarchists know, that society does not improve simply any means. And so I accepted the as a result of talk alone, and even less necessity for violent revolution, wars of as a result of the political transfer of national liberation, the dictatorship of power from one group to another, or

more closely we adhere to this ideal, the less shall we depend on the institutions of the State. We shall need no laws, prisons, judges or police, for never shall we be willing to see a person deprived of his liberty or self-respect, still less of his life, on account of his offenses against either our persons or property.

#### HOW TO BE FREE

As men take back the responsibility for running their own lives, the pillars of authority will crumble. I believe that this is happening even now as a result of the massive awakening of the desire for personal involvement and participation on the part of people, especially young people, all over the world. Every small victory in this battle is a direct blow against authoritarianism, a weakening of the centralised power structure and a forward step in the march towards true freedom and equality which is the only genuine democracy and the true destiny of mankind. Only when that age dawns will the necessary conditions exist for the full flowering of the human spirit. Man's soul needs freedom as his lungs need air. It is though a quality hard to identify. Material freedom has been enjoyed by a privileged few throughout history, usually at the expense of others. Spiritual freedom has been realised frequently by those under physical bondage. A man cannot be truly free if he is ignorant, and however wealthy he may be he cannot be thought of as free if he is a victim of his own irrational prejudices. And there is a sense in which none of us is truly free until all men are, both spiritually and physically, such is the inter-related nature of life. I would go further and say that men are not free so long as they depend on the barbaric enslavement of other creatures for their food or pleasure. Let me hasten to add that freedom does not guarantee automatic perfection.

Free man is not to be equated with

super-man, whom I do not believe in.

Man probably always will have weak-

nesses and make mistakes, but anarchism,

we, the people, individuals, decide to and only anarchism, can ensure that live differently, and to do it now. The individual faults remain individual, to be accepted and forgiven by the community, and not transmuted through the distorting lens of power politics into the horrific forms of nuclear war and bacterial plague.

#### **FREEDOM VALUED**

Now I must take issue with those trends at the present time which devalue freedom by interpreting it as meaning licence for unrestricted pleasure seeking and personal gratification without reference to the needs of others and especially the wider needs of the community. To me this appears but an attempt to use anarchism as a philosophical basis, almost a justification, for a personal attitude which is basically selfish and self-centred; an attitude which, far from being revolutionary, is only too prevalent under the existing materialistic authoritarian pattern of life. Indeed, such an outlook is most aptly seen as a fruit of authoritarianism rather than any positive part of anarchism. How can intelligent people really see things that way? We are all part of society whether we like the fact or not. We are inter-dependent. There are many millions of people in the world and we must live together somehow. What each of us does affects our neighbour and like ripples from a stone thrown into a pool, our influence extends out into the wider world. It is foolish then to talk of freedom outside of the context of social responsibility, or love of our neighbour. The fact is, if we are to dispense with externally imposed codes of behaviour, it must be because we have begun to outgrow the need for them, because we are conscious of that inner guidance which I call God, and others may call conscience, and because we are upholders of a way of love which makes all laws irrelevant. Freedom to me is thus inseparable from love. Indeed, I think it is the regimentation of authoritarianism, in religious as well as in secular affairs, which destroys man's innate capacity to respond positively to the goodness in his own soul, and rots his faculties of spiritual

The Americans are working overtime to stop the workers of Latin America from organising into effective Trade Unions. They will not be successful. It is quite likely that the workers and peasants will go even further-and overthrow the whole rotten system. I hope so.

JOSE.

Another 4-page leaflet. Two articles from FREE-DOM: The relevance of Anarchism today and Anarchism and Nationalism.

Available from Freedom

science laboured and died. Marx I felt was surely right, that 'force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with the new', force meaning violence, of course. For who could imagine the holders of wealth and power relinquishing it voluntarily, persuaded so to do by Christian principles? How might justice be restored to all God's children, if not by force of arms? And so, an atheist Marxist I became, accepting the necessity for violence, however regretfully, and hence the irrelevance, indeed the total inconsistency, of belief in a God of love and a prophet Jesus who accepted suffering willingly in preference to imposing it on his opponents.

Putting above all things the priority of establishing 'socialist justice', morality and ethics are soon re-orientated away from an abstract God or 'good', which result of social conditioning. Any inconvenient idea can be labelled 'bourgeois' and thus dispensed with. Everything must be re-valued on its usefulness to the cause, the supreme end justifying the proletariat, and not least the cen- one class to another. It changes when

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#### dred including postage.

awareness.

In conclusion, anarchists would do well to remember that there are two lies. In exposing the one we should not allow ourselves to be deceived by the other. In the words of W. H. Auden,

'All I have is a voice To undo the folded lie, The romantic lie in the brain Of the sensual man-in-the-street And the lie of Authority Whose buildings grope the sky: There is no such thing as the State And no one exists alone; Hunger allows no choice To the citizen or the police; We must love one another or die.'

NEVILLE FOWLER.

## Down with Fascism!

political left. Often used indiscriminately, it nevertheless denotes a feeling that the person abused has something in common with the members of the fascist parties which sprang up in the twenties and thirties.

The prototype of these was the Partito Fascisto Italiano, of which Mussolini was the leader. The PFI combined elements of socialism with nationalism and racism. Mussolini carried out a nationalisation programme in some respects similar to that of the British Labour Party in 1945. He also formed agricultural co-operatives and a statesponsored marketing system of agricultural products, which was at some points similar to that of the Soviet Union. One of the main features of fascism word 'fascist' presumably only applies however was the appeal to national and in this country today to the heir of racial pride, and a consequent totali- Oswald Mosley's British Union of

OF COURSE the word 'fascist' has tarianism. Extravagant glorification of long been a term of abuse on the the fatherland and its military backbone was designed to secure the loyalty of the citizen and his subjugation to the interests of the state.

> 'I have seen these soldiers . . . these sons of Italy . . . and I tell you that they are not soldiers but saints and martyrs.'-Mussolini on the Italian campaigns in Libya and Eritrea in the late thirties.

Any opposition to the ruling party, and its personification, the leader, was ruthlessly suppressed. The insistence on pride of race reached lunatic and sinister proportions with the 'aryanisation' of Germany carried out by Hitler's National Socialist Party, culminating in the attempt to exterminate the Jews.

When it is used in this sense, the

Fascists, which apparently now masquerades under the name, Union Movement.

