recom

Anarchist Weekly @



Stealing Wages!

imprisonment for debt. Instead it to introduce the Scottish law attachment upon wages. In these oposals they have mixed humbug, wardice and contempt for the interests the public.

Contrary to general belief, most imisonment for debt has already been colished. (It was the so-called 'reformers' to wanted it kept on, fearing that with-'the working-man will never get dit'—a now well-exploded 19th-ntury myth!) Except in one or two ances where corporations have ngled it into Acts of Parliament (the st noticeable being borough councils o can imprison for non-payment of s), imprisonment today is for those refuse to pay, rather than those who It is necessary to prove means ore a county court, and make offers and has the time to appear conasking for revision of his offer does not lose too heavily in wages his appearance), he has fairly the p-hand over the creditor, who is pay-heavily for barristers who manage harge him considerably more than collect from the debtor.

parade the abolition of imprisonfor debt as a reform is in these umstances laughable anyway; but are many prisoners who are deon maintenance payments to Here again, it is the obstinate, of the penniless, who suffer. If they nceal their earnings, they can get away In most cases, courts must accept he word of the debtor as to what he

In attaching wages, and making the courts privy to what the wages are, it becomes impossible to get away with anything, and obviously favours the creditor considerably. It is noticeable that whenever Scottish law is more reasonable than English law, Scottish law is 'brought into line' with English law; when Scottish law, as in this case, is more reactionary, 'it has something to teach us'. The attachment of wages for civil debts can result in a man receiving nothing whatever at the end of the week after tax, insurance, attachments upon wage, various contributions and fares have been met. This has happened in the States, too, where men have found it just not worth while working to get so many attachments slapped upon their packet. Almost all cases of theft the Army can be traced to the practice of letting a man receive nothing at the end of a week; it is true that, in this case, he is fed and sheltered. This of course would not apply in civil life. On the whole it would be far better to apply for national assistance than to work, the moment that the attachments came in; this will be the reply of a great many workers to the new 'reforms'; the obvious thing to do is to get the sack and sit back and wait until the State sees the point. The defaulting ex-husbands will certainly do this, if they are ready to go to the extent of prison, as things stand.

NEW 'TOLPUDDLE'

Why has the Government suddenly

ANARCHY 65 Derevolution -isation

ANARCHY is Published by Freedom Press at 2s on the first Saturday of every month

plumped for this dubious 'reform' after it has been rejected for so many years? Employers on the whole do not like it (it is after all the wage system that keeps the workers working, and to give them nothing, or far less than a normal wage at the end of a week, is not the way to run a railway . . . this is PAYE on a much larger scale). Lawyers of course support anything that gives them more work, but they are well satisfied with the county court system, though judges sometimes find it inconsistent with their dignity to be acting as the collecting agents of hire purchase companies who force sales upon people not 'credit-worthy' and then get the courts to back up the payments. To them, the solution is not to give credit.

The sentimental can sometimes be worked up about the poor debtor languishing in prison; but in truth the only ones who do are those who do so on point of principle (e.g. the husband who, admitting his ability to pay, point-blank refuses to contribute to his former wife's comfort, pointing out her ability to look after herself) and have chosen prison rather than payment. The law is going to prevent him making this choice, just as PAYE prevents the worker from choosing whether or not he will pay income tax.

The reason for this pseudo-reform is the Prices and Incomes Bill which aims to outlaw strikes. The Combination Laws are coming back; once more the working classes are going to be prevented from organising to better their conditions; there will be new 'Tolpuddle Martyrs' and this in the name of organised labour. But as organised labour in government does not want to see 'Tolpuddle Martyrs in prison, for the sake of appearances, it is going to make it impossible for strikers to be sent to prison. It would never do for Socialism Victorious to put trade unionists in jail; but they are going to be fined heavily, and the fines placed on a PAYE basis. This will not prevent martyrdom, but it will make it seem less glorious than prison, and the apparent pettiness of the persecution will make it

It would be slightly more honest to sell unofficial strikers into slavery. They would if they could, no doubt, but in the meantime they are making do with the amendment of the law relating to the non-payment of fines, being paraded as a 'reform', a triumph of liberalism, and one of the things Labour gets done.

A. MELTZER.

Vietnam 'dialogue with Death'

the last few years that dictators acted and democracies protested, a division of labour which seemed to satisfy everybody.—Arthur Koestler: dialogue with death' (1937)

THIS APHORISM is basically as true today as when Koestler wrote it in a Spanish jail during the revolution (which he called civil war) when the German and Italian aeroplanes bombed the Spanish cities. while the democracies meekly pro-Perhaps the distinction between democracy and dictatorship is not so great today as it was 30 years ago. Nevertheless, after the black smoke rose to the sky near Hanoi and Haiphong the democra-cies duly protested. The time and motion man with his stop-watch and taperecorder stood in the Grosvenor Squares of the world and reported back to his government. 'Nothing to fear, your excellencies,' he said, were in good voice, a bit fractious but I daresay they are all in their beds by now.

The Vietnam war has been going on since the end of the Second World War. The US entered after the Korean cease-fire, but basically both the purpose and the reason for these two wars are the same. Military economics demand a theatre of war somewhere, otherwise the system which is based on war-production must collapse. Protesting against war is the only human thing to do, but without changing the system that needs war, the condition for war

Without an egalitarian system of distribution of the real wealth of the world the need for war will exist as it is the only way that you can have full employment in a capitalist economy. Should the Vietnam war cease tomorrow, a war in Thailand or some such place will start the day after.

The Chinese and Russian 'Communist' systems also need a localised war for the same reason. They have the added incentive that as long as the Vietnam war continues, they can make fiery speeches, protests and the inevitable recruitment of party members all over the world.

The 'Communist' powers are supporting North Vietnam with brave words but with hardly any weapons. Possibly the North Vietnamese cannot pay for the latest anti-aircraft batteries. It was pitiful to read the 'Agence Presse' correspondent's re-port from Hanoi where he observed the bombing raid on the oil dumps. The soldiers 'hunching their shoulders, came running to climb the outside staircases leading to the roof-tops where they fired off their rifles in the direction of the aircraft. Imagine shooting down supersonic jet bombers with ordinary rifles and machine guns!

After the bombing of Hanoi the Chinese, of course, protested. statement by them described the raids as 'barbarous, wanton and a criminal act of aggression and war. In accordance with the interests and demands of the Vietnamese people we will at any time take such actions as we deem necessary'. fighting words, dishonest words.

The war is being 'escalated' by the US Government according to the 'scientific' formulae worked out by 'Professor' Kahn. What stage have they reached now in their war of nerves? A year ago there was furore when it was revealed that the Americans were using gas warfare. Now, after the initial indignation has subsided, gas is used consistently in Vietnam. Remember the horror with which napalm bombs and lazy dogs were greeted? All the now part of modern warfare. All this is

For a long time the Americans have talked about the possibility of bombing Hanoi. Now they have done it and public protests have been voiced, they will do it again. It won't be news next time. They are already hinting that the next step is going to be the bombing of Red River Delta with the consequent flooding of North Vietnam. After that they may use 'tactical' nuclear weapons. And so on.

What should anarchists do in the circumstances? We should continue to protest but never lose an opportunity with our literature or banners or private conversation to try to explain the cause of war and the need for an egalitarian society.

Of course a 'crisis' situation tends to stultify thinking. Even 'comrades' urge us, like latter-day Kropotkins, to choose sides. There are no short cuts to anarchism or to eradicating war for that matter. If we are to stand by our principles we must be prepared to lose a few friends. R.

A Visit to Stuart Christie

I. A FRIEND of Stuart Christic, went over to Madrid on June 3 in an attempt to visit him in the Carabanchel

On my arrival in Madrid I reported to the Consulate to receive a letter of intro-duction to the Director at the Prison. When I went to the prison I was told that before I could see Stuart I would have to go back to the Embassy to get a letter of introduction to the Director General of Prisons at the Ministry of Justice. They in turn told me I would have to see the Minister of Foreign Affairs at the Foreign Office. This meant yet another letter of introduction. The Minister for European Affairs interviewed me and then said he would get in touch with me later on to inform me whether I had been granted the permit

When the word came through on June 17 that I could visit Stuart the next day I was sent to the Minister of Justice to receive the prison permit

room divided by a wire mesh wall. Ten minutes later Stuart arrived on the other side of the wire mesh and then the interpreter arrived.

