

Will the UN go Revolutionary?

AT A TIME when U Thant, the UN Secretary-General is advising the world as to the possible demise of the United Nations there might seem to be evidence that the UN is being forced into taking revolutionary forms of action!

This observation is caused by the announcement from Mr. R. S. Coulibaly, of Mali, chairman of the UN Special Committee on Colonialism, that the elimination of colonialism in Southern Africa would mean the UN taking 'direct action, revolutionary action, and recourse to violence' should persuasion fail. Mr. Coulibaly added: 'Violence is what they suffer under, and they would be opposing force with force'.

One hears that this reference to violence 'confounds, in the British view, the spirit of the United Nations Charter'. The British Government was at pains not to associate itself with the UN Committee; Britain has always had a profound understanding of the spirit of the UN Charter ever since the days of the Suez 'operation' and the decision not to associate this country with men talking of violence comes nobly from a country nearly sinking in its tenacious grasp of 'nuclear-terror logic'.

The cause of the UN outburst is primarily about the contentious issue of South West Africa. At the moment the International Court is ruling as to whether South Africa has violated the terms of her mandate over the territory of South West Africa.

The mandate under which South Africa administers South West Africa began after the first world war when Germany renounced all rights over its overseas territories (of which South West Africa was one, where in 1904, 60,000 Herero tribesmen had been slaughtered by the Germans during an insurrection). Under the League of Nations the territory of South West Africa was to be regarded as the responsibility of the League with South Africa having certain obligations to 'Promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and social progress of the inhabitants of the territory'.

The United Nations has since replaced the League of Nations and South Africa argues that its responsibility to 'the world community' has lapsed with the demise of the League of Nations. Ethiopia and Liberia, however, have invoked the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court on the matter, they have asked the Court to declare that South Africa must cease apartheid practices forthwith in South West Africa.

If the Court should decide against South Africa the UN must act or abdicate. Economic and military action are possible in theory, for if South West Africa is annexed by South Africa in defiance of international law—as seems likely to be the case—all measures which

seem necessary to restore the authority of the UN in South West Africa are conceivable—theoretically.

But, those who would like to see the UN intervening in Southern Africa should look at a few practical realities. As Douglas Brown writing in the *Daily Telegraph* (3.6.65) put it: 'The military threat (to South Africa) from black Africa is negligible, and from the United Nations purely fanciful. The coming judgement of the World Court concerning the mandate over South West Africa holds certain perils for the legally-minded—but what boots international legality to-day?' The *Spectator* late in 1963 proclaimed: 'South West Africa is the lever for shaking South Africa's confidence in her policies and undermining her belief that in the end Britain will always be on her side.' Yet it is mining—in diamonds and gold—not undermining which continues to hold Britain's interest in South Africa. The *Star* of South Africa writes (19.2.65): 'A demand of the World Court calling on South Africa to abandon apartheid in the mandated territory or relinquish the mandate would quickly be brought before the Security Council with demands for enforcement. The outcome of such an encounter is not easily predictable. The UN is already in so much trouble over "peace keeping" operations that it might be anything but peaceful.' But where is the UN to acquire the money to finance a force to intervene in South West Africa? America would never finance a force that might endanger the capitalist economic system which is dependent to some extent on the stability of South Africa.

The 485,000 non-whites in South West Africa and the 73,000 whites are divided along racial lines as to their best courses of action in the present situation. The Africans have expressed the wish to come under UN trusteeship, the whites have generally accepted the 1964 Odendaal Commission's recommendations for the country.

These recommendations, made by a body of whites, are a product of the Bantustan ideology. The plan is to have eleven Bantustans in South West Africa, dividing Africans into tribal groups with the territory's sources of wealth and power in the hands of the whites. Apart from the minor annoyance to a few whites of the buying of 427 White-owned farms by the South African Government, at a cost of 123 million pounds, the whites only gain from the Odendaal plan. Implementation of the plan is now under way, 158 farms have already been purchased from White farmers whose land lies in the 'Non-white homelands'.

Those who see the Odendaal Commission as a concession to 'world pressure' should look at the report of the UN Special Committee on Colonialism as concerns South West Africa. The Committee assert that the economic gap between the white developed area and the 'homelands' would be widened by the Commission's proposals. Conditions in South West Africa are also mentioned in the UN Committee report. 'The laws of the territory', they write, 'deny Africans the right to strike, break their contracts, or refuse to carry out the instructions of their employers, even when conditions are inhuman; penal sanctions are applied against all who do so. The work the Africans perform for the mining and other companies is basically forced labour, and therefore the African population lives as though in slavery.'

Although one hopes the UN has gone revolutionary, it is distinctly unlikely. The UN needs more than outbursts about direct, revolutionary action before one takes serious notice

RONALD ARTHUR BIGGS, serving 30 years for armed robbery and conspiracy for his part in the Great Train Robbery, joined Charles Wilson, fellow-conspirator, in making an escape from prison. Not only this, but Ronald Arthur Biggs took three other men with him when he left Wandsworth jail over the wall.

The general public seemed to be assailed with its usual mixture of indignation and admiration at this feat. Trained to worship efficiency, planning, organization and daring as displayed by commandos, policemen and business tycoons, they cannot switch off this hero worship when its 'heroes' are not socially approved. Hence the mildly schizoid state of public opinion.

This was displayed at its crudest in one of the London *Evening Standard's* Picture Probes on July 9 where members of the public are questioned on their solutions of problems of the day. At the drop of a hat the interviewees give a spot-on solution to problems which have baffled criminologists, sociologists, penologists, diplomatists, economists and mere politicians.

The problem posed was 'how to keep the train robbers in jail'. Seven out of ten of the people interviewed believed that more stringent precautions at the prisons would prevent the escapes, for example stronger guarding, isolated exercise, change of extradition treaties, tightening up at the prison, electrified fencing and an alarm system, more up-to-date prisons, rises for prison-warders and individual guards for long-term prisoners.

ORGANIZED ESCAPIST

Such touching faith in the ability of heightening the challenge to escape is infantile. A man sentenced to thirty years imprisonment must needs seize at hopes or chances of escape. Given the active 'loyalty'

—probably induced by threats to inform—of those on the outside with financial resources, chances to escape will be organized and have been organized.

As big business has become more organized, so has crime and so have the attempts to thwart the penalties for crime. As in the field of international armaments, force has been met with counterforce.

Two of the crudest of the *Standard's* expert advisers are a colonel (presumably an ex-colonel) who is a transport manager, and a commissioner. The ex-colonel said, 'I would not have thought these men ought to be exercising in a yard with a lot more prisoners who could prevent warders from stopping them getting over the wall. Take them out in twos with a warder each.' As any graduate of HMP knows, the number of warders is never enough to spare for separate exercise for smaller groups. (The awful combination of non-church-going prisoners exercised with Jehovah's Witnesses sticks in the mind.) Viscount Montgomery could no doubt take the colonel aside and explain the awful perils of allowing men to exercise in pairs.

THE LONG RUN

The commissioner is even more appalling. 'Bad supervision', he says briefly. 'If a man is in for 30 years he must be trying to escape. He should have a special guard always with him. I know it's a lot of expense. But it's worth it in the long run.' In the long run, brother, we're all dead. Prisoners, train-robbers and screws. How is it worth it? Does wastage of the labour of a 'special guard' pay back to the community the money stolen? Does it even pay compensation to Driver Jack Mills (who got £325 and has been given a holiday by one of the recipients of £15,000 reward). Does it prove that crime does not pay?