There is, however, another sense of the word which might be considered linguistically respectable. The PFI did not invent the name fascist. They took their emblem and consequently their name from the fasces, that is, the axe surrounded by a bundle of rods which the Roman lictors carried in procession as a symbol of authority. The fasces did not originate with the Romans. The axe, particularly the two-headed axe, was



a symbol of power throughout ancient times. It has been found used as a symbol in early Cretan remains and the fasces itself has been found in Etruscan remains. Thus the axe, representative of power, and the bundle of rods for corporal punishment, has been a symbol of authority for thousands of years. It is still in use today as the emblem of a Swiss canton.

It seems reasonable therefore to apply the age-old symbol of authority to those who are active upholders of the principle of authority. Certainly anarchists will be opposed to fascism, whatever its colour, and will echo those brave men who chalked on the walls in Mussolini's Italy:

Press Fund donations for both

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would be appreciated if, when writ-

ing, comrades would put on the

envelope some indication of the con-

tents, such as Editors, Subscriptions,

Bundle, Bookshop, etc. Freedom

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new books and Freedom Press publi-

cations, but the secondhand depart-

#### ABBASSO I FASCISTI.

GEOFFREY BARFOOT.

'To be governed is to be watched over, inspected, spied upon, directed, legislated at, regulated, docketed, indoctrinated, preached at, controlled, assessed, weighed, censored, ordered about, by men who have neither the right nor the knowledge nor the virtue. To be governed means to be, at each operation, at each transaction, at each movement, noted, registered, controlled, stamped, taxed, measured, valued, assessed, patented, licensed, authorised, endorsed, admonished, hampered, reformed, rebuked, arrested. It is to be, on the pretext of the general interest, taxed, drilled, held to ransom, exploited, monopolised, extorted, squeezed, hoaxed, robbed; then, at the least resistance, at the first word of complaint, to be repressed, fined, abused, annoyed, followed, bullied, beaten, disarmed, garotted, imprisoned, machine-gunned, judged, condemned, deported, flayed, sold, betrayed, and finally mocked, ridiculed, insulted, dishonoured. Such is government, such is justice, such is morality.'

## Violence on the Wards

THE THIRD mental hospital trial this year is well under way at Whittingham in England. It is of direct interest only to those of an older generation of training and to those therapeutic heavies still remaining-like the nurses at Claybury I met one night who had done nights for 14 years obviously to escape control and resolve problems of change.

It hasn't solved any problems and least of all has anything not already known come to light. The selection of a few scapegoats is always unfair when it is the system itself on trial by implication. This sort of violence continues everywhere, but it is definitely no longer the main problem.

In fact the main interest of the trial trial for me is the way the MoH is trying to act as the school inspectors of the hospital system, trying to jerk doctors out of their insensate straitjackets. Violence was the method of the 20's and 30's and it is the slowness to change to the shock and the needle, but as ever modern methods which the ministry dis- its true place is in the heads of the likes. But this is a side issue in more staff who cannot help but associate ways than one.

We assert that physical violence will remain a problem so long as the mental hospital exists. So long as it has staff. Its functions by means of violence just as the army or the police. It has no other means. The trial is about an outof-date violence now no longer tolerable, but one effect of the trials is that the mental hospital as a system is not deemed a failure because it comes up with the results of the police cell and in the 50's (see Dr. Pippard's article) results reminiscent of the Auschwitz experimental hospital.

The trials of the future must take the violence of today as their subject. Patients are controlled by drugs in the same way as previously by force. Consequently although institutional modifications have taken place, the 'better class' and 'more intelligent' staff recruited in a deliberate attempt to change the image are only icing on the same old cake. The manner of violence is now

Starting with Anarchy 4, Anarchy will be editorially and financially autonomous. All subscriptions, including joint ones, and back number orders, will still be handled by Freedom Press at 84B Whitechapel High Street, London, E.1. All editorial matter, bundle orders and street sales for Anarchy will be handled by the Anarchy Group at 95 West Green Road, London, N.15, as from May Day. (Phone number to be ment will be allowed to run down. notified.)

always is some decades behind, and some hospitals have no relationship with any society past or present. It is tragic to see the noble efforts made to 'rehabilitate' those selected into the mores of the 50's, by veterans from the two wars. The most important stumbling block to progress is the doctor, however. The hospital functions in a very hierarchical way regardless of its formal reality because the staff are arranged by function and so by qualification and so partly by social class and general attitude. The psychiatrist trains for six years or more, only 10% of that time being concerned

The hospital changes with society but are made publicly accountable for their actions and till they are given their proper status of laboratory technician. Then, some of the good people who leave this therapeutic slaughter of the innocents might be persuaded to stay. R.S.

> ANARCHY 2 **Out Now!** On 'Kronstadt 1921' 20p (50c)

#### **Pierre-Joseph Proudhon.**



mental illness with violence.

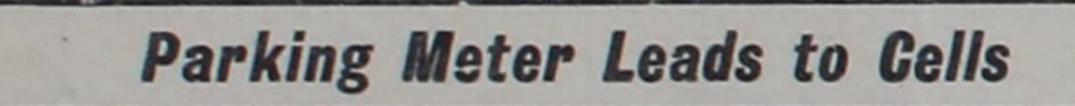
with psychiatry, but in any hospital his legal and social position is invulnerable. There will be no change till the doctors

**Obtainable from** Freedom Press



AS I RETURNED to my parked car in the centre of Ilford two plainclothes policemen arrested me for allegedly using a 1p piece instead of a 21p coin in the meter. These meters were only installed a few months ago, and owing to this fault in their mechanism the borough of Redbridge is widely believed to have lost a lot of money. Yesterday a meter-maid told me that CID officers were watching the meters and taking the numbers of cars whose parking meters had the wrong coins showing through their little windows. Therefore I was arrested under the Theft Act 1968 for seeking a pecuniary gain by deceit. In recent months there have been many successful prosecutions in this way.