The news from Stuart is that he is in the middle of his A-level exams in Spanish, Maths, History, English, etc and that he has now put his appeal through without the assistance of the Spanish lawyer who demanded the £1,000 fee from Stuart after the trial. The result is due to come out in August. At present Stuart has, at the most, six years left to complete of his sentence which, he thinks, will be reduced by a few more years. He now receives no letters except those from his mother. He is not allowed to send letters to his friends. The reason for this is that someone sent a newspaper cutting to him about a demonstration in Glasgow when the Spanish flag was set on fire. The general impression I got of Stuart was that he was well-liked in prison and that he was

still concerned about all his old friends in Britain. He is allowed to work one day per week depending on his conduct. He either works in the Dental Surgery or in the Printing Room.

I was told by the consul that the best

way to send parcels to him is through the British Embassy (Consular Section), Recoletas 22, Madrid. He receives parcels from Germany, Holland, France and Britain.

thanks to all comrades who have been so concerned about his imprisonment and those who have sent books, money and

While I was waiting to see the Minister for European Affairs a decrepit old man left the office and I was informed that the Minister would now see me. This pensioned-off old dodderer who had pre ceded me was none other than General Franco, the Caudillo himself!

ROSS FLETT P.S.: We are informed by the FIJL that two French comrades were released by the Spanish authorities possibly as a result of the kidnapping on May 1 of the Spanish diplomat-prelate Mgr. Ussia

PROVOS IN LONDON

political sophistication which has come in the wake of the Committee of 100 that many of the ideas, plans, strategies and theories outlined by Bernhard de Vries and Irene van der Weetering, the two Amsterdam provos who recently visited London to put their case, seemed terrifyingly naive. There is no doubt that the English press did convey a very confusing image of the provos but, having been to Amsterdam and having heard the provos in London, I do not consider this the least bit surprising. When van de Weetering's husband described the provos as a 'heart rending, muddle-headed organisation' he seemed to be making the fairest comment so far. No vicious attack on the level of Le Figaro's has been made by any English paper (provos are 'nazis, communists . . . vicious petits bourgeois, beatniks, delinquents'). Nevertheless the provos' arrival in England to present their case was a step in the right direction: it may be an indication of the Committee of 100's failure to explain itself overseas that the provos are so muddled. It is no kindness to ignore the confusion in provo thinking. The provos have,

through their actions and because of their support by groupings which have been ignored almost entirely by traditional radicals, earned the right to be honestly criticised for their limitations.

What do the provos want? They have a large number of ideas which are unique in being both imaginative, convincing and practical. The white bicycle scheme-white bikes freely available to anyone who wishes to use them in order to keep rivate cars out of the city of Amsterdam
is perhaps the most famous and best of these ideas, but most of these practical day-to-day ideas are excellent. They have a number of more 'political' schemes, one of which is to send the mayor of Amsterdam, van Hall, on holiday, which is both humane and face-tious. Others however indicate the complications which beset reformist anarchists. The idea of white police is one such. In London de Vries said he wanted Dutch police to be like English police, unarmed. He was unwilling to accept the point that it is precisely the of arms that makes the British force such a powerful instrument of authoritarianism. When citizens tacitly accept the fuzz as a friend, arms are

unnecessary; the continental attitude where police are never allowed to feel that secure, is much more to the point. Ultimately the police would become trained social workers, dressed in white, which is the provos' big symbol. This is all very well, but one can easily see a situation where, as recent trends in the USA indicate, the police become pseudo-social workers without in any way ceasing to be an arm of the state.

The appeal to the International Provotariat, reprinted in Heatwave manifesto of the provos and explains both their ideas of 'class' and also their approach to the anti-authoritarian struggle. It talks of beatniks, pleiners. nozems, hooligans, mods, rockers (though having seen rockers in London de Vries decided they were not, after all, a revolutionary force), students, artists and misfits as being a new, heterogeneous, de-classed 'class', a grouping of sub-versive elements who will through 'pinprick actions' be able to force authority to show its true nature. Authority. having done so, will become more and more unpopular and there will be a crisis of authority. It is, perhaps, a rather devious and circuitous route to social revolt—and, I would have thought, hardly likely to change the fuzz into English bobbies—but it has its own logic

But what happens in practice? A lot of kids, doubtless intellectually provoked and pre-justified by provo ideas and statements, provoke a major crisis of authority in Amsterdam, with police, riot police, special sub-military police and three infantry regiments either in town or standing by. The provos broadcast an appeal on the pop music station urg-ing kids to stay at home. Asked if this was not rather inconsistent, de Vries told his London audience that the provos did not approve of violence, and that shops were being damaged which was 'unneces sary'. But surely such actions were the logic of the provos' appeal? De Vries, in Amsterdam (I have written at length in Heatwave about this visit), said the provos did not call for violence. They did not want riots. But did they not want to provoke authority?

De Vries said they wanted to provoke authority with happenings, constructive schemes and not destruction. But, if they saw the provotariat (the heterogeneous groupings of beats, delinquents, etc.) as the last element of revolt in society, was it not their job to explain the riots, at least philosophically? Simply to denounce them was inadequate, confusing and, perhaps, a treason to their ideas. 'I can understand why these riots happened'.

Continued on page 2

books?

We can supply any book in print

NEW BOOKS

Gypsies, Didikois and Other Travel-Norman Dodds 25/-

Stories of Famous Mutinies

T. H. McGuffie 18/-

Journal

Anais Nin 42/-

REPRINTS AND CHEAP EDITIONS The Family and Marriage in Britain Ronald Fletcher 5/-

SECONDHAND

Conspiracy against Europe, Committee for Germany Unity 1955 3/-; William Richard Lethaby, 1857-1931 4/-; Anthony Comstock: Roundsman of the Lord, Heywood Braun and Margaret Leech 12/6: Jehovah's Witnesses, Marley Cole 7/6; Fabian Socialism (damaged), G. D. H. Cole 3/-; Seven Essays, Herbert Spencer 3/6; Stalingrad, Theodor Plievier 5/6; The Peckham Experiment, Innes H. Pearse and Lucy H. Crocker 7/6; Three Essays on Religion (Paperback), John Stuart Mill 2/6; Revolution in Eastern Warriner McCarthy: The Man, The Senator, The 'Ism', Jack Anderson and Ronald W May 7/6; New Horizons, J. T. Murphy 8/6; The London Years, Rudolf Rocker 15/-; A Study of History (Abridged). Arnold J. Toynbee 7/6; October '43 (Denmark), Aage Bertelsen 7/6; A Study in Infamy (AVO Hungary), George Mikes 8/6; Sick, Sick, Sick, Jules Feiffer 5/-: Extracts from Adam's Diary, Mark Twain 4/6; Where Do I Go From Here?. Roger Benton and Robert O. Ballou 3/6;

Freedom Bookshop

(Open 2 p.m.-5.30 p.m. daily; 10 a.m.-1 p.m. Thursdays; 10 a.m.-5 p.m. Saturdays).

17a MAXWELL ROAD FULHAM SW6 Tel: REN 3736

FREEDOM PRESS **PUBLICATIONS**

SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM'

2 1952: Postscript to Posterity

1954: Living on a Volcano 5 1955: The Immoral Moralists

6 1956: Oil and Troubled Waters

Year One-Sputnik Era 8 1958: Socialism in a Wheelchair

9 1959: Print. Press & Public

Vol 10 1960: The Tragedy of Africa Vol 11 1961: The People in the Street

Vol 12 1962: Pilkington v. Beeching

Vol 13 1963: Forces of Law and Order Each volume: paper 7/6 cloth 10/6
The paper edition of the Selections as available to readers of FREEDOM

1 5/6 post free.

