

Occupation and Take-over ON TO THE MILLION?

THIS MONTH'S unemployment figures rose by 25,000 to 929,121, which is the highest for any month since the war, while the number of vacancies advertised has fallen by 5,000 in a month to 118,000.

The Secretary for Employment, Mr. Carr, has said that the situation is 'disappointing and very serious'. However, Mr. Davies, the Secretary for Trade and Industry and former head of the CBI, the employers' national organisation, spoke the language of management when he said that 'over many years now our employment figures have covered up a situation of too much manpower achieving too little output'. This is the prime concern of all employers. They try to achieve maximum production with the minimum of labour and in order to protect jobs working people have fought this maxim.

Increasing unemployment has been a part of the Tory Government's economic policy. In the past this spectre has dampened down the militancy of workers, but it has not been successful this time for wage increases are still averaging above 10%. Of course prices are also rising and, despite all the remedies put

forward, the Government has an inflationary situation on its hands.

The hard economic facts of capitalism are that there must be growth and expansion, but the Government fears that to encourage this at the moment would only aggravate the inflationary situation. As a manufacturing country, Britain has to compete and keep costs to a minimum. While employers are turning more and more of their employees out on to the stones, the balance of payments is reaching an all-time record.

A healthy balance of payments is of little use to people without a job and it is not much compensation for the sweat and toil given for a pay packet. This situation is not peculiar to this country. In Germany sacked workers have taken over their factory, as have workers at Plessey in Scotland (see accounts in this issue), while Pirelli in Italy, following their link-up with Dunlop, have announced redundancies.

UCS SLAUGHTER

In Scotland the Government seems determined to slaughter the shipyards of the UCS. Their present proposal of forming a new company

to keep the Govan and Linthouse yards working will mean the sacking of 6,000 men and there are no plans to employ these people. The 'four wise men' did not make any suggestions either when they recommended the closing of Scotstoun and Clydebank and reduce the labour force at the two other yards. Lord Robens, one of the 'wise men', glibly suggested that the unemployed should seek work in other industries in the area or move and that it was better to co-operate with the Board of the new company.

SIGH OF RELIEF

Such advice is akin to suggesting that the victim helps the hangman place the noose around his own neck. The meeting arranged by the 'left-winger' Dan McGarvey, joint President of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering

Unions, between them and the new Board of Directors should be seen in this light. Trade Union leaders are very adept at negotiating away the jobs of their members, but are very reluctant to vacate their own lucrative positions. The Government and this new Board, together with its Chairman, Mr. Stenhouse, who holds 46 other directorships, but recently gave up his treasurer'ship of the Scottish Unionist Party, must be breathing a sigh of relief. At last they can start negotiating and face up to the hard economic realities.

However the reality is even harder for those put out of work and their families. People don't want to have to move to find work and should not need to, but whole communities are threatened by the shipyard closures and their effect on the servicing industries.

Faced with the sack and closure

there is only one alternative left with which to fight. This is occupation and take-over. It has been pointed out in these columns before that a great opportunity to prove this real revolutionary alternative has been lost on Clydeside. The present work-in is but a stop-gap. It is a tactic of the Communist Party for a revolutionary demand might upset their apple cart as well as that of the employers and the Government.

The increasing rationalisation in capitalist production methods will mean more unemployment. Expanding services and industries will not create enough jobs and the only alternative for workers is occupation and take-over of their workplaces. The present slogan of 'The Right to Work' belongs to the wage slaves and should be replaced by 'Occupation and Take-Over'.

P.T.

No UCS in Fleet Street

JUST FOR A MOMENT during the recent lock-out of newspaper workers in London and Manchester it looked as though the spirit which has animated Clydeside shipyard workers and engineers these last few months would find an echo in the printing unions.

The newspaper owners decided to sack all members of the National Graphical Association—the compositors, the proof readers, the machine minders—in retaliation for the slight loss of production caused by NGA chapels meeting in working hours to discuss their wage claim. Faced with this brutal assertion of property rights, the general secretary of the NGA announced that his members would continue to work and would get the paper ready for the presses if the journalists would prepare the copy.

A few journalists rose to the occasion and, on the Sun at least, they got a paper ready despite the ban imposed by the owners on all journalistic work. The NGA members duly set the paper and got it ready for printing but when it reached the presses the NATSOPA members wouldn't print it. Whether they had been told by their officials not to print, or whether they wouldn't do it anyway, is hard to ascertain—even for someone like myself who works in Fleet Street. The place is full of rumours but hard facts are difficult to come by. NATSOPA's miserable showing was probably a combination of official union discouragement and fear on the part of the members themselves.

To have defied the lock-out and printed a paper would have had enormous repercussions everywhere. The owners would have been shown for what they really are—absolutely irrelevant to the

production of newspapers. The next step would surely have been to challenge the content of the papers with the workers themselves deciding what was going to be printed. But all that meant a downright challenge to the sacred rights of private property and clearly not many of the thousands of newspaper workers were prepared for that. So the light of Clydeside which had momentarily penetrated the murky corruption of Fleet Street faded and then went out altogether. The Press Lords remained in control and the printworkers resumed their customary role of wage slaves—printing when and what they are told to print, and not printing when Lord Thomson and Rupert Murdoch say 'Stop'!

Having proved that important point, the owners—aided by the ubiquitous Victor Feather—arranged meetings with the Union leaders and eventually conceded the NGA's precious 'differential'. The other unions got a bit more cash as well so everyone is happy—until the next time. The Sun, the Mirror, the Express and the Mail can continue to pour out their well-produced filth and rubbish. The Times, the Guardian and the Telegraph can continue to twist the news to suit the system they represent—and the printers can carry on drawing their good wage packets.

The only people to emerge from this whole episode with any credit were those journalists who risked their jobs to prove that a newspaper can be produced without profit-making owners. To them our sincere congratulations. May their example be followed when the next show-down takes place in the nasty world of mass circulation newspapers.

A SOGAT MEMBER.

They are Lying again!

AFTER THE INDISCRIMINATE use of CS gas in Ulster two years ago, the Government set up a committee of enquiry under Sir Harold Himsforth to investigate the properties of CS. That committee has just reported and given CS gas a clean bill of health.

