

# Freedom

Anarchist Weekly 60

MARCH 8 1969 Vol 30 No

**EIGHT PAGES THIS WEEK!**

**Anarchism Today - Smoking Pot - Conscription**

**Irish Labourers in Britain - Che Guevara**

**Pictures of Revolution - Little Mags**

## Ford Workers Resist Slavery

**THE FORD MOTOR COMPANY wants to staff its factories with 45,000 'happy' slaves. That is the meaning of the 'ball and chain' agreement which has stopped all Ford plants in Britain.**

The Company is prepared to pay higher wages, give a holiday bonus, and even 'lay-off' pay should production be stopped through strikes in the plants of Ford suppliers. In return for this they demand ABSOLUTE OBEDIENCE FROM FORD WORKERS. Should any worker take part in an unofficial strike, or a 'go-slow', or an overtime ban, or in any way not co-operate in increasing production, he will lose his holiday bonus (£25) and his 'lay-off' pay.

Naturally the Government has given its blessing to this agreement. It is, after all, what they propose to introduce for the whole of industry under the legislation which they are proposing for the 'reform of the Unions'. Rewards for the obedient—the chopper for those who still have minds of their own.

The Trade Union leaders also went along with the agreement and everything seemed set fair for an even bigger output and an even bigger profit for the giant Ford Motor Company. But Company, Government and Unions all forgot one small thing—they completely

forgot the 45,000 Ford workers who were to be the victims. To everyone's amazement the victims wouldn't go willingly to the chopping block. Instead they revolted. They stopped work (first in Halewood and then in all other Ford plants), demanding that the agreement be scrapped in favour of a straightforward wage increase without any penalty clauses whatsoever.

There was the Ford Motor Company with its agreement duly signed by the Unions... and with most of its plants shut down! They were flabbergasted—and so were the Unions. True, some of them had voted against the agreement when it was discussed on the Joint Negotiating Committee but they had all gone along with its being signed. Now, to their obvious amazement, the whole thing was being repudiated by the men they were supposed to represent.

### ABOUT FACE

There was some quick shuffling in Union head offices and eventually the AEF and the TGWU decided to oppose the agreement. The 'unofficial' strike went on, so these Unions (and the Vehicle Builders) then made it official. Jim Conway, Secretary of the AEF, appeared on television and openly confessed that they were prepared to operate the agreement if the workers had

accepted it! But how can we, he said, 'our members are all on strike against it'.

Ford's were furious and promptly went to the Law for help. They got an injunction to restrain the Unions from extending the strike. Their claim that the Unions must now instruct their members to go back to work is still being decided in the High Court as we write. But if the workers remain solid it doesn't matter a damn which way the judgement goes. Legal judgements don't

produce cars—nor do Trade Union leaders. Only car workers do that, and it is they who must decide which way the struggle must go.

But unfortunately the decision is not likely to be left to the workers. Thanks to all those who have clamoured to have the strike made official, Hugh Scanlon and Jack Jones are now in control. From being tuppenny-halfpenny little bureaucrats whose pleasant way of life was so rudely shattered by the Ford strike, they have now become

'heroes' faced with a High Court action. The struggle has been (or is likely to be) transferred from Dagenham and Halewood to the buffoonery of the Law Courts.

The 'left' political parties and groups are once more engaged in the game of building 'leaders' for the workers to follow. Cousins yesterday, Scanlon today. The process is never-ending and, as it always has before, this game will end with the defeat of the workers involved.

J.L.

## BACK TO THE STREETS!

**THE ELECTIONS ARE OVER** and the pusillanimous O'Neill is still there. The bourgeois press expressed their astonishment and alarm that '6,000 Loyalists' in Bannside voted for the clerical fascist Paisley—but this is because they fail to appreciate the situation; for the small Protestant farmer or unemployed worker in the rural areas O'Neill has done nothing. They live in squalor and, like the 'White Trash' in the Deep South, act out their resentment by fearing and despising the poor RCs. In Sandy Row, a Paisleyite stronghold in Belfast, 94.2% of the houses have no inside WC, 93.3% no bath, 90% no handbasin, and 94.4% no hot water; these people need Civil Rights badly—but this is their legacy of 50 years of Unionism and they are easy meat for the unscrupulous Paisley.

While the English press boost O'Neill as a 'moderate' and the middle class

in Belfast flock to him, the rest of the country is more suspicious. To the reactionaries, the Craigs, Boals and Brookes, he is soft on the RCs—he even shook the hand of a mother superior and talked to Lemass. To the CI7 mind this is treason.

But O'Neill is no moderate. A shade to the left of Fowell and a shade to the right of Heath, he claims he stands in the direct line of Carson and Craigavon—the men who swore by 'a protestant parliament for a protestant people'. O'Neill has been smarter and has cemented the alliance with the nationalist green Tories—but they have now been smashed—the aged McAteer beaten by the slick opportunist Hume and those who held narrowly on to their seats had to canvass the Orange Vote, e.g. Carron in Fermanagh will never survive the next election. In South Down, Keogh scraped home with the 'Fenian

dead vote' while in S. Fermanagh the local priest denounced the PD man for standing against Carron—'this is indeed a most wicked thing to do. Sure at his age he can't run his pub, all he can do is be an MP.'

The remarkable support for PD 'who will all lose their deposits' (*Daily Telegraph*) has enabled them to set up bases throughout the country. And this week it is back on the streets to protest against the new fascist repressive legislation (the amendments to the Public Order Act) about to be introduced. Squatting activity is about to start—to highlight the incredible misrule of the one party state. Families are prepared to move in and preparations are in hand to keep them protected. Under the proposed legislation this will lay anyone open to 6 months prison.

Meanwhile the attempt to penalize and/or jail well-known PD activists goes on. Money and help is urgently needed. At a Conference at Conway Hall on March 1, the assorted Left in London seemed more interested in dialectical meanderings and self-congratulations than in pledging and providing tangible help. We need bread and participation, street activity is being planned for Easter and anyone who cares for the freedom of the individual should be prepared to come over. NI is part of GB—not 13,500 miles away.

IRISH COMRADE AND MEMBER OF 'PD'

## Squatting Attempt in Berks.

'**WOODBURY**', FARLEY HILL, Nr. Wokingham, Berks., is an old convent converted into flats. The Army used the flats as married quarters for a time but left them as 'unfit due to damp'. The flats are very cold and damp and in some rooms entire walls are covered with mildew or rising damp. Three families, with five children between them, have lived there for up to three years and been on the Wokingham Rural District Council housing list for almost as long.

The three families, Bengier, Lewis and Wiltshire, have been pressuring the council for rehousing without success. The last straw came with a council message that they could not have a council house for at least another two years. The reaction of one of the husbands was 'Bugger it! I'm going to squat somewhere'.

Woking RDC has a council estate at Winnersh. Many of the houses are occupied and some are still being built. A number in Goddards Close have been complete but empty since November.

On Wednesday, still entirely under their own initiative, the three families gave the council an ultimatum via the local evening paper. 'House us or we squat!'

They were then contacted by Colin Deans, young Liberal militant of the Coley Park Tenants' Association. He leafleted the University for help and 'defenders'.

On Saturday evening (15th), they moved in to 9 Goddards Close—the three families with beds, heaters and cooking facilities. The council pigs and security pigs (guarding the unfinished houses) fussed around but did nothing. On Sunday afternoon we returned from Newcastle and went around to make contact. We added our names to the 'defence' rota along with Reading Uni

students and some sixth-formers from the Schools Liberation Front.

As they were left in peace and they did not expect action until after the council meeting on Tuesday the husbands went to work as usual on Monday. Having discovered that the women and children were alone except for a couple of students and sixth-formers, the local housing officer 'Crosseyes' Buller moved in at 3 p.m. with council officials, bailiffs and two car loads of pigs. They got in through the front door and dumped the occupants and their furniture on the pavement. There was a certain amount of manhandling but the only casualty was a student with a grazed hand. The broken glass was boarded up and the warning given of legal action against any further squatting.

We got around for our 'shift' about half an hour after the eviction and helped transport the families to shelter for the night. A welfare officer was called but never arrived.

On Tuesday Mrs. Wiltshire and Mrs. Lewis gate-crashed the council meeting, the pigs were called to get them out but they waited outside for the councillors. They were then invited in at the end of the meeting to be told that they could not be rehoused and that this action was not helping their case. They are now afraid that they may be victimised by the council.

Another squat is planned for the weekend or early next week but must remain secret at present.

Local sympathy is with the squatters as Wokingham RDC with 700 on its housing list, has just joined two other councils to build a £100,000 municipal golf course. This is, we believe, the first case of the recent squatters' actions to be planned by the families themselves—a welcoming sign.

LARRY LAW.

## SQUATTERS IN BRIXTON

**WE HAVE A REPORT** that nine people involved in the London Squatters campaign are in custody as we go to press, six in Brixton prison, two in Ashford remand centre and one in Holloway prison. We do not have full information, but understand that these nine, who had been among those who for the past three weeks have occupied a house in Ilford in which a homeless family has been installed, took over another house on Thursday, February 27. This house had been unoccupied for three years, as the owner's son confirmed in court on Friday, February 28. It is in excellent condition and essential services were still connected. The house also contained some furniture.

The squatters had not completed barricades when the police arrived and

made the arrests. The nine were charged with 'malicious damage' and fraudulent use of electricity. The police asked for a remand in custody and the squatters had no solicitor in court. They are to appear again at Barking magistrates court on Thursday, March 6 (after we have gone to press).

Names are not known of all the detained squatters, but those in Brixton include Alan Barlow, David Bell and John Hynes. The girl in Holloway is Sandra Reed. It is reported from Brixton that, boredom apart, they are in good spirits, 'have been treated well, and the missionary work of converting the prison staff to anarchism goes on'.

We assume that local groups will be watching the case, as there has been very little press coverage.

## COMMUNISTS TO JOIN SHEFFIELD POLICE?

**SHEFFIELD** Vietnam Demonstration, Saturday, March 1. Whatever you may say about march-style demonstrations (that they are pointless rituals, etc.), you might expect that left wingers acting as stewards might be a little more on the side of demonstrators than on the side of the pigs. On this march the stewards were like wild animals. They dragged members out of the march and gave them to the police. They attacked the march

with the police, trying to box in a section of the march which was mostly Anarchist and VSC. The stewards were members of the Communist Party. The spirit of Stalin is alive and well in Sheffield.

Whatever Communists may mouth in meetings concerning solidarity among the left (we're all fighting for the same thing, brothers), their real attitude becomes apparent when direct action takes place.

It seems that we have to learn these lessons through the meaningless arrests of our comrades. It is not amiss to point out that half of those arrested in Sheffield on Saturday were anarchists who had been invited to take part. The cause of all the trouble was the fact that the Communists wanted the demonstrators to be disciplined in lines of six abreast. This was only enforced at points where the police were massed, near police boxes for example, where demonstrators could be picked out of the crowd—perhaps not indiscriminately. As a result of this, leading members of the Yorkshire Anarchist Federation now face heavy sentences.

The fact is that the attitude of the CGT in France '68 cannot be isolated on national grounds. Stalinists everywhere hate the real left more than they hate capitalism and exploitation. Sheffield CP's attempt to make out that they 'really care' about Vietnam has resulted in another nail being driven into their rotting coffin. About five members of the CP burnt their membership cards on the steps of Sheffield City Hall.

YORKSHIRE ANARCHIST FEDERATION. P.S. Following the demonstration described above, Keith Nathan has been fined £35 for 'threatening behaviour and assault', John Quail, who had received a black eye, was fined £30, Dave Jefferies has been remanded till March 26 and Nigel Wilson has been found not guilty. PC 281 should be remembered specially, for his behaviour on this occasion.

A.

# BOOKS ON ANARCHISM

## and kindred subjects

We can get books to order (school and technical books included). Please supply name of publishers.

<b>The Commensense of Municipal Trading</b> (1908) Bernard Shaw	5/-
<b>The Origin and Ideals of the Modern School</b> Francisco Ferrer	8/6
<b>Candid Reminiscences: My First Thirty Years</b> Upton Sinclair	6/-
<b>The Twenty-Fifth Hour</b> C. Virgil Gheorghiu	5/-
<b>The Devil's Dictionary</b> Ambrose Bierce	8/6
<b>East Wind over Prague</b> (1950) Jan Stransky	5/-
<b>Freedom is the Man</b> Philip Rush	6/-
<b>Israel Kalisch</b> W. L. George	5/-
<b>Strange Defeat</b> Marc Bloch	7/6
<b>Ideal Commonwealths</b> Plutarch, More, Bacon, Campanella, and Hall	6/-
<b>The Brass Check</b> Upton Sinclair (paperback)	8/6
<b>The World and the Atom</b> C. Motler and Ebbe Rasmussen	6/-
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<b>An Outline of the Economic History of England</b> D. W. Roberts	3/-
<b>Work and Wages</b> Thorold Rogers (damaged)	3/6
<b>The World of William Clissold</b> H. G. Wells (2 vols.) set	7/6
<b>Ten Ladies of Joy</b> George Ryley Scott	6/-
<b>The Control of Industry</b> D. H. Robertson	3/6
<b>What we Are About to Receive</b> Jay Franklin	6/-
<b>The Case of Sergeant Grischa</b> Arnold Zweig	3/6

### Freedom Bookshop

## Write or Come!

Editorial office open Friday, March 7, 6-8 p.m. and Monday, March 10, 2-8 p.m. Telephone: BISHOPSGATE 3015.

New temporary address:  
84a WHITECHAPEL HIGH STREET,  
c/o Express Printers,  
(entrance Angel Alley),  
WHITECHAPEL, E.1.  
(Underground: Aldgate East. Exit:  
Whitechapel Art Gallery. Turn right  
on emerging from station.)

Temporary opening times:  
Tuesday-Friday, 2-6 p.m.  
Saturday, 10 a.m.-4 p.m.

### FREEDOM PRESS

NEED volunteers to make racks and other carpentry work in new premises.  
NEED comrades to clear dump in Angel Alley (with remuneration)—bring pickaxes and shovels if possible.  
Get in touch with Graham Moss c/o Freedom Press.

### Subscription Rates

Inland	
'FREEDOM' ONLY	£1 13s. 4d.
'ANARCHY' ONLY	£1 7s. 0d.
COMBINED SUBSCRIPTION	£2 14s. 4d.
Abroad	
'FREEDOM' ONLY	£1 10s. 0d.
surface mail (US\$8.00)	£2 16s. 0d.
airmail (US\$7.00)	£2 7s. 0d.
'ANARCHY' ONLY	£1 6s. 0d.
surface mail (US\$7.00)	£2 7s. 0d.
airmail (US\$7.00)	£2 7s. 0d.
COMBINED SUBSCRIPTION	£2 10s. 0d.
surface mail	£2 10s. 0d.
Both by airmail	(US\$12.50) £4 5s. 0d.
'Freedom' by airmail,	(US\$10.50) £3 17s. 0d.
'Anarchy' by surface mail	(US\$10.50) £3 17s. 0d.

### PUBLICATIONS include

- Berkman's ABC of ANARCHISM 2/6 (+5d.)
- Rocker's NATIONALISM AND CULTURE 2/1- (+4/6)
- Richards' MALATESTA: His Life and Ideas Cloth bound 2/1- (+1/3); paper 10/6 (+1/-)
- Berner's NEITHER EAST or WEST 6/- (+9d.)
- Woodcock's THE WRITER & POLITICS 7/6 and Annual Volumes of Selections from FREEDOM 1952-1964 each year's volume 7/6 (+1/-) full list on application.