VERNON RICHARDS Malatesta: His Life and Ideas

cloth 21/-; paper 10/6. E. MALATESTA Anarchy Paper 1/-

PROUDHON What is Property? cloth 42/-

ALEXANDER BERKMAN ABC of Anarchism paper 2/6 HERBERT READ

Poetry & Anarchism paper 2/6 ALEX COMFORT Delinquency 6d.

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

RUDOLF ROCKER Nationalism and Culture loth 21/-

CHARLES MARTIN Towards a Free Society 2/6

JOHN HEWETSON ili-Health, Poverty and the State cloth 2/6 paper 1/-

VOLINE

Nineteen-Seventeen (The Russian Revolution Betrayed) cloth 12/6 The Unknown Revolution (Kronstadt 1921, Ukraine 1918-21)

E. A. GUTKIND The Expanding Environment (illustrated) boards 8/6

GEORGE BARRETT The First Person (Selections) 2/6

VIETNAM—An American View-point

American anarchists have-which is a misfortune, since a good anarchist paper needs to have a local character, a relation to its environment-an American anarchist looks closely at items which pertain to America. I have been bothered for some time by the character of the lead articles on the Vietnam war, both in respect to their framework of analysis and in respect to their content.

Consider Jeff Robinson's 'The Opiate of the People' of June 18. The lead is 'revealing' news item about Chinese exportation of opium. Now, maybe this is a revelation in England, but this has long been a standard item of American propaganda, including the interpretation that the trade serves the Chinese Communists by helping 'to spread drug addiction and corruption in the West'. The existence of this trade is interpreted by the writer in FREEDOM as an indication of the equal-evil of the Chinese government. But if one reads the story carefully, there is nothing to show that the Chinese government is responsible for the fact that 'a sizeable proportion of the finished products finds its way into the hands of international drug racketeers.' So far as I know, the Chinese government has not engaged in any wars to oblige Western nations to allow the importation of opium

But the above is a minor matter. Further on the writer asks, 'Does anyone seriously believe that if the Vietcong possessed napalm, "joy bombs" (an invention of Norman Mailer's), "lazy dog", etc., they would refrain from using them on moral grounds if to use them was to their military advantage?' (Hence they are not 'morally superior' to the Americans and South Vietnamese.) In answer to this rhetorical question it is said that 'Certainly the Vietcong use indiscriminate terror, torture and assassination at least as widely as their opponents'.

Now, I don't believe that there is such a thing as civilized warfare, unless it would be a duel between volunteers, preferably between the leaders of state.

rightly affects one's sympathies, where people and their leaders and governments draw the line. (For example, I think that the South African regime is qualitatively different from others, and I don't understand how anyone could say that there is 'not a scrap of difference' between it and other regimes.) Would the Vietcong wage aerial civilian warfare if they possessed the means? I can't see that the answer is automatically 'Yes' unless one also answers automatically Yes' to questions like, 'Would Wilson apply the South African solution to the coloured problem" if he had the It is similarly pure conjecture that there would be a 'bloodbath' if the Communists took over South Vietnam. Is it the case that the Vietcong uses indiscriminate terror torture and assassination at least as widely as their opponents'? If one is trying to judge the moral quality of the Vietcong movement, and project from that its behaviour if it possessed napalm, one would be better to present some evidence; the appeal to 'certainly' about a very doubtful question leads us nowhere.

What's more the writer lets the American puppet-regime off much too lightly when he says that its victory would mean 'a corrupt, right-wing, Coca-Cola dictatorship with (once the fighting stops) a small degree of liberty'. Unless the writer would describe the Franco regime in these terms-would he?-I don't see why he thinks these terms fit. Before the South Vietnamese resistance reached military proportions, the Americans had well under way a programme to totalitarianize South Vietnam as an anti-Communist bastion (this is what the Michigan State University people were up to—the CIA connection is a relatively trivial matter). By 'totalitarianize' I mean, among other things, a programme of compounds to control a recalcitrant peasantry, which programme entailed the physical destruction of hundreds if

not thousands of villages. Moreover, I should think the writer would bear it in mind that, at least to judge by accounts which strike me as credible, the South Vietnamese insurrection (as even the New York Times is willing to describe it) arose out of the efforts of the Americans to impose a strong (totalitarian) national government upon a peasantry which had established (or thought it had established) its independence during the war against the French. He might bear it in mind that moderate forms of resistance, including non-violent resistance, were brutally put down; and that if the Vietcong have been brutalized by this war, which I would expect to be largely the case, an anarchist might be inclined to impute responsibility for this to the Saigonese governments and their American sustainers rather than to the people who

I would expect an anarchist to see a tragedy in the fact that the struggles of Vietnamese peasantry to resist colonialism and to resist the alien Saigon regimes should have led to a continually escalating war, given American power and the indifference of the American people, a continually escalating war in which sense of original aims and even of humanity is progressively lost and in which the Communist leadership of the resistance has been tightened to a point where resistance to it has become virtually impossible. I would expect an anarchist to see a tragedy here. would not expect him to trot out stale equi-evil arguments. I would expect him to distinguish between the motivations of the Vietnamese peasants who are (most of them) voluntarily throwing away their lives for the hope of independence and communal freedom, and now (mainly) in order to preserve their villages from destruction by the American bombers and land-marauders-between these motivations and (on the other hand) the purposes of ideologically Communist leaders and the type of regime (lefttotalitarian, anti-libertarian) which one would expect from an outright Vietcong victory. I would expect him to notice

that one cannot significantly make such a distinction on 'the other side'. The Republic of Vietnam officer corps is the same old French-colonial officer corps; its soldiers are impressed; the American army fights 'because you've gotta stop the Commies somewhere' and because it's kill or get killed and you've got your

I do sympathize with the wish that issues were simpler. American propaganda has a nice way of simplifying every member of the NLF force is a Communist, and every Communist is an ideological totalitarian, and the whole bunch of them are on a string from Hanoi, which string would lead to some world-central headquarters (if it weren't for the embarrassing China/Russia split). The Chinese Communists have their mythology that the toiling exploited masses of America are being used and swindled by Wall Street-when the case is that the only reason Americans don't much like this war is that they are not winning it (the Vietcong even shoot back when you bomb their villages). Anarchists have to have a psychology and sociology and a political analysis, so seems to me, that can talk to people who have very natural sympathies wi peasants trying to bring down 500-mil an-hour bombing planes with rifles. Th political analysis would, I think, reco nize the fact that the American state currently the scourge of the world, as one time Britain was, at one til Germany was, at one time perhaps Russ was. Is some other nation than Ameri still dedicated to the idea of worl power? Again, I realize that to say the is (objectively, as the Marxists say give some degree of comfort to Maoists, for I have not in the very s breath managed to point out the scor which the Communist governments been toward the populations on boundaries. Maybe the kinds of dist tions I am talking about as anarch are too subtle for public propagand even for a conscious political mover But I am afraid that if they are too s then we can't have an anarchist n

DAVID WIE

Death of a Tramp

seems to have departed, from England at any rate. The growth of the welfare state has led to the disappearance of the doss-house and the nearness of full employment has seen the elimination of the able-bodied tramp 'seeking work'. Those tramps that remain appear to be (in Gorki's phrase) 'creatures that once were men' - sick, frightened, neurotic, psychotic creatures who, being unable to adjust to the complexities of the welfare state or even partake of the condensed milk of human kindness (and why should they?), shuffle round the town and country ekeing out such existence as they

Around the tattered fringe of the affluent society in that twilight world before the dark of criminality, insanity, or old age, are the lodging-house dwellers, Lord Rowton's tenants, who have taken their place in the lower depths of respectable poverty, of controlled despair, of measured affluence. such a place, Bruce House (LCC), Bill Gape (66) was found dead in bed on one Sunday in June.