CS gas is a chemical known as O-chlorobenzalmalononitrile and is a direct replacement for CN gas, usually known as simply 'tear gas'. Tear gas incapacitates at 3 mg/m³ (milligrammes per cubic metre of air). CS incapacitates at anything from 1 to 6 mg/m³. This is why CS is so unreliable. In a normal concentration some victims would be unconscious while others could still walk freely with only a handkerchief over their face.

In the face of overwhelming evidence of victims who have been gassed unconscious the committee has stated, 'there is no evidence of people being incapable of moving to a clearer area away from the gas'.

The committee reported that a lethal dose is several times the incapacitating dose. This is true and the Americans have fixed the fatal concentration at 30 mg/m³. This was the concentration that killed Cpt. R. Bowtell in 1966. However the fact is often omitted that Cpt. Bowtell was wearing a gas mask at the time. As the incapacitating concentration is spread over a wide range, it is fair to assume that the lethal concentration is equally vague.

The former director of the Canadian medical service in Vietnam reported 10% adult and 90% infant fatality from patients treated after being gassed by CS. Following this, the committee reported, 'There is no evidence to suggest that the young or elderly are especially susceptible'.

The claim that CS gas can produce cyanide in the body, leading to brain damage, was dismissed by the committee as 'irrelevant'. According to their evidence 'these effects could only arise if CS was injected into the blood stream'. This is a most dishonest use of words. The CS would, it is true, have to enter the blood stream—but it can enter without being injected! Concentrations of less than 20 mg/m³ can produce lesions and these lesions can open up a pathway to systematic poisoning.

The Home Secretary has welcomed this report and will, under the committee's recommendation, research the

possibility of producing a smaller grenade for use in confined areas. This is long overdue. The infamous French CRS riot police would have to fire 120 of their CS gas cartridges to achieve the same concentration as three British Army CS grenades.

The long-term effects of CS gas are unknown. Lung cancer is a distinct possibility as a long-term effect of exposure to CS. On this point the committee has chosen to await the completion of 'survival experiments on animals still in progress'.

A few months ago Prof. Paton gave us the results of his research into cannabis. After injecting mice with 150 times the normal dose of pot he happily announced that 'pot is lethal'. Fortunately no scientific journal would risk its reputation in publishing such 'research'. The Himsforth Report on CS gas is equally as corrupt. However, it is a Government report and cannot be filed away. We can do little more than let them know that we know they are lying again.

LARRY.

BOND, TIME & MOTION

Mezzanine Secret.
For Your Eyes Only.
Read and Destroy.

We have been asked by our clients, who, as ever, wish to remain anonymous, to make a study report upon the workings of their organization which, with the characteristic inefficiency which marks all their operations, is known by a variety of names; and sometimes by no name at all.

The ostensible purpose of the enterprise is to gather information from various sources, information likely to be of use to our clients. This is transmitted to them by various inconvenient methods, by microfilms, radio transmitters of poor quality, passing of messages from hand to hand, or by means of intermediary agencies such as hollow tree trunks or under stones. These methods should have been rationalized many years ago and the consequent decoding with its attendant delays and the high cost (and perils to personnel eyesight) of microfilms needs to be reviewed.

Recruitment of personnel is obviously haphazard and is quite often not based upon abilities but upon factors which have little connection with efficiency. For example, agents—as they are frequently called with that vagueness which characterizes the work—are recruited because of moral lapses or character weaknesses.

Personnel seems to be highly expendable and once 'exposed', as the saying

goes, is completely useless. This is an obvious waste of manpower. We have examined many of the 'rejects' and feel that they still have many years of work in them. The practice of exchanging redundant 'agents' with rival firms, whilst commendable on purely humanitarian grounds or for pension purposes, is not in line with normal business practice.

We do not feel that the agent Bond put forward for our study is a typical operative. Nevertheless with his work-practices and luxurious overheads it is obvious why the business (the parent company, that is) is not paying its way. As was said by Mr. Davies, production is the prime necessity and Mr. Bond's technique seems largely of a destructive nature.

Apart from the fact that agents complain their material is hardly ever used (agents Cicero and Sorge for example) whilst mentioning Sorge, we can only comment in passing on what might be called 'double-shift' working; we shall have more to say of this later. Much of the product is trivial and unlikely to be of any use to our clients. Nevertheless employees are retained beyond their usefulness.

It would seem that there has grown up the practice of 'empire-building', that is operatives are too much inclined to add importance to their field of operations and exaggerate (or even fabricate—vide G. Greene: Havana) their services

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Red House Revolutionary

DOWN IN GROVER HEATH'S constituency in Bexley Heath is one of the most important houses in the history of modern architecture—it represents a clear move towards the 'modern movement' of the 20th century and is appropriately called Red House. Yet Red House was completed in 1860 and its function was nothing more ambitious than to provide a family home for a middle-class artist/designer. What makes the house particularly interesting to anarchists is that its owner was also the author of that personal vision of anarchist society 'News from Nowhere'—a man whose work is still protected and publicised by The William Morris Society.

Recently The Morris Society held a garden party at Red House and for the first time I was able to appreciate at first hand why the building is so important and fundamentally revolutionary in its concept. The house was designed by the architect Phillip Webb for William and his new bride Jane Burden and Morris's own influence can clearly be detected in its shape and form. What marks out Red House from the mainstream of Victorian domestic architecture is its free plan, simple detailing and faithful use of traditional English



building techniques and building materials. In consequence its open planning, irregular roof line, simple interior decoration and light airy rooms have an amazingly modern feel while retaining an obvious link with Gothic architecture.

The house now is barely altered from its original form—the red bricks and tiles more mellow, Morris's original painted designs on the walls and ceilings in some cases replaced by his own wallpapers, and modern plumbing and electrical

Grapes of Wrath

FIVE YEARS AGO the Farm Workers of California created a General Strike in the fields and farms controlled by the International Capitalist Agricultural Corporations, the Farm Workers refused to harvest the grape crop, the Farm Workers revolted against poverty and degradation and exploitation, the Farm Workers dedicated themselves to peaceful methods of direct action and mass resistance, the Farm Workers created a rebellion for socio-economic justice.