### BOOK REVIEW

CONSCRIPTION, a world survey, ed. Devi Prasad and Tony Smythe. (WRI, 3 Caledonian Road, London, N.1. Paperback, 15/-, post 8d.)

'Countries without conscription . . . are rare. In many cases one of the first acts of newly independent States has been to impose compulsory military service upon their citizens . . . and governments their citizens . . . and governments with a large proportion of their people living in poverty still feel that they must divert money and manpower to the maintenance of a conscript army.'

THUS HAROLD BING in his introduction to *Conscription* which Devi Prasad and Tony Smythe have sub-titled: *Compulsory military service and resistance to it*. The latter makes up a considerable and edifying part of the 'case histories' incorporated in some sections. This book with its specialized subject could hardly be expected to reach best-seller circulation. Neither would one look for enthralling intricacies of plot; yet I went two stops past my home station on a regular journey while looking through it for the first time. The editors introduce it with a note that they have not attempted to write an exhaustive account of the laws of all the countries covered by the survey, nor to present a comparative study of different systems, but that they have tried to deal with the aspects of each country's experiences which either have special features or which give some indication of the general trends in the development of conscription or the treatment of conscientious objectors.

Countries are given in alphabetical chapters, varying in length from the two lines for Albania to the 7½ pages for Australia and 13½ pages for Great Britain. It is tempting to quote something from many, to give a picture of the significant differences of attitude and application of different types of government, and the varying degrees and methods of resistance these evoke; as well as the extension of conscientious objection from religious to political and libertarian grounds. In a few cases the temptation is irresistible. For example:

**Australia** (which has had conscription since 1903): 'The Defence Bill of 1909 . . . (proposed) compulsory drill for cadets aged 14 to 18. . . Cadet training actually commenced on 1st July, 1911. . . During the 2½ years from January 1912, out of a total of 123,497 cadets, 27,749 were prosecuted for failing to comply with the regulations. 5,732 boys were imprisoned in military fortresses or civil prisons. . . At Broken Hill miners gave their full support to those who resisted and pre-

# World Survey on Conscription

sented one boy, who had served a fortnight in gaol on bread and water, with a medal. . .'

'In October 1914, the new Labour Government passed the Crimes and War Precautions Acts, calculated to curb disaffection, which greatly contributed to the erosion of civil liberties.' **Puerto Rico:** ' . . . Puerto Ricans have never fully co-operated with the conscription system. In 1948, when laws were enacted, 60,000 youths liable to service did not register and only 8 of them were sent to prison. In subsequent years only 2 were imprisoned although it was reported that about 28% of those liable did not register.'

**Mexico:** 'The current Military Training Law . . . makes all male citizens liable to military training at the age of 18. The first period of active service is for one year, followed by 11 years with the first reserve, 10 with the second and 5 with the Home Guard. . . The call-up age is 18 but conscripts are not required to do more than a few hours' training each week and no uniforms are provided. . . On completion of 1 year's military training the conscript receives a "cartilla" stating that he has fulfilled his obligations. Without it he cannot obtain work, get married or leave the country. . . Some people have received their "cartilla" without ever attending a training session on payment of 150 pesos.'

**Yugoslavia:** ' . . . after the creation of Yugoslavia the position of Nazarenes deteriorated further. . . Older mem-

bers of the Congregation today recall with sadness that, before World War II, some of them were imprisoned together with Mosa Pijade, one of the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist revolution, and that he promised that things would be different when the Communists came to power. . . According to a 1958 report, at that time there were about 200 young Nazarenes in prison, less than half of them for the first time. 20 of the 200 were serving their third sentence, and at least one, a "4-time loser", was well into his second decade behind bars. . .'

**Norway:** ' . . . Political objection to military service is another issue which has come very much to the forefront in recent months. It started when a group of 40 students . . . declared that they would refuse to serve in Norwegian armed forces as long as Norway remains a member of NATO and as such is co-responsible among others for the American war in Vietnam. They will not refuse ordinary military service on CO grounds and therefore cannot join pacifist organisations . . . their group has grown to at least 100 (February 1968). . . The problem for the Minister of Justice is: Can he put all these clever and well educated young men into prison? And how many will there be in the end? They may grow to hundreds of thousands if America carries on fighting in Vietnam. This campaign has put the Government in a dilemma.' Appendix 1 lists the countries written

about and summarizes the position in each. Of 78 listed, 68 currently impose conscription. 49 of these make no provision for conscientious objection.

Great Britain of course appears among the 10 where there is at present no conscription. The chapter gives a full and informative historical record, with more statistics than in any other chapter. (In passing, there is a surprising amount of information on the USSR.) The editors of the survey have, in the chapter on Great Britain, made the logical progression from conscription to the arrangements made for conscientious objectors in the armed forces, bringing these up to date with the latest provisions for servicemen, including boy soldiers, announced on February 5, 1968 (see also FREEDOM, 17.2.68) as a result of which 'boy soldiers will no longer have to commit an offence and serve ninety days' detention in order to get their discharge'. Nonetheless, the Government has refused point-blank to allow boy entrants the right to leave on reaching the age of 18, when their period of service officially commences. So the fact remains that there are in this country men who, while not 'conscripted', are committed to long periods of military service the voluntary nature of which is not easily apparent.

M.C.

## Lectures on Anarchy in Leeds

SWARTHMORE Educational Centre is running a six meeting course called 'Anarchy: Seminar' from April 25. (Swarthmore is ten minutes walk from Leeds City Station. The course is from 7 to 9 p.m. on Fridays.) Michael Teeman explains and comments on anarchy as a political and social ideal, in its historical context, and as a present force in society. In six weeks the history of ideas from Godwin through Proudhon and Bakunin and Kropotkin to Rudi Dutschke and Cohn-Bendit will be traced.

Swarthmore have promised that if the course is well attended they will turn it into a 24-meeting WEA course in the autumn. Swarthmore is an adult education centre with a canteen, library and clubs, and it is very popular, and attracts quite a lot of students.

L.F.A.

M.

## NORTHERN IRELAND—

### Open Letter from the LFA

THIS EASTER there will be activity in N. Ireland at Belfast. The precise plans are not yet available but will appear in the next issue of FREEDOM. The LFA has already made it known that it is willing to support the People's Democracy in its street activity. Arrangements are now being made by the LFA for transport of comrades and groups going over to help the PD. Anyone who wants to go over (on Good Friday) should get in touch with the LFA at 84b Whitechapel High Street, E.1. Easter is only three weeks away so we want replies very quickly.

Ireland is a very important issue, Mr. Vorster, South African Premier, once

said that he would swop the whole of his repressive legislation for one section of the Special Powers Act! AND this is something we can do something about. As many comrades are likely to be confined by the 'liberal' Terence O'Neill, we need as many over there as possible to help restore ordinary civil rights to Northern Ireland. This isn't 13,500 miles away. Individuals who want to go over on their own can make contact with Dick McRoberts, c/o People's Democracy, Students' Union, Queens University, Belfast.

SEE YOU AT EASTER . . . BELFAST WHERE IT'S ALL HAPPENING.

L.F.A.

M.

## Anarchist Federation of Britain

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. All correspondence to LFA, c/o Freedom Press, Sunday evening meetings at the 'Metropolitan' (corner of Clerkenwell Road and Farringdon Road), 7.30 p.m. Next meeting Sunday, March 9, 23, Folksongs.

**EALING ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Lindsay Withers, 19 Aymer Road, Shepherds Bush, W.12. **HARINGEY.** 'Siege of Sidney Street Appreciation Society'. Meet Wednesdays, 8 p.m., at A. Barlow's, 2a Fairfield Gardens, Crouch End, N.8.

**LEWISHAM.** Contact Mike Malet, 61B Granville Park, Lewisham, London, S.E.13. Phone: 01-852 8879.

**MALATESTA GROUP.** Contact Reg Broad, 5 Welbeck Court, Addison Bridge Place, W.14. 603 0550.

**PORTOBELLO ROAD ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Andrew Dewar, 16 Kilburn House, Malvern Place, N.W.6. Meetings 8 p.m. every Tuesday.

**WEST HAM ANARCHISTS.** Regular meetings and activities contact Mr. T. Plant, 10 Thackeray Road, East Ham, E.6. Tel.: 552 4162.

**FORWARD WITH FINCH'S ANARCHISTS.** Regular meetings Contact P.P., 246 Portobello Road, W.11.

**OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS** Every Wednesday at Jack Robinson's and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m. March 12: Why we want anarchy. Every Monday at A. Barlow's, 2a Fairfield Gardens, Hornsey, N.8. (Siege of Sidney Street Appreciation Society).

**REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS**

**BEXLEY ANARCHIST MOVEMENT.** Steve Leman, 28 New Road, Abbey Wood, S.E.2. Tel.: ET 35377. Meetings every Friday, 8 p.m., Lord Bexley, Bexleyheath Broadway.

**BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP.** Secretary, Peter Le Mare, 22 Hallelwell Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham, 16. Libertarian discussion groups held 8 p.m. on each Tuesday at 'The Crown', Corporation Street (Opp. Law Courts), Birmingham City. S.a.e. to Secretary for details.

**BOURNEMOUTH AREA.** Local anarchists can be contacted through Nigel Holt, Rossmore, Harvey Road, Canford, Wimborne, Dorset. (Wimborne 2991.)

**CORNWALL ANARCHISTS.** Contact Arthur Jacobs, 13 Ledrah Road, St. Austell, Cornwall. Discussion meetings on the second Friday of each month at Brian and Hazel McGee's, 42 Pendarves Street, Beacon, Camborne. 7.30 p.m. Visiting comrades very welcome.

**CROYDON LIBERTARIANS.** Meetings every 2nd Friday of each month. Laurence and Cozma Otter, 35 Natal Road, Thornton Heath (LIV 7546).

**EDGWARE PEACE ACTION GROUP.** Contact Melvyn Estrin, 84 Edgwarebury Lane, Edgware, Middx.

**HERTS.** Contact Val and John Funnell, 10 Fry Road, Chells, Stevenage.

**IPSWICH ANARCHISTS.** Contact Neil Dean, 74 Cemetery Road, Ipswich, Suffolk.

Flat 4, 88 Clarendon Road, W.11. Every Monday evening, 8 p.m.

**ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP.** Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson. Next off centre meeting Greenways, Saturday, March 1, 5 p.m., 'What to do about Violence in Education'.

**REDDITCH ANARCHISTS AND LIBERTARIANS.** Contact Dave Lloyd, 37 Feckenham Road, Headless Cross, Redditch, Worcs.

**ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION**

Three-monthly meetings. Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o Peter Newell (see N.E. Essex Group). Group Addresses:—

**NORTH EAST ESSEX.** Peter Newell, 91 Brook Road, Tolleshunt Knights, Tiptree, Essex. Regular meetings.

**BISHOPS STORTFORD.** Vic Mount, 'Eastview', Castle Street, Bishops Stortford, Herts.

**CHELMSFORD.** (Mrs.) Eva Archer, Mill House, Purleigh, Chelmsford, Essex.

**EPPING.** John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping, Essex.

**HARLOW.** Ian Dallas, 18 Brookline Field, Harlow and Annette Gunning, 37 Longbarrows, Harlow.

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

**NORTH-WEST FEDERATION** Secretary: Rob Wilkinson, 73 Trafford Street, Preston. Next federation meeting March 29/30.

**BLACKPOOL.** Contact Christine Seddon, 111 Blyth Road, Blythpool.

**BOLTON.** Contact John Hayes, 51 Rydal Road, Bolton.

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

**LANCASTER AND MORECAMBE.** Contact Les Smith, 192 Euston Road, Morecambe, Lancs. Meetings Mondays at 8 p.m., Phil Woodhead's, 30 Dunksell Street, Lancaster. Regular literature sales.

**LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST PROPAGANDA GROUP AND 'HIPPI' MOVEMENT.** Gerry Bree, 16 Faulkner Square, Liverpool, 8. Meetings weekly. 'Freedom' Sales—Pier Head, Saturdays, Sundays, Evenings.

**MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP.** 'The Secretary', Felix Phillips, 9 Boland Street, Fallowfield, Manchester, 14. Regular weekly meetings. Contact Secretary for venue.

**BRIGHTON, BN1 3HN.** Regular fortnightly meetings. Contact Secretary.

**CRAWLEY ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Richard Ashwell, 87 Buckswood Drive, Gossops Green, Crawley, Sussex.

**SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP** (see details under Student Groups).

**YORKSHIRE FEDERATION** Meetings every 8 weeks. Next meeting February 2. Secretary: Colin Beadle, c/o Oakwood Farm, Cliffe-cum-Lund, Selby, Yorkshire. Look out for 'Liberty'!

**HALIFAX:** David Stringer, c/o Paul Simon, 91 Essex Street, Parkinson Lane, Halifax.

**HULL:** Jim Young, 3 Fredericks Crescent, Hawthorn Avenue, Hull.

**KEIGHLEY:** Steve Wood, 26B Cavendish Street, Keighley.

**LEEDS:** Direct Action Society. Contact John Boutwood, 142 Brudenell Road, Leeds, 6.

**SHEFFIELD:** Dave Jeffries, c/o Students Union, Western Bank, Sheffield, 11.

**YORK:** Nigel Wilson, Derwent College, University of York, Heslington, York.

**WELSH FEDERATION**

**CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP.** All correspondence to—Pete Raymond, 18 Marion Street, Splott, Cardiff.

**SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Ian Bone, 22 Glanmor Road, Uplands, Swansea. Weekly meetings, 'Freedom' sales and action projects.

**LLANELLI:** Contact Dai Walker, 6 Llwynnedyd Road, Llanelli, Carm. Tel.: Llanelli 2548.

**EAST LONDON LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION**

Support wanted for numerous activities in area. Secretary: Anthony Matthews, 35 Mayville Road, London, E.11. Meetings fortnightly on Sundays at Ron Bailey's, 128 Hainault Road, E.11 (LEY 8059). Ten minutes from Leytonstone Underground.

Active groups in: LEYTONSTONE, STEPNEY, NEWHAM, ILFORD, DAGENHAM, WOODFORD and LIMEHOUSE.

**STUDENT GROUPS**

**ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY GROUP.** C/o Ian and Peggy Sutherland, 8 Esslemont Avenue, Aberdeen, AB2 4SL.

**BERKELEY COLLEGE OF Technology,** Penrhyn Road, Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey. Contact G. Wright.

**SCOTTISH FEDERATION** All correspondence to Bobby Lynn, Secretary, 12 Ross Street, Glasgow, S.E.

**ABERDEEN ANARCHIST GROUP.** Bob Comrie, 288 Hardgate or Ian Mitchell, 3 Sinclair Road.

**GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP.** Robert Lynn, 12 Ross Street, S.E. or Joe Embleton, 26 Kirkland Road, N.W.

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

**HAMILTON AND DISTRICT ANARCHIST GROUP.** Robert Linton, 7a Station Road, New Stevenston, Motherwell.

**FIFE.** Bob and Una Turnbull, 39 Stratheden Park, Stratheden Hospital, By Cupar.

**MONROSE.** Dave Coull, 3 Eskview Terrace, Ferryden, Monroese, Angus.

**NORTHERN IRELAND** BELFAST ANARCHIST GROUP. Meetings every Saturday, 2 p.m., 44a Upper Arthur Street (top floor). 'Freedom' sales.