Bill Gape was a tramp from his

THE TRAMP as a romantic species speaker (mainly open-air) and was known also as the 'Tramps' QC' for after he had given up 'the road' he was ever on hand to advocate the rights of the few tramps that remain. He promised at one time to write for FREEDOM on some conflict about a Salvation Army hostel in Reading but one had the impression that writing for him was not easy. It is therefore with some surprise that one looks through Half a Million Tramps, W. A. Gape (Routledge), 1936 (long out of print) and realizes that he could depict life 'on the road' and one realizes how the situation has changed. Bill Gape was no George Orwell, not even a Jack London, and certainly not a Maxim Gorki, but one realizes from whence came that fierce bitterness that was his armour against a world which even now resolves that there shall be two classes, 'the haves' and 'the have-nots'

For example, in Half a Million Tramps, Bill write, 'I am fully satisfied that so long as the relief of destitution is carried on mainly by charity organisations, so long will we have the tragic sights which are to be seen in any part of the fourteenth year to the late nineteen- country today. The reason is obvious. thirties. He was widely known as an Just as a rat-catcher does not kill all the anarcho-syndicalist and freethought rats he finds, because he knows that

if he did his livelihood would be gone, so most charity committees and organizations do nothing which would eventually do away entirely with the condition of destitution, because if they did the basis upon which they appeal for funds would be gone. Charity frauds and maladministration of public funds can only continue as long as the general public remains ignorant of its social obligation to all men.'

Bill earned our gratitude for not becoming a professional tramp-writer, like W. H. Davies or others that we could name, but obituaries are the occasion when cliches fall thick and fast and we must say that Bill's faults were not of the heart. He, in the famous words spent his life on street corners, despised of men', but whether on the road, on the soap-box, or in shoddy lodging-house, Bill was his own man.

Reprints

MICHAEL BAKUNIN: MARXISM, FREEDOM AND THE STATE-7/6 MARIE-LOUISE BERNERI NEITHER EAST NOR WEST-6/-FREEDOM SELECTIONS NO. 14 CLOTH 10/6; PAPER 7/6

PROVOS

Continued from page

said de Vries. But he was not vinced that the provos needed to exp them, or that they had any intellecresponsibility towards them. At Mahatma Gandhi Hall meeting argued with de Vries, from a variety approaches for over an hour on this an other points, to the obvious disgust of the glowing liberals who had seen in the provos a new thrill to inflate their battered egos. By the end we were every bit as confused.

However, it would be entirely useless' to dismiss the provos. As M.J.W. made clear in his article in FREEDOM on June 25, the provos are important, if only because they have got through to people that we, in this country, have for the most part entirely ignored. We do not help the provos by dismissing them but we may be able to pass on to them, in a constructive atmosphere, some of the things we have painfully learned about the nature of authority. Just as the provos have a responsibility towards the youth of Holland we, as part of the same mainstream of ideas, have a responsibility towards them. There is, in the long run, perhaps rather more we should be envying about them than

CHARLES RADCLIFFE.

Anarchist Federation of Britain

c/o Freedom Press, 17a Maxwell Road, London, S.W.6

London Anarchist Group 1&2

'Lamb and Flag', Rose Street, off Garrick Street, London, W.C.2.- (Leicester Square tube) 7.45 p.m. All welcome. Sundays JULY 10 John Rety No More Victnams

Public Meetings every Sunday Hyde Park, 3 p.m.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m. 3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald and Irene Rooum's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

ABERDEEN GROUP. Meets at the Adelphi 2,30 p.m. every Sunday. Correspondence to M. Dey, 29 Springhill Crescent, Aberdeen. ARLESEY GROUP (N. Herts, S. Beds.). Meetings on first Friday of month. Correspondence to Peter and Maureen Ford, 102 Stotfold Road, Arlesey, Beds. Arlesey, Beds.
BELFAST, Contact Peter Stringer, 7 Duffy
Street, Belfast, 13.
BEXLEY ANARCHIST GROUP, Correspondence
to Paul Wildish, 2 Cumbrian Avenue, Barnehurst, Kent.

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence: Martin Bragg, 5 The Drive, Hunton Hill. Erdington, Birmingham, 23. Sales and

Committee of 100: Gordon Causer, 27 Upper Gungate, Tamworth, Staffs, Peace Action Centres Project: Paul James, 50 Windermere Road, Handsworth, Birmingham, 21. University of ASTON GROUP. Dave Massey, 2 Station Road, Elworth Sandbach, Cheshires

ASTON GROUP. Dave Massey, 2 Station Road, Elworth, Sandbach, Cheshire.

BRISTOL FEDERATION. Enquiries to Ian Vine, 3 Freeland Place, Hotwells, Bristol, 8.

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Mike Growley, 36 Whitaker Road, Tremorfa, Cardiff. COVENTRY ANARCHIST GROUP, Contact Richard Vaughan, 19 Sandhurst Grove, Radford, Coventry. Coventry 28146.

DUNDÉE GROUP. Contact Bob and Una Turnbull, c/o Doctors' Residence, Stracathro Hospital, by Brechin, Angus.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP ONE. Correspondence to Robert Lynn, 2b Saracen Head Lane, Glasgow, C.1.

Lane, Glasgow, C.I.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP TWO. Meets
II Baliol Street every two weeks. Contact Joe

Embleton.

HARLOW ANARCHIST GROUP, Enquiries to Keith Nathan, 12 Shawbridge, Harlow or John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping.

ILFORD LIBERTARIANS. Regular meetings and direct action contact 212 Vicarage Road, Leyton, E 10.

LEICESTER ANARCHISTS. Correspondence, Peter Gibbon, 22 Fosse Road Central, West End.

LEWISHAM, LONDON, S.E.13. 61b Granville Park. Meetings 2nd and 4th Thursdays. NEW HAM LIBERTARIANS. Contact Nick Shenker, 122 Hampton Road, Forest Gate, London E 7

NORTH-WEST ESSEX. Meetings on the first Saturday of each month at 7,30 p.m. at Robert Barltrop's, The Old Vicarage, Radwinter, near Saffron Walden. NOTTING HILL PROVOS. Meetings for discussion and action at 4 p.m. each Saturday at the London Free School, 26 Powis Terrace, London, W.11 (off Talbot Road).

ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP, Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt, Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact H. G. Mellor, Merton College, Oxford.

PLYMOUTH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Contact J. Hill, 79 Underlane, Plymstock, Plymouth,

READING ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Alan Ross, 116 Belmont Road, Reading, Berks.

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

NORTH WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION.
Regional Secretary: J. Bromley, 44 Doncaster
Avenue, Manchester, 20. Buxton: Chris Berrisford, 10 Byron Street, Buxton. Chorley: Alistair
Rattray, 35a Devonshire Road, Chorley. Manchester: Mike Mitchell, 3 Bakewell Road,
Droylesden, Manchester. Meetings every Tuesday 8 p.m. Lord Nelson, Chapel Street, Salford,
Merseyside: Barbara Renshaw, 4 Clarence Road,
Devonshire Park, Birkenhead. Rochdale: Ian
Heywood, 16 Mansfield Road, Bamford, Rochdale. Stoke-on-Trent: Bob Blakeman, 52 Weldon
Avenue, Weston Coyney, Stoke-on-Trent.

EAST LONDON FEDERATION

WALTHAM FOREST ANARCHISTS. Contact Lionel Donnelly, 322a Hoe Street, Walthamstow, E.17. Meetings every Thursday at above address, WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Contact Stephen Higgs, 8 Westbury Road, Forest Gate, E.7.

WEST LONDON FEDERATION

WEST LONDON FEDERATION. Monday, July 11, 8 p.m. 'The Anchor', Ealing Broadway, WANDSWORTH LIBERTARIANS. Correspondence to Christine Hutton, 15 Broughton Street, London, S.W.8.
FULHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact top floor, 31 Ongar Road, S.W.6. NORTHOLT ANARCHISTS. Contact: Jim Huggon, 173 Kingshill Avenue, Northolt, Middlesex. Meetings first and third Wednesday of the month at Jeannie's, 6 Epsom Close, Northolt Park, Middlesex, at 7.30 p.m.

SOUTHALL ANARCHIST GROUP. Get in touch with Roger Sandell, 58 Burns Avenue, Southall, Middlesex.

PROPOSED GROUPS

MARLOW AND BUCKINGHAMSHIRE. Get in touch with Stella A. Fauser, 33a Spittal Street, Marlow, Bucks.