After years of submission and conformity: the Farm Workers revolted. After years of poverty and exploitation and obedience: the Farm Workers revolted against the International Capitalist Corporations. After years of passivity and panic and fear and cowardice: the Farm Workers revolted against the International Capitalist Corporations, the Farm Workers became rebels for hope and justice. Rejecting the panic of despair and anguish, rejecting the futility of fear and cowardice, rejecting the passivity of poverty and conformity and obedience and exploitation: the Farm Workers affirmed the beauty of rebelliousness, the Farm Workers affirmed the wilfulness of courage, the Farm Workers affirmed the strength of action and conviction, the Farm Workers affirmed the dignity and integrity of human personality. The Farm Workers revolted against the International Capitalist Corporations (the monopoly of power, the autocracy of the economy); the Farm Workers became rebels for hope and socio-economic justice.

Now, the Farm Workers have won the first battle, the Farm Workers' Union is victorious; the International Capitalist Corporations (at least, for the moment) have been defeated. The Farm Workers' Union has doubled the wages of the Farm Workers, the Farm Workers' Union has won economic stability (beyond the harvesting season) for the Farm Workers, the Farm Workers' Union has won the assurance of health and well-being for the Farm Workers, the Farm Workers' Union has won the prohibition of chemical pesticides in the fields (those same chemical pesticides... which threatened the lives of the workers as well as the health and safety of the consumer), the Farm Workers' Union has defeated the capitalist schemes for authoritarian technological automation in the fields. The Farm Workers' Union is victorious! Victory for the people!

Justice was won in the fields by action and conviction. Justice was won in the fields after five years of constant and continuous class struggle. Justice was won in the fields by the general strike of the agricultural workers on the land, by massive processions into the cities, by direct action against the corporations, by the solidarity of the industrial working class, by the informational agitation of intellectuals and students, by the clarification of ideas, by the worldwide boycott of grapes (organized by the

Revolutionary Left in America: the most creative and constructive achievement of the Libertarian Left in thirty years). Justice was won in the fields by a long changing process of class struggle. The whole world was watching: motion, flexibility, and rebellion. The whole world is watching: the crisis of corporate capitalism. The organization of the agricultural workers has begun. Eventually the Farm Workers' Union will fight for direct control of industry. Let the land belong to those who work it! Victory for the people!

ONE OUT OF THREE JOBS

The Agricultural Corporations of International Capitalism are huge. In California: the Corporations control more than fifty per cent of the fruit and nut and vegetable crops of the country. One out of every three jobs in California is dependent on the Agricultural Corporations ('Agribusiness'... as it is called by the Revolutionary Left) or a closely-related and monopolized industry. Total market value of crops after harvesting, transportation, and processing—twenty billion dollars. The Government in California is controlled by the Agricultural Corporations. The regents of the University of California are also managerialists inside the Capitalist Corporations.

The Farm Workers have been victimized and oppressed. The Corporations have tried to push the Farm Workers deeper into poverty and despair. Despite the economic and political and cultural and social benefits that the American Empire is supposed to provide for its citizens, the Corporations have attempted to isolate and destroy the Farm Workers. In the past, because of the coercion of the Corporations, the Farm Workers have been forced to shift for themselves in matters of education and health and safety and survival and working conditions.

The Government talks a lot about starvation. The Government talks a lot about the health of the Farm Workers. The Government talks a lot about the ignorance of the Farm Workers. The Government talks a lot about the living conditions and human relationships of the Farm Workers. The Government does nothing to disrupt the power and profits and purposes of the Corporations. In fact: the Government and the Corporations are identical phenomena, each one manipulates the other; the people are always excluded from meaningful participation or the possibility of making decisions or the ability to initiate action.

LA RAZA AND LA CAUSA

The Farm Workers of California (those who have been fighting the Capitalist Corporations) are Mexican-Americans. Their working-class struggle

deeply involved the sense and the form of a fight against institutionalized racism in America, their working-class struggle deeply involved the sense and the form of a fight for self-determination of the Mexican-American people ('Chicanos'... as they call themselves). La Raza and La Causa (proud women and proud men... proud that their bodies have brown flesh, proud that they possess the culture and community and civilization and history of the Mexican-American people) were tremendous forces of solidarity, uniting the working-class families throughout California's huge Central Valley as well as the Imperial Valley and Coachella Valley.

The Corporations tried to crush the strike of the Farm Workers. The Corporations recruited labourers inside the country of Mexico. To these citizens of Mexico: the Corporations promised cheap wages... but wages far greater than the wages they could get in Mexico. These citizens of Mexico were easily recruited to work in the fields of California. Thus: the Corporations thought that they would crush the strike of the Farm Workers by simply replacing the striking workers with foreign slaves. However, in the name of La Causa, the citizens of Mexico joined the Chicano people in walking out of the fields when the Farm Workers' Union created the General Strike. The Corporations were defeated by working-class solidarity and the unity of La Raza.

TERRIFIED CORPORATIONS

The Corporations tried to break the strike of the Farm Workers. The Corporations recruited rich white students (from Arizona, etc.) to work in the fields of California. In reply: the Farm Workers' Union (in the name of La Raza) mobilized thousands of Chicano students and Chicano street-people to join the Farm Workers in direct action against the Corporations. The Corporations were terrified by the chanting of the Chicano street-people and Chicano students. The Corporations were terrified by the brown berets of the Chicano students and Chicano street-people. Equally: the Corporations were terrified by the brown skin of the Farm Workers and Chicano street-people and Chicano students. Finally: the Farm Workers' Union (in the name of La Causa) mobilized thousands of black students and white students and black street-people and white street-people to join the Farm Workers with direct action against the Corporations. The Corporations were defeated by direct action: not by reformism. The Farm Workers' Union created a point of unity between the working-class struggle and the student movement of the New Left.

The Government tried to destroy the strike of the Farm Workers. The Government bought the rotting grape crop and sent it to Vietnam as part of the war effort. In reply: the Farm Workers' Union created a point of unity between the working-class struggle and the anti-war movement.

We must enjoy the sweetness of rebelliousness. Eventually the Farm Workers' Union will fight for direct control of industry. Let the land belong to those who work it. Victory for the people!
JAMES W. CAIN.

services replacing those designed by Webb. Some of the remaining furniture was designed and built by Morris and decorated by the group of friends who came to be known as 'the Morris Circle' and later banded together to form 'Morris, Marshall and Faulkner—Fine Art workmen in Painting, Carving, Furniture and Metals'. One of the most important aspects of the Red House is that it was a total concept—the furniture, decorations, carpets, curtains (what Morris called the decorative arts) were all designed specifically for the Red House. This was because William and Jane were so appalled by the shoddiness and over-elaborate decoration of Victorian domestic design that they decided that the only possibility was to design their own requirements. This notion was carried over into 'the firm' and Morris, with that characteristic application of his, taught himself weaving and carpet making, designed wallpaper, fabrics, and stained glass and later extended his activities to printing, type design, book binding and began to publish his poetry, romances, and essays on art and socialism.