**SOUTHERN IRELAND** ALLIANCE OF LIBERTARIAN AND ANARCHIST GROUPS IN IRELAND. Please send all communications with stamped envelope to The Secretary, c/o Freedom Press.

**ABROAD**

**AUSTRALIA.** Federation of Australian Anarchists, P.O. Box A 389, Sydney South, NSW 2000. Phone No. 69-8095. Open discussion and literature sale in the Domain—Sunday, 2 p.m. Call at 59 Eveleigh Street, Redfern, NSW 2015 for personal discourse, tea and overnight accommodation.

**BELGIUM.** Groupe du journal Le Libertaire, 220 rue Vivignis, Liège.

**USA.** James W. Cain, secretary, the Anarchist Committee of Correspondence, 323 Fourth Street, Cloquet, Minnesota 55720, USA.

**VANCOUVER, B.C., CANADA.** Anyone interested in forming anarchist and/or direct action peace group contact Derek A. James, c/o 24-160 East 20th, N. Vancouver, B.C., Canada. Tel.: 985 7509 or 987 2693.

**TORONTO LIBERTARIAN - ANARCHIST GROUP.** 217 TorYork Drive, Weston, Ontario, Canada. Weekly meetings. Read the 'Libertarian'. Third issue now out and it was well worth waiting for!

**PROPOSED GROUPS**

**BURNLEY.** Please contact Bernie Cherry, 4 Burton Street, Burnley, Lancs.

**LONDON, S.W.17.** Tooting, Wandsworth, Streatham. Phone BRIAN 672 8494.

**NEWCASTLE/WHITLEY BAY.** Anyone willing please contact Peter D. Ridley, 4 Rockliffe Gardens, Whitley Bay, Northumberland. Tel.: Whitley Bay 25759.

**READING.** Libertarian and Anarchist group would like to contact fellow anarchists in the district and in the university. C/o 57 Kün Ride, Wokingham, Berkshire.

**ROCHDALE, BURY & OLDHAM areas.** Those interested in libertarian activity contact David Purdy, c/o 35 Balmoral Drive, Darn Hill Estate, Heywood, Lancs.

# ANARCHISM TODAY

A COMPARATIVELY SHORT while ago, anarchism was so little known in this country that those few who were trying to build up a movement here were frequently regarded as individual nut cases because 'everyone' knew that anarchism was a ridiculous aberration which had died out with the nineteenth century. Now the effort to build a movement has borne fruit to the extent that it is public knowledge that there is an anarchist point of view, that press, radio, etc., acknowledge the existence of such a movement and that people of all levels of education and all walks of life claim to be anarchists.

It is necessary to clarify just what anarchism is all about, and this process of clarification and public debate needs to go on all the time. There always have been and there always will be, individuals and groups who claim that their own particular interpretation of anarchism, however narrow and sectarian it may be, is the only anarchism. While it is natural and laudable that one should express one's own point of view forcefully, too sectarian an approach does, in practice, lead to humbug and distortion of facts. While such humbug and distortion is the permanent stock-in-trade of political parties, it is utterly self-defeating for any group professing anarchism. It is self-defeating not because such a policy is unsuccessful in recruiting adherents or promoting the sales of a propaganda organ, but because the group and paper must fall into the hands of politicians and attract followers who need, want and eventually achieve an authoritarian power structure.

## THE LEFT AND THE RIGHT

Anarchism attracts people who are against the order of things existing in the modern capitalist state. Opposition to this order of things is to be found among a wide diversity of people. Such dissidents can be divided rather crudely between the 'left' and the 'right'. The 'left', considered as a broad spectrum of interests, tends towards a greater equalisation of property distribution and a divorce between property ownership and political power. The 'right', insofar as it is in opposition to the *status quo*, also tends to favour a redistribution of property rights and of political power, but upon a different basis.

The dissident 'right', expressed in movements such as fascism, is opposed to those elites which have grown up under capitalism like the trades unions and banking interests, but the result of a successful take-over from the extreme 'right', as was expressed in the fascist regime in Italy and the National Socialist regime in Germany, is not so very different from the result of a take-over by political parties of the extreme 'left'.

The use of the term 'fascist' as a modern swear-word has tended to obscure its true meaning. The end product of a fascist uprising is very similar to the result of a Marxist-socialist take-over. In either case, capitalism is tamed; the power struggle between workers and employers in an open economic market comes to an end. The new ruling class is no longer comprised of the owners of capital; the officials of the state are the ruling class. The fact that rich industrialists could still be rich men and poor industrial workers poor men, after the fascist revolution in Italy should not blind one to the essential change. The rich man retained his good standard of living only by virtue of his endless compliance with the demands of the fascist state; the poor man could better his standard of living not through labour unionism, but by advancement through the fascist party.

Rich and poor are comparative terms and it is important to realize this. The average working man in Britain is a rich man, well fed, well clothed, housed, entertained, coddled by the health and welfare services—and underworked—compared with the vast mass of the people of Asia and Africa. What I have said about the freezing of purely economic relations between rich and poor under fascism applies equally to those regimes which are regarded as socialist. There, the class struggle, conceived of as the struggle over the division of the national cake between employers and employees, is over. The struggle which emerges is between those with political power and those without. Recent history has shown that this is far bloodier and more bitter than the economic struggle under capitalism.

That the term 'fascist' has become a popular swear-word, devoid of any very precise meaning, is a pity, for it is necessary for an anarchist critique of society to get clear just why anarchists are to be physically exterminated if either the fascism of the 'right' or the state socialism of the 'left' ever achieves complete power. I would note in parenthesis that the famous anarchist Malatesta was allowed to live out his natural life in fascist Italy and die in his bed. No political form is perfect anywhere.

Politicians of the extreme revolutionary 'right' and the revolutionary 'left' accuse one another of humbug—and both are absolutely correct in this. The myths of the revolutionary 'right' include racialism, nationalism, respect for the masculine ideal, military glory, and individual property-owning. In practice, all this is poppycock and can be most flagrantly violated in the interests of political expediency. The myths of the politicians of the revolutionary 'left' include inter-

nationalism, social and economic equality, racial tolerance, democracy and humanism. In practice, these are equally poppycock and are as flagrantly violated by socialist states as by fascist ones. Again, it is a matter of degree: the worst of fascism is not operative in a country like modern Spain, any more than the worst of state socialism is operative in Yugoslavia, and the mass of the population of these countries may well prefer the actuality of the present regimes, to regimes they have suffered under in the past.

It has been said that hypocrisy is the tribute vice pays to virtue. It is natural therefore, that the lip-service which Marxist-socialists pay to certain principles which anarchists uphold enables them to rub shoulders with anarchists—as long as they are out of power. The fascists, on the other hand, whose policy towards anarchists would probably be much the same as the Marxist-socialists if they achieved power (i.e. censorship, gaol or firing squad), preach a line of talk which makes it certain that no anarchist will endure them for a minute.

## THE END OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

In the latter years of the nineteenth century there was considerable co-operation between socialists of all kinds and anarchists. A number of anarchists were, in fact, influential in the movement which eventually gave rise to the Labour Party. In those days such a presumed identity of interests was natural.

It is important to realize how times have changed and to get clear just what is the significance of anarchism in the world today. Anarchism today has certainly nothing whatsoever to do with 'class struggle' if by that you mean the contest between the 'bourgeoisie' and the 'proletariat' so vividly dramatized by Marx. It is supremely irrelevant to anarchism if the employees in a certain industry force the employers to raise their wages by 2d. an hour. Bully for them, but so what? The 2d. an hour will be just their own extra crumb from the national cake.

What is relevant to anarchism is if the workers in an industry are able to change its structure in the direction of workers' control whether or not this is reflected in there are generally a number of forces holding a balance—the workers, managers, owners and the state. The move towards socialism—or fascism—is for the managers and the state to coalesce. The degree to which the existence of the owners is maintained, as in a mixed economy, or abolished by the state swallowing the owners, depends upon the industry and the degree of totality of the regime. The new form of class struggle which emerges, then, is between the workers and the state. It should be noted that the rôle of the managers is ambiguous; either they are managers of things, experts in productivity in which case they are as much workers as are manual workers, or they are managers of men in which case they will tend to become the state bureaucrats and the new exploiters of men.

Anarchism stands in sharp contrast to both fascism and state socialism. Workers' control is conceived of as a direct process, not through some fiction of a 'proletarian state'. The anarchist concept of equality of right to the products of work means the end of all systems of differential reward. The managerial function must imply the management of productive processes not the management of men's lives, and in no way must imply a right to a better standard of living in the community.

Utopian idealism? No, plain common sense, and indeed many classical anarchist principles have become recognized in a

fragmentary way within the shell of capitalist systems. The capitalist ideology assumes that the mainspring for work or any socially useful activity is dependent on an attempt to maximize wages or profits. The fascist and state socialist assumption is similar, except that all are wage-earners or strictly licensed profit-makers—plus the fear of the big stick the state holds. Anarchism alone holds that the only sensible form of society is one in which men work, produce, are creatively active because they are happy to do so, and not out of greed or fear. Life is a huge feast to be enjoyed now, and it is this positive aspect of anarchism which gives it its distinctive quality.

Many revolutionary creeds have hatred as their mainspring, hatred of capitalists, Jews, blacks, whites, free-thinkers, or political opponents—the list of identifiable hate-objects is endless. If hatred is the mainspring, then violence and eventual repression are the outcome, and no libertarian future is possible. Only if love of life is the mainspring for action will the revolutionary effort be truly libertarian—and love of life right now implies dispensing with the methods of authoritarians right now. We want no 'temporary' institutions of coercion until 'after the revolution is consolidated'.

Providing propagandists go on beating the old nineteenth century drum about class struggle, mouthing the old slogans, pretending that every strike is a blow for liberty and justice, so the general realization of the realities of today will be retarded. The nonsense about proletarian class struggle purveyed by politicians of old, new and barely emerging political parties is the means of leading the mass by the nose into a new form of slavery. The loyalty of the Tory working man of the nineteenth century, who gladly upheld the system of his own exploitation and was prepared to lay down his life overseas to maintain his masters' rule, is paralleled nowadays by the Socialist true-believer. The slogan-chanting crowds manipulated by the leaders of twentieth century mass movements (Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, Mussolini, Hitler and aspirants to power of more recent vintage) are mere fodder. Whether the mystique of their leaders is mixed up with nationalism and racialism, as favoured by fascist-type movements, or the continued myth of the proletarian class struggle as favoured by Bolshevik-type movements, such mystique is strictly for the mugs.

## ANARCHISM AS A THIRD FORCE

Anarchism is a third force. We have the old capital- and land-owning forces, still very powerful indeed and attempting to maintain their power by concessions to a mixed economy. They are the power dominant in the western hemisphere. The other great force is state socialism, dominant in the Russian and Chinese empires. Many of newly constituted nation states outside the main power blocs are teetering between the two dominant forms of political and economic organization, interesting hang-overs from feudalism and slavery determining local conditions. Anarchism, the third force, is concerned with furthering libertarian forms of social organization. It is not concerned with advancing the interests of any one socio-economic class—as Marxists claim to be.

People who cling to the trappings and prejudices of any particular social class—the class of their origin or of their adoption, for sentimental reasons—are very handicapped in understanding what anarchism is all about. Indeed, it is sentimentality about class that makes people vulnerable to the emotional appeal of both fascists and bolsheviks. The former boost their recruiting by a snobbish appeal to 'gentlemen' to defeat the 'cads'; the latter by an equally snobbish appeal to 'proletarians' to defeat the 'bourgeoisie'.

Anarchism has as little in common with fascism as it has with bolshevism or any type of Marxist socialism. Those anarchists who join Maoists, Trotskyists, etc., on public demonstrations would do well to reflect the bizarre nature of their actions. For an anarchist to call someone 'comrade' who firmly believes in the physical extermination of anarchists once his mob achieve power, is pretty kinky. Can it be that the activity of publicly supporting one's intending executioners is engaged in for fun because no one seriously believes that the status quo will ever be radically altered? Can it be that these 'anarchist' militants feel safe from the rifles of the future Red Guards or Trotskyist Cheka because in their hearts they trust that the British Bobby will always be there to protect them? Such trust is not entirely well founded.

I am well aware that some anarchists deliberately seek to minimize, to slur over the enormous gulf which they privately admit to exist between anarchism

as a coherent philosophy and that of the various left-wing socialist groups. They hope by this tactic to entice to their ranks dissidents who will then become anarchists. Such a tactic results in the existence of a sort of bastard-anarchism in which lip-service is paid to many of the myths of Marxism. One might just as well flirt with fascist groups in the hope that the anarchist movement will be augmented numerically by ex-fascists, and thereby create a bastard anarcho-fascism.

If anarchism is to make any useful impact it must remain a third force. It is significant that the most modern manifestations of anarchist thinking have been expressed in practical terms not by the 'proletariat' but by students who are engaged in producing a revolutionary change in the structure of university organization. This has come as a complete surprise to all the revolutionary organs of propaganda which have been concentrating on wooing the manual workers for years. Now, of course, every brand of politico is making what hay he can in the university field. There is even a somewhat conservative reaction manifest in students who are fed up with the political intrigues of those who would turn a genuine movement for student control of matters which closely affect them, to a struggle for the power of political cliques.

The position of anarchists in this country being an extremely small minority, has led to a sort of anarchist inferiority complex when faced with larger political groups. Some have been sensitive to such Marxist swear-words as 'petit bourgeoisie'. It is time that anarchists got over their inferiority complex and ceased trying to compete with political parties in ways which are quite irrelevant to anarchism. While I am no advocate of bashing up in the streets, it would appear to me a little more logical if anarchists set about the bashing up of the chanters of 'Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Min!' than the police, if they really must express themselves in that way.

All this, of course, is a dreadful heresy to the 'left', just as it was a dreadful heresy to oppose Stalin when the British 'left', from the *Daily Worker* to the *New Statesman*, and *Tribune* to the *News Chronicle* were hailing Stalin as a great democrat. Anarchists as a third force stood aside from the two world wars of this century, despite the jeers from the 'left'. If we are to take advantage of a growing movement in this country it must be clarified that we are neither 'left' nor 'right', but stand for something very different indeed.

G.

## OUR REPLY

WE AGREE WITH Tony Gibson that the clarification and public debate on anarchism should be a continuing one. This we regard as a healthy sign. People are becoming aware of our ideas and our propaganda is reaching a much wider section of the public. We would also agree that individuals and groups often claim their own particular interpretation or school to be true anarchism. Of course, as an organ of anarchist propaganda, we do come in for some criticism because we do not necessarily reflect their way of thinking and philosophy, which by its very nature is plural.

We do not have, as some comrades would like, a hard line to put over every week. The labels that comrades attach to their anarchism are not so important as the anarchism itself. How-

ever, we would not agree that the class struggle does not exist. Far from being a hangover from the nineteenth century, the antagonism between labour and capital still exists. This antagonism shows itself not only in strikes for more money (which we would agree that as such is irrelevant to anarchism), but also in resisting sackings, speed-ups of assembly lines, rationalisation, work studies and the hundred and one things that managements do to try to get more production out of their employees. The resistance and struggle is against the degradation of human beings who are only seen as production units. The class struggle is for some dignity at work, for some say and control over the work process. It is the development of this struggle that is important to anarchism.