SOUTH WARWICKSHIRE. Get in touch with Eric Harrison, 2 Cottage Aylesmore Farm, Shipston-on-Stour, Warwickshire.

TYNESIDE SYNDICALISTS. Meet every Thursday at 8 p.m. in The Adelaide, Newgate Street, Newcastle, 1.

KEIGHLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Robert Halstead, 27 Woodlands Rise, Haworth, Keighley, Yorks.

ABROAD

AUSTRALIA. Sydney Anarchist Group. Public meetings every Sunday in the Domain at 2 p.m. Group meetings every Monday at 8 p.m. in the Cellar, 72 Oxford St., Sydney.

DANISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. 52 Mindevej, Soborg-Copenhagen, Denmark.

VANCOUVER, B.C., CANADA. Anyone interested in forming anarchist and/or direct action peace group contact Derek A. James, 1844 Grand Boulevard, North Vancouver, B.C., Canada, Tel.: 987-2693.

U.S.A. VERMONT/NEW HAMPSHIRE. Discussion/Action Group, anyone? Contact F. R. Jackson, Corinth, Vermont.

ACT FOR PEACE

mittee of 100 had planned to assemble in Trafalgar Square and march to the US Embassy in the event of bombing of Hanoi. However on the day of the bombing there came an unexpected windfall when the early issues of the Evening Standard gave details of the Committee's plans in its report on reactions to the raids. It was this that was probably responsible for a large part of the turnout of several hundreds in the

At about 8 p.m. the march set off to the US Embassy. This first stage was enlivened by an outbreak of mutual aid when what was presumably a sympathetic fruiterer appeared and distributed a large box of strawberries to marchers and policemen.

When the march arrived at the Embassy a sparse YCL picket line was already present, allowing itself to be shepherded in single file by the police. This was soon changed by the arrival of the march which occupied the whole of the road for some minutes. However, later the police pushed the marchers back to the pavement and there were about a dozen arrests.

After about 20 minutes the march formed up again and marched down Park ane towards Parliament. As demontrators passed the Bunny Club two eggs ere thrown from a window. When sarchers neared Piccadilly Circus police einforcements appeared and dispersed e march on the grounds that procesns within a mile of Parliament were egal while the House was in session. emonstrators then split up to make way to Parliament individually. lowever, a large part of the march assembled in the Haymarket and proeded along the roadway in defiance the sessional orders.

Just outside Trafalgar Square more ice appeared, some on horseback, and persed the march once more. But so a considerable number of people undaunted and managed to march st of the way down Whitehall behind omenittee of 100 banner.

Upon arrival at the House the more stitutionally-minded joined in a CND y of MPs then in progress. Meanhile, inside the House there were several terruptions from the public gallery.

The next day the demonstration was entioned in most of the press. stable exception was the Morning Star hich, to emphasise what well-behaved unstitutional people the Communists are, fid not mention the demo but merely reported the CND lobby and the handing in of a protest by the Communists' own mouthpiece, the British Peace Committee.

The same day those arrested appeared in court. Doug Kepper's case was ad-

rebuilding of the schools and hospitals.

demolishing the slums, raising wages all

round, etc., etc. Vast as are the sums

wasted on arms, they are a drop in the

ocean compared with the money needed

for all the useful alternative uses of the

money that have been proposed. But

anyway, the government (OBVIOUSLY)

has no intention of giving up arms or

abolishing capitalism or introducing

workers' control or anything of the sort.

So what happens in the meantime? Why,

in the meantime, should we oppose such

slight improvements as are possible in the

transport service? Yours truly wants an

at least slightly better bus service today

as well as a superb service in some

Continued from page 4

TRANSPORT

ourned but, although he had not been found guilty of any offence, he was bound over for three months. Another man, who refused to obey the magistrate and spoke on Vietnam from the dock, was remanded for a mental report!

All in all, the London Committee can take credit for a reasonably successful action. Several hundred people were assembled at a few hours' notice, sessional orders were successfully defied and publicity was secured. Since the London Committee is in financial difficulties, we can all show our solidarity by sending them a donation (13 Goodwin Street, N.4).

However it is a pity we still had the familiar sight of people being pushed around by the police while a few are arrested. Since it seems impossible to gain sufficient numbers for a sit down. surely the most effective policy would be for demonstrators to link arms and stand firm. Some supporters of non-violence may quarrel with this but if it could be carried out intelligently it would at any rate be preferable to shuffling along in front of a row of policemen.

This is, however, a minor point.

There can be no excuse for inactivity We must work for demonstrations that fill the streets. We must organise local activities to bring home the war to people in the suburbs and provinces. And we must move towards the development of more radical action.

The War Resisters International and East Anglian CND have issued leaflets directed at American servicemen. The Committee of 100 has demonstrated at Alconbury Base. But, if we are to have a real effect on US morale, we must take things a lot more seriously than staging happenings outside bases. must stop trading in moral generalisations and make it clear to US soldiers that they are fighting in Vietnam in the interests of the US military-industrial complex. We must prepare to aid deserters. And, since getting out of the US army is not easy, we must point to ways soldiers can disrupt the army by still remaining in it.

In England we must draw attention to the fact that, if the Vietnam crisis intensifies, our rulers have their atomic shelters and plans for martial law prepared. We must keep our eyes open for any new forms of resistance.

The question of libertarian action against the Vietnam war is made more urgent by the YPV demo last Sunday. Not to mince words, this was appalling. The banners of the Communists and Trotskyists with their calls for a Viet-Cong victory and their anti-US slogans, at times bordering on racialism, dominated the proceedings. If Libertarians are to take part in Vietnam demos without being identified with these groups they must prepare their own slogan banners.

I would like, through your columns,

to inform fellow anarchists throughout

the U.K. of a demonstration in Scotland

on September 24/25 organised by the

ottish Campaign for Resistance Against

We have contacted and hope to have

support from all the major peace move-

ments in Britain. We are going to make

this a really forceful demonstration at the

Faslane Polaris Base, the Missile Store at Coulport, and the Weapons and Bomb

Would any groups or individuals who

S.c.r.a.m.

Militarism (SCRAM).

Store at Glen Douglas.

Dear Comrade.

'Belated Triumph of the Jus Quaesitum Tertio'

were bombed, the French tested a nuclear bomb in the Pacific, as the Morning Star (the erstwhile Daily Worker) poetically it: 'Mr. Wilson's Red Sea strike bubble has burst, leaving behind the bad smell of a dirty red herring', the seamen voted to adjourn their 45-day-old strike for 12 months because of hardships caused to the citizens of the UK, and Mr. Frank Cousins, that well-known nuclear disarmer, resigned from the Ministry of Technology on the issue of the Prices and Incomes Bill.

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE apologised for an insult to General de Gaulle, the Chancellor of the Exchequer apologised for expunging an insult to the farmers from Hansard, the Minister of Labour went on holiday (before the seamen's strike was settled) owing to the great

BRITAIN EITHER IS, or is not selling weapons to America for Vietnam; but she is not sending any men. This policy of every support short of help, was further clarified by a recognition of the urban growth-sprawl of Hanoi. Mr. Leader of the Opposition pointed out the illogicality of an approval of ends. whilst deploring means. Mr. Duncan Sandys, tipped as Heath's successor spoke on the BBC of Mr. Wilson's 'stab in the

PRINCE BERNHARD of the Netherlands presented the Erasmus Prize to Sir Herbert Read in Amsterdam. Prince Bernhard disclosed that some members of the foundation had hesitated whether it was appropriate to award the prize to Sir Herbert since the word 'anarchist' had

The Prince said he was glad the members had thrown their fears overboard because, said the Prince, 'I love your type of anarchist'. He thought the word 'idealist' was more appropriate to Sir Herbert than The Amsterdam police chief resigned 'with honour' in connection with other events in Amsterdam.