FABLE FOR OUR TIME

ONCE UPON A time there was an old lady who lived in a three-storied house who was troubled by burglars. Indeed, to paraphrase Mr. Thurber, she had burglars like other people have mice.

Originally her burglars had been French-speaking burglars but when the neighbours got rid of their burglars, she threw out the French burglars because she realized it could be done.

Her relatives on the top floor decided that everybody's property was theirs and decided that the whole house should belong to them. The relatives on the second floor decided to mind their own business. The old lady carried on, but now she had to cook rice for the top-

floor relatives as well. The top-floor tenants were suspected of having burglars as guests.

An uncle who was a solicitor in a big way gave it as his opinion that a lease should be arranged for the house and the burglars should participate in the negotiations. Several of the partners in the firm of solicitors decided to see that a lease was negotiated on these terms; however, they had quarrelled with the burglars on the top floor so they could not negotiate with them. On learning this, the relative on the top floor decided to back up the top floor's interest in this matter and would have very little to do with the old lady although he naturally stayed on in the house.

The solicitors decided that because of difficulties in getting the lease negotiated the old lady should take in a new set of burglars to advise her how to keep out the other burglars. Reluctantly the old lady agreed, particularly since the new burglars brought in some of their own food.

The top floor tenant found he had now two rival sets of burglars as his tenants. One thought it possible that a lease could be negotiated. The other, who had quarrelled with the solicitors, thought this was impossible and eventually he'd have to forcibly take over the whole house, and eventually the whole street.

The solicitors had in fact decided that one of the sub-tenants on the top floor did not exist. In fact they persisted under the illusion that one of the senior partners in the firm of solicitors was the same man and the top floor sub-tenant was an imposter.

The ground floor sub-tenant who was a burglar and had a record of several previous convictions always claimed that he was never a burglar. In fact he claimed that at the moment he was acting as the old lady's adviser.

He claimed, with some justification, that the upstairs tenants wanted to occupy the old lady's lower floor as well and refused to negotiate a lease on the grounds that the old lady might tend to favour the top-floor tenants so he carried

It would only prove that failure in crime does not pay and failure of the police to solve crimes pays even less. The train raid robbers were made an example and who is to criticize those who try and succeed in escaping from the living death of a sentence longer than a life sentence?

The months since the mailbag robbery sentences have seen the routine crop of financial scandals, bankruptcies, swindles and speculations which have deprived the public of millions, not to mention the hallowed permanent swindle of inflation, taxation and currency juggling by governments, but these are bad luck, and just business risks that didn't come off so nobody goes to jail, even for a week!

RAY OF SUNSHINE

The one ray of sunshine in the *Evening Standard* and, judging by her photograph, she is a ray of sunshine, is Mrs. Rosemary Fraser who says, 'I don't think any particular person is to blame. Prisoners seem to be able to escape from anywhere if determined enough.' True, given determination, and may it be added, outside help, prisons cannot be made escape-proof.

Bernard Levin, who is not normally a sensible writer succeeds, one presumes by the mere law of average plus a desire to shock, in making a sensible comment in the *Daily Mail*. Speaking of the escape of Biggs and the sock in the eye that Authority got, he says, 'The bigger Authority grows the more greedy, stupid and insensitive she becomes, the more intolerant of those from whom she derives her strength she grows, the closer she approaches to her ideal state of self-justification, the greater becomes our pleasure at seeing her voluminous knickers descend around her ungainly ankles. And in the end it doesn't matter who cuts the elastic'. JACK ROBINSON.

on his occupancy.

He brought in vast quantities of military equipment, booby-traps, trip-wires and various lethal weapons which he would flourish from time to time. The floors and walls of the old lady's room became so cluttered up that the old lady could not move about without tripping up over some shell, dagger or cross-bow which her lodger had brought in.

The congestion became so great that he persuaded her to empty her larder and cooking-stove to store further military accoutrements. One of the upstairs lodgers (the more belligerent one) had taken to coming down through the middle floor just to annoy the ground floor tenants.

The ground floor lodger said he would stop this going on and proceeded to wreck the middle and top floors whilst the top floor tenant was busy stealing military equipment from the ground floor and wrecking the old lady's apartment, explaining all the while that he was saving her from the other burglar.

Realizing that he wasn't getting on very successfully with his forays into the top floor, the old lady's burglar-lodger returned downstairs to find that the upstairs lodger was now in possession of one corner of the old lady's room, the old lady being now encamped uncomfortably in the middle.

At this point a Mr. Wilson, a retired and allegedly reformed burglar, decided he would try and settle the whole business. A friend of his, a Mr. Walker, had tried before but had had no luck. Mr. Wilson was thought by some to be too friendly with the old lady's original lodger-burglar but his friends many of whom, it is said, were victims of his former burglaries, were supposed to be friends of the top-floor burglars.

Be that as it may, the top floor tenants would have nothing to do with Mr. Wilson and told him to go and roll his hoop and there the matter rests.

But not quite. For the ground floor tenant is known to have a time-bomb which he is quite capable of bringing into the house. Incidentally so has the top-floor tenant. So, once upon a time-bomb there was an old lady who lived in a three-storied house.

MORAL: I can look after my enemies, but god protect me from my friends. J.R.

ANARCHY 53

DISCUSSES

WHAT HAPPENS AFTER SCHOOL?

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

YOU COULD GO TO FOYLE'S BUT

YOU HELP FREEDOM IF YOU GET YOUR BOOKS FROM US

NEW BOOKS

- The Human Body** Isaac Asimov 42/-
The Human Brain Isaac Asimov 42/-
The Ballad of the Sad Cafe (play) Carson McCullers and Edward Albee 18/-
Pedlar of Death: the Life of Sir Basil Zaharoff D. McCormick 35/-
The Merchant of Revolution: Alexander Helphand Z. A. B. Zeman and W. B. Scharlav 45/-
Russia After Kruschchev Robert Conquest 35/-

REPRINTS AND CHEAP EDITIONS

- All That Fall** Samuel Beckett 4/6
Creative Evolution Henri Bergson 18/-
Far from the Madding Crowd Thomas Hardy 6/-
The Mind of Germany Hans Kohn 18/-
Accumulation of Capital Joan Robinson 18/-
Selected Poetry Edith Sitwell 6/-
Sprightly Running John Wain 15/-

SECONDHAND

- The Encyclopedia of Sexual Behaviour**, Albert Ellis and Albert Abarbanel (2 vols.) £3 set; **The Mint**, T. E. Lawrence 15/-; **Youth and the Social Order**, F. Musgrove 15/-; **When Smuts Goes**, Arthur Keppel-Jones 3/6; **The German Colonial Claim** (1939), L. S. Amery 4/-; **Red Star Over China** (1946), Edgar Snow 6/-; **Delinquents in the Making**, Sheldon and Eleanor Gluck 6/-; **The Power and the Valley (TVA)**, Henry Billings 3/6; **White Book of the Bonn War Treaty**, 3/-; **Philosophy of Conflict and Other Essays in War-Time** (1919), Havelock Ellis 10/-; **Invasion '14'**, Maxence Vander Meersch 3/-; **The Yoke and the Arrow**, Herbert L. Matthews 6/-; **The Industrial and Commercial History of England**, James E. Thorold Rogers (2 vols.) 12/6.