I was not returning to my car but mine. He said the meter was sealed and produced a key which opened it. The 1p coin was held in the machine and he released it without its passing into the money container. Then his mate approached and I went to the police station. I objected to going but they said they would take my car anyway. As we drove away the meter showed two hours to run, although now emptied of money, it had been fixed by the detective with his fingers. The whole procedure, beginning with my arrest, was quite startling. At the police station I was searched and asked to give my fingerprints. This is only a short step from the profile photo, the growing dossier and the police assuming they have a perfect right to look into all your life. Therefore I refused. Now labelled 'unco-operative' (a word not unknown to social workers also) I was told to wait (but not what for) in a 'detention cell', which was just a cell without any furniture or fittings other than two chairs. Its normal use is obvious. the corridor, but a slight gap left in the the Traffic Acts.



cell window shutter was now closed. Suddenly an inhuman-looking policeman looked in to see if I was pacing the floor or daubing shit on the walls like monkeys are supposed to do, and then I could see were not having any more of these nothing. He made me feel what a zoo feels like inside. But I strained to listen and I could hear raised voices. There bail when the inspector had first come was a discussion going on, and the police in. 'Oh no he won't,' he said. It is were saying about me that I was ob- obvious this is something he is responviously an unco-operative and insulting sible for, and also to his superiors. A individual and was not going to be campaign of prosecution of 'meterreasonable. I heard something about fiddlers' in London is under way, and has walking past it when the man standing 'put him in a cell'. I used the buzzer. assumed added importance when the on the pavement asked me if it was A few minutes later a large and jolly local authority, which had been expect- happened. The sequence of events was man, straight from Loot, came in and told me I could not use the phone and would stay there till next day for the court. He was the chief inspector. Now I began to take the whole affair more seriously. I was under arrest and they were manoeuvring me into a hopeless position. My finger returned to the buzzer. It produced four burly men who offered to carry me to a cell unless I walked. I accepted their offer and they dragged me along the interconnecting corridor. I thought the way they did this was rather unsporting. J 89 held my hand close to his chest and was bending it down in a way which was painful, and he waited for me to admit it too! 'I only wanted to see if you could walk, Sir.' While in this cell arrangements were obviously being made by the chief inspector because he returned and told me we were going to court at once, and would behave, wouldn't I? He had T searched my car, and from the contents (there was an old copy of Anarchy) had judged my views were rather obstructive. Nothing happened for a while, so I My guilt was taken for granted. He had pressed the wall buzzer and asked if I found a library book due back in 1969 could use the phone. I was told the and would make further investigations. office was full of people and I would They were going over the car also, to have to wait. I tried to look out into find how many offences I made against

Now he took charge of me, with the two CID men who I found did not come from Ilford. Sandwiched thus in the back of the car we went to court. They policemen giving me sympathy-one had been telling me I would soon be out on even pay its expenses. All the meters seem to be faulty in this way, and a large number of people use the 1p coin. We went to Barking court. While waiting there was intermittent talk among themselves, deceptively relaxed, about gardening, carpentry, hobbies and shop talk. In intervals, the inspector, like a ship in full steam, asked me 'for the benefit of these two officers here' questions about what I would plead, a solicitor, etc. In court he submitted reasons for taking my fingerprints compulsorily. And this is normally granted. I opposed his reasons and a dialogue developed, with the inspector determined to have the last word. It was necessary under sections so and so and so. The inspector said he had experience of this kind of thing, and though I was employed and had an apparently fixed address 'even if someone has lived there for two or three years you never can tell. He might have a criminal record. I mean-he might be several persons underneath'.

inspector. But it would have been automatically granted if I had not objected. The clerk of the court also checked and found the inspector was wrong in what he said about the Acts.

I then returned to another cell, trying to arrange bail. I was harassed by police and at one point told I would go to Brixton if I didn't get bail in two minutes (at 4.30). The police have a list of people unacceptable as standers of surety. I objected to their asking the country of origin of my friend.

I am innocent of this charge, absolutely so. The determination shown by the chief inspector to make something stick at all costs reflects the importance the Yard regards these prosecutions as having. When fingerprinting was refused I heard the inspector get on the phone to his inspector and angrily tell him what ing a lot of extra loot, finds it cannot arranged as a matter of policy to produce a willingness to submit. One detective kept saying there was a sequence of formalities (I think he called them) to go through, but the more reasonable behaviour of the police not directly involved at the police station shows a real blitz is on, and never mind the law. My behaviour in the cell, and the stuff in the car (which led the inspector to say joyfully as I fumbled when I felt like letting them take prints just to see some fresh air, 'you haven't read your literature'), made them feel I was someone to nail as quickly as possible in case I got myself beaten up or go on a hunger strike. How am I to prove myself innocent? Remember all this is about an alleged theft of  $1\frac{1}{2}p$ . As a social worker I am again reminded of my own implication in the running of a society by violence. Magistrates make orders but they never know those cells beneath them, and like social workers eager to take someone to a mental hospital they are separated from the reality by an unbridgeable gulf they dare not cross. They do not know what they do, what part they play and what personal sacrifices are made to hide from themselves they act for those with the strongest voice.

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The recent census aroused the susceptibilities of the middle class. I have no illusions that this persuaded the magistrates to dismiss the application as well as the arguments and the sneers of the



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### DIARY OF A TRADE UNIONIST

# P.O. Workers Lick their Wounds

#### Solidarity in Newton Abbot

WHAT A TREAT it was to read about the seventy-two power station workers in this Devonshire town who, when offered a £4 a week productivity rise, rejected it because it meant the sack for 15 of their colleagues. They didn't want blood money. 'We could never have looked the redundant men in the face again,' said Bill Groves, the Engineering Union leader at the power station.

#### No Mates For Reg Birch

A similar sentiment of solidarity was displayed by engineers at British Leyland's Cowley works-but this time it was crushed by union leaders.

The AUEW and the T&GWU recently concluded an agreement with British schebesessessesses

**DESPITE** ALL the upheavals of the last four months, this year's conference at Bournemouth went much the same way as all UPW conferences -large 'card' votes of confidence in the executive on most issues, with one or two unexpected defeats on others. There were, however, none of the usual boring Friday afternoon political debates-in a half-empty hall, but mainly for the benefit of the Morning Star reporter-always well-rehearsed and staged by the Communists.

At a special eve-of-conference session on Sunday, the EC recommended that the usual agenda be limited to just one hour, followed by discussion on the Postal dispute, the Court of Inquiry and the union's expenses. This was opposed

by the 3,000-strong OTO Branch, which urged conference to reject the 9% pay offer and to begin selective strikes. Their proposals were defeated on a show of hands. It was agreed that when Tom Jackson and his negotiating team meet Miss Fothergill, Post Office director of personnel, on the following Friday (that is last Friday) they table a further 5%. back-dated to April 1. Detailed plans have not been revealed by the executive as to what they intend doing if the 5% additional claim is not conceded; but they are likely to take the form of selective strikes and walk-outs-i.e. guerilla war, as advocated by this writer at the beginning of the seven-week dispute!

