

The Government's Colour Bar

THE MOUNTBATTEN REPORT on Commonwealth Immigration recommended that immigration be restricted to 10,000 persons per year. Now it is expected that even this low figure will be further reduced and the final number will be around 7,000 per year.

This shows how far the Labour Party has gone since 1961 when, in opposition, they took a principled stand against the Conservative Government's Commonwealth Immigration Act. They are now cutting down on the recommended figure in an effort to win the votes of those of the electorate who are prejudiced against the coloured immigrants.

This policy is actually in operation now and for some time there has been a tightening up on the number of permits issued to coloured immigrants. These numbered over 30,000 in 1963 and last year dropped to a total of 14,000 out of 97,000 applications. In the first five months of this year, 5,500 permits have been issued so it looks as though the Government's new figure will put the official seal on a policy already enacted by the Immigration authorities.

Those immigrants who do manage to get a permit are classified under three headings. A, those with a job already waiting, B, those with a skill which is in demand and C, those, who being unskilled, come here to try their luck. While there are vacancies for unskilled

labour and jobs which need only a short period of training, no 'C' permits have been issued for over 18 months.

IF YOU'RE WHITE, YOU'RE ALL RIGHT

Applications from non-Commonwealth migrants, who are listed as 'alien' labour, numbered over 60,000 last year, an increase over the previous year. Out of these, only 2,000 were turned down and many of those accepted filled vacancies in jobs which were either unskilled or where very little training was needed. So the dice is loaded against the coloured immigrant, unless he is skilled in work for which there is a shortage of labour.

These figures show that whereas Commonwealth immigration, which is mainly coloured, has decreased, 'alien' immigration, which is mainly white, is on the increase and added to this is the immigration from Ireland, which does not come under any control. What the policy of the 'Socialist' Government amounts to is not that it is against immigration as such, but that it really prefers those with white skins. No doubt with their eye on their small majority, they see this as one way to help them gain power at the next election.

Surely one of the best ways to overcome prejudice is to meet and work amongst all people, no matter what their country of origin.

P.T.

TORIES CHOOSE LEADER

"Have you voted yet old boy?"

"Yes, but the last ballot was a damn close run thing though."

"Who are you voting for?"

"I say, steady on, it's supposed to be secret."

"Well, after all we went to the same school."

"I suppose so. I'm voting for the new chap whatjemacallit—"

"Not for him! He's supposed to be a bit of Bolshie."

"I don't know. He's quite sound on most things."

"He's not quite top drawer. Like Sir Alec was."

"I know. He's got a prole background which might help the old image. He's a bit of a thinker."

"Stinker?"

"No, old boy, thinker. Like Enoch Powell. Economics is his subject. Better than the old matchsticks lark."

"I suppose it is the coming thing?"

"Is he soft on welfare?"

"I know he kept the old age pensioners waiting last year."

"Sounds like our sort of chap."

"He's all against workers striking."

"Good-oh. Officially or unofficially?"

"Both. But the official ones hardly seem to happen."

"True. But how is he on wage restraint?"

"Mad keen on it and increased production too, he has an economic theory that increased production will raise the gross national product and we'll be able to afford increased wages out of the increased export profits."

"Sounds reasonable."

"Very reasonable. That's his whole approach."

"Is he in favour of Resale Price Maintenance?"

"Oh yes but he's trying to tie it up with wage restraint. In that he's better than Ted Heath."

"Yes, it sounds a wizard scheme. How's whatshisname on foreign affairs?"

"Sound. He doesn't stand for any of that damn no-bomb nonsense. Continuity of foreign policy every time."

"Jolly good. Does he go along with the Yanks?"

"Well, yes and no."

"Sound policy that."

"How's he on immigration?"

"He's for firmness with a certain measure of tolerance."

"Something like Peter Griffiths."

"I do wish you wouldn't mention him."

"Sorry old chap."

"How does he stand on the vital subjects?"

"What vital subjects?"

"Hanging. Homosexuality. Pornography."

"He seems to be anti-hanging but he doesn't want to waste time discussing it. The same with homos, he'd rather the Lords dealt with it . . . more in their line. He seems to be against pornography on principle."

"Sounds like a good type. Suppose we better give him a whirl. What's his damn name I always forget it."

"Wilson, old boy. Harold Wilson (as in MacMillan)."

JACK SPRATT.

Is Teenage Sex a Problem?

IN THE EARLY days of the social sciences, before Kinsey and when statistics were everything, it was a well-known fact that nine out of ten men masturbate, and the tenth is a bloody liar. Now, thank goodness, we can be more scientific and we know for a fact that one in five of boys and about one in eight girls aged between 15 and 19 have had sexual experience.

To provide us with this vital information an investigation into the extent of sexual activity among Britain's teenagers has been carried out by the Government-sponsored Central Council for Health Education, and a two-guinea volume has been published* written by Michael Schofield, 46-year-old research director of the Council. All the above facts are true. From then on it's anybody's guess.