Freedom Bookshop

(Open 2 p.m.—5.30 p.m. daily; 10 a.m.—1 p.m. Saturdays; 10 a.m.—5 p.m. Thursdays).
17a MAXWELL ROAD
FULHAM SW6 Tel: REN 3736

FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

- SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM'**
 Vol 2 1952: Postscript to Posterity
 Vol 3 1953: Colonialism on Trial
 Vol 4 1954: Living on a Volcano
 Vol 5 1955: The Immoral Moralists
 Vol 6 1956: Oil and Troubled Waters
 Vol 7 1957: Year One—Sputnik Era
 Vol 8 1958: Socialism in a Wheelchair
 Vol 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 is available to readers of FREEDOM at 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
 cloth 21/-

CHARLES MARTIN
 Towards a Free Society 2/6

JEN HEWETSON
 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) cloth 12/6

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

GEORGE BARRETT
 The First Person (Selections) 2/6

ANARCHIC AFTERMATH of last summer's Police Riots in Harlem has recently come to light. The *New York Courier* revealed on June 12, 1965, that Irving Gilmore, a policeman, intends to file a \$1,000,000 personal injury suit against the city. Apparently he was so badly beaten up that he was first taken to the Harlem Hospital, then later moved to the Knickerbocker Hospital, and after that was taken to Bellevue Hospital.

Since that time he has only been able to work a total of 3 months of light duty with the police department, and since February of this year he has been unable to work at all. A close friend described his condition to the *Courier* as so completely impaired that he has been unable to perform any type of work at all, and he has developed a speech impediment which makes it extremely difficult for him to finish a sentence. Speaking of Gilmore's physical and mental debility the friend said, 'It's a

DAYS WITHOUT END

RUTH FIRST WAS a working journalist in Johannesburg. She edited three papers, *Guardian*, *Clarion* and *New Age*—each in turn were banned by the South African Government.

In 1964 she was detained by the Security Branch of the South African Police under the '90 day' law of 1963. Under this law people can be detained for 90 days without the issuing of a warrant, no charge being preferred, just imprisoned, but on reaching the footpath outside the prison, you can be rearrested and slapped inside for a further 90 days. This can go on at the will and pleasure of the authorities.

'117 Days' is a graphic account by Ruth First of 90 days detention, release and rearrest. The author vividly describes her thoughts and actions in her cell at Marshall Square and subsequent move to Pretoria.

Her declared aim was to glean information from the Special Branch during interrogation, without imparting any information herself. Political prisoners were kept separate from the other inmates, and were always in 'solitary'. During the whole of her 117 days detention Ruth First was allowed only two books. The Bible and, in the very last days, a book of crossword puzzles. When she describes the wardresses and matrons and the other riff-raff of the administration, she displays no hatred, more of a sympathetic humour. Her account of her own detention is interspersed with others who have been detained and tortured in the name of apartheid, anti-communism and freedom. 'Solitary' confinement can slowly destroy the mind, but the effect of release and the rearrests speeds the job up.

Ruth First's description of her last 27 days of detention where she spoke to the Special Branch for hours and told them nothing that they didn't already know, is a salute to her courage and political conviction.

This Penguin Special is an indictment against the South African police state, and should assist in strengthening the anti-apartheid movement. Fascism is a sickness of the mind. South Africa has an epidemic.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

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 18 Several Speakers
 Homage to Catalonia

July 25 Jack Robinson
 Pacifism and Anarchism

Aug. 1 'Whisper and Shout'
 (An evening of poetry. Details from Dennis Gould, c/o Freedom Press.)

Aug. 8 Arthur Rowe
 The Hampstead Road Rent Strike

Public Meetings every Sunday Hyde Park 3 p.m. Correspondence to J. Rety, 10 Gilbert Place, W.C.1.

NOTTING HILL ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary N.H.A.G., Flat 3, 5 Colville House, London, W.11. Meetings 2nd and 4th Thursday of each month at above address.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rumbold Rd., S.W.6 (off King's Rd.), 8 p.m.
 Last Thursday in month: At George Hayes', 174 McLeod Road, S.E.2.
 2nd Friday at Brian Leslie's, 242 Ames-

The Casualty

pity that a once strong man has to suffer these effects maybe for the rest of his life. I doubt whether he'll ever be able again to hold any job because he's a physical wreck.'

Now it might be logical to ask why this story never came to light until June of 1965, nearly a year after the incident. After all, here is a seemingly perfect martyr for the New York Police Department which is now so heavily under fire for its purported 'brutality'. Isn't Gilmore

just about made to order? He has a wife and three children, he's physically destroyed, his life is ruined, he was beaten to a pulp by rioters while on duty in a declared 'danger zone'. What more could they want???

Well, among other things they could wish that Gilmore hadn't been a plain-clothes Negro cop who was pulverized by white cops even though he identified himself by showing his badge. Hence it wasn't really modesty which caused

ANARCHIST WITH A SMALL 'a'

BY NOW READERS of this paper may suspect a bias, for I seem to view plays either at the Aldwych which are good enough, like Shakespeare's, but invariably inexcusably performed and produced, or at the Mermaid where both plays and productions all this season are superior to any I've seen elsewhere. So infallible does this happy pattern continue that I can only reiterate that the boys at the Aldwych ought to trot down to the Mermaid to take a lesson. The former know how to select the plays but they don't know what to do next.

'Left Handed Liberty' by John Arden is currently at the Mermaid. It has a rich and viable content, is intelligently directed and the performances range from superb to able. John Arden, whose anti-war play some may remember, was commissioned by the Corporation of London to commemorate the 750th anniversary of the sealing of the Magna Carta and despite this official invitation, which would have been a death warrant to a lesser and above all less radical artist (Arden has defined himself as an anarchist with a small a), he has come forth with an historical pageant persuasive in characterization and illuminating and damning in its interpretation of events. Arden digs the scene as a predatory battle between royalty, barons and church, with all sides economically and politically avaricious and with the common man the traditional pawn.

Patrick Wymark as King John went all out. He belongs to the heroic school of acting and he had a lot to do. When he began to prepare the audience for his dying, he succeeded in making me believe he was mortally ill. His is the true Method acting despite the mumbling, inarticulation and homage to Stanislavski in the West End.

Robert Eddison was Pandulph, the Pope's representative. His lines had that specialized double-think for which the Church is notorious and they were majestically and cynically delivered. Chief of the barons was something of a sex maniac. Timothy Bateson had a great time ogling the King's wife and his power. There was little to choose between King, Church and the barons and I've spent some little time wondering what the Queen, our contemporary queen, that is, who came around to one of the performances, made of it all.

A query. Is there any way in which the author can make more obvious the murderous intent of the play: a study of history motivated primarily by power politics? I have an impression from other critics as well as audience reaction that 'Left Handed Liberty' conveyed an

aura of 'All's Right With the World—After All'. This fault is only partly the author's. This play required reflection and contemporary audiences have lost this knack, tending to view theatre exclusively as an Entertainment.