Morris, even more than his many critics, was only too aware of the contradictions of being a wealthy middle-class socialist producing excellent work that only the privileged could afford to buy and he railed against working 'for the swinish rich'. But like many before him, and since, he had to work within the contradictions of his own nature and the society he lived in. In my view he made personal sacrifices in the cause of socialism which must have gone against everything that his own nature and class background dictated and from the moment in 1883 when he publicly declared himself a socialist he never flinched from any of the demands made of him. He published political tracts, sold them on street corners and at factory gates, attended demonstrations, was twice arrested and acted as pall-

bearer at the funeral of Alfred Linnel—who was killed in Trafalgar Square on Bloody Sunday (November 13, 1887) after police broke up a public meeting.

Throughout this activity Morris continued his work as a designer, poet and publisher and tried to come to terms with the continued affair between his beloved Jane and the artist/poet Dante Gabriel Rossetti. He died in 1896, aged only 62, worn out from overwork and disappointment in his personal life. His importance to British anarchists seems to me, incalculable, and 'A dream of John Ball' and 'News from Nowhere' are required reading. If you wonder why I write of a Victorian artist in the teeth of the political issues and struggles of our times my answer comes from one of Morris's lectures... 'I believe that as we have even now partly achieved liberty, so we shall one day achieve equality, which, and which only, means fraternity, and so have leisure from poverty and all its gripping sordid cares. Then having leisure from all these things, amidst new simplicity of life we shall have leisure to think about our work, that faithful daily companion, which no man any longer will venture to call the curse of labour: for surely when we shall be happy in it, each in his place, no man grudging another; no man bidden to be another's servant, everyone scorning to be any man's master: men will then assuredly be happy in their work, and that happiness will assuredly bring forth decorative, noble, popular art.'

Now although Morris referred to 'mere' anarchy and was never able to shake off his, admittedly, revolutionary socialism, there is nothing in that statement that an anarchist can quarrel with, so before dismissing him as the 'idle singer of an empty day' have a look at his work and listen to his words.

JEFF CLOVES.

CROMWELL

THOUGH THE PLOT of this film is somewhat fictional and plays havoc with history, its appearance at the present is timely. Tyrant, Cromwell may have been, in a totalitarian sense of the word, but he is hardly as black as he has been painted.

The Tories at the Restoration had no reason to extol his many virtues, of which his personal incorruptibility is one. The Catholic Irish have always given him a bad press. It was true he was responsible for at least one massacre, at Drogheda, and this is something this film fails to mention. The fact that Drogheda followed the Catholic massacre of French Protestants on St. Bartholomew's Eve, is a fact that the Catholics often forget. Furthermore the Catholic Irishmen were hardly saints over taking prisoners themselves.

Ireland fell to Cromwell simply because of a failure of the Irish to settle their own differences and present a united front to the foe, something happening today too.

Cromwell saw his mission to promote a democracy at home, with just laws, a strong standing army and a navy strong enough to defend its coasts. He also saw as his mission to preserve Protestantism, and he had a marked degree of toleration for Protestant sects, which did not always endear him to his colleagues. He was totally opposed to Catholicism, seeing it not so much as a religion but as an international conspiracy to subvert England, and there was no reason to say he was wrong.

The move of the British government to force Britain into the Common Market, despite universal opposition, has a relevance and similarity to the reign of Charles I. The Common Market countries are largely Catholic. Trade Union organisation is weak and employer-controlled. The British government is getting more and more remote from the British people and also more and more remote from the British cultural heritage. Moves are being made by many groups in opposition to the unjust laws and restrictive police powers. There is a sense of alienation between government and governed. All this is reminiscent of the sixteen forties. We are heading for a revolutionary situation.

Parliament won because the King had lost any sense of acting legitimately in the interests of Englishmen and English-

men saw no reason beyond conservatism and sentiment in giving support. When his funds ran out and he lost his main seaports, his army withered away, even joining Parliament.

The State is cleverer today, but not all that clever. It can only act brutally and viciously a few times and not too often, for if it does so it alienates support. The growing police powers and unjust laws of today are sowing alarm and despondency. The Common Market has no identity for the unemployed. Even Parliament has less attention, for from gaining power they have, in passing it to the Party, the Cabinet, the Prime Minister, lost power themselves. Amongst most people there is a kind of feeling of limbo, only consumption as an orgasm substitutes for identity, and if the job and pay packet fail, then the reality which exists will become evident and questions will be asked. The country may rise.

It is often said that no revolution can take place in England. The people are far too passive, far too uninterested, far too brainwashed. But we live in a consumption economy that is cracking wide open. The Common Market is too remote from everyday experience. Perhaps the pundits were confusing revolutions with continental ideologies better suited to Russia, Germany or elsewhere. The Revolution in 1644 was a purely English revolution, related to domestic issues. The next revolution will be the same. Any contact with issues in Vietnam, Cuba, South America, or the USA will be very peripheral.

If an English Revolution takes place (and I mean English and not Ulster or Scottish—these are historical side-issues) it will be, as it was last time, because the government lost confidence in itself and presented the country with a revolutionary situation.

Last time it happened the English people failed to develop a coherent strategy for self-government and a dictator came to power. One might even say that a dictator was forced into power and arose simply because others refused to make decisions. Is the anarchist movement ready to present a coherent philosophy which will obviate the need for a dictator coming to power? I do not mean one view of reality for this is neither necessary nor desirable.

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Five Years of Teaching

FIVE YEARS in education and it's time to go. As I look down at the main building from my hut and see the old head of department at work in his office, importantly scribbling away at time tables, syllabi and other irrelevant pieces of paper, I can't help feeling for him. There he is, fifty-five, a straight straight—upright, honourable, fair, ready to talk about anything so long as it doesn't come too close to home and nibble away at the elaborate irrationalities of his office. Like Mr. Jones, he's aware something's happening but doesn't know what. Alone, enmeshed in an impossible position, he's utterly wasting his time and actively participating both in the wasting of other people's and the dissipation of the youth of the students.