With the present mixed economy, the class struggle now brings the workers in direct conflict with the state. In that sense, the struggle has changed. The conflict is between the order-givers and the order-takers, the faceless bureaucrats and the workers. However, basically, the conflict is between the two classes and state intervention with incomes and, possibly, anti-strike legislation will heighten this conflict.

Anarchists have always pointed out the dangers of a strong centralised State. This process has increased in momentum during the last few years. Because of this, we think that the class struggle will intensify. The class struggle is not a matter of theory, no one invented it, it is just a fact. If Tony Gibson ever went to work in a factory or on a building site we think he would soon recognise this.

EDITORS.

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PLAYING AT REVOLUTION

# PICTURES OF REVOLUTION—2

'If there was one matter about which the author of these essays and his friends were not uncertain, it was the understanding that the fascist state was fascist society, and that totalitarian violence and totalitarian reason came from the structure of existing society, which was in the act of overcoming its liberal past and incorporating its historical negation. This presented the critical theory of society with the task of identifying the tendencies that linked the liberal past with its totalitarian abolition. This abolition was not restricted at all to the totalitarian states and since then has become reality in many democracies (and especially in the most developed ones). This quotation from the opening paragraph to the foreword (presumably originally written for the German edition published in 1965) prepares one at once for the relevance and cohesion and for the dedicatedly, professionally intellectual quality of a collection of essays which at first sight is a rather strange assortment: the first five essays form a composite piece, they were all written in the late 1930s for the Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung which refugees from Nazi Germany continued to produce after they had settled in the United States of America, and thus they are important and interesting not only in themselves, but because the critical work which Marcuse sets out in them laid the foundations of the later critical social theory and argument which has helped to make him, in the words of the dustjacket, 'one of the intellectual triumvirate, with Karl Marx and Mao Tse-Tung, whose teaching gives inspiration to the international student protest movement'. The last three essays are by no means negligible but in relation to the rest of the book look more like appendices, addenda and corrigenda, than independent contributions.' (Herbert Marcuse, *Negations Essays in Critical Theory*, with Translations from the German by Jeremy J. Shapiro, Allen Lane The Penguin Press, London, 1968, 42s., pp. xx 290.)

WHERE MAILER BLOWS our minds with pictures of the existential praxis of revolution, Marcuse leads us back to a consideration of the nature of the mental praxis which has gradually discovered the state of permanent revolution in which we have our social being. Marcuse does not believe in the value—or the significance—or even in the reality—of the concept (this is slightly repetitious of something I wrote in *Anarchy* recently): his life no less than his work is a simple statement that our human existence is a set of concepts, a process of the formation, destruction and rebuilding of concepts. A man does not possess or enjoy his own simple being—he not even is his simple self: he possesses or enjoys, he is, a concept of being. Both in our individual and in our social life what are reacting and interacting are not brute lumps of matter but perceptions of that matter—interpretative, deductive, self-analytical and self-adjusting: in a word, dialectical. The first notion of the dialectic occurs perhaps in the Heraclitean notion of the eternal flux of being: 'nothing passes under the same bridge twice'. More elaborate is the Platonic or Socratic idea of the relationship of tension, both attractive and repulsive, between the eternal form of a thing and the particular imperfect realisations of it in temporal earthly existences. In the Middle Ages the Christian Thomist philosophers developed the distinction between contingent and necessary being: the distinction between the necessary uncreated divine being and the contingent existence of the beings he has created—more suggestively they distinguish between the essence of a thing, its likeness to God, its God-createdness and thus its quality of being an image of the divine, and the 'accidents' of a thing, its particular and limited qualities. Descartes' intuition is a welding together of the Christian concept of the divided self (between the spirit and the flesh) upon the Renaissance concept of the egocentric and yet universalizing quality of the individual human intellect: the tension between the idea and the form is seen to be a tension between the mind seeking an idea of a perfect reality, and the actual reality which it (the mind) finds dubious and insubstantial. 'The concept of essence enters the sphere of the self-certain "ego cogito", or transcendental subjectivity. Liberated from the bonds and obligations of the medieval order and empowered to shape his own world, the autonomous individual saw his reason presented with the task that had been metaphysically hypostatized in the doctrine of essence: realizing the authentic potentialities of beings on the basis of the discovery that nature can be controlled. Essence became the object of theoretical and practical reason. The transcendental, subjective form of the concept of essence is typical of bourgeois theory and was first fully worked out by Descartes.' (p. 48: 'The Concept of Essence'.)

The argument with the profoundly pessimistically static form of subjectivity which Marcuse sees as the distinctive characteristic of the bourgeois concept of existence (essence being reduced to a mere accidental compartment of being) is a major theme of all these early essays. In the next essay ('The Affirmative Character of Culture') he returns to the idea of the soul which degenerates from a promise and unlimited prospect of being into a timid betrayal: Descartes fails to integrate his concept of the soul either with the ego as the subject of thought or with the ego as materialistically determined by the passions—the soul remains an unmastered intermediate realm between the unshakable self-certainty of pure thought and the mathematical and physical certainty of material being' (p. 105)—and the Renaissance intimation of a universal freedom traversing unendingly an expanding universe is reduced to the status of a sidekick of the permanently crisis-struck bourgeois mercantilist market:

'The concept of the soul found its first positive expression in the literature of the Renaissance. Here the soul in the first instance an unexplored part of the world to be discovered and enjoyed. To it are extended those demands with whose proclamation the new society accompanied the rational domination of the world by liberated man: freedom and the intrinsic worth of the individual. The riches of the soul, of the "inner life", were thus the correlate of the new-found riches of external life. Interest in the neglected "individual, incomparable, living states"

through spiritualization therefore becomes one of the decisive tasks of cultural education. By being incorporated into spiritual life, sensuality is to be harnessed and transfigured. From the coupling of sensuality and soul proceeds the bourgeois idea of love.' (pp. 108, 110.)

The bourgeois theory and practice of love creates the image of the individual as 'an independent, self-sufficient monad. His relation to the (human and non-human) world is either abstractly immediate (the individual constitutes the world immemorially in itself as knowing, feeling, and willing ego) or abstractly mediated (i.e. determined by the blind laws of the production of commodities and of the market).' (p. 111.) The negative tension is static and uncreative: protestantism proclaims at once the freedom of thought and conscience and their abstractness from the social process: society cannot create or direct them in the indi-



vidual, and similarly he cannot use them in social action. Marcuse returns to the degeneration of the idea and a perception of the individual in his Foreword:

'Freedom of thought and conscience were the sanctioned forms of contradiction—often the only ones—and the most precious refuge of hope. Only rarely and in exceptional cases did bourgeois society dare to infringe on this refuge. Soul and mind were (at least officially) considered holy and awesome. Spiritually and mentally, man was supposed to be as autonomous as possible. This was his inner freedom, which was his authentic and essential freedom; the other liberties were taken care of by the economy and the state. Normally it was not necessary for society to intervene in this sphere; a total coordination and subordination of individuals was not required. The productive forces had not yet reached that stage of development at which the sale of the products of social labor demanded the systematic organization of needs and wants, including intellectual ones. The market regulated for better or worse the operation and output of a labor apparatus not yet dependent upon uninterrupted mass consumption. At a low level of productive forces, bourgeois society did not yet have the means to administer soul and mind without discrediting this administration through terroristic violence. Today total administration is necessary, and the means are at hand; mass gratification, market research, industrial psychology, computer mathematics, and the so-called science of human relations. These take care of the non-terroristic, democratic, spontaneous-automatic harmonization of individual and socially necessary needs and wants, of autonomy and heteronomy. They assure the free election of individuals and policies necessary for this system to continue and grow. The democratic abolition of thought, which the "common man" undergoes automatically and which he himself carries out (in labor and in the use and enjoyment of the apparatus of production and consumption), is brought about in the "higher learning" by those positivistic and positive trends of philosophy, sociology, and psychology that make the established system into an insuperable framework for conceptual thought.' (pp. xii-xiii.)

The soul really is the essence; but it becomes the abstracted, ideal essence unrealizable in the 'real world'; it becomes art or imagination; the real world becomes mere object, and so does the in-

dividual's real work therein: reification. This is the nadir of the fortunes of the subjective real: but even now the negative reaction is able to work through, transforming reification itself into its other:

'When the body has completely become an object, a beautiful thing, it can foreshadow a new happiness. In suffering the most extreme reification man triumphs over reification. The artistry of the beautiful body, its effortless agility and relaxation, which can be displayed today only in the circus, vaudeville, and burlesque, herald the joy to which men will attain in being liberated from the ideal, once mankind, having become a true subject, succeeds in the mastery of matter. When all links to the affirmative ideal have been dissolved, when in the context of an existence marked by knowledge it becomes possible to have real enjoyment without any rationalization and without

the least puritanical guilt feeling, when sensuality, in other words, is entirely released by the soul, then the first glimmer of a new culture emerges.' (pp. 116-117.)

'Philosophy teaches us that all properties of mind subsist only through freedom, that all are only means for freedom, and that all seek and produce only freedom. To speculative philosophy belongs the knowledge that freedom is that alone which is true of mind.' (Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte*: quoted pp. 136-137: 'Philosophy and Critical Theory'.)

It is Hegel rather than Marx who is for Marcuse the great revolutionary philosopher of the dialectic. Kant and Rousseau are the prophets of the French Revolution insofar as their preliminary excursus into the realms of a positive and socially active freedom prepared the way for the Revolution's negative explosion of social energy: Fichte discovers the authoritarianism within the anarchism of this freedom. (On the subject of Fichte, Professor Talmon's chapter in his *Political Messianism: the Romantic Phase* is one of the most illuminating interpretations of a political theory and attitude that I have read. The whole book I found much more interesting and valuable than his earlier, better known *Origins of Totalitarian Democracy*.) But it is Hegel who establishes philosophically that individual freedom is both the product and the indispensable mechanism of the 'necessary' physical and social environment:

'... the freedom attained by Descartes' "ego cogito", Leibnitz's monad, Kant's transcendental ego, Fichte's subject of original activity, and Hegel's world-spirit is not the freedom of pleasurable possession with which the Aristotelian God moved in his own happiness. It is rather the freedom of interminable, arduous labor. In the form that it assumed as authentic Being in modern philosophy, reason has to produce itself and its reality continuously in recalcitrant material. It exists only in this process. What reason is to accomplish is neither more nor less than the constitution of the world for the ego. Reason is supposed to create the universality and community in which the rational subject participates with other rational subjects. It is the basis of the possibility that, beyond the encounter of merely self-sufficient monads, a common life develops in a common world.' (p. 139: 'Philosophy and Critical Theory'.)

Reason and freedom exist, are real characteristics of human and social life; but on what level of reality? Far more decisively than Descartes, Kant sees the essence of man lying in his reason 'which alone is called upon to do away with all errors', and which 'knows no other judge than universal human reason, in which each man has a voice; and since it is from reason that every improvement of which our condition is capable must spring', freedom is its original right 'and may not be restricted'.

'But it is not accidental that two different concepts of reason are intertwined in Kant's work: reason as the unifying totality of man's cognitive faculty (as which it is the subject of the "critiques" of pure and practical reason), and reason in a narrower sense, as a single faculty that rises "above" the understanding, as the faculty of those "Ideas" than can never be adequately represented in experience and have a merely regulative function. It is reason in this second, more narrow sense through which, for Kant, the transition to practical concepts occurs. It occurs under the aegis of the concept of freedom: the "Idea" is transformed into a "postulate" and the "postulate" into a "fact" of practical reason. In this way reason's freedom undergoes still another limitation. Through the stipulation that man's free reason be united with the empirical world of necessity, freedom is hypostatized as a timeless occurrence: it can exercise its causality on the empirical world only insofar as the world has no effect whatsoever on it. Free reason is limited in function to furnishing the determining ground of actions, to "beginning" them. Once begun, actions enter the unbreakable causal nexus of natural necessity, and they proceed in accordance with its laws forever after.' (pp. 53-54: 'The Concept of Essence'.)

Thus Kant paved the way for the bourgeois suppression or reification of the dialectic. Reason and freedom become the characteristics of 'Ideas' which are natural phenomena indeed but existing only parallel with and quite distinct from the rest of the world of things: thus we have the idealist 'affirmative culture'.

'To the need of the isolated individual it responds with general humanity, to bodily misery with the beauty of the soul, to external bondage with internal freedom, to brutal egoism with the duty of the realm of virtue. Whereas during the period of the militant rise of the new society all of these ideas had a progressive character by pointing beyond the attained organization of existence, they entered increasingly into the service of the suppression of the discontented masses and of mere self-justifying exaltation, once bourgeois rule began to be stabilized. They concealed the physical and psychic vitiation of the individual. ... Hegel's system is the last protest against the degradation of the idea: against playing officiously with the mind as though it were an object that really has nothing to do with human history. At least idealism maintained that the materialism of bourgeois practice is not the last word and that mankind must be led beyond it. Thus idealism belongs to a more progressive stage of development than later positivism, which in fighting metaphysical ideas eliminates not only their metaphysical character, but their content as well.' (pp. 98-99.)

When Marcuse came to write his first book—to which the essays of the 1930s are much closer in method than they are to *Eros and Civilization* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956) or, I imagine (I have not read the book, only some reviews as yet), *One-Dimensional Man* (1966: recently reprinted in Sphere paperbacks)—Hegel is an even more revolutionary development from Kant. Kant made the creation of a rational world order the work of a 'transcendental consciousness' and a 'transcendental apperception', but allowed the existence of an arational order of 'things-in-themselves'—a distinction which Hegel rejected: the rational ideas and analyses of things 'never denote mere concepts (as in formal logic), but forms or modes of being comprehended by thought'. A thing is, not simply what it appears to be, or even is, but what reason conceives it to be, what it conceives or knows that thing can become. (*Reason and Revolution. Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1941, 2nd edition The Humanities Press, 1954, chapter 2.) There is in fact no actual existence of a thing existing over against reason's concept of its existence: and reason conceives, not merely what a thing imme-

Continued on page 5

## Pictures of Revolution

Continued from page 4

diate is, but what it potentially may be; and the latter concept is not less real than the former: a thing is what it may be, it is able 'to be itself in otherness' (Beisich-selbst-sein im Anderssein). It is the act of reason, perception, which is not mere passive understanding, that creates the world. The analytical, dissecting reason is actually in effect integrative, creating in freedom a totality out of the whole world. The achievement of the world's real unity is a subjective act, the last and highest achievement of reason. In the 'Philosophy of Mind' (1803-1806) Hegel sketches an outline of the history of mind. Mind exists first as the universal, primitive consciousness of the community; language is the first medium of analysis and of integration between the object and the subject of consciousness—it is also both 'the first medium of community, and the first lever of individual appropriation' (*Reason and Revolution*, p. 75). Next, labour both integrates and particularizes the community, private property is the sign and regulator of antagonism within community, and lastly the competitive society producing commodities for exchange and profit achieves the concept of the 'contract', a form of mutual recognition between competing individuals which considers each individual not in his contingent particularity but in his universality, as a homogeneous part of the whole.