But Arden, faced with the problem of making King John a living character, made him a sympathetic scoundrel (everyone has known the kindly murderer); besides, the Church and barons were so much worse. Nevertheless, Arden also wrote a short, anti-climactic final scene which purports to persuade us to forget the end-means game, suggesting we believe that the Magna Carta, despite the methods involved in its evolution, and despite the trickery and neglect in its application, is nevertheless a significant document. Never mind, Mr. Arden. There aren't many, if any, writing better plays for the contemporary theatre. DACHINE RAINEY

PORTON WALK-ON PLANNED

THE CAMPAIGN to reclaim Porton from the warfare state is beginning to take shape. The pamphlet 'Conspiracy of Silence' which gives the facts on Porton, is now nearly sold out and efforts are being made by the Hampstead Committee to arrange a re-print. LAG 2 promised to take 200 copies for sale in London. The secretary has also been instructed to send a free copy to every active anarchist group in the country with a request to discuss the matter of Porton amongst themselves, with other local groups and at public meetings in their locality.

At Porton there have been meetings, pickets, fasts, leafletting and canvassing all through the summer, leading up to a large scale demonstration on Saturday, September 11.

Here are the plans for that day as issued by the Germ and Chemical Warfare Study Group of the Committee of 100:

12 noon:
 Public meeting in Guildhall Square, Salisbury.

2 p.m.:
 Direct action walk-through from assembly point near Porton. Supporting march (organised by Southern Region, CND) starts from assembly point and forms pickets at gates.

Porton comprises four centres: (1) The joint school of nuclear and chemical ground defence; (2) The microbiological

officials to hush up this case but acute embarrassment!

Briefly the facts were as follows. On July 19, 1964, the second day of the police riots, Irving Gilmore was on duty in the Salvation Army Building on West 124th Street. He received a tip that 'hoodlums' were going to shoot back at the cops—an unpardonable offence (ask any good cop as he blazes away at unarmed civilians with his revolver and impunity). Hence Gilmore went out to warn his colleagues. When he reached 125th Street and 7th Avenue he was told to 'move on' by uniformed white cops. Remember, he was wearing civilian clothes. He showed them his badge but they repeated their warning, then another white cop came up and told him he was a 'black bastard' and clubbed him with a nightstick. Gilmore was knocked unconscious, but several minutes later he awoke very dizzy and they clobbered him some more. Then a white police captain came on the scene and ordered them to 'lock him up'. Gilmore was still vainly showing his badge. At the 28th Precinct he was recognized by his superior, Deputy Inspector Grubert. This probably saved him from additional 'justice'.

At any rate I'm now in the rather awkward position of having to eat my own words. In the Volume 3, Number 6 issue of *Solidarity* I asked rhetorically about the Harlem affair: 'More over if there actually had been a riot why wasn't there one cop—just one of all the hundreds and hundreds who were running around bashing in people's skulls—why wasn't there just one of these cops beaten up, and I mean beaten to a pulp?' And now it seems that there was, only he wasn't in uniform and the rioters were!

H. W. MORTON.

research establishment; (3) The chemical defence experimental establishment; and (4) Allington Farm (where the animals used for cruel experiments are kept). Here, unhindered by any test ban treaty or other international agreement and behind the screen of the Official Secrets Act, the Government prepares for chemical and biological war.

The authors of 'Conspiracy of Silence' believe that the 'research' at Porton is not going on for its own sake and that the weapons are being field tested in Vietnam by American forces. The vomiting gas used there was definitely manufactured at Porton. Chemicals have been used to destroy crops and for defoliation. There is one other establishment in this country, in a very respectable neighbourhood indeed, which may be engaged in similar work. When we are completely sure of the facts, information will be released whether it contravenes the Secrets Act or not.

We wish to see Porton used for peace instead of war. We call upon the people of Porton and Salisbury areas to support the demonstrators on September 11. We call upon the Porton scientists to take up jobs of a more peaceful nature. Let them remember Geoffrey Bacon, a 'scientist' who died of the pneumonic plague that he intended to produce for others.

And we call upon our own comrades and everybody in the peace movement to be there and make their presence felt.

PROPOSED GROUPS

WEST KENT LIBERTARIAN ALLIANCE. Anybody interested contact Peter J. Clarke, The George, Frant, Sussex.

NORTHOLT ANARCHISTS. Projected formation of group contact Jim Huggon, 173 Kingshill Avenue, Northolt, Middlesex or Miss Jean McLean, 6 Epsom Close, Northolt Park, Middlesex.

NORTH-WEST ESSEX. Close to W. Suffolk, S.E. Cambs. and N.E. Herts. Contact Robert Barltrop, The Old Vicarage, Radwinter, near Saffron Walden.

HULL & YORKSHIRE (East Riding). Anyone interested in forming anarchist group contact R. A. Baker, 6 The Oval, Chestnut Avenue, Willerby, E. Yorks. Phone: Hull 58543.

SUNDERLAND (Co. Durham). Proposed Anarchist Discussion Group. (Syndicalists welcome) at Geoff. Edwards, 'Side House', St. George's Terrace, Roker, Sunderland, Co. Durham.

ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN

Co-ordinating Secretary: Frank Hirshfield, 4 Albert St., London, N.W.1.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Details of meetings from Peter Neville, 12 South Grove, Erdington, B'ham, 23.

BRISTOL FEDERATION. Enquiries to John Coveney, 12 Normanton Road, Clifton, Bristol, 8.

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Mike Crowley, 36 Whitaker Road, Tremorfa, Cardiff.

DUNDEE GROUP. Contact Mike Mallet, 20 South George Street, Dundee. Meetings Saturdays 2.30 p.m.

EDINBURGH ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Douglas Truman, 13 Northumberland Street.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence: Joe Embleton, 11 Balliol Street, Glasgow, G.3.

bury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).

3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald & Irene Room's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.

First and third Tuesday of every month at 8 p.m. Arthur Uloth's, 30 Arundel Gardens, W.11. (Top bell.)

Meetings at Horseshoe Bar, Drury Street, Tuesdays at 8 p.m.

MANCHESTER & SALFORD ANARCHIST GROUP. For information contact c/o 4 Ouse St., Weaste, Salford 5, Lancs. Open air meetings Sundays at Old Shambles, Victoria St. at 8 p.m. FREEDOM selling Saturday afternoon, Central Library.

OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION GROUP. Every Wednesday at Jack Geraghty's, 8 York Road, Manchester, 21.

MERSEYSIDE FEDERATION. Enquiries: Barbara Renshaw, 4 Clarence Road, Devonshire Park, Birkenhead, Cheshire.

ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.

OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact H. G. Mellor, Merton College, Oxford.

SURREY ANARCHISTS are invited to meetings on the first Thursday of every month at Chris Torrance's (63 North Street, Carshalton, Surrey—please ring three times) and on the 3rd Thursday of every month at M. Dykes, 8 Court Drive, Sutton, Surrey. Both meetings 7.30 p.m.

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

DO-IT-YOURSELF SCHOOLING

AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF EDUCATION AS IT AFFECTS YOU

You have a choice to make NOW. Accept school as it is and become a conforming robot or assert your right to develop naturally as a free individual.

DISCIPLINE

Discipline, rules, regulations are based on fear. Do this or else. Fear must be entirely abolished. Fear of teachers, fear of punishment, fear of disapproval. Warped personalities are the only results of a system based on fear.

SELF REGULATION

Self regulation means the right of a pupil to act freely, on completely equal terms with the teacher. You decide when and how you learn, not the authorities.