MOHAMED YUSUF DAAR, the son of an Indian father and a Pakistani mother. has been appointed a police constable in Coventry, Britain's first full-time coloured Crime in the City of London fell 16.99 Prosecutions for drunkenness in England and Wales declined. guard dog at a quarry prevented ten people going to the assistance of a quarry worker who was trapped under

THE VATICAN DENIES that it has controlling shares in a Danish holding company which is planning to invest in the production of birth-control pills. However, it has not disclosed details of its investments but the Executive Board of the Papal Commission on Birth Control's views on the pill, etc., are still

MRS, RENEE SHORT, MP, asked the Minister of Health to direct doctors not to apply conditions before supplying oral contraceptives. She said some doctors husbands before supplying oral contra-ceptives. The Minister of Health said requiring written consent from British Medical Association decided to accept phased pay increases and withdraw 18,000 resignations they hold. .

THE BMA PUBLISHED a booklet stating

that suicidal depression is mainly a problem of the big city. 'Life amid a teeming multitude of total strangers can be terrifying for the solitary, friendless newcomer.' Every year about 5,000 people in England and Wales commit There are five suicides for every six road accident deaths. Suicide rates are higher in the 'bed-sitter' areas. They are lower in areas where people live in family homes and in working-class boroughs where there is a tradition of being friends and neighbours. The situation calls for more friendliness toward that funny old woman, so lonely that she loiters for crumbs of conversation the grocers; that swarthy foreign student pining in uncongenial digs; anyone lonely, sick or old'

A 56-YEAR-OLD rent collector was charged with making false entries in his rent accounts. It was stated that he paid, out of his own pocket, the rent of families who fell behind and when his own money ran out he made false entries. He was given a conditional discharge and his council employees had found him work in another department He said on discharge, 'When you see a house with young children who are hungry and the parents are balancing the rent against food, you want to

Mr. MATSUDA, a Japanese private citizen, a manufacturer of body-building equipment, took four pages in The Times at a cost of £5,400 to put forward his ideas for peace in Vietnam.

BILLY GRAHAM FINISHED his crusade in London and Hugh Heffner and the Bunnies started theirs. JON QUIXOTE.

Oops-sorry!

Dear Comrades,

Whilst thoroughly approving of Jack Stevenson's front-page article, 'Our Lord has had His Day', I feel I must write to correct its reference to Lord Willis as 'one of the less fanatical Christians'just in case Lord Willis does not see FREEDOM himself. Far from being a Christian, however unfanatical, Lord Willis is a professed Humanist/Atheist, and an active member of several Humanist organisations.

BARBARA SMOKER. London, S.E.23

Paper Kites

Dear Editors,

Your correspondent B. McGrath, who claims to be an 'anarchist' as well as a Chinese-liner', should learn that if he wants to fool the anarchists with paper kites, they should not be made out of loose leaves from Mao Tse Tung's Collected Speeches, vol. 109.

It is true that the Spanish Anarchists were fighting alongside the Communist Party, but they bitterly regretted it when the latter, on instructions from Moscow, sabotaged and betrayed the working-class revolution, murdering the anarchist militants, and playing into the hands of Franco. McGrath says that 'if we ourselves were in Vietnam, and this is the yardstick', we would be aiding the NLF and by the same token, presumably, in Great Britain in 1939 we should have been supporting the Chamberlain Government (sorry, it was still an imperialist war then; I mean, in 1941 we should have been supporting the Churchill Government). The story that you have to make common cause with any oppression providing it is fighting another oppression, and providing you happen to be living under the first, is as as patriotism. It returns afresh in new dress constantly, but I fear answering it once more with familiar anarchist arguments will be just in one ear and out the other so far as the McGraths of this world are concerned.

He refers to the 'Coca-Cola dictatorship'; by this yardstick, apparently, Hitler's was a 'Sauerkraut dictatorship' and Mao's is a 'Chop-suey dictatorship'. Is it possible that McGrath is moved more by national hatred of the Americans than by anti-imperialism?—a not uncommon phenomenon on the phoney left. Chinese-line communism offers, he says, 'a stable dedicated period of, say, 100 years'. This is so familiar a totalitarian argument (Hitler's tausendjähriges Reich; Franco's cien años de seguridad) that it needs not be answered. True, the anarchist movement is not so vocal in China as it is in the countries where 'Caucasian anarchists' (his expression!) live, only because it is illegal and subject to severe penalties. But it still lives, and is not waiting for a century to pass. Of course the 'Chinese-liners' would be 'happier to see the anarchist banners with Ralph Schoenman and the Vietnam Soli-darity Campaign' than 'baying at the

LETTERS

& Controversy

leadership'; especially if they were baying slogans like 'Release the Chinese political prisoners'.

Peddle your Chinese line around the Trots, friend McGrath, the anarchists require at least freedom from capital punishment for professing their ideas before they will accept you even as lesser evil; the Trots ('Defend the Soviet Union', etc.) are much more easy going in this respect!

London, W.C.1 INTERNATIONALIST

Smoke-screen for Socialism

With reference to Ian Sutherland's com-

ments-Freedom (14.5.66). Is this the final attribute of the socialist movement-smoke? The behaviour of the so-called Left element in Glasgow on

May Day '66 was, to say the least, a disgraceful and shameful negation of everything that socialism is supposed to stand for. If the Left elements don't agree with the Labour Party, the best thing to do is to ignore them completely and thoroughly. What kind of shining light would a phoney Labourite be without an audience? By these shameful and irresponsible actions the alleged left wing are doing untold damage to the socialist movement-by giving the press unlimited scope to show up the Left as emotional juvenile delinquents-by confusing the public as to what socialish all about-by attracting thugs into the movement-and by misleading youth into a negative approach by bad example,

Throwing smoke bombs at public meetings is not socialism. Chanting stupid slogans is not socialism. Preventing free speech is not socialism. Turning out once a year to make an ass of one's self is not socialism.

The United Socialist Movement ignored the 'official' May Day demonstration and held an independent demonstration and open-air meeting. We went to great lengths to advertise this, with posters, by word of mouth and touring Glasgow with a loudspeaker mounted on a van. We appealed to the alleged Left wing for assistance — for help to distribute thousands of handbills specially prepared for May Day-for speakers-for help to sell the Word Quarterly, which we worked on all night to get ready for May Day. One of our main speakers, Comrade Ianiello, had not been in bed for two days, working constantly in preparation for May Day. Comrade

Caldwell, editor of the Word Quarterly, worked into the early hours of the morning, to get the magazine ready for May Day, every day for a week previous. Needless to say, our cries for help fell on deaf ears. The phantom socialists of Glasgow are never to be found when something constructive is to be done.

The United Socialist Movement does not meet the public once a year, at Easter or thereabout, we are in the streets of Glasgow every week. We are trying to take socialism back to where it belongs-away from the intellectuals, the bearded beatniks and the university types to the working people. We need help and assistance—we need ideas-we need speakers and, unfortunately, we need money.

No, no, Ian Sutherland, all the smoke. all the noise and all the sloganising at Queens Park in Glasgow last May Day did not contribute one iota to the advance of the socialist cause. Don't play the political game-leave politics to the prostitutes and careerists-join us and the people in the real struggle. The struggle to establish a just society.

Yours fraternally, BEN MULLIN, Glasgow, C.5 United Socialist Movement 17.6.66

KEEP IT UP

WEEKS 25 and 26, JULY 2, 1966 Expenses: 26 weeks at £80: Income: Sales and Subs.:

DEFICIT:

£2080

£1633

Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-Vermont: T.J. 9/-; New Malden: J.T. Kincardineshire: M.S. 2/-; London, N.W.11: S.C. 19/-; Reading: Anarchist Group 10/-; Sandgate: M.D. 3/-; Northolt: Anarchist Group* 3/6; Bristol: R.N. 4/-; Doncaster: J.R. 5/-; Glasgow: J.S. 8/-; Johannesburg: V.D. 5/-; Brisbane: R.J. 6/6: Grantham: Sydney: R.G. £2/18/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Castle Douglas: J.A. £1/1/-; San Francisco: Proceeds of Picnic June 12 £43/15/-; Sandown: H.O. £1/1/-; California: C.L. 10/6; Aberdeen: D.G. 18/-; Edmonton: N.M. £2/5/6; Needham, U.S.A.: Proceeds of Picnic £85/1/-: Northeim: E.G. 13/6; London, S.W.1: Anon 4/4; London, N.W.2; D.S. 8/-; Manchester; K.P. 5/-; London, N.19; F.J. 4/-; Oregon: J.L. 14/-; Richmond: P.O. 5/6; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Selby: H.N. 8/-; London, E.11: L.R. 8/-; California: H.B. £1/1/9; Vancouver: J.R. 4/-; Oxford: Anon* 5/-; Stroud: S.R. 1/1; Pittsburgh: L.K. 14/-; Glasgow: A.J.