And then I look at the building itself, a multi-million pound piece of utterly dissipated municipal architecture, filled with hundreds of thousands of pounds' worth of equipment, yet utterly dead, like a mausoleum. After lectures, the students file out onto the lawn dully and begin to light up fags and ass around as they go over to the canteen for coffee. Most of them will turn up late for the next lesson. It's a fairly sunny day and there are girls on the lawn.

Every year classes get more out of hand. The conversation in the staff-room is often grim. Such-and-such a class will need talking to; the head of the school should do something; there's been another Incident. The staff are pretty much in the dark themselves. They still think things can be brought under control, that the state of affairs of ten years ago when the students were tame can be re-established.

Two years time, I think, and the whole place will be in uproar. Of course the students aren't going to accept the old discipline line of old. They're way beyond that; way beyond last year's students in other ways too. And the gap between their minds and what the school wants to feed them with—which, of course, doesn't change much from year to year, most of the teachers still trotting out the notes of year one—gets wider and wider.

NO SYLLABUS

In Liberal Studies we don't follow a syllabus any more. After the second year it was obvious that the students

weren't the same and couldn't successfully use the teaching that the previous year's lot had had. I had to find out where they were at: learn from them. Now we just talk: they tell me and I listen; I tell the next class what I learned from the previous one, with bits and pieces of my own. We talk, but after a while the talking wears thin. We play some records, wander around the grounds. There's nowhere further to go in the context of the school.

Of course, there are still a host of students who aren't progressing. Many of them are when they arrive and for a year or two continue to do so but—this applies mainly to apprentices on block release—after three or four years of work slog they begin to slow up and eventually seize. By then they're going steady, some are engaged and planning to get married in two, three years' time. Some get married before then: dedicated Hell's Angels sell the bike to keep the wife; ingrained freaks admit they were mistaken in their belief in the hip millennium, get their hair cut and start straightening up. They look at me for a fool when I raise my eyebrows and gape in surprise. Surely I wasn't so gullible as to be fooled by all those youth culture illusions? They're growing up, I'm obviously not.

Then there are the basically straight kids who really don't want to know. They like straight syllabi and lessons. They'd take notes on anything and re-gurgitate it in exams if they thought it'd give them a useful bit of paper. Some, the really badly repressed ones, get openly enraged when you start telling them how bad things really are. They'll listen to anything but that, but preferably something with the old stamp of jolly status quo certainty as seen nightly on the box.

The tragedy of how these kids fall prey to media illusions is really sadening. The youthful ideals and energy quickly dissipated when they're chained to the treadmill and, with no other source of direction in life, they fall hook, line and sinker for consumer images. Like the small, underdeveloped student who hardly said a word for three years and then came into class glowing, proud and important for the first time in his life. Why? He'd got a car. He hadn't gone out in his life, smoked, drank or entertained a girl. He'd embraced overtime and tellystricken

afterhours to put enough bread together to buy the car. Now things were going to start to happen for him. He was a viable male. He'd get girls, take his friends out for joyrides, his mother down to the supermarket on Saturday mornings. And, of course, he'd still need to keep nacking himself to keep up to that status.

REPLACING ILLUSIONS

When people are investing life in getting something they can't bear to hear it said that it's a folly. And, of course, one of the dilemmas of teaching is handling a situation like that poor student. Take his illusions away from him and what are you going to replace them with? You can hardly keep alive handling your own uncertainty and doubts—how would he fare? And yet the spread of that kind of mistake must be stopped.

This, of course, complicates teaching and makes it frustrating, leads to hours of classroom talk that is just filling time space because you don't know what to say, don't want to hurt or disillusion.

On the other hand, with students who I've hit it off with things have been really good. We've got a lot of ideas and energy going. I hope some of them will make it out. A few will. One or two do leave before the end of the course.

I can't honestly claim to have been a very liberated and liberating teacher over my whole stint. When I arrived at the school, with my hair ploughed back and wearing the stiff suit I'd put on to disguise myself, I was very afraid. I've had long, long periods of intense despair when I felt isolated in the school, pursuing a mental programme that was the more or less exact opposite of everyone else's. I've been very paranoid with both staff and students. With students there have been long periods when I've put up that loudtalking, emotionless classroom facade, superficially merry but essentially designed to maintain the distance between me and the class. You can, in fact, hold most classes successfully at bay with that kind of schizophrenia, but if it slips a bit they'll start in on you. Which is just their way of telling you to come off it and be human. When I had a loud quarrel in the corridor with the head of the school once, and expected

the class to move in on me with a vengeance when I entered the room, to my surprise, relief and internal joy they were incredibly warm and sympathetic. Which outlines the moral: if you want to be free in the school context, the students are with you.

Apart from the upper echelons, who're nastily hung up on roles and protocol shit—mainly because they're irrelevant and only stay viable in the school by keeping that kind of mirage alive—the staff are mainly all right. When you're one of them, they'll mostly accept you one way or another, and in the staffroom I've had the position of a kind of house stirrer, tolerated and liked so long as I don't take things too far, which, coward that I am, I've very rarely done. I've been useful to some of the other teachers, too—those with little problems about the world and life that they could never easily confide in their other colleagues.

THE PROMOTION STAKES

Certainly, to a man the staff recognise the hypocrisy of the hierarchy and the way it works. But they do nothing about it because they're afraid: in the first instance of losing their position in the promotion stakes, then of losing their jobs. Redundancy, even when it's a remote speck on the horizon, really scares them. One or two men haven't got on with the boss and have been held back, which has made them withdraw and become bitter. Some do raise

a mild ante in staff meetings, but never get too far out. They always basically observe the rules of the game. Beyond them there is always the void that is filled with their hidden phobias.

How much longer can it all hold together? Can the staff go on believing that they're really accomplishing anything? The younger ones are still interested in teaching, but as they get older they'll follow the well-defined pattern: they'll get more and more interested in the promotion race, with its great plum, not of having more money or status, but of not having to teach any more. Then they can sit all day in an office and chat and write out time-tables and send little directives about the place. But even these men haven't got it made, I notice on closer scrutiny. Some play the part well, but they're fakers; the honest ones are rotting on the inside, not themselves believing any more in their phoney functions, but scared to hell of losing their grip. They're unhappy, de-energized men.