VALUES

The values you are forced to accept at school are false, hypocritical. Brotherly love is preached at you in assembly, yet if you have a school cadet force you will be trained to kill efficiently. Success, you are told, means being the cream. Passing GCE's, getting to universities, and sneering at all those not so well-qualified as yourself. You are taught loyalty to things rather than to people. You are taught to accept authority, to look at things the official way, never to question who runs your school life and who decides the sort of person you turn out to be. Your personality is moulded to the State's requirements and if you don't turn out 100% obedient you are labelled 'troublemaker' and 'delinquent'.

REAL VALUES

The real purpose of education should be to learn how to live happily and harmoniously with each other. This means being interested in the whole person, not just his brain. Emotion and intellect must not be separated. You should above all learn to think for yourself and not just accept that what authority tells you is right.

SCHOOL CONTROL

You have virtually no control over any aspect of your school life. The rules are made without asking your consent and the teachers who carry them out are appointed without regard to your opinion. How much work you do and how fast is decided for you and you are expected to comply. Education then is run in the interests of the authorities with hardly any reference to your wishes at all (although under a 'really democratic' head you might get to elect your milk monitor).

SELF-DETERMINATION

Everybody from the newly-arrived first-former to the Headmaster should have a say in the running of the school. No changes in the school's life should be made without consent from everybody concerned. If an individual or a minority group have different ideas from the majority, they should be able to act on them, unless of course it involves the freedom of others.

CURRICULUM

A meaningless pattern of learning is thrust upon you. The formula is virtually the same whether you aspire to be an artist or a mechanic. Most of the subjects taught have little or no relation to reality and are largely forgotten soon after leaving school. (Who but the odd few scholars needs to learn RI for example?)

EDUCATIONAL FREEDOM

The syllabus should be based on what you want to learn, including any subject or activity that you feel is important to your development. Subjects should be closely linked with each other and with the reality of the outside world.

We are not trying to brainwash you or 'indoctrinate' you as the Ilford Recorder said but offering you suggestions. THINK FOR YOURSELVES.

SUGGESTIONS

1. Discuss school among yourselves, try to break the artificial distinction between 'A' stream and 'B' stream. The 'scholar' at the top and the 'dunce' at the bottom. Don't become prefects.
 2. Elect some sort of 'Grievances Committee' whose membership, in case of victimisation, should constantly be changing. Every class should be represented, so creating real unity.
 3. Disregard unnecessary rules about not leaving the premises, or a whole class could turn up at school without uniform. Never obey prefects, assert your right to be responsible for yourself.
 4. In the case of any unjust action by a member of the staff, boycott his or her lessons and refuse to obey them. If anybody is victimised refuse to work in any lesson. Support each other throughout the school.
 5. Refuse to adhere blindly to a set syllabus. Constantly demand to be taught what YOU want to learn. You could even go so far as to organise your own lessons during the dinner hour.
 6. If your school has a cadet force of any sort, refuse to join and try to get others to do the same. Ability to murder isn't a social asset.
 7. As an alternative to striking you could perhaps go to the other extreme. Don't do a thing unless told to by the teacher. Obey the rules blindly and chaos will ensue, e.g., ask for permission to blow your nose or to open the desk.
 8. Reject the 'school' view of society. Argue against nationalism, suicidal wars and power-mad politicians. Don't accept a society of rulers and ruled. Be on the side of people, be on the side of life.
- (These are only suggestions. You may find many impractical, you may think of many more particularly relevant to your school, but don't just sit back and be cultivated like an intellectual cabbage.)

ILFORD LIBERTARIAN GROUP.

'What I'm Doing About the Big Jail Break'

MILLIONAIRE PLAYBOY, ex-diplomat, five-times-married Portfiro Rubirosa was killed in a car crash in the Bois de Boulogne. British model Nina Dyer, whose first husband was Baron von Thyssen and second, Prince Sadruddin, uncle of the Aga Khan (both marriages ended in divorce) died from an overdose of barbiturates in her luxury home near Paris. The editor of the Daily Express resigned. . . .

AT POWERSCOURT CASTLE, Dublin, the home of sports millionaire Ralph Slazenger, *Le Bal des Petits Lits Blanc* was held in aid of a French hospital charity. 130 lb. of caviare arrived from Russia, 200 lb. pate de foie gras from France, and 100 lb. of smoked salmon and 350 different desserts, so did Mrs. Arped Plesch, the Guinnesses, the O'Reillys, Prince Alexander, Prince Rainier and Princess Grace. U Thant, the United Nations secretary, gave a warning that, on present showing, there will be more people unemployed in the world and more suffering from hunger and malnutrition in 1970 than today. He called for action to lessen the gap between the developing and developed countries to mitigate the tensions and hostilities which would occur. . . .

DROUGHT in Southern Africa has destroyed the maize crop and villagers in Basutoland are suffering from malnutrition. Half a ton of powdered milk and biscuits from America have been flown in. Each child in the district will have 4 lb. of milk. 'This,' said the flying doctor, 'should last until mid-winter. After that I shall just have to look around for more. Where it will come from I really don't know. It will have to be found somewhere. . . . There are children here who weigh only 2 1/2 stone at the age of ten. Their limbs are like matchsticks.' According to the Daily Worker, severe drought in the virgin land regions of North Kazakhstan is expected to have a serious effect on the grain harvest from that area. . . .

ACCORDING TO Tom Pocock, Evening

Standard correspondent in Vietnam, American servicemen in a small fishing village, Can Gio, live in a hut equipped with refrigerator, electric cooker and feed on cans of soup, boned turkey, pumpkin pie filling and peanut butter. Pocock writes, 'Awaiting their chow, the other crop-haired young men in the room, soothed by Beatle music, slump in armchairs leafing through *Popular Mechanics*, *Playboy* and *Reader's Digest*.' . . .

ABOUT TWENTY-FIVE giant American B52 bombers flew 2,200 miles from Guam to raid a suspected jungle hide-out of guerrillas 35 miles north-east of Saigon. The aircraft dropped about 500 tons of bombs, a spokesman said. The pilots reported that their bombing patterns had been good. The raid was described officially as 'a spoiling mission designed to harass the enemy and disrupt his operations, facilities, communications and morale'. The South Vietnamese Government had asked for the raid. The B52 Strato-Fortresses were used 'because of their unique capability to place heavy concentrations of bombs over a wide area,' the official announcement said. 'They are especially useful in jungle areas where specific targets cannot be pinpointed for tactical bombing because of the heavy tree canopy.' Meanwhile guerrillas overran Ba Gia, a key Government outpost 330 miles north of Saigon. They inflicted heavy casualties—the South Vietnamese lost an estimated 200 dead and wounded—before withdrawing in the face of a Government counter-attack. One American was reported killed, raising the numbers of Americans killed in action to 400 since December 1961. General Maxwell Taylor resigned as US Ambassador to South Vietnam and will be replaced by Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, a former Ambassador. It was pointed out that General Taylor's term of office was not meant to last more than one year and he was unwilling to carry on. He had been hard of hearing for some time, and

-Evening Standard

a family tragedy on his wife's side is known to have distressed him. . . . TOM WICKER of the *New York Times*, Washington Bureau, wrote, 'The news out of Washington these days is that Mr. Johnson is irascible, moody, high-handed, peevish at his critics and generally hard to live with. But when was this strange and unaccountable man ever anything else?' Mr. George Reedy, White House spokesman, is taking an indefinite and extended leave of absence. Mr. Eugene M. Zuckert, Secretary of the Air Force, resigned as did Mr. Carl Rowan, director of the United States Information Service. Mr. Jack Valenti, appointments secretary to President Johnson (who is said to wake him each morning), described the President as a strength-giver to those around him and compared him with Lincoln, Churchill and Antaeus, the Greek wrestler of mythology. The speech was to an advertising gathering in Boston and Valenti said that it seemed as if God transformed a man when he became President. He claimed he noticed this on the way back from Texas after Kennedy's assassination. 'While everyone else was in a state of shock . . . the new President sat there like a large grey stone mountain from whom everyone began to draw strength.' Mr. Valenti concluded by saying, 'I sleep each night a little better, a little more confidently because Lyndon Johnson is my President.' President Johnson told a Press conference last Friday that he expected the Vietnam war 'will get worse before it gets better.' . . .