Certainly some astonishing 'facts' have come to light. For instance, Mr. Schofield straight-facedly tells us that boys have admitted that when they indulge in sexual activity it is because they are impelled by sexual desire. Simply to have this brought to light was certainly worth all the effort of this eminent council. As also was the revelation that teenagers' first experiences usually took place in their parents' homes. Not, you will notice, their own homes, but where their parents lived! And even this depended on how much time the youngsters spent with their parents, instead of with each other! And on how much the parents supervised them, knew where they spent their leisure, and insisted on them being home at a certain time.

As far as our Press is concerned, this investigation has ended in a damp squib. It has not backed up the sensational stories of teenage debaucheries, the picture of a generation living for kicks and dragging itself down into a slough of immoral degradation. So instead of making the front pages with sensational headlines, it is simply commented upon somewhere in the middle, with headlines and comment exposing clearly the pressmen's confusion at not being presented with a clear-cut case of what they expected.

For instance, the *Sun's* headline read: 'Like Charity—Teenage Love Begins at Home', and the first para-

graph began: 'Premarital sexual relations among Britain's teenagers are far from universal. But it is not a minority problem confined to a few deviates. And, according to a book published today, it is common enough to be seen as one manifestation of teenage conformity.' The reporter then goes on to quote the figure showing what a small minority of teenagers admit to sexual activity! Conformity with what is not explained.

What a sorry let-down! How the Press would have delighted in being able to build up a story of teenage immorality. How disappointed they are in having a report that points to the opposite.

We cannot help wondering, of course, about the veracity with which the Council's questions were answered by the teenagers interviewed. The survey dealt with 934 boys and 939 girls from seven areas in Britain. Not a very large sample, but probably enough to arrive at some straight conclusions, if all the questions were answered truthfully. Now we know that clever psychologists can so construct their question sheets that the liars will give themselves away, but still it occurs to us that in a survey of young people carried out by old people (sorry, 46-year-old Mr. Schofield) on subjects where the teenagers automatically feel secretive from the oldies, there may well have been a lot of information withheld. This, of course, can operate either way—active but guilty respondents can say 'no activity', inactive but boastful individuals can claim experience they haven't had.

The real issue, for us libertarians, is why teenage sex should be a problem anyway? Only a lunatic society which sets out to suppress natural emotions could find anything reprehensible in the expression of natural drives at the time when they are most powerful. But then we do live in a lunatic society, and so we are told we have problems.

But the problems do not come from those who want to do what comes naturally—they come from those who want to impress upon us sets of morality that have no connection with our needs, and which express only their own fears, or prejudices.

There is, after all no colour problem for coloured people except that imposed upon them by white people who have prejudices against them because of the colour of their skin. The problem does not come from the coloured—it comes from the 'whites'.

There is no problem for homosexuals other than that which is imposed upon them from outside by those who cannot accept deviation from what they think is normal.

There are no problems in abortion, divorce, or free sexuality in general other than those created by the unfree seeking to impose their suppression on all around them.

All these so-called 'problems' are problems only because we are governed by accepted standards which are in fact unacceptable. The problem in each case—and many more—is the suppression, and the ignorance and prejudice that flows from it, leading to fears, guilts and complexes in the repressed.

Freedom and knowledge are the answers. Freedom and knowledge will bring responsibility—suppression may bring the appearance of order, but it is appearance only and brings with it a fearful cost in human suffering.

What in fact are the problems that arise from teenage sexuality? Illegitimate children and venereal disease? More knowledge is the answer to that. The real problems lie deeper—or why is the necessary knowledge withheld?

For most parents power over their children is the only power they can exert. They are themselves kicked around by those in power over them—their attitudes to their children is very much in the 'kicking the cat' category. Like people in general issues, who must revolt against those in power over them if they would be free, children have to make their own revolution against their parents, and their parents' repressive moralities, prejudices and fears.

If this is what today's teenagers are doing, perhaps one in five is not such a bad percentage after all!

P.S.

**Sexual Behaviour of Young People* by Michael Schofield, Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., 42s. Available through Freedom Bookshop.

The Need for Workers' Control

IN LAST WEEK'S FREEDOM we expressed the hope that the alleged trend towards 'anarchy' on the Southern Region railways, i.e. the idea that the men engaged on the work should control it and not exploiters or bureaucrats, would be extended rather than diminished, and would at the same time become more of a conscious social movement.

The politicians are obviously afraid that this tendency will spread. For instance Mr. Austin Albu, Minister of State in the department of economic affairs, is reported by the *Guardian*, July 26, to have told the Law Society Commerce and Industry Group that:

'Among workers there are, I am afraid, growing signs of what has been described to and by both trade union officials and by industrial managers, of a developing state of anarchy.'