The only way to save it all would be to revolutionize it now: throw everything out of the window and create a free space where staff and students can meet in equality and work out what they want to do and how to spend the available funds. That would be a difficult enough challenge for any of us, institutionalized creatures that we are; but for the older men it would be a total mindbuster.

J.S.

516

RECENTLY the *Guardian* in an editorial said 'no one could have foreseen that there would be a rapprochement between the USA and China'. As I was by no means the only writer in *FREEDOM* and other anarchist journals to say just that, and as I took the trouble to send copies of these to the *Guardian's* 'communist expert', Victor Zorza, I found this somewhat amusing.

But not as amusing as the latest step in the Chinese saga. Yesterday evening, on Radio Four, there was a Chinese journalist assuring all and sundry that when five or so years back the Red Guards had attacked the British Embassy in Peking this was not Red Guards proper but a sinister organization called 516.

be tolerated and eventually the individual who refuses to accept the values of the society in which he exists, is then met with the full force of the law (or sometimes more subtly by social stigmatisation or ostracism). The law, which is enacted by society for the good of the people in that society, whether or not they have desired it, on the principle that a democratic government acts for the majority.

The same attitudes apply to a child in school. The education system reflects the values and standards of society and the child is expected to conform to the system within the school. A pupil hierarchy is often established by the appointment of prefects, house or team captains, etc., combined with such methods as team points or a star system for good work or behaviour. Children who show any signs of rebellion are considered trouble makers and are effectively punished in one way or another. Thus, just as in adult society, the individual has to appear to go along with society if he is to have any sort of a peaceful existence, and if not, then he must be prepared to take the full brunt of society's displeasure, so must the child in the school. Short of revolution, education is the only way that a society can be changed from within. Adults, as much as children, have to be educated to the idea of a new society for the old one to be superseded. A society that considers itself and its values to be responsible and just, is not likely of its own volition, to countenance a change in its structure through the educational system. As Mill said:

'The majority, being satisfied with the ways of mankind as they now are (for it is they who make them what they are), cannot comprehend why those ways should not be good enough for everybody.'

It is only the minority individuals within a society who will desire any great change in that society, and as it is not in society's interest to encourage the individual in his aspirations, then the individual must ultimately suffer through the educational process in a Democratic system; which believes in the rule of the majority over the minority.

GEORGE CAIRNCROSS.

Education and the Democratic Myth

A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM, is that form of system which is governed by the rule of the majority. The Democratic way, is that way by which the majority, through the exercise of the electoral vote at a secret ballot, select the form of government, which they as a majority, wish to rule the society in which they live. However, in this society, there will exist a minority of groupings and individuals who, although not in agreement with the majority, nevertheless have to abide by the decisions of the government empowered by the majority vote, any protest they may like to make, is on the whole ineffectual. If an individual wishes to make some form of protest, there exists established channels open to him. This however, is not protesting, but merely conforming to the prescribed order of things. This is the Democratic way, the minority living under the rule of the majority decision. John Stuart Mill, the Victorian Economist and Philosopher, once wrote:

'The majority is a majority of individuals, and that for the majority to suppress the opinions of the minority is to challenge the very foundations upon which majority rule itself is ultimately based.'

This is the chief crack in the structure of Democracy, the individual can be and often is, suppressed. The only remedy open to the minority groupings, is that at another election to hope for a change in the majority vote, so that another government can replace the one with which they are not satisfied. Thus another majority vote establishes another ruling power, but there will again remain the minority. Can a Democracy be converted into a more Libertarian form of society in which the individual rather than a majority or a minority be catered for? Again John Stuart Mill wrote:

'... that if the State ensured that each individual within that State was happy, then that State would be automatically happy.'

Behind the Democracy lies the all-powerful, ever-pervasive shadow of the State; and by the State I mean the Government, the Established Church, the Police Forces, the Armed Forces and the Educational System. Society, where the electorate stems from, lives within the auspices of the State. The ultimate

authority in the Democracy lies with the State. An electoral change only implies the transfer of power from one body politic to another, the State Apparatus remains to a varying degree intact, and it is with the State that the ultimate decisions concerning the running of society remains.

We have seen that the Head of a State is decided by electoral majority vote. The State by reason of its very existence and the fact that the educational system is State controlled, decides the policy as regards the running of the educational system of the country. A child is faced with two major environments, the home and the school. At home, the child is subject to the values and pressures of his family, who in turn are subject to the values and pressures of society as a whole. At school, the child is subject to the values and standards of the State educational system, his teachers and school peers, eventually he in turn becomes a parent and perpetuates the same standards and values, which on the whole parallel those of society, to his children. In the long run, the State to survive, has to rule a society that accepts the authority of that State. The only way the State can ensure that this will happen, is by perpetuating a society that is conditioned to believe in the State and not in the existence of the sovereign individual, co-operating freely with other sovereign individuals. Martin Buber has said:

'Freedom is a condition of education.' The school system therefore has to be geared to producing a society which will accept without question this premise, and this plays a great part in the machinery of conformity. Thus it becomes apparent that the educational system cannot be geared to producing

self-thinking individuals but has to be geared to the producing of indoctrinated persons who will accept that the Democratic way is the best form of society and government. G. H. Bantock says:

'Education can only be understood when we know for what society and for what social position the pupils are being educated. Education does not mould men in the abstract but in and for a given society.'

Ours is a competitive society. The majority accept this situation and act out their desires for self-improvement in this atmosphere. Surely it is not irrelevant that the whole system of schooling is one in which success is rewarded and failure punished. Not only this, but the success of one person is the failure of another—the failure and humiliation of having failed in front of the whole class. Success at school becomes equated with successful examination results, a philosophy which carries over into most homes just as success in society is equated with reaching a position of high financial reward in the hierarchy of one's own chosen field of work. An authoritarian system must by necessity encourage a hierarchy and not only that, but a hierarchy that it can trust. Those who conform to the standards and values laid down by the conditioning and indoctrination of their particular social groupings in society, and through the successful attainment of qualifications eventually reach a recognisable position within the structure of society; a position which could be threatened by any signs of Libertarianistic individuals challenging the social structure. The individual has to be curbed either by seduction to the accepted norm, and if this fails, then by repression. Anti-social behaviour cannot

516, it appears, had laid plans to take over the state, but before it got round to doing this it advertised its presence to the world by attacking the British Embassy, refusing to refrain from so doing when personal messages of restraint were sent from high members of the bureaucracy.