IN THE VILLAGE of Tashkale, near Karaman, in Konya, Central Turkey, politicians in election campaigns have visited the village and promised the villagers to help in solving water and pastoral difficulties and with the provision of roads. Nothing has been done. The villagers' patience is at an end. A sign at the entrance to the village reads 'Tashkale—politicians not allowed.' JON QUIXOTE.

LETTERS

Sibelius, Manfred Mann & Universe

Dear Comrades, 'Sibelius: Man and Universe' in FREEDOM (12.6.65) raises the issue, 'Should cultural articles appear in a revolutionary propagandist paper?' It's a good article. Most of it I agree with. To me, Sibelius is the best thing that ever happened to music. For the Fifth Symphony I would forgive him being a rabid Fascist. But what has it to do with Anarchism? The only type of music which can be used for propaganda is the more ephemeral type. Manfred Mann's 'God On Our Side' is a good example. A fine song, well recorded, but I doubt if Paul Jones would claim it has eternal significance. The whole point about Sibelius' work is that it IS eternal, and therefore lies outside the scope of revolutionary propaganda.

Two complaints against the article itself. Bill Jamieson names Wagner as the only other composer who can convey the idea of infinite space. Well, his stuff is big all right, but it's little short of sacrilege to name him in the same breath as Sibelius. Secondly, Bill makes a clumsy attempt to bring politics into his article. 'Marxists' reject Sibelius and 'Individualists' take him to heart. Well, some of my friends are 'Marxist' and like Sibelius. I can't stand 'Individualists' so I don't know what they like.

I suggest the Freedom Press consider whether it wants articles on music, art, and other things whose connection with revolutionary propaganda is remote. Articles on Sibelius in particular are liable to lead into deeper water than is suitable for propaganda.

DAVE COULL.

Has it helped?

Dear Comrades,

In his article 'Marxism: Myth and Reality' R.J. writes: 'It is necessary to write on the true nature of communist countries because some young people . . . often suffer from the delusion that worthwhile alternatives exist in the Soviet Union, China, Yugoslavia or wherever it is.'

Now I would like to ask whether R.J. has any personal experience of these countries, which might enable him to make such statements. If he has not, he should not make them, for then he must rely on information, from which he draws the conclusions he has, I am afraid, already made, for as I dare to say a propagandist is always very much the same, be he anarchist or communist, i.e., he does not tell things which don't fit into his line. Or if he has seen at least one of these countries, if he has travelled there, spoken to the people, observed them working and living, he must be a man in whose judgment I cannot trust.

For R.J. obviously cannot grasp the fact that there are communists who actually are not ignorant but just think that the teachings of Marx might serve a modern society better than those of Thoreau, and that there are people who really prefer to live in a country like Yugoslavia, because they see what good has been done, because they actually have something to say in their community and because they have faith in themselves to do still better. These people, most of whom have never read Marx, love their country for what it means to them, and it means something to them, because they have made something new out of it (whereas most middle-class anarchist intellectuals do nothing but sit on their backside and judge people they have no feeling for). These common people are very much like the Spanish people that fought a bloody war (also something R.J. probably disagrees with) for their brand of life, for their freedom and justice, and whom R.J. and all anarchists cannot praise enough because they labelled themselves anarchist.

Probably, unlike R.J., I have been a young communist not so long ago, and I must admit that I would prefer, on the day of the revolution, to fight with my former comrades than with all middle-class anarchists I know, for however sturdy, dull and unintelligible these blokes were, at least they knew what they stood for, and they acted for it with courage and wholeheartedness, like the anarchists did in Spain, for brave men are always alike, no matter which party they belong to.

Why is it so difficult for anarchists to

admit that communism has achieved a more social pattern of life? That communism has helped people, given them bread, work, and homes to grow up and live and die?

A Bulgarian communist said some years ago: 'Before the revolution the peasant slept on the bare ground. Now he sleeps on a mattress, twenty inches above the ground.' I think this is an achievement worth having and worth fighting for, if anything is worth it.

Articles like R.J.'s cannot attract any young communist to anarchism; for the whole tune of that piece is feeble and sickening. Has anarchist propaganda nothing better to offer than remote speculations, intolerant superficiality, and preaching 'I tell you how it is' attitudes? Give us more from Malatesta or Bakunin, more from someone who writes for people and not for his own theory. Anarchism does appeal to young people—and does so to me—through action, through its great men and their deeds, and because it appeals more than any other theory to the natural feelings, to soul and mind of man. And no opinion should be thought good just because the man who writes it down calls himself an anarchist; the belief in freedom and socialism is not restricted to a happy few who sit on their throne and adorn themselves with their self-righteousness.

JÖRG CHRISTIAN FAUSER.

Frankfurt/M., 3.7.65.

PRESS FUND

FINANCIAL STATEMENT	
WEEK 27, JULY 10, 1965:	
Expenses: 26 weeks at £70:	
Income: Sales and Subs.:	£1900
	£1686
DEFICIT	£214

London, W.6: M.B. 6/6: Anon: £1;	
Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-;	
California: Los Gatos £4 7s.; London, N.W.6: S.F. 10/-; California: Los Gatos	
per L'incarnato proceeds of picnic 13.6.65	
£30 16s.; Northolt: Anarchist Group 4/-;	
Grantham: G.I. 4/6; Willenhall: J.L. 1/-;	
Auckland: W.L. 15/6; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Surrey: F.B. 5/-; Stockton-on-Tees: L.F. 8/-; Newcastle: H.N. 4/-;	
New York: E.S. 1/6; Newry: J.H. 4/6;	
Peterborough: A.W. 18/-.	

TOTAL	£41 0 6
Less Bounced Cheque	£5 3 6
Week 27 Total	£35 17 0
Previously Acknowledged:	£526 5 7
1965 Total to Date	£562 2 7

*Denotes Regular Contributor.

FREE THE IBERIAN PRISONERS!

WE HAVE RECEIVED news from the Exterior Delegation of the Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth, Brussels, of a new campaign for the release of Spanish and Portuguese political prisoners. Groups and individuals from Italy, Holland, Britain, South America, Germany and Belgium, and the French Anarchist Federation, have promised to do their most for the campaign. The comrades suggest a traditional campaign including synchronized protests at Embassies, during the last three weekends of July; letters to the press and resolutions to Embassies and Foreign Ministers. For individual comrades such as Christie, Badoux, Ferry and Pecunia, MPs can be lobbied. The campaign has a quantity of printed propaganda in Spanish, French, English and German.