Previously Acknowledged: £473 18 6

TOTAL: £148 18 8

1966 Total to Date: £622 17 2

*Denotes regular contributors. Gift of Books-London, S.E.2: G.H.: London, W.4: R.W.

before we get a better transport service? If not what are his ideas for improving Goodwin St., London, N.4 or myself. it immediately AND avoiding the snags

PUBLIC TRANSPORT USER

theoretical future. Does P.T. think we require further details about the demonwill have to wait for the free society stration or SCRAM please contact our field organiser Bob Johnstone, c/o 13

Glasgow

Yours fraternally, JIM LIVINGSTONE (JNR.).

Price 2s. (2s. 3d. or 30c. by post) Appears first Saturday of each month.

JOINT SUB. FREEDOM/ANARCHY: 1 year 42s. (\$6), 6 months 22s. (\$3) 3 months 11s. 6d. (\$1.50)

2 COPIES OF EACH: 1 year 63s. (\$9), 6 months 31s. 6d. (\$4.50)

BY POST: 1 year (12 issues) 26s. (U.S. \$3.50)

BY AIR MAIL: 1 year 47s. (\$7)

MAKE SURE OF YOUR ANARCHIST JOURNALS BY SUBSCRIBING Freedom WEEKLY Anarchy MONTHLY

Price 4d. Every Saturday except the first in each month. (40 issues per year.)

Eds. A reply from P.T. next issue.

1 year (40 issues) 22s. 6d. (U.S. \$3) 6 months (20 issues) 11s. 6d. (\$1.50) 3 months (10 issues) 6s. (75c.) SPECIAL RATE FOR 2 COPIES:

1 year (40 issues) 30s. (U.S. \$4.50) 6 months (20 issues) 15s. (\$2.25) BY AIR MAIL: 1 year (40 issues) 45s. (U.S. \$7)

Cheques, P.O.'s and Money Orders should be made out to FREEDOM PRESS, crossed A/c Payee and addressed to the

FREEDOM by AIR MAIL, ANARCHY by SURFACE: 1 year 65s. (\$9.50)

Freedom Press

17a MAXWELL ROAD, LONDON, S.W.6 Phone: RENown 3736

Seamen's Strike Post-Mortem

THE SEAMEN HAVE a year in which to strengthen rank and file liaison, this lack of firm contact

forced them to accept the com-

Rank and file contact between all workers is vital, but seamen are particularly vulnerable to lack of same, because they can only rely on a percentage of their membership being actually involved in the struggle due to long voyages away from

It has been rank and file seamen who have forced the struggle every inch of the way, remembering the important fact that the negotiating committee was prepared to accept the original offer made by the shipping employers.

Contact Column

Tanya Howell. Please contact Peter Neville without delay as MAY have job in country for you. If in contact with Tanya anyone pass message on please urgently.

Accommodation Wanted. Urgently. Poet seeks poet-cheap room in West London. Otherwise responsible person. Box 33.

Polish Protest. UL & S Defence Committee. Demonstration, Orbis, Regent Street, London, W.1. Saturday, July 9 commencing 10.30 a.m.

'Solidarity'. Weekend conference in Birmingham at Digbeth Civic Hall on the ideas and activities of the Solidarity group. Saturday, July 9, 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. Sunday, July 10. 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. and 2 p.m. and 5 p.m. Further details from Gordon Causer, 27 Upper Gungate, Tamworth. Staffs.

Progressives Unite! All persons genuinely concerned in doing something practical towards communal living, cooperative business ventures, mutual aid or sexual emancipation. Please contact: Emmanuel and Mary Petrakis, 45 Plimsoll Road, London.

Heatwave. The English successor to The Rebel Worker 6. First issue contains 40 pp. of articles on drug addiction, the provos, and the international youth revolt. Now available 2/- post free, from Charles Radcliffe, 13 Redcliffe Road, London, S.W.10 or from Freedom Press.

Centenary Lectures NSS. Friday, July 8. Freethought and Liberty. Martin Ennals, etc. 7.30 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

July 22. Freethought and Social Work. Peter Fryer and Kerstine Richards.

Fallex. Fallex and other Official Secrets sent under plain cover. Sample ob-Ipswich Anarchists, 68 Christchurch Street, Ipswich, Suffolk.

Manchester Poetry. Northern rendezvous for Poetry, Folk and 'happenings'. Thursdays 8 p.m. Packhorse Hotel, Bridge Street, off Deansgate, Manchester, 2/-

Stickers. POLICE BRUTALITY IS FACT, JUSTICE IS FICTION. ANARCHY IS FREEDOM. 25/-

per 1,000. Contact Box 31. Summer School. Committee of 100-July 23/30 on The Scope of Libertarianism' at Aylesmore Farm, Warwicks. Cost £3. Register by 10/deposit to 13 Goodwin Street, London, N.4.

Hospitality wanted. Sixteen-year-old comrade (male) from Paris would like to stay with family during summer vacation. Write Box 29.

Accommodation Offered. To responsible person in return for taking child to school some days and a (very) little housework. Write 15 Pennine Mansions, Pennine Drive, Golders Green, N.W.11 or phone MEA 1872.

Accommodation. Flat or rooms required in London area (preferably unfurnished) by teacher and wife. For one-year period from September. P. and M. Ford, 102 Stotfold Road, Arlesey, Beds.

Wanted. Support for London market project. Cash and/or loan of van.

Box 34. If you wish to make contact let us know

All through the piece, the NUS unions are one of the last to hold leadership had their backs pushed hard against the wall, and were consistently searching for the slightest pretext to call off the dispute. But they feared unofficial rank and file action far more than the combined forces of the Government and the

employers.

What of the support the seamen did receive? This was mostly financial, but even more they needed active support. The T & G, in a blaze of glory, did no work other than their own, but the build up of ships in the ports did not prove to be an embarrassment to the Government, and in turn the anticipated numbers of dockers were not laid off. So much for the plan of Mr. Dash that dockers would receive 'fall back' pay whilst helping the seamen. To be perfectly frank, the seamen were out-manoeuvred by the shipping employers at every stage of the game.

The 'old lady' at Congress House had no intention of helping the seamen; it would have been bad enough if they had stood by on the sidelines, but in fact they were responsible in forcing the seamen to accept the compromise, the thought of spreading the strike brought the smell of '26 and they trembled in

One point that did stand out was the amount of foreign unions who are under the voke of non-strike legislation, it looks as if the British

What now? The Government were forced to 'take the seamen on' if they wanted to continue to play the role of the 'Government that will rule irrespective'. On Monday the anti-strike legislation bill will be published, and somehow I don't think they will hang about too long before pushing it through Parliament, probably the beginning of the next session.

The only fact that seems to be in doubt is whether defaulting workers should be sent to prison if they fail to pay the fine, or have the money deducted from their wage packets by the employers. Frank Cousins is opposed to both and has resigned.

We can now expect the Government to take a tough line all round: they have intervened in both the railway and seamen's disputes, and will not hesitate to intervene anywhere else in the future.

What we must do as workers is strengthen and spread rank and file organisation, on an industrial basis. To hell with the CP and their parliamentary politics; to hell with the fifty shades of Trotskyism; they are the 'kiss of death' to industrial militancy, and freedom of action. They all promise the road to Utopia. but the price they demand is a ring through the nose for ever more.

BILL CHRISTOPHER

UNDOUBTEDLY the Prices and Incomes Board is a body that is not in the public interest but in the interests of the state and capitalism.