Well, if one can believe that Lee Harvey Oswald killed John Kennedy, one can believe in 516. But for those who cannot believe in the former case that a man who was an indifferent shot was able to shoot, in above Olympic speed, bullets that were able to go round corners and enter a man (who couldn't incidentally be seen) from the far angle, the story of 516 may seem a little incredible.

However the world has been told many similar stories, and in particular these were current in the late thirties during the Moscow Trials. Then Stalin having for a time felt his cause was well served by showing an ultra-left image, wished to make friends of all those bourgeois powers he had earlier alienated, first through the Popular Front, then through the Stalin-Hitler pact; and the blame for all the leftist actions of the past was suddenly laid to the doors of the 'Trotsky-fascist wreckers'.

Once more into the breach, dear friends.

L.O.

VOLINE

The Unknown Revolution
(Kronstadt 1921 : Ukraine 1918-21)

We have had a great many enquiries for this title since it went out of print. We recently made the find of some of the sheets which we have completed and bound (hardcover, rexine).

This makes a very limited edition, and with a view to helping our own finances and making sure that people who have been asking for it get first chance, we are offering it at the price of £2.00 plus postage (inland 10p, abroad 15p), ONLY TO READERS OF 'FREEDOM' ORDERING DIRECT FROM US, up to October 31, 1971.

All profits from these sales will be put into the Press Fund.

CROMWELL

Continued from page 3

but simply a coherent ideology related to strategy in action and to living? There may come a time when decisions have to be made swiftly which will radically change society as we know it. Are we ready to commence the dialogue or are we still to behave like little children bickering amongst ourselves?

The film 'Cromwell' is important for today's movement despite its obvious defects and its appalling music. It points both a warning and presents itself as an overture to tomorrow's reality. It was a pity that the anarchists, like the Levellers and Diggers, failed once more to realise their aims, simply because of childish bickering and a refusal to face the reality of hard facts.

PETER NEVILLE.

Plessey Occupation: A Letter to UCS

UPPER CLYDE SHIPBUILDERS' plight has now been news for a number of weeks, with wide coverage in the national press. It now looks as though we can fairly safely wave another revolutionary situation goodbye, with our usual thanks to the Communists.

During the time of the UCS work-in, and before, there has been a far more militant industrial situation developing; that of the Plessey workers at Alexandria. At the time of writing the factory is occupied 24 hours a day and the workers are in control of the factory. Their action is explained by the deceit and disregard for people exhibited by the Plessey Co. The background to this dispute is as follows.

The factory at Alexandria (20 miles from Glasgow at the lower end of Loch Lomond) is a strange red building which

has been there since 1905, involved in the building of cars in its early days, ending up under the Admiralty as a torpedo factory involved in the development and production of a new torpedo, the Mk. 24. The Government decided in 1970 that they would no longer require this torpedo and that the factory would have to be closed. At this point Plessey stepped in and announced that it had bought the factory from the Government and would employ up to 2,000 people making electronic components, not torpedoes, as there was insufficient work to justify it. They paid £650,000 for a factory full of machines and material, both worth millions.

The new management took over the factory from January 1 this year but by May they had announced the first redundancies and shortly afterwards followed this up with a statement that the factory was to close completely. 700 have been paid off since then and on September 3 the last 200 were paid off. The factory was then occupied.

It is not that there is no work in the Plessey empire. At the same time as the announcement of the closure it was stated

that a contract for the Mk. 24 torpedo had been awarded to the Plessey Co. and they had decided to make it at Ilford. Other Plessey workers have assured their brothers in Alexandria that there is work in other factories that could be subcontracted. Finally Plessey are determined to move the machinery, which is some of the most modern in Britain and could be used to produce almost anything, to their factory in Ilford. The men are equally determined that no machines shall leave the Argyll works.

Little or no publicity has been given to this struggle and one has to search the Glasgow papers to find mention of it. Little mention was given of the demonstration in Alexandria and Dumbarton. On the first 400 workers from the factory sat down in the main street. In the second demonstration, people on strike at Burroughs factory joined forces and finally Dumbarton District Council organised a demonstration of 5,000 people against the redundancies—a great turnout considering the population in the area. The whole population is behind them and local housewives and shopkeepers have handed in food; they say

they have enough food for three months.

It is good to meet these people. At the last UCS demonstration they overtook the Claimants and Unemployed Workers Union where we were marching, taking over the whole street. It was a privilege to join them but unfortunately two of their people were arrested during a difference of opinion with the police.

Things are fairly quiet just now; the factory gate is shut to all except the workers and, unfortunately, the management, although they were forced to get out of their cars to ask permission to enter the factory. The workers will fight any attempt to remove the machinery or end their occupation. The Plessey men however differ from the UCS people in that they are sitting in, not working, they are not currying favour with the management and police, they are not being led by politicians and finally they are pleased to see people and are encouraging help on the picket line.

At any time however the management and police may try to eject them forcibly. The works convener has let it be known that they will have to drag them out and they will need people on picket duty to prevent this. They need solidarity with others in blacking machinery and preventing its removal, and finally, they need money to publicise their campaign.

Publicity is badly needed and their stand is an example to other workers faced with redundancy. Their struggle is your struggle.

GLASGOW ANARCHISTS.

(All donations should be sent to The Treasurer, The Shop Stewards Committee, Plessey Works, Alexandria, Dumbarton-shire.)

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VOLINE

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(Kronstadt 1921 : Ukraine 1918-21)

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A few pages have damp-stained margins.

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Read and Destroy

Continued from page 1

and material. In the field of interior operations it has been known for agents to be the source of the troubles which they are supposed to combat. For example agents who are infiltrating Jehovah's Witnesses have been known to incite Witnesses to biblical excesses in order to denounce them—or to have something to denounce!

It would be harsh to suggest winding up the whole enterprise and making the whole of the staff redundant since the product is grossly over-rated—we are inclined to think this the only practical solution. We are inclined to think there might be something in the suggestion of the well-known efficiency expert (now dead and unknown), N. S. Kruschew—well-known for his work in the Ukraine and Hungary, that a merger could be arranged and that ideas could be pooled. This is a further extension of the 'double-shift' policy and saves duplication of effort.

for Scrimp and Save,
Business Consultants.
JACK SPRATT.