### **—and prepare for future Battles**

made a lot of difference if the UPW had received more than mere sympathy from the POEU.

#### MALCONTENTS 'CRUSHED'

The crunch came on Tuesday, with an amendment censuring the entire executive for calling off the strike on March 8. The majority of delegates did not want to split the union. But, as I predicted in this paper three weeks ago, there was some criticism from what the Guardian called 'a small band of malcontents'. Mick Edwards of Birmingham complained that the UPW did not 'play it dirty enough'. Despite EC protests, the conference overwhelmingly passed a resolution that in any future strikes, UPW members would not man emergency services at PO counters or answer 999 calls. But another motion, condemning other unions for not supporting the Postal workers, was defeated after EC member, 'Stalinist' Willie Failes, said: 'Don't attack the people we will be fighting alongside in future struggles against the present neo-Fascist government'.

crucial moment. 'The executive thought the union ought to end the strike because it had no money, but when we came out we had no money.' As far as his Branch was concerned, they would have continued the strike without money. I would have eaten grass,' he said. And I can just visualise Jock sitting in the middle of Paddington Green chewing the stuff! The censure motion was lost 11,410 to 173,830 on a card vote. A victory for the bureaucrats of the EC, the Communists-and, of course, the Post Office.

The Morning Star reported that delegates had 'crushed a resolution aimed at censuring the executive's strike tactics'. It obviously pleased the Morning Star, like the Guardian and the Daily Telegraph, to be able to report that Trotskyist and other 'malcontents' had been 'crushed'. But delegates voted against Mr. Jackson and their executive by demanding that their 9% rise should be back-dated only to March 8, and not January 1. to stop the scabs from benefiting from the strike. And that was about it. Obviously, there will be more struggles to come-the final, and most important, being not just for increased wages and better working conditions, but for the abolition of the wages system itself. That should always be on the agenda.

Leyland which provides that, in return for a 5p an hour increase, no more mates will be employed for maintenance engineers. The engineers didn't like the deal. They wanted to keep their mates and they stopped work.

The Unions ordered them back and the well-known Maoist member of the AUEW's Executive Council. Said Birch: 'We have an agreement with the Company and these men have got to honour it. They must go back to work.'

No doubt that is one of the thoughts of Chairman Mao-and Wilson, and Lord Stokes, and Mr. Heath, and Enoch Powell, and every bloody exploiter of labour that ever lived.

#### More Solidarity-Seamen Jailed

Did you read that three British seamen have been sentenced to a year's imprisonment by a South African court for distributing leaflets published by the banned African National Congress? Eleven months of the sentence was suspended. What will the National Union The Russian Anarchists Paul Avrich 3.00 of Seamen do about it? Not much, I suspect. When some of their members were jailed by the Greek Governmentalso for giving out leaflets-all they did was to expel them from the Union.

Dan McGarvey Gets the Bird



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On Monday, Tom Jackson reported that 4,000 members (or, more likely, former members) have been written to, asking them to account for their actions during the strike. A further 6,000 letters will go out shortly. Most of the recipients are Telephonists, many of whom being former members of the scab National Guild of Telephonists. Most of them will, no doubt, become 'nons'-which means very little at the moment, but could mean quite a lot if, at a future date, the Post Office becomes a Closed Shop or Union Shop. During the debate, Tom Jackson argued that the strike could have continued if they had received more financial support from other unions. Nobody said so, but it would have

#### **CENSURE MOTION LOST**

Jock Cowan, the 'Healyite' secretary of Paddington No. 1 Branch, came, as I expected, to the rostrum to attack the executive for calling off the strike. He criticised them for revealing the parlous financial state of the union, thereby weakening its bargaining position at a

RANK-AND-FILE TRADE UNIONIST.



introduction into the play was false and spoiled it completely.

characters that they are-especially the slimy Scanlon who actually criticised the play because, he said, it didn't attack the employers! You try to get at the employer and find you can't because your trade union leader is in the way. When you tell him to shove off out of it, he replies that you are attacking the union instead of the boss. I've seen it done hundreds of times-especially by 'leftwing' trade union leaders-it's part of their stock in trade. Didn't Scanlon know that the Pilkington strike was caused by the refusal of the employers to pay more

Dan McGarvey is one of those leftwing windbags whom I have heard many a time ranting to no purpose at Labour and Trade Union Conferences. When the owners of Cammell Laird shipyard appealed to him to intervene in the unofficial strike of seventy boilermakers he responded right away. He is, as you know, the President of the Boilermakers Society-taking over the job from the now deceased Lord Ted Hill.

He urged the men to return and gave the usual scarifying talk about mass layoffs and shut-downs unless work was resumed. The strikers wouldn't have it and rejected his advice. Later, at a press conference, some strikers shouted out 'scab' and 'traitor' when McGarvey spoke. He's had this coming for years.

#### **Trade Unions and Titles**

Talking of Lord Hill of the Boilermakers reminds me that the Trade Union movement is as full of Lords and Knights as my garden is full of weeds-and that's plenty. But only one of these leaders uses the letters 'LL.D.' after his name-Richard Briginshaw of NATSOPA, the print union which recently split away from SOGAT. The letters stand for an honorary Doctor of Law conferred on the great man by some Canadian university. But one printworker I know wouldn't have this at any price.

He is convinced from experience, he says, that Briginshaw's 'LL.D.' stands for 'Legally Licensed Dictator'!

East London

0.75

The latest to make the absolute big time is Mr. Len Neal who is being widely tipped as the man who will succeed George Woodcock (ex-Secretary of the TUC) as Chairman of the Government's Commission on Industrial Relations. Neal used to be a Smithfield market porter. He rose high in the hierarchy of the T&GWU and then switched to management, after which he got the job of Chief Labour Relations Officer for British Rail.

He is well-versed in trade union affairs and is about to sell that knowledge to the Government for a salary of £15,000 a year.

#### A Job To Be Done

Although the trade union movement has created titles, and plenty of cash rewards for the Judases it has nurtured in its ranks, it has failed lamentably to do anything about the glaring inequalities which exist within the working class itself. The last report of the Prices and Incomes Board revealed that the differences between the highly-paid and the low-paid workers are as great today as they were 100 years ago.