An enclosed letter from inside Spain calls on the world to emphasize the claims of apparent reforms in Spain such as **Free Trade Unions, Right to Strike** and **Free the Political Prisoners**, and thereby show up the dictatorial regimes, forcing them to release all the imprisoned anti-fascists or 'face the mobilised conscience of all the lovers of freedom the world over'.

SELLERS WANTED FOR ANARCHIST LITERATURE

Support Open-air Meetings, Hyde Park on any Sunday

MAKE SURE OF YOUR ANARCHIST JOURNALS BY SUBSCRIBING!

Freedom WEEKLY

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

BY POST:

- 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)

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

Anarchy MONTHLY

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

BY POST:

- 1 year (12 issues) 26s. (U.S. \$3.50)

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

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)

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

Freedom Press

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

LIBERTARIAN YOUTH SUMMER CAMP

THIS YEAR'S CAMP will be at Aiguilles-en-Queyras (Haute Alpes), close to the Italian Border. The camp site is situated approximately halfway along the road between Aiguilles and Abriès. ROUTES: Train to Gare de Montdauphin (via Paris-Briançon), with a connection by coach to Abriès. ROAD: Route Nationale 202 to L'Esteyere then No. 547 for 10 km. We have only been sent one prospectus. We shall duplicate some and send them to people who want further details if they enclose stamped and addressed envelope.

No Repeat of 1963 Settlement!

THE BUILDING INDUSTRY'S three year wage and conditions tie-up ends in November. Unions and employers have already started the long discussions over a new agreement to take its place. The offer, so far, from the employers is on the same lines as the previous one and gives a similar pittance to that accepted by the unions last time. Then it was 9½d. per hour for craftsmen and 5d. for labourers over the three years, while now they are offering 8½d. for craftsmen and 7d. for labourers over a similar period. Even then twopence of this will be a compensatory rise for the introduction of a 40 hour, five day week with effect from March 1966. On this point the employers say they

want option to work the 40 hours in 5½ days for the six weeks before and after Christmas.

The employers want to abolish the sliding scale cost of living award after March 1967 and have requested that no further agreements should be made outside the National Joint Council. By this they mean the recent 10% pay deal between the Scottish plumbing union and the employers which gave not only the employers and the union leaders in England something to think about, but was of some embarrassment to Mr. Brown's incomes policy.

'JOINT SITES' DEMANDS

The unions have rejected this offer and at their last meeting with the employers decided to set up a joint committee to consider issues. While this meeting was going on in the comfortable offices of the Employers' Federation, building workers were demonstrating outside, showing in no uncertain way where they stood on these issues. The demonstration, organised by the unofficial Joint Sites Committee, was demanding 1/6d. an hour, the 40 hour week and no three year tie-up. They justify this claim in their leaflet: 'Never has this industry been more prosperous. Productivity went up in 1964 by well over 7½%. Value of work done reached the record of £3,614m. Actual output per man in 1964 was worth £4,694m. This is an increase of 7½% or £188 per man—£3 15s. per operative, which represents 1/10d. per hour increase in the value of work. This justifies the 1/6d. per hour claim made three years ago and rejects any question of imposing any wage freeze policy on the industry. With this increase in productivity, the employers are making super profits. We therefore call on the union leadership to demand 1/6d. per hour and 40 hour week in the interests of all building workers.'

The unions for their part have not made any real claim. Harry Weaver, general secretary of the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives, has mentioned a basic wage of 7/6d. per hour for craftsmen and there is talk that the labourers' rate should be 87½% of this or of whatever figure is negotiated. A writer in the *Carpenter and Builder* also says that 'the unions are obviously prepared to sacrifice the sliding scale agreement for better things, and they appear to be equally well-disposed to go along with the employers on the principle of another long-term agreement'.

FITTING THE NORM

This assessment is not far from the mark. Harry Weaver has said that the sliding scale award of 1d. or ½d. has lost its impact. This might be a small amount, I admit, but it works the other way, so why are the employers so anxious to get rid of it? To them, all those extra pennies mount up on their wage bill. As for another three year tie-up, Mr. Mills, the President of the NFBTO, is still defending the present one made nearly two years ago. The union leaders know these long term agreements are unpopular with the rank and file, but with the present political economic set-up of the Labour Government's incomes policy, there will be even more pressure on them to settle for something like the present offer, which of course has been made to fit the 3-3½% norm.

Building employers for their part 'have never had it so good' for now it seems that the profits they are making and have made in recent years are to be safeguarded by the Government. With the present political and economic set-up, the build-

ing worker has a harder struggle ahead if he is going to get rid of any tie-ups and gain a substantial pay increase. Let's face it, even under the Tories, the union leadership accepted a 3½% pittance, so now, with party loyalties and many building unions, especially the largest, the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, backing the incomes policy, things do look grim.

A REVOLUTIONARY PATH

What can be done and is there any chance of breaking the 'norm' and the tie-up? During the 1963 negotiations, a big unofficial campaign was organised against that type of settlement. However it did not gain the support and strength it needed to break the union-employer deal. I think the official aspect of the struggle was stressed too much. By this I mean pressure on union leaders by way of the accepted constitutional channels of branch resolutions, telegrams and the possible changing of officials. These methods do not lead to any radical change, but only possibly to a different official here and there. It is all part of the old game and it is time that this was brought to an end and the revolutionary path taken.

A start should be made to build up an organisation and a campaign based on the rank and file of the unions. The basis for this is already in existence with the Joint Sites Committee. They have done some very good work in the past, but the emphasis has been more on the respectable constitutional side. Unless this committee is going to be used as a jumping off point to a union official's job for some of the brothers, it should be recognised that as an unofficial body it is unconstitutional and as far as the union executives are concerned, it is a thorn in the flesh.

To become really effective, any grass roots movement must be more than a thorn. It must challenge the considerable power which the union executives have. Trade unionists often speak of using the democratic processes in the unions, getting union policy decided by a democratic policy-making conference. All very fine, but even if the resolution is passed by some standing orders committee and accepted by a conference, being then, in theory, union policy, in actual fact the executive often ignores these 'democratic decisions' and carry on in their own sweet way. Added to this is the trend in the unions towards even more power for executives and a whittling down of democratic channels. So it shows that this form of action can lead one into a blind alley.

The Joint Sites Committee has to formulate its demands and organise to achieve them by gaining the support and active participation of the rank and file. It is not a pressure group that has to be built, but a movement that can take back the power into its own hands and, if necessary, paralyse the industry. Then the union members would call the tune and it would be they who would decide what to accept. The employers, for their part, would then be forced to accept that the men were acting for themselves rather than being led by a bunch of officials. This is the job of the Joint Sites Committee, a long term task maybe, but one that can be started now. P.T.

STUART CHRISTIE STILL HAS 996 WEEKS TO DO. WHAT ARE YOU DOING?

Freedom For Workers' Control

JULY 17 1965 Vol. 26 No. 22

Direct Action Pays 6.2 pc

TATE & LYLE refinery workers by direct action gained 2½% over the employers' original offer. As reported in *FREEDOM*, June 19, 5,000 workers had imposed an overtime ban in support of their wage claim and were preparing for a campaign of fortnightly 24 hour stoppages.

The action of the refinery workers was opposed by the NUG & MW, who subscribed to George Brown's wage freeze policy, in happy harmony with the employers. They have achieved a pay rise of nearly twice the norm, this will bring their basic rate to the princely sum of £13 per week. Although I am no prophet, I honestly do not think Tate & Lyle's will end up in Carey Street.