All work and action is a mode of consciousness: 'thinghood, which received its shape and form through labour, is no other substance than consciousness' (*The Phenomenology of Mind*), quoted in *Reason and Revolution*, p. 177). The thinghood of otherness is not an irreducible and solid prison of material necessity, but an achievement of the consciousness which integrates even as it negates. A thing is both 'being for other' (Anderssein) and 'being-in-itself' (Ansichsein), but at the same time what it is in itself is what it is in relation to the other; the negation and contradiction of self by other is the process of existence—each new external condition and reaction is a phase in the growth of self, a mode of self-expression and self-realisation. 'Natural things never attain a free being-for-self; they remain being-for-other'; but in the human world self-consciousness is the 'nearest example of the presence of infinity' (*Reason and Revolution*, pp. 139-140). Self-consciousness, even when most alienated and ideal, is the power of negation and creative existence.

The opening essay in *Negations*, 'The Struggle Against Liberalism in the Totalitarian View of the State', is less encyclopaedic in its scope than the essays on 'The Concept of Essence' and 'The Affirmative Character of Culture'. It is a more detailed examination of liberalism's betrayal of the Hegelian idea of self-consciousness during the hundred years before national socialism:

'The liberalist rationalization of economic life (as of social organization in general) is essentially private. It is tied to the rational practice of the individual economic subject or of a multiplicity of individual economic subjects. In the end, of course, the rationality of liberalist practice is supposed to demonstrate itself in the whole and characterize the whole, but this whole itself is outside the sphere of rationalization. The harmony of general and private interests is supposed to result of itself from the undisturbed course of private practice. On principle it is not subject to criticism, nor does it fall within the bounds of rational projects for practice. . . . The structure and order of the whole are ultimately left to irrational forces: an accidental "Harmony", a "natural balance". The plausibility of liberalist rationalism thus ceases immediately when, with the intensification of social conflict and economic crises, general "harmony" becomes increasingly improbable. At this point liberalist theory must grasp at irrational justifications.' (pp. 17-18.)

The most exciting part of the essay is Marcuse's exposure of the spurious claim to be the true guardian and spokesman of particular humanity against abstract idealism. The immediate apolitical man of existentialism becomes on the social level the endorsement of the total state which is present everywhere all the time . . . and existentialism abolishes itself:

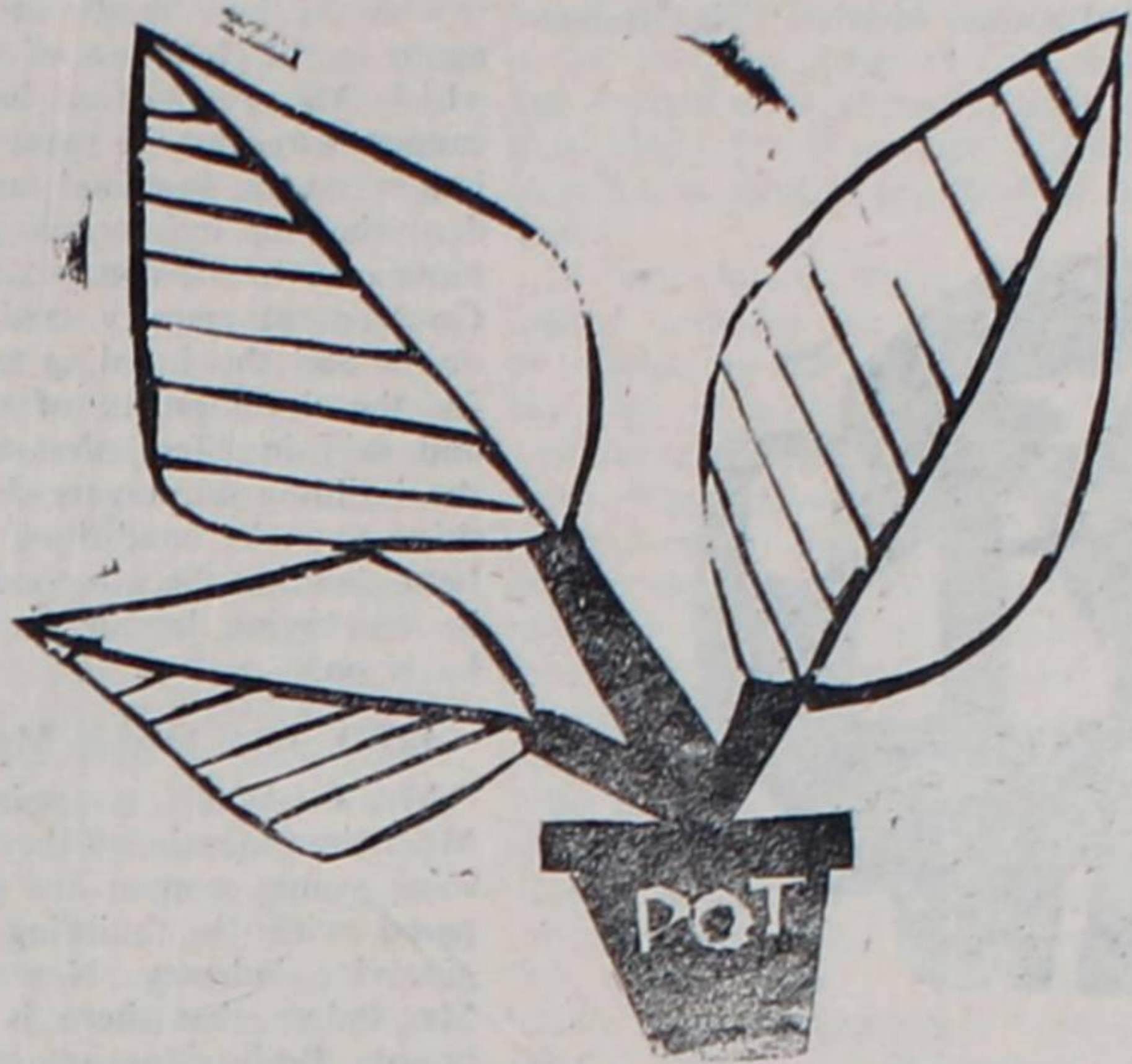
'Existentialism was originally based on the "private" character of individual existence, its irremovable, personal "always-being-my-own" (Jemeinigkeit). The total state takes over total responsibility for the individual existence; existentialism had claimed the inalienable self-responsibility of existence. The total state decides existence in all its dimensions; existentialism had put forth as the fundamental category of existence that "decidedness"

# If you MUST smoke Pot, grow your own!

POT SMOKING once more provides good news copy for journalistic hacks and a cheap vehicle for publicly moralizing bishops and whiskey-saturated purveyors of legalized drugs (your friendly family doctor). Prevailing public hysteria for and against this herb need not unduly concern the anarchist who does not indulge in such intoxicants. Nevertheless there are implications, besides persecu-

tioner unless he's a friend and not always then.

When I made that fateful decision never to use any drugs (chemical or organic) again, my terraced back-yard strip of soured soil was composted and renewed with pure, unadulterated, best quality pot. It was a smoke to be trusted because it was home-grown. It is a journalistic myth that marijuana can-



tion, prosecution and incarceration, which should interest all those who place value upon individual freedom. If marijuana is legalized it will no doubt be subjected to capitalist exploitation (with the tobacco complex slowly turning over to pot production) and suffer taxation from the corrupt State institution. Turn on with Player's pot and help British repression everywhere. If it is not made free there will undoubtedly be increased police activity, and most available weed will continue to be contaminated with toxic and harmful additives. Never trust a

not be harvested in the cold and bitter north of England. All that is needed is a window which catches the maximum available amount of sunlight, a few plants, a sun-lamp and friendly neighbours. All intoxicants are in some degree harmful (and this includes coffee, tea and jerk-off magazines) but after a considerable degree of personal experience, research and experimentation, I truly consider pot the least harmful and most beneficial of all drugs. I would hesitate to give anybody an aspirin but would willingly bestow pot upon them. No more will I

fill my lungs with this sweet and gentle grass. Nevertheless it seems far better for young people to smoke pot and reject beer.

As a reformed drug user, no longer to be turned-on with a prescription from the family pusher (the National Health Service is the biggest drug-pushing conspiracy in the world), I feel it only right and just to disseminate that information which will allow those who choose to grow their own. If the rioting cop is motivated to reprisal by this informative confession, he may well be warned not to attempt to plant any 'evidence' for it is well known that I and my wife no longer use any drugs whatsoever.

A pound bag of hemp seed can be bought at most pet-food shops. Plant in earthenware or clay pots only as plastic prevents oxygen flowing freely. Seed about March or early April in light, fertile soil in a plant-pot not smaller than 7 in. so as not to restrict the size of your plants. Scatter the seeds on the top of your soil or about 1/4 in. below the surface. Seeds must be kept moist but never saturated as this inhibits germination and encourages mould. Germination should occur in the first week, an obscene-looking white feeler appearing out of the seed and probing into the soil. Best not to overwater at this stage.

After about a month it is safe to give them sun-lamp treatment in the evening, starting with three minutes and progressing to an hour a day. It is a proven fact that plants prosper if given plenty of love and attention but do please be cool. To stand at the window day after day as if transfixed and ecstatic is to arouse the curiosity of many who, in their innocence, might broadcast your devotion in the shops and streets.

After about three months of such intensive gardening some leaves will be brown or yellow and curled at the edges. Trim them off, dry them in the sun and then discard the stalks. Put your leaves in the lower part of your oven on a low to moderate gas. Leave for 10-15 minutes then crumble the dry leaves to dust in

your fingers. At this stage of course the effects will be mild but pleasant.

By August flowering will begin and plants approach full height and potency (3 to 8 feet). The flowers are very small and have a light whitish-green tint. The male and female plants should be shaken lightly together to achieve pollination. Moving them each day for their tan treatment should do this. When shaken the flowers throw out little bursts of pollen which greenly cover everything. The first seeds will soon appear and it is perhaps best to harvest when the plants are half seed and half flower. Cut off all leaves, buds, flowers and seed heads and cook as advised. Store in airtight containers.

It is the female plant which contains most of the required essence and its highest concentration is contained in the leaves and other foliage surrounding and encasing the fully ripened seeds of the plant. The pollen from the flowers of the male plant is also valuable and potent and it is this which traditionally goes into the making of hashish.

Please do not dilute your pot with tobacco. Nicotine is a poison and the weed is more effective as it is. I would strongly advise against the use of all drugs but if you must use drugs use pot. If you must use pot, grow your own, roll your own.

This information was published in a little magazine I co-edited in 1966. It was written by a comrade as an article, *Hemp Cultivation Notes*. I have modified and changed this basic information, guided by my own cultivation experience. In 1966 the comrade used a pseudonym because he was a smoker and didn't want to risk arrest. In the present circumstances I feel it is information which needs to be given openly. This is best done by somebody who doesn't presently use the stuff for in such cases the police are reluctant to frame. Up against the wall, Home Office Man. Leave the kids alone. Leave them to the doing of visions in their own chosen way.

DAVE CUNLIFFE.

(*Entschlossenheit*) which can be the project only of each individual existence. The total state demands total duty without even allowing inquiry into the truth of such obligation; existentialism (here in agreement with Kant) had celebrated the autonomous self-giving of duty as the real dignity of man. . . . Existentialism collapses the moment its political theory is realized. The total-authoritarian state for which it longed gives the lie to all its truths. Existentialism accompanies its debacle with a self-abasement unique in the history of ideas, bringing its own history to end as a satyr play. In philosophy, existentialism begins as the antagonist in a great debate with Western rationalism and idealism, intending to save their conceptual content by injecting it into the historical concreteness of individual existence. It ends by radically denying its own origin; the struggle against reason drives it blindly into the arms of the powers that be. In their service and with their protection, it turns traitor to the great philosophy that it formerly celebrated as the culmination of Western thought.' (pp. 38, 40-41.)

The intellect abhors a vacuum. The choice is not between living by the light of the intellect, and relying upon the intimations of the impressionable, unguided sensibility: it is between a sensibility acted upon by and in its turn acting upon the concepts of the intellect which seek to penetrate it, and a sensibility lost in the blind wilderness of obscure and unconsidered images. 'The philosophers have hitherto been content to explain the world; our task is now to change it.' Marcuse almost turns Marx on his head: he goes back beyond Marx to Hegel, and out of Hegel he extracts the meat of revolution: to understand the world is to change it, the truly revolutionary action is a mode of consciousness, action is the contacting of self and other, the only revolutionary object and the only revolutionary way is clarity of intellect achieved through a continuous renewal of encounter, contact and negation. This is utopian and gigantic, but this is the character of revolution: it is the character also of intellect, it is through contradiction that the unity and identity of our being are shaped however we may seek to deny it. We are revolutionaries whether we will or not.

It is in the essay 'On Hedonism' that Marcuse expresses most clearly his conviction of the irrepressible revolutionariness of thinking. The very idea of human happiness—the idea that there is a possibility of unhappiness, that there is a tension in life between two possibilities—points beyond the satisfactoriness of an immediate merely personal gratification.

The hedonism which accepts the superficial desires of the individual, whether it accepts or seeks merely to bypass the society which has shaped or misshapen them, is a hedonism which has lost sight of its very beginning: desire is the reaching out for something that is not there, a criticism of the immediate reality: every living thing bears this dynamic principle of unrest and seeking in its being—man uniquely is able to make out of the consciousness and acceptance of his unrest a form of stability. The Epicurean retreat from restlessness into philosophical tranquillity is a perverse and shallow imagination of the human craving for a permanent and secure identity: the only satisfaction of the ontological desperateness is in its transcendence:

' . . . Pleasure perishes, inasmuch as the cautious, measured, and withdrawn relationship of the individual to men and things resists their dominion over him precisely where this dominion brings real happiness: as enjoyable abandon. In the antagonistic ordering of existence, happiness is encountered as something withdrawn from the autonomy of the individual, something that can be neither achieved nor controlled by reason. The element of extraneousness, contingency, and gratuitousness is here an essential component of happiness. It is just in this externality, in this innocent, unburdened, harmonious conjunction of the individual with something in the world, that pleasure consists.' (p. 170.)

It is this sense of the other, this acceptance of the fragility of our own unity and identity, which constitutes our most exquisite joy. And in his essay on Norman Brown written three decades later Marcuse reaffirms that the real human relationship, love itself, is not a mystical obscuring of this sense but its intensification:

'To be sure, "alle Lust will Ewigkeit", but this eternity can only be that of the ever-returning moments of joy, of the ever-returning solution of tension. Tension can be made nonaggressive, non-destructive, but it can never be eliminated, because (Freud knew it well) its elimination would be death—not in any symbolic but in a very real sense. And we still want to live, within our boundaries and divisions, which we want to make our own instead of leaving their determination to our fathers and leaders and representatives. For there is such a thing as the Self, the Person—it does not yet exist but it must be attained, fought for against all those who are preventing its emergence and who substitute for it an illusory self, namely, the subject of volun-

## Little Mags

Continued from page 6

ists were free and irresponsible their latter converts are learned and pedantic.

Surrealism can live only as long as it rejects that title for its voice is the raucous gutter magazine, the graffiti on the lavatory wall of the Everyman Cinema and the non-conformist slogans flaunted within the organised demonstration of official protest. It is *International Times* with a recipe for Christmas pudding, Albert Meltzer defending Peter Neville against the wrath of Caroline Coon and an advertisement for Pregnancy Testing in the advertising column used exclusively by male homosexuals and all in the same issue.