A NY PLAYWRIGHT WHO tries to show the conflict between rank and file workers and their trade union leaders is to be praised. This is what Jim Allen did in his play, The Rank and File, shown on BBC television last Thursday.

Superbly acted and produced, the play was based on the real-life events of the seven-week strike of Pilkington glass workers in May and June of last year. So closely did it stick to the facts of the strike that it seemed at times to be almost a documentary.

Everything of any significance which happened in St. Helens was truthfully portrayed in the play-the frustration with the officials of Lord Cooper's GMWU, the setting up of a 'Rank and File Committee' to conduct the strike after the union had washed their hands of it, the return to work engineered by Victor Feather on the promise of no victimisation, and the victimisation of the leading strikers which followed just the same. All this was accurately shown -yet the most significant fact of the whole strike was completely omitted. No mention at all was made of the setting up by the rank and file of a new, breakaway union-the Glass and General Workers' Union.

#### **A False Picture**

This omission was not only artistically dishonest-it painted the hopes and aspirations of the rank and file in an entirely false light. Here was a large group of workers, to whom experience had taught the futility of trying to get any help from Lord Cooper's rotten union, taking the brave and logical step of forming their own union-yet Jim Allen doesn't mention this fact in a play which, as he said himself when interviewed in Late Night Line-up, was the true story of the Pilkington strike. Instead of showing how the conflict between the rank and file and the union led inexorably to the creation of a new union, the author added a sort of postscript of his own which was right out of keeping with what the play had so truthfully portrayed. He ended by giving to one of the strike leaders a speech which said, in part, I go along with Trotsky-this rank and file activity will get us nowhere-what is needed is a new revolutionary party to lead the workers on to victory'.

#### **New Unions Inevitable**

The Pilkington strike was the most important industrial struggle of 1970 precisely because it involved the formation of a new union. It posed a direct threat to the union bureaucrats. The problem of new unions is something every worker has to face sooner or later for the idea arises spontaneously among the rank and file in almost every serious strike. A discussion of this problem is long overdue.

Several times in the past, when a head-on collision has taken place between groups of workers and the trade union hierarchy, new unions have been formed. One thinks of the Passenger Workers' Union, the Stevedores, the Railway Signalmen and others.

In every case what the workers wanted was not so much a NEW union as a BETTER union-and 'better' has to mean a union which the members themselves controlled.

It didn't always work out like that, and some of the new unions became as bureaucratic as those they were meant to replace, but all these attempts were ultimately crushed by the trade union leaders who stopped at nothing to prevent the creation of a rallying point for dissatisfied workers. In St. Helens the new union got off to a flying start with about 4,000 members. Sympathetic enquiries were received from all over South Lancashire-especially from members of Lord Cooper's terrible outfit but, as in the past, the effort was defeated by a combination of terror from the employers and pressure from the official unions. Yet such attempts to create organisations in which workers can live and breathe and decide their own affairs will be made again and again, until one day they will be successful.

than about £13 a week for hard, hot, and monotonous work?

But Jim Allen's accusation that Scanlon and his friends on the TUC had done nothing to help the victimised Pilkington workers couldn't be driven home for he, like them, doesn't approve of breakaway unions. 'The Bridlington Agreement', they cried, 'prevents us from supporting new unions.' From there on, all that Allen could do was to maintain that the TUC ought to have acted differently. He seemed to want a 'good' TUC staffed with 'good' men-Trotskyists presumably-which would take 'good' decisions. But a TUC nevertheless, still giving orders and issuing instructions.

It is the argument of all the political parties and groups. They are afraid to encourage a straightforward mutiny in the ranks, to rely on the independent activity of the workers themselves. What they want is a sort of controlled militancy ('mature' is the word they use) which will result in new men, their men, being elected to high positions in the trade unions and able then to swing these mass organisations behind their own particular brand of political party.

#### A Truly Heroic Struggle

If Jim Allen had been content to trust his insight as a dramatist-to stand aside and let the play tell its own story-it would have made a powerful impact on workers who saw it. What the play said was that these men were truly heroic. Assailed and betrayed on all sides, they stood together and, in the end, went down together. They were MEN-and that kind of spirit is not destroyed by one defeat. Even so, despite its defects, the play has had considerable impact according to the BBC. One scene near the end of the play showed a worker who had been with Pilkingtons for 43 years being confronted by a smooth young personnel officer and told that he could be taken back-but as a 'new starter' with all his pension rights forfeited. 'You would go on strike, wouldn't you,' said this eager young executive. 'Yes, sir,' answered the old man, 'I had to come out with the lads.' This little scene (the incident is perfectly true) said everything that needs to be said about capitalism and the desperate nature of the struggle waged against it by rank and file workers. It is worlds removed from the life of the well-paid trade union official who never knows what it is to soil his hands or go short of money. The play should have ended there.

#### **Power Workers Get Wage Cuts**

During the ETU's go-slow in the power stations last winter, the Electrical Power Engineers' Association worked themselves silly to keep the stations operating. Now they have had their reward. Their union and the Electricity Council have carried through a job evaluation which has resulted in wage cuts for some of the members. 300 of them lobbied their Executive angrily carrying banners inscribed 'The only Union to negotiate a wage cut'.

What did they expect from a Union which acted as official strike-breakers? Militancy?

#### Another 'Exer' gets to the Top

I don't know just how many trade union leaders eventually end up on the board of this or that company or nationalised industry-but it must run into hundreds. Of course, the minor positions in management are lousy with ex-trade union officials. I have been in the trade union movement for a good many years, so quite a lot of them are known to me personally-and a right a King!' lot of slags they are.

As a matter of fact, two members of the same Union can have as much as £40 a week difference in wages. We are all brothers-but some are betterpaid brothers than others!

#### That Royal Wage Claim

The Queen is, by all accounts, the richest woman in the world, deriving a vast private income from the loot of previous monarchs. In addition, she gets a huge state pension-about half a million quid a year—so that she can maintain in luxury herself and the whole tribe of Royal layabouts. She now wants this pension increased.

It reminds me of a conversation ] heard just after the war between some French and British socialists in which the English were pompously attacking the French for not appreciating how the Labour Government was introducing socialism via the welfare state and nationalisation.