The Trade Union—the Workers' Enemy

THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE of the TUC has once again been and gone. Thousands of empty platitudes have been mouthed about a great number of non-issues, meaningless resolutions that will not change the lot of a single working man by one iota, have been passed, and delegates having sung Auld Lang Syne have returned to their branch meetings to report to the one or two members who bother to turn up to hear what has already been so boringly detailed in the press.

Ever since Engels made his famous declaration that the trade unions are the 'schools for communism' it has been obligatory for all self-professed 'revolutionaries' to hold membership in a trade union. That trade unions have more and more become integrated into the apparatus of the state, until today they are quite blatantly an instrument of the ruling class used to discipline the workers, has done nothing to dampen the ardour of the traditional 'revolutionaries'.

It is argued that the revolutionary must go where the workers are, and that the workers are 'in' the unions. For the overwhelming majority of card-holding unionists their membership is sheer force of habit. Tradition has it that the union exists to defend the worker against the excesses of capitalism, and indeed this was their origin in the days before the First World War.

Today, nearly a century later, every principle the trade union movement stood for, class solidarity, internationalism, even

socialism, is bitterly attacked by every official union organisation.

The workers know this from their everyday experience, and increasingly are forced to take matters into their own hands, in direct opposition to their 'leaders'; yet the same workers, in spite of these constant betrayals find it impossible to break with their almost mystical 'faith' in the trade union, and their deep irrational conviction that the union nevertheless still has something to do with working-class struggles. The resilience of mythology is truly astounding!

To what extent the workers are really 'in' the unions is debatable. Actual attendance at branch meetings probably averages less than .01%. This is hardly surprising, official policy invariably being in support of the employers and their state, while the only effective militant action, 98% of all industrial disputes, is unofficial or 'wildcat'. The worker pays his dues each week with about the same enthusiasm as he pays his graduated pension, in terms of real benefit his membership is as important as his 'membership' of the National Health Service. It's a fair comparison, there are 'benefits', but this has nothing to do with the struggle for a classless society.

To return to the argument that membership of a trade union is essential for a revolutionary. 'The workers are in the unions, so the revolutionaries must follow.' Why? Do union members live in isolation from the rest of society? Are they really unapproachable from

outside? On the contrary it is precisely from inside the union that the revolutionary is hamstrung, bound by the rules, daring not to step beyond the constitution for fear of expulsion. Further, it is one of the functions of the trade union movement to prevent workers from various sections from coming together to discuss their common problems and experiences.

Any possibility of entering the union to 'capture positions' and change the body from within by 'building left-wing leaderships' is proved to be just so much crap. The more 'successful' the infiltration, the more powerless the infiltrator. The higher up the ladder he goes, the more he must prove his 'reliability' and 'responsibility', the more he becomes the tool of the bureaucracy.

It is almost always the 'left-wing' official who is sent to get the wildcats back to work. This is no accident. It is the 'left-wing' official who is most threatened by the genuine rank and file movement.

It is no coincidence that trade unions everywhere are firmly controlled by reactionary bureaucrats who pursue anti-working-class policies. A Trade Union, as we know it, led by professional, non-elected, non-accountable officials can never be 'democratic'. Only workers themselves can represent their own interests, and whatever form of organization they choose with which to do this, be it workers' council, soviet, call it what you will, it must by definition make the union official obsolete. Workers managing their own affairs have no room for 'leaders' in industry or anywhere else. No wonder that the knights of the TUC, along with their brethren in the Communist and Labour Parties, reserve their special venom for any genuine rank and file 'wildcat' movement. Nobody likes to be made redundant!

It is only the 'unofficial' movements that should be of interest to revolutionaries. They are the only truly 'democratic' movements, in that the decisions come from mass discussion and the participation of those who are to implement those decisions. It is from these rank and file committees, elected on the shop floor and directly answerable to those who have elected them, that the revolutionary movement will develop. On the other hand, Robert Carr's bill has now crossed the t's and dotted the i's and legislated the unions into the state as firmly as those in Russia and Spain. It is nothing to get excited about, it is merely the legal ratification of an actuality.

But the time has come for revolutionaries to say to workers openly:

Don't support these reactionary bodies.
Don't give them the moral support your membership implies.

Don't finance them with your weekly subscriptions. BOB POTTER.

GOD SAVE US FROM THE CHRISTIANS!

SATURDAY'S FESTIVAL OF LIGHT in Trafalgar Square started with the police moving in and arresting many of those who were to take part later in a counter-demonstration in Hyde Park. The police snatched banners proclaiming 'Fuck the Family' and 'All God's Children have Nipples', while the 'nuns' who rushed the platform at the Festival of Light's meeting at Central Hall were arrested and pushed into a police van. Others from the Street Theatre and the Gay Lib groups, dressed as nuns, policemen and prostitutes, parodied the attitudes of those who think that 'Moral Pollution needs a Solution'.

Ridicule is a good weapon to use against these Christians who are so concerned about everybody's morals and behaviour, but there was a sad lack of counter-demonstrators in Hyde Park. The few who did turn up were overwhelmed by the thousands of Christians from all over the country and improvised as best they could with the limited materials and

costumes available. The organisers of the Festival of Light were obviously pleased with the turn-out. Their symbol of a flaming beacon, the outstretched arm and the finger pointing to the sky recalled others who sought a solution to the so-called moral pollution, while their Christian message from the very powerful public address system was a sickening one, which sometimes amused and sometimes horrified.

The Christians that one spoke to seemed to be more concerned about people believing in Jesus and God rather than going along with the moral pollution line. They were concerned about the social and economic inequalities surrounding us, but like all Christians they wanted to 'save' someone and we could not stomach this.

Mention should be made of the Jesus Freaks and their spokesman, Arthur Blessing (no kidding). These people are really fervent. They keep on and on and I should think that people are con-

verted in sheer desperation, just to make them shut up. Arthur Blessing and his fellow American Jesus Freaks have everything that Billy Graham had, but this time it is all wrapped up and delivered in the terms of the 'underground'.

People discussed their differences and the Christians were really amazed when we said that we believed in people rather than in something that we could not see or touch. Our faith in ourselves and our friends was something that they could not really grasp. Speakers on the platform described us as lost, but the whole 'circus' made us wonder if the boot was on the other foot.

Something was gained from talking, but knowing how intolerant Christians can be, one wonders if those leading this moral pollution crusade really become powerful, what horrors their solution would bring.

God save us from the Christians!

ATHEIST.

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