But for all that I accept, of my egoism, John Lyle's magazine for the poetry of Ken Smith and George Melly even though they do genuflect towards the heresy of concrete poetry. The Fugs are the Fugs and their erotic baby talk is valid within their magazine because they long ago had the courage to pioneer much of the literary freedoms that we now accept. There are references within the *Surrealist Transformation* that would never have been printed were it not for the Americans such as Ed Saunders and Tuli Kupferberg whose small magazines deliberately challenged the vicious American legal system. They formed, with others, the Fugs group and happily ruined all the

canons of music as they hammered on drum and string in competition to the shouted poetic line. Their collected writings, as in their present magazine, have little relevance except to the social historian but for those who cherish the freedoms of the spoken or written word the Fugs magazine is part of your Declaration.

Not for Robert Duncan and Peter Levi the erotic fey or the mannered clowning of the mode. They have a tale to tell and each man marshals the telling phrase to evoke the emotion of the moment. Each man's sonorous chant rolls down the lined page yet, as the eye travels the mind discards for the unifying theme becomes submerged under the weight of mannered phrases. While reading the works of these two poets one's mind is, correctly or incorrectly, drawn to the poetry of Tennyson and one realizes that Tennyson's virtue lay in the fact that his central theme always dominated his poetry so that while the beautiful and isolated phrase might cling to the mind the main purpose of the poem was always paramount. But men have been rescued from oblivion on the strength of a single telling phrase so in justice to Peter Levi and Robert Duncan let the last words be with them in that order 'I Was Asleep In Heaven/Now It Is Evening/and Shall We Swallow The Cup Of Our Life?' and 'The prime Evil is/That which has power over you'.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

itary servitude in production and consumption, the subject of free enterprise and free election of masters. There is even such a thing as property which is a factor and ingredient of true freedom (Marx knew it well): that which is properly mine because I am different from you and can be with and for you only in this difference—boundaries to be enjoyed by you and by me. And there are "others", strangers who must remain strangers, must not enter my domain or yours because there is no pre-established harmony, and their otherness is not based on any economic position, social status, racial or national heritage but on their own self and own body with its own drives, pleasures, sorrows. . . . Eros lives in the division and boundary between subject and object, man and nature.' (pp. 237-238.)

MARTIN SMALL.

(The first part of this article was printed in the January supplement of FREEDOM.)



## Subscribers Wanted

# IRISH LABOURERS IN BRITAIN

(a television transcript)

**I**N OUR STUDIOS in London by courtesy of the BBC, we have Mr. Jack Fitzpatrick whose grandfather was Irish, came from Cork, who is one of the biggest contractors in Britain and most of whose workers are, in fact, Irish. And also we have Mr. Brian Behan who has written and spoken many times about the problems of Irish labourers in Britain.

Mr. Fitzpatrick, can I put the main points to you first of all? Fr. Anthoniasius says that quite simply, quite bluntly, that Irish contractors, and he lays stress on this, offer bad pay to Irish labourers for the longest hours they can get from them. Do you think this is true and fair?

I think the good man is sadly missing the point.

Well, tell me why, give me examples why he is not, obviously he wouldn't say this on such a public occasion unless he felt he had some grounds for it.

Well, at the present time the labourers and craftsmen in our industry are enjoying rates of pay, the like of which they never experienced before. There is a great shortage of them and when there is a shortage of craftsmen, a shortage of any type of manpower, obviously they are not going to be subjected to any form of exploitation, and this is quite ludicrous.

I think he was speaking particularly about unskilled labour, you were mentioning craftsmen but he mentioned in particular that by the time they paid their digs and their travel and incidental expenses that they would only be taking home £14-£15 basic pay.

It is difficult to say precisely what their basic take-home pay is after they have paid their lodgings because I have no means of knowing what they pay for their lodgings, but I would think that this is, well, to say the least, a little on the low side. I don't think there are any men in the civil engineering and building industry today who are grossing less than £23 or £24 a week. In the summer particularly.

Brian Behan, can I bring you in there at this stage?

You certainly can. I disagree completely with Mr. Fitzpatrick. I think the Priest is right, he is obviously right. I mean Mr. Fitzpatrick has made a lot of money from Irish labour because he employs mainly Irishmen, otherwise he would not be such a big contractor.

Therefore he must have exploited them. There must have been a surplus, otherwise he couldn't have expanded his business. Now on the actual rates of pay, Mr. Fitzpatrick and other contractors in England pay a basic rate of 7/- per hour to building trade labourers. This works out at £14 per week on a basic week, and if you take your tax and national health out of that it is perfectly possible to

building industry due to the low wages that he and other master builders are paying, because the average immigrant who comes to London is faced with the prospect of working on his cards and drawing £12 or going to work for one of these 'animals' and taking his chance of getting his £23 or £25 that Mr. Fitzpatrick speaks of.

J.O'D. Well, Mr. Fitzpatrick—are you going to take the responsibility for being the original source of what Brian Behan

a craftsman is expected to go to work for 7/- or 8/-. This is purely ludicrous. A man who has served 5 or 6 years' apprenticeship, or in the case of the so-called unskilled navy, who is in fact a skilled operator, who has got to know the industry, is expected to go to work for less money than that—is it seems to me that the building industry, unless it shakes itself up and really establishes a decent basic rate, is going to have real trouble on their hands, and to come back again to this business of sub-contractors which Mr. Fitzpatrick has avoided, he cannot deny that the mass of the industry is now on the so-called lump. He cannot deny that the industry is going more and more over to sub-contracting and a recent Government enquiry criticised both the union and the building trade employers for the development of sub-contracting, and said in effect, that the unions and the building employers should do something to make conditions in the industry better, so that the sub-contractor wouldn't be employing labour on the scale that he is on.

J.O'D. Over to you, Mr. Fitzpatrick.

Mr. F. Well, two points—first of all Mr. Behan mentioned the rate of pay that some young women are getting as compared with the building and civil engineering industry. Now I must remind Mr. Behan that there is a conciliation board. Both sides are represented—the employers and the employees—and these rates of pay are fixed with this joint conciliation board and we are not permitted really to pay more than this rate of pay that has been agreed by this gentleman sitting on my right.

B.B. It is very convenient for Mr. Fitzpatrick that the Government should refuse to allow him to pay more money. I mean in fact the conciliation board of which he speaks is composed of a couple of so-called Trade Union representatives who are really in Mr. Fitzpatrick's pocket. And who regularly receive knighthoods as a result of their services—Sir Luke Fossett, Sir Harry Adams—they're not union men at all. If there was a real union in Britain, even on the scale that exists in Ireland, then Mr. Fitzpatrick and other people would have to set their house in order.

J.O'D. Can I put to both of you one of the other criticisms which Fr. A. made. It is not a criticism. He commented that Irish labour was particularly from the Irish-speaking, the Gaeltacht,

parts of Ireland, are afraid to join Trade Unions for a number of reasons. They feel they are not used to this in the first place—they feel, in their own words—they are tainted with Communism and Socialism and this is a point for Mr. F., that if they joined a TU any organiser or organised person is likely to be discriminated against by other Irish employers. True or false Mr. F.?

Mr. F. Never heard of it before. Perhaps Sir, Brendan Behan might be able to reply to that.

B.B. Well I am Brian Behan and my brother is dead. Now I have been discriminated against. I have been put on a national blacklist by a builder, Terson? which he sent to every site in the country so that, I don't know about Mr. Fitzpatrick's firm, but the majority of the London Master Builders Association employ a blacklist and use it actively.

J.O'D. Brian, you can't regard yourself in all fairness as an ordinary simple quiet trade unionist, you cause an awful lot of trouble over there.

B.B. I would argue that it is not the real reason why Irishmen don't use trade unions here. The reason why most Irishmen don't join trade unions is that unfortunately work is their religion not Roman Catholicism. Most Irishmen really believe in work whether it is a sex supplementation or whatever it is, they are the most easily exploited, they are the most profitable source of labour. You could put them down a hole and they would dig their way to Australia.

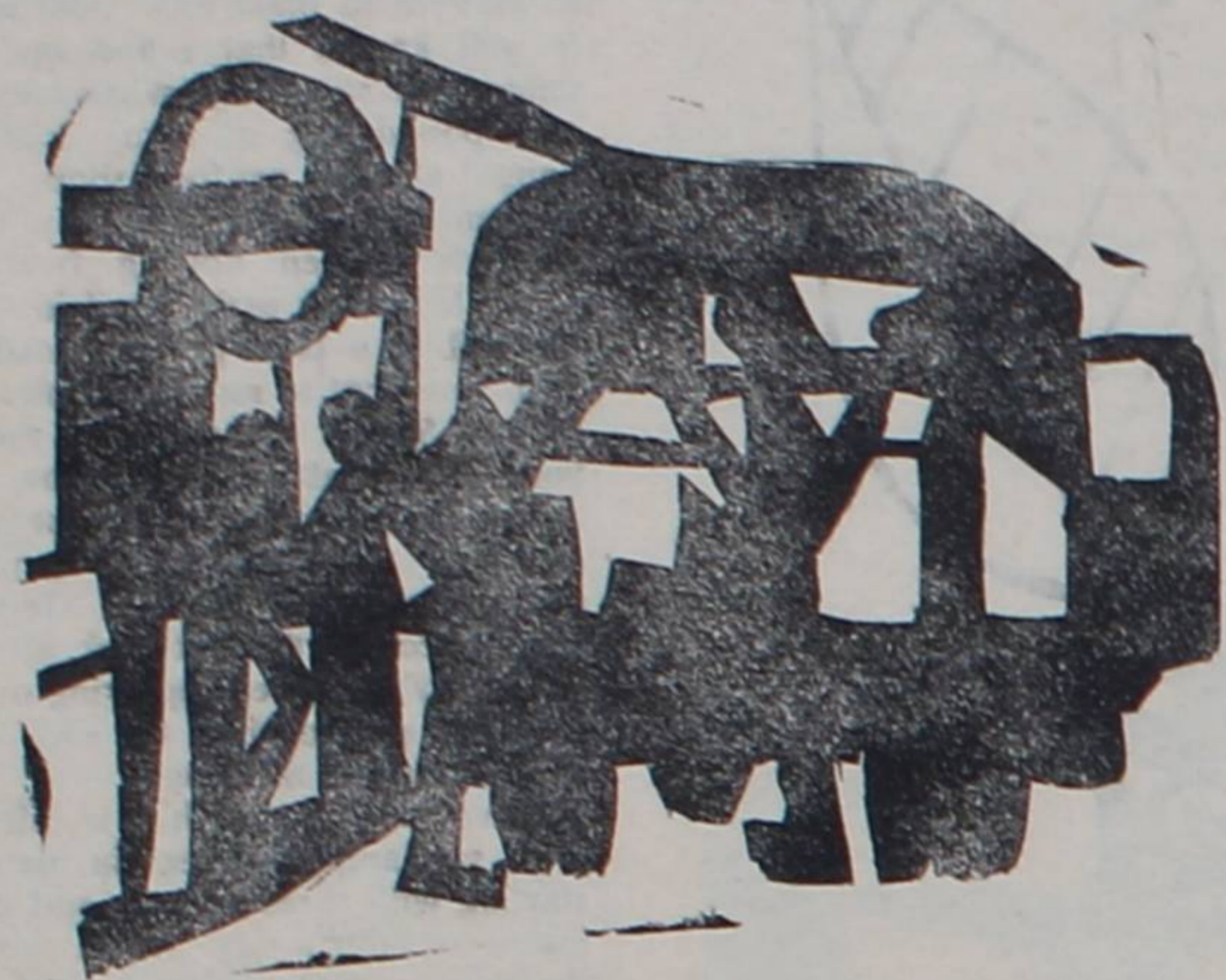
J.O'D. On that question, Mr. F.—you know the reputation of the Irish worker—or at least the Irishman generally, has been a lazy man. What's your experience?

Mr. F. What's the opposite word of lazy? Energetic? Determined? Diligent? Definitely not lazy, the greatest working men in the world.

B.B. It is a pity he is so energetic, it is a pity he is not like the Jamaicans, have a lie down an odd time.

J.O'D. Do you really feel, Mr. F., that Irish people who go over there without education are not in fact the hewers of wood and drawers of water, and therefore liable to exploitation?

Mr. F. I have never heard the word in conjunction with our industry. Exploitation is a word that I heard for the first time in connection with our industry when I walked into the studio. It is ridiculous.



walk out of the job with £12. Now to suggest that building site wages have never been as high is ludicrous. Six years ago I earned 10/- to 11/- an hour as a bricklayer. I am working today for 9/-.

The fluctuations are either way. But the real point I think that the holy Father is getting at—he is not really speaking even about contractors like Fitzpatrick who do exploit men, otherwise they wouldn't be in business—he is speaking really about sub-contractors. He is speaking about the kind of animal who waits at Camden Town, picks up labour at 7 o'clock, drags them 50 miles on an open bloody lorry without insurance or benefits or anything else, and who at the end of the day, said to one of my mates who went to work, start and you will get £3 10s. per day. Now at the end of the day the sub-contractor said, 'I am going to give you 50/-, come back tomorrow and I will give you your other pound.' Now Mr. Fitzpatrick has a responsibility for the growth of sub-contracting in the

calls 'animals'?

Mr. F. Now I think that is a word he dreamed up on the spur of the moment. He refers to the basic wage rate of 7/- per hour. Well, nobody works for the basic rate. If a man comes on the job and wants employment the first thing he asks is 'what's the rate?' If you tell him it's the official rate of 7/- an hour, he laughs at you, in fact you aren't suggest it to him.

B.B. Well, this is all very well, you see. It is perfectly true that many contractors are paying 3d., 6d., 9d. and 1/- over the rate. I don't dispute that for one moment. I'm getting 9/-. My basic rate is 7/8d. but my point is that this rate in itself, even with the additional 6d., 9d. or 1/-, is ludicrous when you compare it to a woman uptown here in London that adverts in the *Evening Standard*—Short-hand/Typist put in by people probably like Mr. Fitzpatrick—9/- and 10/- per hour, whereas a building site labourer or

## THE GENTLE GUERRILLA

THE COMPLETE BOLIVIAN DIARIES OF CHE GUEVARA, edited by Daniel James. George Allen and Unwin, 42/-.

**C**CHE GUEVARA ACHIEVED fame as a revolutionary hero in Cuba, but he did not last long in Bolivia. What went wrong? In the early stages of his campaign he was winning, despite the amateurishness of his little army. If the peasants had supported him he would probably be fighting still, building up for himself a legendary personality, a modern T. E. Lawrence with a Left-wing and South American background.

Quite a lot of explanations have been put forward, that he did not know the country, that Castro did not support him sufficiently, that he was a good subordinate but not so good on his own, that he was able to cope with the ill-organised Bolivian army but not with the American-trained troops who finally caught him, and so on.

Guevara was not of course an indigenous peasant rebel. He picked on Bolivia as a place to start 'a second Vietnam'. His theory being that to break the power of United States imperialism it will be necessary to create 'more Vietnams'. Thus the US would become weakened.

It is an appalling proposition. You have to choose somebody's country and turn it into a shambles. One is not likely to get much support from the local people if they realise what your intention is, however exploited they may be. Of course in the long run their conditions would improve if the United States Empire were to be overthrown, but it would be likely to be a very long run. How far Guevara went in explaining his purpose to the Indians of Bolivia I have no idea. He seems to have made no secret of it to the rest of the world, and probably the Indians realised what he intended. Their attitude to him and his band seems to have been neither very friendly nor very hostile. They cooperated with him and with the Bolivian

army, but without much enthusiasm for either. The miners and students, struggling against the regime at the very time Guevara appeared, showed little interest in him, possibly for the same reason. And he does not seem to have bothered much with them either.