"Socialism!' cried one exasperated Frenchman. 'How can you talk about Socialism in England! You've still got J.L.

Now that may well be the point of view of Jim Allen (I held similar views myself a good many years ago and worked hard to propagate them) but it certainly was not the point of view of the rank and file at Pilkingtons. Its

#### Who is 'Immature'?

None of this real life drama was put into Jim Allen's play for the simple reason that the author didn't agree with the setting up of a new union! He actually stated on television that he thought it showed the 'immaturity' of Pilkington workers. Did it indeed! Then why were my Lords Pilkington and Cooper so anxious to crush the new union?

Confronted on television with Hugh Scanlon and George Woodcock, Jim Allen did a good job of exposing these unctuous bureaucrats for the no-good

JOHN LAWRENCE.

#### Meetings at Freedom

Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. As this column will not be appearing for the next two weeks (I shall be in Ireland) those intending coming to the meetings should retain the list of meetings, scheduled hereunder, for reference:

June 2: Philip Sansom-'Make Anarchism Relevant'.

- June 9: Mark Kramrisch-'Human Nature, Individualism and the Anarchist Revolution'.
- June 16: Miguel Garcia-The CNT in the Spanish Resistance'.
- June 23: Bill Dwyer-Island (Dublin) -an experiment in co-operative living'.
- June 30: Peter Neville-'How liberal is liberal studies in further education'.
- July 7: Martin Wright-'American Blues 1920-1945' (with music).

#### **ARNARCHY 3**

A T LAST the entire edition is out and ready for distribution. Some thousands of additional copies have been printed and energetic work is needed to get them around bookstalls and markets, etc. I shall be selling them all day Saturdays in Portobello Road and if you care to assist please phone me at work 248 4690 or 248 3771. Alternatively drop a note to Graham Moss-particularly if you are willing to do some work in your own area. One of the main reasons anarchism is not more widely understood in Britain is that most anarchists here are incredibly lazy and selfish. Please prove me wrong!



The maximum rate of income tax/ surtax should be reduced to 75%. Earned income relief increased from 11% to 15% of income without limit above £4,005 a year-effective reduction, 75.4%. Corporation tax should be reduced to 40%. Exactly what was done. 6. Selective employment tax should be reduced. Reduced by 50% from July 5, 1971.

#### Benevolent Dictatorship

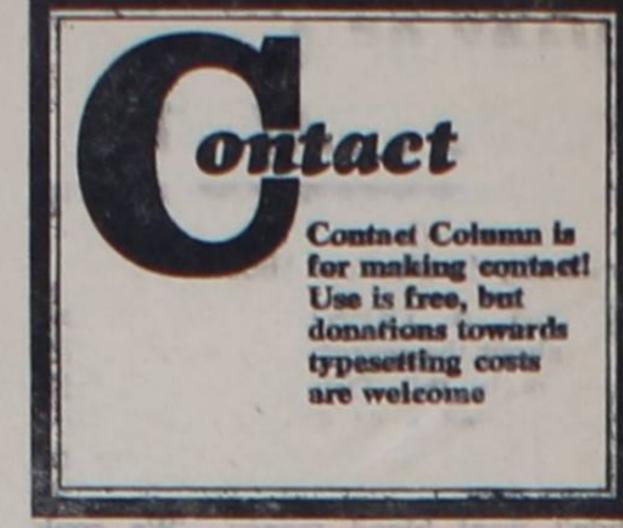
8,000 employees of Marks and Spencer converged recently on the Empire Pool, Wembley, for a whooley paid for by the firm. Mr. Michael Sieff, deputy chairman of the company observed: 'All the staff who have come here will feel much more closely identified with the company. The more they feel a part of the family, the more likely they are to be inclined to work harder.' Translated: The firm which seems to be interested in its employees and proves it with certain benefits the better the profits for the firm. The company has set aside £3.5 millions each year for employees' welfare schemes and their policy shows, relative to the system of exploitation, a sound understanding of business success at least insofar as having a happy and docile staff goes. One employee, a Mrs. Doris Paule, had worked for the firm for 19 years and, after a suitable eulogy, concluded: 'I should certainly never think of working for anybody else.' In Germany the firm of Krupp had famously great staff relations, being a miniature welfare state. This reputation was established long before Hitler came to power. Shortly after the latter event the leaders of the firm decided to give Hitler unqualified support. A documentary-shown on TV only a couple of years ago here and overseas-depicts scenes of cheering workers, whose unions were being ruthlessly suppressed at the time, cheering the Fuehrer as he was being conducted around the works by Baron Krupp himself.

go and visit there. It seems that a large proportion of the visitors are hippies. Local residents and tradesmen feel that this element hurts the tourist trade-a valuable source of income in Cornwall -and have taken a number of measures to cope with the menace. Many businesses display notices reading: 'The management reserves the right to refuse introduced a nightly patrol of beaches complete with Alsatian dogs.

The hippies' crime is that they look unconventional and engage in practices frowned on by the rest of the community (chief 'crime' is that instead of spending their money in the state-taxed drug hostelries they prefer to roll a joint of marijuana or hashish while quietly enjoying one another's company or the beauties of nature). And they are not married to their girlfriends. Other holiday resorts have been plagued with skinhead and other types of violence but this does not apply in Cornwall. Viewed in perspective we can observe a clash of values, quite apart from the fact that the hippy tourists have far less money to spend than other varieties. The people of Cornwall, in common with the great majority of people in England, are nurtured in a civilisation one of whose basic tenets is that man (and woman) is naturally evil and needs to be kept under strict restraint. The Christian doctrine of 'original sin' is one of the main sources of this belief. Hippies take a quite contrary view of human nature believing that with good will and a guilt-free upbringing mankind has great potential for kindness and love. In a vast city like London the contrasts are poorly defined. For the people of Cornwall it is too much. Particularly as the hippy appeal to youth in terms of having a good time, quite apart from the idealism that is at least subconsciously always there, is irresistible. More generally, we may observe that this fundamental view of life entails a revo-Intionary change more basic than all the theories of Marxists, Maoists and other so-called socialists multiplied a millionfold.

readily associate with. As one interjector pointed out: 'There is more freedom at a pop festival than at a Marxist meeting.