However, it would be a mistake to regard every minor recommendation of the Board as not in the general interest. as P.T. does in his piece on the busmen (11.6.66). P.T. is of course right in saving, as the Phelps Brown Report recommended, that busmen should be paid a wage comparable with that of other industries. But he is wrong in attacking the PIB recommendations concerning the more efficient use of present man-power on the buses-recommendations regarding meal times, bus speeds, part-time workers for the rush hours, an extension of the hours during which standing is allowed and an increase in the number of one-man operated buses, including all Green Line routes. P.T. describes these recommendations as being made with the end of making the industry, as a whole, a profitable one but only at the expense of the busmen right in saying that the recommendations are only a substitute for a substantial wage rise. But surely what is wanted is both a wage rise AND increased efficiency not just a wage rise alone. It is unfortunate that only proposals regarding efficiency are being put forward at the moment but I fail to see how the proposals in themselves are to the disadvantage of either the busmen or the public. The proposals are advantageous. in my opinion, for the following

Part-time workers at rush hours would undoubtedly reduce the busmen's biggest bugbear-having to work two shifts a day-at the morning and evening rush hours. Unless part-time workers are used (although where they will come from is a mystery to me), the only other answer is for firms to stagger working hours, thus spreading the rush hour over the whole of the day. But this is an idea that both employers and employees in the London area are against for obvious reasons. I think P.T. will see that even if every vacant job on the buses was filled twice over, there would still be, so long as rush hours last, either double shifts or else grossly uneconomic working during non-peak periods.

Increased speeds (not presumably dangerous speeds) and an extension of the hours when standing is allowed seem to me to be in the general interest of bus passengers and hardly make the busmen's

The use of more one-man operated buses also seems a sensible idea. They are already used by London Transport on quieter routes and are widely used elsewhere in the country. The drivers concerned receive slightly higher pay for the job, doubtless not high enough, but I fail to see what the objection to the idea is on principle.

It also seems to me that the main reason for the poor public transport service is the vast number of cars which congest the roads and also keep the buses nearly empty for long periods of the day. For instance, route 98b, that served an outlying area of Harrow, was recently withdrawn by London Transport as being grossly uneconomic. A body of local people in the area then asked a private enterprise company to run the route and they agreed to do so even if the profit was small. This new service received wide publicity and the good wishes of many local bodies. But what happened? Even though the new service was a guaranteed one with no buses cut out or turned short, the route still ran with only two or three passengers so it was dropped. Would, I wonder, a bus system run on workers' control continue to operate for just a handful of people? The answer is NO. Some way will have to be found to encourage people to leave their cars and return to the buses. Better services alone won't do it nor even reduced fares nor even FREE buses, in my opinion, because cars are status and sexual symbols and no one is going to give that up for a few shillings a week. The only way I know to get people to return to the buses is state legislation which anarchists can't support for obvious reasons and which would be a suicidal measure for whichever government introduced it. Consequently they won't.

Similarly, any substantial wage rise not covered by a fare rise (a short-sighted and self-defeating idea in itself) would still have to be passed on to the public in one shape or form. This would mean that car owners would have to pay a proportion of the bus costs as well as their private car costs. Such an idea would again be political dynamite and hence is not likely to be recommended. It has also been argued that the money wasted on H-bombs, 'East of Suez', etc., could be used to substantially raise busmen's wages and hence improve things for the passengers too. But the money wasted on arms, etc., has already been earmarked (in the radical press) for the

For Workers' Control

Freedom

JULY 9 1966 Vol 27 No 21

A Threat to **Shop Stewards**

THE ENV ENGINEERING factory in Willesden is well-known in the area for the good wages and conditions that workers enjoy there. This has been achieved steadily over a considerable period by the rank-and-file union members at the factory. They have elected shop stewards who represent both the production workers and the supervisory staff. The ENV Shop Stewards' Committee has done a tremendous job and has achieved conditions of a very high standard by a militant policy.

Now all this is under attack. For some months now the shop stewards' committee has felt that the management was after a showdown and was trying to provoke strike action. Up until now this has been avoided and any action taken has usually been by banning overtime, which is the case at present. The latest move on the part of the management is the refusal to negotiate with the shop stewards 'until normal working conditions are resumed'. In the view of the management this means overtime and the executive members of the Amalgamated Engineering Union are in agreement with this. The management have also approached the executive councils of the unions represented at the factory and they have now both agreed to a 'joint composite conference' which the shop stewards will attend.

What all this amounts to is that the ENV shop stewards, because they have pursued a militant policy, are now liable to disciplinary action from their unions' executives. But there is more in it than just an industrial aspect. There are also

political implications for the ENV Shop Stewards' Committee is one of sponsors of the campaign against Government's incomes policy and proposed legislation to enforce it. The same committee also organised the co ference from which was formed London Industrial Shop Stewar Defence Committee. This is also es paigning against the Government incomes plans.

This attack on the shop stewards be a joint union-management one, both ENV and the AEU support Government's policy. In fact Sir Will Carron, the President of the AEU, i ardent believer in it and has launce his own crusade against any organisati or persons who oppose it.

There is a strong possibility that s union executives, especially that of AEU, will withdraw the stews credentials. This has been the pal in the building industry in the case militant policy on the part of a shop stewards' committee. This c happen at ENV's and the union execu could negotiate new agreements with management which could do tremend harm to the unity that exists at present

The facts, and the implications, of t attack should be made as widely know as possible. An attack of this nature must be defeated and it is essential that other shop stewards' committees and rank-and-file industrial organisations pledge their active support. If ENV and Carron succeed, who will be next?

FTER MANY GALLANT attempts A to influence the most affluent, powermad group of people in this hallowed isle the workers yet once more resumed their weary trudge to the Houses of

They gathered, from all over London and outside, at the Barbican site on a Wednesday afternoon - June 22, the banners of the trade union branches and the shop stewards' committees gaily led by the striking seamen. They marched five abreast, along the streets of the City of London, through the meat market of Smithfield, past the empires of the paper barons on to the Embankment. Here they were disarmed of the banners, in case such slogans as National Union of Seamen. Amalgamated Society of Boilermakers and Ship Building Engineers and the like should prove to be a danger to the existence of established law and order in the Kingdom.

Bannerless. the 3,500 marchers streamed towards the hub of the dving empire, trapped in a Gothic nightmare like a prison which confounds the imagination. A few innocuous scuffles broke out with a uniformed band who appeared to have no shops stewards or any sense of self-discipline. Even when the disagreement had ceased, these people insisted on occupying a part of the pavement intended for the use of pedestrians and people attending to their business. They were they said, 'Invested with authority'. None of them could produce one so I did not discover what it looked like. (Unless their meaningful glance at their boots was intended to convey something.)

The working men who had forfeited a day's pay in order to request, democratically, their Members to change their minds waited in a long queue around the Gothic horror like bewildered relatives on visiting day. They came, they saw, and they went away, unsatisfied from the greatest whorehouse in Europe. They

gathered later in the Denison Hall in Victoria to squabble among themselves about what to do about IT next.

The political factions of the Left excelled themselves in bad behaviour to each other. The hall was packed and the working men who had lost faith in talk many years ago adjourned to the pubs for a more sensible recreation while the vanguard of the revolution struggled with words and very nearly with deeds to assume the leading role in outdoing each other in verbal ferocity. The Left outflanked the Left and the converted disagreed over the true testament of Marx and others in the present situation.

It seems that when the Left gets downwind of the farts of power (even from Mr. Heffer's militant arse) they become giddy with euphoria and like all drunks fall out when they haven't the money to pay for the next round between them. So there you have it; the choice made to the workers of this country was simple in the Denison Hall. The communists asked for a nation-wide campaign of anti-trade-union-legislation lobbies and the SLL demanded a one-day general strike on July 20 (presumably you can do both if you fancy it). But at 9 p.m. they went away to face the fact that not one worker had come out in support, but they left the Vauxhall Bridge Road buoyed up with righteousness, and ill-will towards

Blessed are the lumpen proletariat who shall inherit the earth.

The annual International Libertarian Summer Camp will be this year in St. Mitre les Rempart in the region of Marseilles, France. All persons interested should write to: International Camping, Campagne du Pere Icard, St. Mitre les Remparts, 13-B d R-France. The Camp will open this year on July 18 and go on until August 31.