The signs of this are described by Mr. Albu:

'Small groups of workers without consulting their trade unions, frequently, even against the wishes of their shop stewards, strike or take other action which impedes the output of the whole undertaking.'

What he didn't mention is that direct action of this kind produces the results that the workers are looking for, while negotiations round the table and official trade union methods do not, and what politicians are dead against is not the

kind of action the workers take, so much as the fact that it does produce results, inevitably spoiling the government's plans for a docile labour force in a bureaucratic controlled economy.

'FREEDOM'S' POINT OF VIEW

This is of course the negative side of workers' control, in the sense that it emphasises that nothing can be produced or distributed, unless the workers, whether for good reasons or bad, agree to do it. Unlike some syndicalists and revolutionary socialists, most anarchists do not see signs of incipient revolution every time an unofficial strike breaks out, but we do recognise that this kind of action has in it the seed of independence, self-reliance and non-political militancy that can be developed into a libertarian revolutionary social movement.

In an interesting letter in *Peace News*, July 23, Peter Cadogan criticises *Solidarity* and *FREEDOM* for their concern with workers' control, which he considers to be 'a leftist hangover about the working class' and for believing that 'the workers have been about to arrive ever since 1848—but never mind! Come the revolution and they will all be there!'

It is amusing that later on he accuses a critic of having attributed to him 'the exact opposite of what is normally attributed', since in fact the anarchist movement, and *FREEDOM* in particular, has always taken care to demolish the

idea that the working class will automatically fulfil some messianic rôle, or that an individual is somehow virtuous through being a manual worker, and has consistently been attacked on those grounds!

Peter Cadogan goes on to recommend that we take greater interest in the 'teach-ins' in British universities. Now these have not had the effect that the American ones had, and I suspect that one of the factors behind the movement in the United States is resentment on the part of university staff that the freedom to control their own work, which has been a feature of academic tradition for centuries, has been massively eroded by the extent to which university research in the USA is financed, and therefore controlled, by direct grants from the state and the armed forces, earmarked for specific projects of interest to these bodies. In other words, that the specific issue of Vietnam has unleashed a reservoir of anti-governmental resentment that has built up over what is basically a question of workers' control.

WHERE PEOPLE AND THE STATE CLASH

The reason that workers' control has always been regarded as a fundamental issue by anarchists is due to our feeling based, not on an idealistic view of human nature but on everyday observation, that however stupid and fallible human beings

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ANARCHY 54

OUT AUG 7 DISCUSSES
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ON SATURDAY, JUNE 26, 1965, the Industrial Workers of the World held a 60th Anniversary Celebration in Chicago and several comrades from New York decided to join them. People in and around the IWW usually refer to one another as 'Fellow Workers' and since we were precisely that, we couldn't leave New York before Friday at 4 p.m. and had to plan our trip in order to return to our exploiters on Monday morning. In that Chicago is about 850 miles from New York, this venture rapidly developed into two consecutive 18-hour ordeals by automobile with the IWW birthday party sandwiched in between.

Chicago is a city rich in anarchist tradition. In 1880 Frank A. Stauber won a close election for Alderman but was fraudulently deprived of his seat by the election judges. These worthies outdid themselves—stuffing some ballot boxes, stealing others, and forging an entire tally-sheet. There ensued a long draw-out series of litigations which cost the workers around \$2,000 (at a time when wages were only about \$1 per day). Paradoxically enough, Stauber was ultimately awarded the seat but the election judges were found innocent of malfeasance. Meanwhile the question was moot anyway since the term was about over by the time of the verdict. This incident made a goodly number of anarchists out of people who had formerly been merely socialists. Among these was George Engel who subsequently became one of the Haymarket martyrs.

One of my intentions in going to Chicago was to visit Waldheim Cemetery where the martyrs are buried. Therefore, on Saturday afternoon, I drove out there along with a fellow worker from Chicago, and a fellow traveller from New York. It was a profoundly moving pilgrimage.

Buried at Waldheim are the five Haymarket martyrs: Albert R. Parsons, August Spies, Adolf Fischer, George Engel, and Louis Lingg. The first four had been executed on November 11, 1887, and the last, Lingg, had committed suicide in his cell the day before. Over their grave is a large monument of stone and bronze designed and sculpted by Albert Weiner. The bronze work, now aged a deep green, depicts the figure of Justice crowning a dying worker with a laurel wreath. Under it are the last words of August Spies, which as nearly as I can recall were, 'There will come a time when our silence will be louder than the voices you throttle today'. The monument was originally unveiled on June 25, 1893, the day before Governor John P. Altgeld pardoned the three remaining victims. These were Michael Schwab, Oscar Neebe, and Samuel Fielden, all of whom had been in prison for six years. Subsequently a bronze plaque was affixed to the rear of the monument with a quotation from the governor's pardon message.