After this elementary analysis the important proposition advanced by the speaker was that the Underground, in effect, does not pose a threat to the Establishment which can absorb new trends while changing nothing. And, of course, much of the technology used by the Underground has been provided by the capitalist society now developed. There is, undeniably, much of value in O'Connor's analysis. But, also, there is a streak of pessimism if not downright cynicism which, healthy when used service to beatniks (sic!) and other un- as a safeguard, is crippling of positive desirables.' St. Ives Borough Council has action. Unfortunately, the best aspects of Underground philosophy and social experimentation have been poorly developed. The commune and co-operative movement, for example, has a long way to go. Anarchists, who may find much in common with the new movement, have also suffered from a wide discrepancy in thought and achievement. Do we give up? Largely a matter of personal disposition.



- ORA No. 1: 'Towards a History and Critique of the anarchist movement in recent times'. 5p + 2p postage. Obtainable from Keith Nathan, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York. Burrell House. Squatters need Plumbing
- and Electrical Materials. Contact Mike, Flat 16, Burrell House, The Highway, Stepney, E.14.
- Axis Bookshop, 6a Hunters Lane, off Yorkshire Street, Rochdale. Call if in town.

#### A Winning Union

The largest, most dynamic employers' association in the United Kingdom is the Confederation of British Industry. As a pressure group it has produced some stunning results. Recently they included in their bulletin to members (confidential but I nicked one) the following representations they had made to the Government and what action was taken. These results are shown hereunder in italics.

1. The Budget should aim at an increase in consumption expenditure of about £300 million accompanied by tax remissions of £800 million. Consumption expenditure increased by £250 to £350 million, tax remissions £680 million.

2. Abolition of short-terms gains tax. These gains to be taxed at the long term rate rather than as income. Granted in full.

3. Estate duty to be reduced by 25% and the exemption limit raised from beautiful scenery combined with easy £10,000 to £20,000. Exemption limit raised from £10,000 to £12,500.

#### **Cornish** fascism

Cornwall has probably the best climate in England and has the added advantage of relative remoteness, peace and

The Interior Decorators

#### **HEAD LIBERATION FRONT**

An inaugural meeting of the above will be held shortly. At this stage those prepared to work in the movement and who accept one or more of the following aims and/or principles-

- 1-The development of communes and co-operatives.
- 2-Enlightenment of public opinion on the subject of psychedelic drugs. 3-Peaceful protest emphasizing the fun and innocence of smoking pot and hash.
- 4-Aid of those of us in trouble with the Law, e.g. when busted. Including further support for those organizations (such as Release, Street
- Aid, etc.) already in the field. 5-A direct assertion that we smoke, enjoy smoking and assert our right to choose our type of relaxation. We don't want to stop others from indulging in drugs such as alcohol and nicotine-but we don't want them to restrict our rights to choose drugs.
- 6-The furtherance of research into the social use of LSD and allied psychedelics. Development 01 knowledge into LSD as a truth revealer relating to the individual personality.
- 7-The building of a society established on principles of Peace and

- Manchester Anarchist Syndicalist Alliance have published a leaflet in Urdu calling for opposition against the Immigration Bill, 40p a 100 from MASA, c/o 33 Clyde Road, Manchester 20.
- Anarchist Syndicalist Conference, June 12 & 13 in Manchester. Details from MASA, c/o 33 Clyde Road, Manchester 20.
- Police Raided Paul's Place on April 30. Next Meeting. Hellenic Group on Thursday, May 20, 8 p.m., Peace News Hall, 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.
- Will T. P. Mytchett contact Farnborough Group, 81 Mytchett Road, Mytchett, Camberley, Surrey.
- Baby bath-good condition, large, but no stand. Free to anyone who can collect from Freedom Press,
  - Tuesdays.
- N.E.L.P. (Barking). Anarchist Bookstall, Friday lunchtimes, 'C' floor.
- AFBIB. If any group has not got the 'Bulletin' it is because we have not received a subscription or a request for it.
- Proposed Group-Exeter Area. John and Jill Driver, 21 Dukes Orchard, Bradninch, Exeter, EX5 4RA.
- Leeds Direct Action Pamphlets: 'The Japanese Anarchists', 1p; 'Who are the Brain Police', 1p (Breakdown of the Power Structure of yer Leeds

access to the sea. Little wonder that people who value these characteristics

## Years of Boredom

-or just dislike me personally. I'd like to correct one of its statements: that my 'heroes' were Hitler and Jack the Ripper. I have written about both; but that hardly makes them my heroes. By the same argument, Stalin was one of Trotsky's heroes.

I 'joined' the London Anarchist Group in 1952, and left it in 1953 to speak on the platform of the North London SWF (as a result of the row over Herbert Read's knighthood, which caused violent dissention in the LAG). During my period in the LAG I spoke on their platform in Hyde Park on one single occasion, and was told by Philip Sansom that whatever I thought I was expounding, it wasn't anarchism or anything like it. I don't sketched a number of biographies-they doubt he was right. I can't recall if Arthur Uloth was present on that odd occasion, but I am pretty sure he was present at the only other two occasions on which I addressed the anarchists-and these form the basis of his statement that I admire (or admired) Hitler and Jack the Ripper. The Hitler lecture was given to a vast audience-I think there were six, or it may have been seven-at the Garibaldi Rooms in Theobalds Road. I read right through Mein Kampf and the Alan Bullock biography for the occasion, and simply gave a sketch of Hitler's rise and fall. As far as I can remember, my only deviation from the usual anarchist line was in pointing out that power didn't corrupt Hitler, because the corruption was already abundantly present as far back as 1910, in the form of his unbalanced anti-semitism. gave Arthur Uloth his hazy impression about me. I have to admit that by this time, a few months after the Hyde Park fiasco, I had become very im- It was hopeless. patient with the simplistic political preoccupations of the LAG. I had been which, in that sense, was an anti-anarchist attracted to anarchism because I had

My old friend Sidney Parker drew my revolutionary intellectuals who behaved attention to the interesting letter from like characters out of La Boheme, a Arthur Uloth in FREEDOM on the subject sort of melting pot of ideas and philosof why anarchists often dislike my work ophy. With a few rare exceptions I found that few of them had read anything except the standard political works (although I discovered one mad Stirnerite, Tony Gibson, with whom I felt an immediate affinity). I am not saying that this was the fault of the anarchists; it was my own romanticism. But it certainly seemed to me at the time that there was a 'party line' as rigid as Stalinism. So my lecture was designed specifically as an attempt to criticize the anarchists and make my own point of view clear to the LAG. It took place in a basement near Fitzroy Square.