WHY ARE WE WAITING?

LOCO MEN who are members of ASLEF are gradually losing patience with the British Railways' Board over their productivity bonus for all footplate workers. Negotiations have been going on for many months to secure 3 gns. a week. To date British Railways will not talk unless the bonus is tied up with the single manning of locomotives. Footplate crews are rather incensed with the Railways' Board in view of the mileage payments to railway guards. British Railways is as usual having a ball dividing the railway workers of the two railway unions.

PATIENCE IS A VIRTUE

AT LONG LAST the National Union of Seamen has won recognition from the shipowners to have shipboard representation. It will operate on a trial basis on about a dozen foreign going ships. In the July issue of *The Seaman*, a monthly journal of the NUS, the general secretary, Bill Hogarth, states that they had fought for this principle of union representatives on board for three years. What he should have said was, that the rank and file had agitated and fought for it for three years and the NUS on many occasions had neatly side-stepped the issue.

One remark that Hogarth made in *The Seaman* has a very disturbing feature. He states that over 1,000 union members have been equipped with the basic trade union and industrial knowledge necessary for anyone likely to take on the vital job of 'link' man on board ship. I wonder, does this mean that shipboard reps. will be placed on board by the union or will they be freely elected by rank and file seamen? Regulations drawn up by the NUS make it clear that no industrial action may be taken or initiated by liaison representatives under any circumstances unless under specific instruction from the union's head office by its national officials. This will certainly put shipboard reps. in strait jackets unless rank and file seamen make it quite clear to the shipowners and particularly the NUS what they mean by 'shop stewards' on board ships.

53% IS ABOVE THE NORM

THE NUR EXECUTIVE attempted to increase their General Secretary's salary, raising it from £2,930 to £4,500 a year. Delegates at the union annual conference defeated this move by a 2 to 1 majority. Mr. Green commented afterwards that some delegates felt that he should not receive more than the 9% that was awarded to railwaymen last December and, boy, he wasn't joking!

Railwaymen want to streamline their wage negotiating machinery; they want to cut out one of the three stages. Considering their claims take months and months to go through, they are not bad judges. A wage claim is due to be submitted, in fact talks are due to start later this month for a 6½% increase and a 40 hour week. A pity they can't or

won't, liaise with other transport workers in their bid to obtain a living wage.

PLEASE DON'T PAY

GEORGE BROWN has intervened in an attempt to prevent 5% pay rise for the workers in Barclays Bank. Brown sent a public letter to Mr. Aubrey Jones, Chairman of the National Board. When he referred the original Midland pay settlement to the National Board for investigation, he hoped that other banks would hang fire with their wage increases until the Board had made its report. Barclays 5% pay rise is back-dated to April 1. Westminster Bank is expected to award 5% next week, thus being on par with the other four big clearing banks. Barclays award was rejected by the bank staff association on five points, one being that it was not back-dated to January 1, and that salary differentials were inadequate. Lloyd's Bank claimed 7½% rise, has agreed to 5% implementation back-dated to April 1, so that it can press its case for further 2½%. Obviously with George Brown and his wage freeze board on their backs, bank employees are going to find it hard to obtain the further 2½%. This is a repeat performance by the Government when it attempted to intervene in the recent printers' pay award. Let's hope bank employees give the government the same change as did the print workers, 'Hands off'.

CHRISTINA FOYLE WILL HAVE TO PAY

THE SEVEN WEEK old dispute by militant workers will be over on Monday on the basis of a new salary scale. Further negotiations are to take place on commission for booksellers, holidays and sick pay. The strikers received support from other unions plus the fact that some authors had agreed not to allow Foyle's to handle their books owing to the strike. The USDAW organiser stated that the strikers had made a stand for the whole retail trade. If there is any further obstruction by Foyle's during the intended negotiations we can rest assured the pickets will be out again.

THE BITERS BIT

IT IS REPORTED that Edward Martell, Britain's No. 1 Strike Breaker, is in financial difficulties. The *New Daily* is doing very rough, it went from 4d. to 1s. then down to 6d. The contents of this rag is undiluted tripe, I would think twice before I wrapped fish and chips in it.

Martell's weekly abomination *The Recorder* is worse, so obviously these two efforts are burning up the cash like mad.

Freedom Group had to get cash, so a kind of 'Loans System' was introduced whereby people were asked to loan money to the organisation, and the repayments had the personal guarantee of Edward Martell himself.

It is reported that some of the bods who obviously had more money than sense are having some difficulty in getting their money back.

Some Labour MPs are screaming blue murder, calling Martell everything, within the protection of the House of Commons, of course. They appear to be terribly sorry for the people whose money is 'temporarily tied up'.

What a load of old toffee! These people deliberately loaned the Martell organisation money because they believed in his policy which was and is primarily 'strike breaking'.

I personally could not care less if they never saw their cash again. They loaned money for strike breaking, they have come unstuck up to yet.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

Contact Column

Canadian Camp. Libertarian Summer Camp to be held on the week-end of August 20 at Doug Worthington's, Church Road, Sooke BC, Canada. Informal discussion groups, etc. Activities to be decided on by the participants.

French Camp Travel. Anyone going to Anarchist Summer Camp, France in August with a spare seat? Share expenses. Frances Edwards, c/o Marlow, Manor Farm, Wood Eaton, Oxon.

Meeting. To discuss united libertarian action in outer West London 8 p.m. July 22. 'The Anchor', Ealing Broadway. All welcome.

Accommodation Wanted. Young man, ex-freedom-school pupil would like bedsitter with cooking facilities or full board, or share flat with one or two others, South London area, before end of July. Please phone: STReatham 6085.

Birmingham Group to Libertarian Camp. We propose renting a Minibus to the Summer Camp, estimated cost £20 a head (eight people), plus food and personal expenses. Anyone interested reply as soon as possible (also state age, sex, driving licence—clean preferred). Must pay before leaving. May rent two buses. Either middle weeks or last two weeks of August. Peter Neville, 12 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham 23.

Letter Exchange. Correspondent needed on theory and practice of anarchism relevant to present-day America and the student new left. Bob Stone, 106 Queen's Court, San Antonio, Texas, USA.

Vietnam Posters. 'Who Loses in Vietnam—Always the People'. 4d. each. 30/- per 100. Orders to Freedom Press.

Help Needed. To sell anarchist literature outside Bromley library. From 11.30 a.m. every Saturday morning.

Room Wanted—London. Shift worker would like room with mod. cons. South, or West Kensington. Box 11.

North Africa. For four weeks in August by Minibus. £25 basic plus £15. Four-eight sets spare. Write Christine Segalini, Coleg Harlech, Harlech, Merioneth, Wales, or phone Harlech 271.

Fifteen-Year-Old Comrade from Paris wants to stay with family (including someone of similar age) for the month of August. Write Box 12.

Leicester Accommodation. Unfurnished cheap weather-proof accommodation wanted by mature (?) student, wife and two children. Any proposals (sharing, etc.) considered. Mike Radford, 90 Westfield, Harlow, Essex.

L.A.G. Two. Barn/Studio/Basement wanted to house meeting place, library, etc. for LAG II. Suggestions, ideas, details and details of rent required to J. Retz, 10 Gilbert Place, W.C.1.

London Accommodation. Couple and son (two years) seek 2/3 unfurnished rooms, North London. Box 8.

If you wish to make contact let us know.