South America is too far away from the Communist countries which might have been expected to send help. The Vietnamese war goes on because supplies and reinforcements can be sent in from North Vietnam and from China, and because the Americans dare not invade the North for fear of a war with China, which might entail a war with Russia and the final extinction of everything. If Bolivia had had a common frontier with China or Russia Che Guevara's strategy would have made sense. As it was, by going into Bolivia, he isolated himself. And Castro, for reasons of his own, failed to publicise his struggle. So that even if the local people had sup-

ported him the most he could have achieved would have been a permanent guerilla war, going on for years, in the forests and mountains, which could have been contained at little cost to the United States.

The crucial thing I believe is that they did not support him, either because they are content with their conditions, whatever they may be, or because they guessed that they were to be used in a power struggle. A guerilla band can hardly survive or achieve anything unless the local inhabitants support it.

Although theoretically ruthless, in actual practice Guevara seems to have been a rather mild guerilla. He is scathing about the indiscipline of his little band, the stealing of food from the common stock, the way some of the Cuban veterans seemed to expect the others to wait on them, the brawling and muddle. He lets off steam in the pages of his diary (how did he, and the other

guerillas who also kept diaries, find time to write so much?), but he does not seem to have inflicted any serious punishments on anyone. The Bolivian soldiers he captured in his early successes he released unharmed. At the end he could have saved himself and his men for a time had he cut the throat of an old peasant woman. When his enemies caught him they did not show him the same mercy.

My feeling is that this is where he won his real victory. This is an age which uses the word 'ruthless' as an expression of approval. And now one of the acknowledged heroes of our time turns out to have been a 'kid-glove' fighter (in Bolivia at any rate, whatever he may have been in Cuba, a person's character is not necessarily consistent throughout life). The real enemy is not the American or Russian Empires, but the attitude of mind which holds it legitimate to murder old women who may inform. Guevara was like George Orwell who refused to shoot at a Franco soldier, who was bolting in terror out of a latrine with his trousers at half-mast.

Along with Guevara's diary several shorter diaries by his followers are in-

cluded in this edition. One of them begins quaintly, 'I arrived in Bolivia after passing through the United States by mistake.' There are also some interesting photographs. One of them is from Guevara's false passport, which he used to enter Bolivia. It shows him with a bald, shaven head, no beard and heavy-rimmed spectacles. The disguise is completely successful. He looks like a real 'smoothiechops'.

But one is left wondering why the men were encouraged to keep diaries. In warfare this is usually discouraged in case the diaries fall into the hands of the enemy. And why photos? The same applies to them surely? Guerillas should not take snaps of each other as if they were on a picnic. It almost looks as if Guevara and his men were more interested in posterity than in the present.

The younger generation are right to take Che Guevara to their hearts. He was no Zapata or Makhno, but he was a brave, inconsistent, muddled and at the end humane man, who pitted himself almost single-handed against the American colossus.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

## The Old Nostalgia Rides Again

LITTLE MAGS REVIEW

**SURREALIST TRANSFORMATION 2.** Published by Transformation Peeks, Harpford, Sidmouth, Devon.  
**THE FUGS SONG BOOK!** Published by Peace Eye Bookshop, 383 E. 10th St., N.Y. 10009, USA. Price 13/6. Limited edition of 500.  
**PASSAGES 22-27 OF THE WAR.** Price 10/-.  
**PANCAKE FOR THE QUEEN OF BABYLON.** Price 5/-. Published by Anvil Press Poetry, 5 Carew Road, Northwood, Middx.  
**INTERNATIONAL TIMES No. 46.** Published at 27 Endell Street, W.C.2, Price 1/6.

**I**N the dying closes of the *Surrealist Transformation*, the unknown author of the magazine's Note Book follows an attack on millionaires and booksellers by stating that 'There is another form of ikon-worship at a lower income-level: little magazines which bulk their pages with surrealist writing of 40 years ago—usually in bad translations—while claiming to be in the vanguard of the surrealist revolution.'

Thoughtless words to have written, for here under review is this little magazine full of references to the old guard of the surrealist movement and a name dropping that goes back 40 years

to Eluard, Mesens, Magritte, Arp, Breton, Rivera, Feodorov, Bunuel and Ernst before taking off into outer space and beyond time to incorporate Lichtenberg, yea even William Godwin. It is a fault that many anarchists share for the true believers tend to take themselves too seriously as the guardians of the flame and it is they who try to codify the ephemeral scribbles of the café tables into a code of law. The grey ancients of the surrealist movement have now been enshrined in the pantheon of the glossy publishing houses yet each editor of each small magazine weeps before God that his magazine

is the true testament and solemnly and poe facedly offer their homage to the gods of their own private temple and attempt to recreate their examples of surrealism in the manner of the Great Tradition that flowered during the youth of the contributors. What they refuse to accept is that one can no longer produce surrealist painting or writing for the maverick efforts of the inter-war years have now become incorporated into the general body of our culture and to use the label surrealism is to tie oneself to a narrow and sectarian past. Where the café surreal-

Continued on page 5

# The Right to be Let Alone

**SPEAK OUT, Number Two, Privacy,** published by the National Council for Civil Liberties, 4 Camden High Street, N.W.1., 1/- for 10 copies.

**H**ITHERTO space, time, material objects (walls, doors, etc.) and human inefficiency were a more or less sufficient protection for the liberty of the individual, unless the authorities or some equally remorseless enemy were searching for him. Thanks to modern science this is no longer the case, and devices exist which can overcome all these obstacles. Space is conquered by modern means of transportation, time is overcome by the computer, which can store on a small piece of magnetic tape all the facts that the authorities are ever likely to want about an individual, material obstacles can be rendered null by various listening gadgets, and human inefficiency can be countered, again by means of the computer, at least to some extent, since the computer forgets nothing. Though if it has been incorrectly 'programmed' it can produce consequences ranging from the disastrous to the hilarious or the merely annoying.

The National Council for Civil Liberties is not a revolutionary organisation, and it believes that these dangers can be countered to some extent at least by legislation. Anarchists should not despise it on that account. Legislation which limits the power of authority is always to be welcomed, even though we are not naive enough to believe that authority will always play the game by its own rules.

This issue of *Speak Out* discusses the various threats to privacy. These include telephone tapping, the use of computers to record all the significant facts of an individual's private life, the rights of innumerable officials to enter homes without permission, the use of students as spies, the activities of professional debt-collectors, the right which has recently been accorded the police to break in anywhere at any time if they suspect the presence of illegal drugs, and last but not least, industrial espionage, now quite an industry, with its myriads of 'bugging' devices.

This issue is also decorated with the photograph of an enlarged fingerprint, just to remind us of the scheme proposed a couple of years ago to fingerprint the entire population. This idea was not greatly objected to at the time, even by the intelligentsia, whose main argument against it seemed to be that it would not be technically practicable! Mentally these gentlemen are living in the eighteenth century. It is perfectly feasible, and will certainly be attempted if a stronger protest against it than this is not

made. In fact my feeling on reading this paper was one of near suicidal despair. The technology we now possess makes it all so easy, while who is against it? A handful of anarchists, a few old-style liberals, some cranks scattered here and there and some traditionalist, old-fashioned authoritarians.

Everyone else believes that 'You can't stop progress' or 'Well, the Government has to know where everybody is, haven't they?' To which one can only reply, 'Progress towards what?' and 'Why?'. Knowing full well as one answers that one might as well try to imprint one's words upon the wind. Whether the multitude, or the vast majority of them, are fundamentally obedient and conformist, as our friends the anarcho-individualists maintain, or whether those who object to being regulated from birth to death by bureaucracy and machine form a sizeable minority of the population, the fact seems beyond dispute that the big battalions are on the side of '1984'.

Thus Mr. H. A. Hetherington, editor of the *Guardian*, says: 'Given the unit beat system, given the care with which information from alert constables on their beats is being stored and collated, given that anything which attracts their attention can legitimately be put in—and given also all the information going in from the CID—are we not then well on the way to 1984?'

He points out the possibility of a link between the police computer and those computers dealing with national health and insurance records. 'There will be quite a rumpus when people realise what this central computer can do.' My bet is that there will be no rumpus at all, except among 'the stage army of the good', the anarchists and other assorted cranks listed above. Just how feeble the objection to this sort of thing really is is demonstrated by Mr. Hetherington himself, for he then goes on to say:

'The balance of choice is delicate. I

don't much like the idea of people's habits and movements being recorded centrally. It is an invasion of privacy. But I like even less the idea that we may not be using every possible means to fight crime: that in an age when some criminals are highly organised, society may be handicapping itself in opposing them.'

Thank you, Mr. Hetherington! On your way to the concentration camp I hope you will remember that last statement. Myself, I would say that the state is the main criminal in this affair, and that society is an accessory after the fact if it allows freedom to be whittled away in order to catch a few Mafiosi here and there.

In the United States the credit card system contains the complete structure of totalitarian control in embryo, perhaps not even in embryo. 'A typical credit file contains a person's address, family status, place of employment, approximate salary, credit income, charge accounts, payment income and even, in the case of insurance company files, medical and hospital records and "moral hazards"—extramarital affairs, homosexuality, heavy drinking or other social observations which could affect the risk. It is no longer a question of "whether" total documentation on the lives of every individual in the country will be quickly and inexpensively available, but "when", "by whom", and "under what circumstances".' (Richard I. Miller, *Datamation*, September, 1968.)

The law gives little protection. Technology has advanced at such speed that it has left the law behind. And in any case whenever have those in authority objected to using something that is likely to increase their control over the lives of others? The only thing that is likely to give them pause, apart from traditionalist sentiment about 'an Englishman's rights', is the thought that 'bugging devices' and computers may be used against them, by rivals within the governing class, creating

a sort of Byzantine or Oriental despotic situation, where everyone spies upon everyone else, and no one is safe.

Efforts have been made in Parliament to introduce a Right of Privacy Bill. They have not been successful so far. *Speak Out* says:

'What is needed, above all, is guaranteed protection for every citizen under Article 12 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.'

This article declares: 'No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference.'

One is inclined to be cynical about Declarations of Human Rights and such-like, but as the only movement devoted to the defence of the individual within existing society, the NCCL deserves our wholehearted support. No one knows that he may not be the next victim of arbitrary despotism.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

Note. The address of the National Council for Civil Liberties is: NCCL, 4 Camden High Street, London, N.W.1.

## BLACK FLAG OVER DUBLIN

**S**ATURDAY, FEBRUARY 15, saw the Anarchist black flag flying high for the first time in Dublin, when it headed a protest march organised by the Alliance of Libertarian and Anarchist Groups in Ireland and the Irish Black Cross Committee to the Spanish Embassy in Alsbury Road, to protest against the State of Emergency, the suppression of students and workers and the treatment of political prisoners.

About 40-70 turned up, including the Students for Democratic Action in which UCD anarchists are active, the Trotskyite Young Socialists and the Stalinist Connolly Youth Movement.

Most people on the sidewalk did not understand the significance of the black flag. We distributed 1,000 leaflets. Sinister men in raincoats took photographs. When the press arrived and asked who organised it, everyone replied that they did not know. This annoyed the press who could not understand spontaneous organizing, which was what it was.

Although it was small, the people (and the Special Branch) know we're here, and that freedom is on the way—or is it? S.P.

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Comrades wanted for selling  
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Contact Freedom Press.

children will not be able to stay on. We are thinking of organizing a Ball to raise money and I was wondering if someone who was concerned with organizing the Anarchist Balls that used to be held could give me some information—in particular what bar and catering arrangements were made. Also if anyone has contacts with bands or other suitable performers, who would be prepared to give their services free—we need at least one well-known band to draw people in. Also if anyone is prepared to help with decorations, ticket selling (prior to the Ball), etc.

Our vague plan at the moment is for some sort of costume ball with a particular theme, to be held at Southwark Chapter House in early May, and to sell tickets at 2 guineas a head (students 1 guinea) which would include a buffet meal.

If anyone can offer any help or advice, would they please write to me or phone the school (778 0149).

JACQUETTA BENJAMIN.  
4 Warminster Road, S.E.25

## Letters

middle of St. Clements and right in line with the belching chimney. In fact, the people would be better staying in the slums nearby, for when the wind's in the east, you can't see the top of the skyscraper for foul smoke.

Workers erecting the flats thought the council must have been mad. Don't shout it too loud, boys, they are! The local paper, in one of its more radical moments (it breaks out like that from time to time, but after a day or so it's Tory business as usual), has given the affair the full treatment. The way in which officials and councillors passed the buck, were conveniently 'not available', or declined to comment, staggered the reporters on the story.

What will be done now? The answer is probably nothing. This incredible piece of bureaucratic incompetence leaves only two solutions—tear down the block (and as a hard-pressed ratepayer I'm damned if I'm shelling out for another) or shift the factory, which can't be done. The people of St. Clements should now give their councillors hell. Aberdeen Anarchists will certainly bring out our candidate, Mr. Guy Fawkes, who stood in Woodside last year. If Mr. Fawkes doesn't appear on the ballot paper, then perhaps the good people would like to add his name. 'Come back, Guy Fawkes, all is forgiven!'

IAN S. SUTHERLAND.

## Kirkdale School Needs

Dear Comrades, As many of FREEDOM's readers will know, Kirkdale Progressive School was started in Sydenham nearly four years ago, with two members of staff and three pupils. It is run on Summerhill lines except for the natural differences in being an urban day school, and catering for a younger age range. Also although there is no compulsion to attend lessons, the teachers are enthusiastic and much exciting work is done in the classrooms.

There are now about 40 children in the school, ranging from 3½ to 11 years. As we have kept fees as low as possible we are constantly in the red financially, and now are faced with the necessity of raising about £400, in order to obtain a temporary building to increase our classroom space, or the older

## Jumble Sale

Dear Friends,

I intend to organize some action in this area moving towards an end to the war in Biafra. A joint aim is sought; that of relief and to stop the war.

To raise funds a jumble sale is to be held at Percy Boys' Club, Bath, on March 22 at 2.30 p.m. We have the use of the hall for the whole day—so if anyone cares to come along to discuss the matter over a cup of coffee, all are welcome.

I need support both with goods and sellers/buyers.

If you could find a space in FREEDOM to give it a mention I shall be very grateful.

Yours fraternally,

Onslow House, TONY JEFFERIES.  
Weston Road,  
Bath BA1 2XX, Somerset

## Vicious Sentence

Dear Friends,

On Friday, February 21, Danny Rogan reappeared at Doncaster Magistrates Court after his 20 days in jail for a medical report. He was sentenced for the 'serious offence' of displaying an anti-war collage in the window of his peace centre, to a 3-month prison sentence suspended for 2 years and a £20 fine. He intends lodging an appeal against this vicious sentence. Needless to say whilst spending his 20 days in prison Danny lost his job.

MIKE BAILLIE.

## Gas Masks in the Bathroom?

**A**BERDEEN TOWN COUNCIL never make little mistakes. When they drop clangers (about one a minute on average), you can hear the bang miles away. This time, they've even excelled their own record. £600,000 of ratepayers' money has been thrown down the drain, or, it might be more literally true to say, has gone up in a belching cloud of sulphurous smoke.