What I wanted to say was that human nature is more complex and strange than the anarchists seemed to allow. included Caligula, Nero and Jack the Ripper-in an attempt to demonstrate this. At first the audience thought I only meant to demonstrate that power corrupts. I tried to show that human nature is capable of extremes of the saintly and demonic and make man far more than a political animal, and that the sheer violence of his demonic capabilities proves that they are the negative counterpart of mystical or transcendental drives that anarchism prefers to ignore. I suppose I was deliberately presenting my theme upside down. If I'd talked about saints and mystics and 'outsiders', I'd have been accused of being a crypto-Catholic, or something of the kind; so I tried to present my case in terms I felt would make an impact-the human capacity for chaos and destruction. Several of the women in the audience walked out, and Rita, Philip Sansom's No doubt it was the other lecture that girlfriend, told me afterwards that she thought I had used them to get some sinister compulsion-I suppose she meant sexual perversion-out of my system. In 1955, I put it all into The Outsiderwork. I simply wanted to show that the a romantic idea that anarchists were most worthwhile human beings are often

A thought-provoking talk, under the above heading, was delivered by John O'Connor in Freedom Press at our last weekly meeting. The first point the speaker made was to contrast the 'grey politics' of Marxists, and some anarchists, with the Play Politics of the socalled Underground. In the competition for youthful adherents it is clear that the latter are lightyears ahead. This is largely because the Underground offers something which young people can more

simply produced on a larger scale the of the LAG, and within a couple of calling me a fraud and a flash in the pan. My irritation with merely political thinkers led the Tribune crew to label me a fascist, although (in fact) I regarded myself at that time as a socialist. (I don't now.) In a symposium called Declaration to which I contributed, Kenneth Tynan accused me of admiring Hitler as an Outsider-a complete distortion-which may have stuck in Arthur

Love, particularly contrasted to the violence, inequality and authoritarianism of modern society.

-should send a stamped and addressed envelope to me c/o Freedom.

An invitation to the inaugural meeting notifying details will be posted within a week of receipt of your reply. This meeting will probably be held in a private home and is NOT a public meeting. It is for quiet discussion with the purpose of achieving results. BILL DWYER.

driven by compulsions that transcend An exhaustive study seems to show that politics. If the overnight notoriety of workers can be classified into seven the book 'peeved' the anarchists (as different levels of creativity (or self-Arthur Uloth puts it), they had no regulation), ranging from the completely reason to be envious. The Outsider autistic ('bugger you Jack') to the completely altruistic, and that to get the same misunderstandings my Ripper lec- best out of each, he must be slotted ture had produced among the members into his correct level in the industrial complex. A worker from a low level, months, all the respectable critics were slotted into a job with too much freedom, becomes cynical and slapdash, while a worker who is slotted too low gets discouraged and bored. Development depends on judging exactly how much freedom each one needs and can take. COLIN WILSON.

**BOT to IMPORT POT?** 

University-stripping away of liberal bullshit, etc.). Coming soon: 'Listen Marxist', 5p. All these available from the Anarchist Bookshop, 153 Woodhouse Lane, Leeds 2.

Preston Libertarians. Please contact Dr. Charles Shaw (for Mad research work), 12 Elmsley Street, Preston, PR1 7XD. Telephone: (0772) 52659. Proposed Group-Dundee. Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood Place, Dundee. Anyone interested in forming a Cambridge Anarchist Group contact John Jenkins, 75 York Street, Cambridge.

Kropotkin Lighthouse Publications. The Revolutionary Catechism', Necheyev,  $5p + 2\frac{1}{2}p$  post. Song to the Men of England', Shelley; 'Poster Poem' with Walter Crane's 'Workers' Maypole',  $10p + 2\frac{1}{2}p$  post.

'Poems', Jim Huggon, 5p + 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>p post. Discount available on bulk orders. Jim Huggon, c/o Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

- Spanish lessons given in London. Rates on request. Write, in first instance, to Box 02/71, Freedom Press.
- Meetings at Freedom: Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. For details see 'This World' column.
- Urgent. Help fold and dispatch FREEDOM every Thursday from 4 p.m. onwards. Tea served.

Uloth's mind.

But I should like to insist that I am fundamentally an anarchist, and always have been; it is a natural instinct in me. My quarrel with the LAG was not so much with the doctrine of the fundamental decency of human nature as with their narrowly political preoccupation. I have always been concerned with what the American psychologist Abraham Maslow calls 'higher ceilings for human nature'. Maslow's industrial Theory Z, to which I would completely subscribe, asserts that workers work best when the job appeals to their creativity, and that all human beings have a degree of creativity. So instead of the regimented system of clocking-in and clocking-out, workers in factories run along Maslow's lines (there are several in America) are split into smaller groups, all interlocked, but each self-regulating and independent. It is an application, if you like, of A. S. Neill's idea that when children are allowed to develop along Theory Z lines, they achieve a high degree of independence and self-regulation.

But even Maslow's theory recognises that human nature is not 'wholly free'.

**TUST A SHORT NOTE to inform you** that the Hellenic Group at its meeting on May 20 decided by nine votes to one, with one abstention, to apply to the Board of Trade for licence to import cannabis.

Consequently we have drafted the following letter to the Board of Trade:

Dear Sir,

We have met to constitute a religious group called The Hellenic Church of Great Britain. Our religious beliefs necessitate a ritual involving the use of cannabis (for strictly religious purposes, of course). We hereby apply for licence from your department to import 1 lb. (one pound) of cannabis sativa per calendar month to be used as a sacrament of our Church or to show a legal reason against such a course.

We then decided to call a special meeting of the Hellenic Group for June 17 at Peace News so that all of us may sign this letter and David Martin, of 12 Selwood House, Woodberry Down, London, N.4, was appointed the convenor.

PAUL PAWLOWSKI.

#### PRESS RELEASE

SOUTH EASTERN CONFERENCE SATURDAY, JUNE 5 SUNDAY, JUNE 6 to be held in BRIGHTON

#### TALK - SESSIONS - SOCIAL

Crash pads available. Please let us know AS SOON AS POSSIBLE how many people are coming and what you would like to talk about. The idea is to get together as many Southeastern comrades as possible to make friends and contacts FOR FUTURE **ACTION!** 

Please send your ideas and literature to N. Heath, Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road, Brighton, Sussex