The residents of Aberdeen's rotting St. Clements Ward have long had to live with the joys (and smells) of the fertiliser plant of Scottish Agricultural Industries. The muck, filth and pong emanating from this establishment is one of the reasons why people in the area are being rehoused. Being rehoused slowly, some houses there have been condemned since 1945!

So, in order to get people away from the menace of the SAI 200-foot chimney, the far-seeing bureaucrats built a huge new multi-storey block, all spit and polish . . . right slap bang in the

## FIFTH COLUMN

### Dockers

**T**HE *BIG FLAME* which I mentioned two weeks ago was indeed a remarkable film. An unofficial strike in the Liverpool docks suddenly became a bid for workers' control. The dockers took over the port and ran it for five days until the police moved in to crush them.

There were times during *The Big Flame* when the leading agitator seemed to be delivering a rather forced political lecture. But generally the film was convincing: you felt as you watched that this was how it could happen. And certain moments, such as the reference to Joe Hill, were very moving.

### Communicator

**C**ORINNA ADAM who edits *Minority Report* for the *New Statesman* has succeeded in giving it the unmistakable flavour of women's magazines. She seems convinced that her subjects, minorities, are intrinsically dull and need to be presented in a specially bright and clever way.

I would not mention her trivial and tiresome rubbish at all were it not for the following reference to the communications industry:

... should a reorganised set-up include all workers, printers, cameramen and such? And would that mean total victory in editorial content for the well-paid Powellite workers?

Well-paid is not surprising: it is an axiom of the bourgeois that working-class people earn too much money. But that word *Powellite* applied to printers, cameramen and such may have done Miss Adam's journalistic career some damage. Even in the *New Statesman* you can't call most of the workers in an industry fascist without somebody getting upset.

### Teachers

**S**OME DAYS AGO there was an encouraging development in the National Association of Schoolmasters' campaign against the recent pay deal for teachers: four members of the National Union of Teachers walked out of a London school. They were protesting against the suspension by the ILEA of NAS members in another London school.

One of the NUT members was quoted as saying that teachers in other London schools might also come out. Now is an appropriate time for solidarity action by NUT members and by those teachers who are in neither union. If the ILEA gets away with its repressive suspensions the already weak position of teachers will obviously get weaker.

### The Professor

**I**N THE TWENTIETH CENTURY intellectuals have largely abandoned the practice of trying to paint new, coherent pictures of the whole world: Marx and Freud have no contemporary equivalents. But people generally—including intellectuals—take for granted that their views on one subject are consistent with their views on another. Both professors and peasants tend to have political and cultural attitudes which are part of a general philosophy about what goes on in the world—even if they abhor the word *philosophy* or have not come across it.

Roy Fuller, the new Professor of Poetry at Oxford University, is no exception to this generalisation. In his first lecture he attacks contemporary critics for their lack of cultural standards and the revolting young for 'ineffectual Bohemianism, artistic arrogance and political violence'.

In a key passage he complains that those dissatisfied with universities from below . . . demand freedom from their knowledge being assessed or to pursue knowledge in some random or unhistorical mode. Such demands, such freedom, I see merely as analogous to the insistence of many young creative artists to be relieved of the necessity of draughtsmanship or of ever arranging their verses in stanzas.

And again: *The rejection of a set of disciplines felt to be merely repressive or unuseful is not proposed to be followed by the adoption of disciplines more apt but by the mere absence of discipline.*

It is hardly surprising that Lenin is one of the Professor's heroes and anarchism a pet hate. But he is not content to call the young rebels anarchists: they are 'unconsciously right-wing'. This is a calmer and less offensive term than the old 'objective social fascist' but the meaning is the same: Professor Fuller sees the spectre of fascism not behind Enoch Powell but behind the young libertarian left.

WYNFORD HICKS.

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## Hold It!

### FINANCIAL STATEMENT

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9 weeks at £90: £810  
Income: Sales and Subs.: £658

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Gift of Books—London: M.W.K.

Brian Bamford Victimised

# Dunlops Sack Steward

'The policy of the Company is to assist and encourage those of its employees who wish to improve their education by part-time study.' (Taken from the Dunlop Employees' Handbook—my emphasis.)

CONTRARY to the above statement, the Libertarian militant, Brian Bamford, was refused permission by Dunlop's Rochdale, last November, to take a measly two hours a week off to attend college. At the same time, the Company made known their intention of sacking him because of articles allegedly written by him about Dunlop's in this paper.

Obviously, these articles, describing the struggles and the appalling conditions under which tyre inspectors work (see FREEDOM, 25.1.69—'Die young at Dunlop's'), have been causing the management considerable embarrassment. No firm, however large or small, likes its dirty

linen to be washed in public, and, I assure you, Dunlop's have plenty.

## TEA BREAK DEAL REJECTED

On January 31, Brian Bamford was elected shop steward by the men in Regent Tyre Stores at Dunlop. One of his first tasks was to inform the Personnel Manager, Mr. Foster, that the men rejected a tea-break agreement that had already been negotiated between the Company and the Unions. The members concerned had not been consulted on this deal (shades of Ford's), but were expected to give up their afternoon tea-breaks in exchange for a 3d. an hour increase. Bro. Bamford informed Foster that the men would continue to 'brew-up' in the afternoons and was informed that if this happened, they would be taking the law into their own hands and would have to accept the consequences. This warning ran like water off a duck's back and the management has been defied daily ever since.

So it was that Foster, having failed to stop the lads having a brew, reverted back to his allegations about the steward having taken time off on some days in January, claiming that the time had been used, unofficially, to study and visit lectures at Rochdale College. Our steward answered that he had already given his reasons, which had been accepted by the Company at the time and suggested that any information Foster might have concerning the use of these days was based solely on a telephone conversation. Foster then said that there was a 'letter in the post' from the college, proving Bamford's attendance on the days in question. The interview then closed.

An hour later, Bamford was called to another meeting with Foster, who again asked the reasons for Bamford's absence from work in January. When he did not get what he wanted, he told Bamford that he was sacked, using as his excuse the fictitious letter in the post from the college, purporting to prove the whereabouts of the shop steward on the days in question. The existence of this letter was immediately doubted and, according to our steward, Foster, in front of witnesses, became evasive, denied that he had said there was a letter and finally admitted that he had not been telling the truth all along.

Having made a fool of himself, it seems that Foster lost the support of the Regent staff and had to drop his intention to sack the steward. A vote of confidence was passed in support of Bamford.

## COLLEGES CREEP TO BOSSES

Foster, having been foiled on two occasions by the men and their steward, formed a dirty liaison with the Principal of the Rochdale College. Being under constant critical attack not only in FREEDOM, but also by the lads, Foster was willing to stop at nothing to get rid of a militant influence at Dunlop's. So it was that the Principal of the College, Mr. Hardcastle, agreed to collaborate, knowing all the facts connected with the attempted sacking of Bamford, and provided all the information that Dunlop's needed. Hardcastle's argument was that the college was there to serve firms like Dunlop's. Now we have it. The college is on the side of the bosses and to keep in with the management, the college administrators are willing to creep

to the bosses and act as 'narks'.

After getting his information from Hardcastle, Foster sacked Bamford on February 18 and got the security guards to escort him off the premises. Two days later a vote was taken which overwhelmingly supported strike action if Bamford was not reinstated. Other departments were also showing interest and by Monday, February 24, the regional representative of the Union, the General and Municipal Workers' Union, had said he would take it to national level. But the Union, while telling the men not to strike, have also admitted that as long as the 'job's not stopped', the chances of Bamford getting back are slim.

## VICTIMISATION

There is no doubt that this sacking is a blatant case of victimisation, for ever since Bamford started at Dunlop's he has played an active part in union and shop floor affairs. These activities do not pass unnoticed by a management and even before he was elected steward, Foster refused him two unpaid hours a week off work to study economics. Yet we have it on good authority that Foster was perfectly willing to let another lad study English Literature at day school. What's good for one is good enough for another, in my book.

However, managements are always looking out for the least opportunity to weed out militants and have used his college attendance to justify his sacking. Bamford has been a good steward and, having elected him, it is a pity that the rank and file followed the Union's instructions and have not stuck by him.

As it is now, the steward is isolated from most of the men. Time is on the side of the management and with this situation in mind, the Manchester Anarchists have, with some of the rank and file, launched a campaign of support. Two leaflets have been produced (one by students) and will be distributed at Dunlop's and the college. Anyone wishing to help should get in touch with the Manchester Anarchists. They are also planning a demonstration (details elsewhere).

P.T.

## EDITORS

We urge readers to support this campaign. Managements are ceaselessly on the attack against any stewards worth their salt. The more this case is publicised, particularly at other Dunlop plants, the better. To those readers who live near a Dunlop factory, please order leaflets from the Manchester Anarchists and distribute them.

## DEMONSTRATE!

All Dunlop and Regent workers should support the picket due to start 7.30 a.m. on the morning of Saturday, March 8, outside Dunlop main gate, Castleton, Rochdale, to protest at the sacking. 46 Kingsland Road, Castleton.

## REPORT FROM SCOTLAND

THE SECOND CONFERENCE of the Scottish Anarchist Federation was held in Aberdeen on March 1 and 2. Present were individuals from Glasgow, Aberdeen, Galashiels, Montrose and Fife. A letter from the Alliance of Libertarian and Anarchist Groups in Ireland was read out. Meeting decided not to admit the press.

It was decided to go ahead with the Scottish edition of FREEDOM. The initial circulation is hoped to be 500. Comrades wishing to write for it should send articles and reports to Ian S. Sutherland, 8 Esslemont Avenue, Aberdeen. It was also decided to produce a May Day leaflet.

# Freedom

## For Workers' Control

MARCH 8 1969 Vol 30 No 8

# BOYCOTT CALIFORNIAN GRAPES

THE AMERICAN FARM WORKERS desperately need help in their struggle for union recognition. It has been a long and bitter battle with employers who have stooped to the lowest methods—including illegal ones—to defeat them.

Their representative visiting England and Europe is Elaine Elinson who is trying to persuade trade unionists to boycott Californian grapes in particular to support the farm workers' cause.

The United Farm Workers Organisation wishes to represent the one million farm workers of America. In California the industry makes six billion dollars a year gross profit and so has powerful vested interests in the government, courts and police.

Because of these vested interests farm workers have been excluded from all major pieces of labour legislation including health and pension plans, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation and most minimum wage legislation.

A system of gerrymandering similar to that in Ireland means the election ward boundaries are arranged to give the farm workers minimum representation for their numbers, and so this unfair exclusion from protective legislation continues.

Even so they have received support from labour organisations, church agencies and civil rights groups who have raised the matter in Congress. Each time it has been blocked in the rules committee of the House and filibustered by Senator George Murphy from California and Senator Paul Fannin of Arizona.

Strikes in the growers farms in California have been broken by the use of the lowest means possible.

Prisoners in Californian jails have been made to work in the fields and break the strike.

Mexican workers have been conned into working by recruiters who have not told them of the strike. They are driven to California by the employers. When they learn of the strike many decide not to work but are told they owe money for their transport. So they work to pay for this and are then told they owe for room and board, and so it continues.

Their strike effectively broken the farm workers appealed to American dockers and seafarers to black the goods.

This was successfully done. Then the law intervened and the employers sued the dockers for millions of dollars under a Federal law which forbids sympathy strikes. Once again the farm workers' peaceful efforts to gain recognition were smashed by the State.

The only peaceful course left to them was to persuade the public not to buy the grapes and force the employers into submission that way. This is a very difficult thing to achieve and is rarely successful but in America they received a surprising amount of public support for the boycott.

Originally this boycott was aimed only at the Giumarra Corporation—a Californian farm of 12,000 acres. Again the employers played dirty and this time illegally.

Giumarra grapes were shipped with labels of a hundred other grape companies pasted on the crates. This was confirmed and criticised by the National Food and Drug Administration, but this time the State was not so keen to enforce the law and no action was taken. In fact the rest of the industry colluded to compensate Giumarra for any loss from the strike.

So the farm workers had to take on the whole Californian grape industry. Again the boycott has met with considerable success from the public but the employers doggedly refuse to recognise the union. Instead they are trying to export a larger proportion of the grapes. Last year they exported a third of the grapes to avoid the American public's boycott.

England is the largest importer of American table grapes in Europe, having imported almost 3,000,000 pounds in 1967. Because of this the farm workers are hoping the boycott will extend to this country and any others where they are imported.

The most effective boycott, of course, would be if dockers refused to handle them. But this has met with failure so far. The Executive Committee of the Transport and General Workers' Union (which represents the majority of dockers) has approved a consumer boycott and told Miss Elinson that if the dockers agree not to handle the grapes on their own initiative the union will back them.

When she approached dockers at Tilbury last week, however, they refused to boycott them unless instructed by the union.

This is a very disheartening attitude especially after the farm workers have gone through so much.

Much of the trade union legislation proposed by Barbara Castle is already in force in America and the case of the farm workers shows how it is used in practice and should be a warning to workers in this country.

It also shows how useless going through the constitutional channels can be when faced with unscrupulous employers.

If you belong to a trade union, trades council, political or civil rights organisation, resolutions of support would be appreciated in addition to supporting the boycott directly.

Anyone who wants to help the campaign should contact Elaine Elinson at 14a Tollington Park, London, N.4.

M.H.

M.P.

## Contact Column

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

Let May Day be resistance day! Meeting Tower Hill, 11.30 a.m., May 1. Then march to Victoria Park (Bethnal Green) and join in the May Day Festival. Music, dancing, games, plays, refreshments.

Kirkdale School wants to take small groups of children camping during term-time. A farm would be ideal, with wood and water nearby. Reasonable travelling distance from 186 Kirkdale, S.E.26. Tel.: 778 0149.

Can anyone sell (or give) books on Spinoza for a Chinese comrade? L.G.W., c/o Freedom Press.

Peter Neville is no longer at 12 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham 23. Please address temporarily all correspondence to him, c/o Freedom Press.

Community. New issue now ready. Orders in bulk for this extremely interesting tenants' paper. 58 High Lane, Manchester, 21.

Jeff Cloves and 'Poetdoos' magazine have moved to 5 Manor Road, St. Albans. N.W. Federation Whitsun Camp, Llangollen. Anyone interested? Contact Ron Marsden, 9 Boland Street, Fallowfield, Manchester, 19.

Birmingham Discussion Meetings. Tuesdays at 8 p.m. March 11: 'Towards a Non-Revolution'. Speaker: Richard Miller. The Crown, Corporation Street.

International Summer Camp. £1 booking fees to Ann Lindsay, 39 Upper Tulse Hill, London, S.W.2. Next committee meeting 8 p.m., March 18, at 25 North Villas, N.W.1.

North London Free Schools Campaign, contact T. Swash, 49 Popham Road, London, N.1.

Anarchist May 2 Ball at Shoreditch Town Hall. Groups include 'The Deviants', 'Blonde on Blonde' and 'Dr. K's Blues Band'. Tickets now available. £1 double, 12/6 single. Licensed bar (extension applied for). Please get your tickets early from Philip Carver, c/o Freedom Press.

S.W. London Schools Action Group. Contact Max Hunt, 83 Kingsmead Road, S.W.2, 674 1556 for aims and activities.

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Badges and Banners. Rectangular metal black/red badges 2/6 each post free or bulk rate (10 or more) 1/- each—resell at 2/- or 2/6. Also flags and banners to order, from 7/6. McGee, 42 Pendarves Street, Beacon, Camborne, Cornwall.

If you wish to make contact let us know.