The cemetery has rightfully become a radical shrine: Voltairine De Cleyre, who had become an anarchist because of the martyrs, is buried two graves away, and nearby is Emma Goldman who was also deeply affected by the execution. Emma's grave is marked by a bronze bas relief done by Jo Davidson. Her sometime manager/companion, Ben L. Reitman, is buried some yards in front of Emma's grave, while Joseph Dietzgen, the worker-philosopher, is buried immediately behind the martyrs.

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.

Aug. 1 'Whisper and Shout'
 An evening of poetry, Merry Sellers, Mary Horton, Dennis Gould and others) Poets invited to bring guests. Blues Harmonica duet interlude.

Aug. 8 Arthur Rowe
 The Hampstead Road Rent Strike

Aug. 15 Donald Room
 The Challenor Case Re-examined

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-

That Toddlin' Town

From Waldheim we returned to Chicago, going immediately to Haymarket Square. This is desecrated by a bronze statue of a 19th century policeman with right arm upraised in the typical 'Stop' gesture—as though he had just been threatened by an intelligent idea. The statue stands on a stone pedestal on which is inscribed the three words: LAW/PEACE/ORDER. (Personally I'll take the one in the middle.) Under these noble sentiments, at the time of our visit, were sprawled two derelicts sleeping off a drunk midst a collage of empty bottles. As it happens this was an eminently fitting tableau because the policeman who modelled for that statue died as a drunkard himself. Other police principals in the case didn't fare too much better. Within a year of the execution, Chief of Police Ebersold was removed for corrupt practices. A year after that, Captain John Bonfield, one of the leaders of the police attack on the Haymarket meeting, was suspended for bribery and graft. Suspended right along with him was Captain Michael J. Schaack who had manufactured what little evidence was presented at the trial. A jarring note to me was the fact that the police statue was cast by the American Bronze Co. which is the same company which cast either one or both of the Waldheim memorials.

While we were making our tour, Sam and Esther Weiner were visiting Olga Maximoff, the widow of Gregori Petrovich Maximoff, who died in Chicago in 1950. He was the author of a number of anarchist works including 'Constructive Anarchism', and 'The Guillotine at Work'. Perhaps his best effort, however, was the brilliant job he did in assembling, organizing, and editing the writings of Bakunin into a convenient volume, 'The Political Philosophy of Bakunin: Scientific Anarchism'. This last is now out in paperback.

This may all seem rather folksy, but there's a tremendous amount of anarchist history implicit here. During the Russian Revolution Maximoff was arrested a number of times, primarily for being too much of a revolutionist for the Bolsheviks. The last occasion was at the time of Kronstadt in 1921, when he was thrown into Taganka Prison in Moscow along with a dozen other anarchists. Protests from the French and Spanish comrades who happened to be

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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. Meet fortnightly Star Bar, Northumberland Place, Mondays 7.30 p.m. Correspondence to D. Truman, 13 Northumberland Street, Edinburgh, 3. Tel.: WAVErley 7459.

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.)

attending the Red Trade Union International got them all released and exiled to safety. Maximoff emigrated to the United States where he became one of the key militants in the movement, and the guru of Sam Weiner, who in turn spoke at the 50th Anniversary Commemoration of the Haymarket Execution. One of the other speakers was Lucy Parsons, the widow of Albert.

One other historical sidelight: Behind the IWW hall is the Biograph Theatre where the FBI ambushed John Dillinger. The only offence they had against him was transporting a stolen car across a state line. They had no jurisdiction over any alleged murders of policemen or anyone else, which may well explain why they didn't even pretend to try to arrest him. (Usually anyone suspected of killing a policeman is first arrested. Then he 'resists arrest' at which point they gun him down. It's a much more sophisticated procedure.) Among their other accomplishments that night, the FBI managed to wound a few of the other patrons who were leaving the theatre. Agent and Chief Assassin Purvis subsequently committed suicide. The so-called 'Woman in Red' who fingered Dillinger, lived in a rooming house which used to stand on the empty lot next to the IWW hall, and the alley in which Dillinger died emerges on the other side of the hall.

Returning to the present, the Industrial Workers of the World, or as some refer to it, the I-double-W, is presently undergoing somewhat of a renaissance. At the celebration that evening I was happy to note that the younger people seemed to outnumber the old-timers. These young Wobblies are all tremendously active in the civil rights movement, the peace movement, and in the radical upsurge on various college campuses including, of course, Berkeley. It goes without saying that when the House Un-American Activities Committee held hearings in Chicago at the end of May, the Wobblies were among the protesters arrested. They're currently beginning an organizing drive among agricultural workers.

As an organization, the Industrial Workers of the World was never purely an anarcho-syndicalist union, but was rather a revolutionary syndicalist union with both Marxist and anarchist strains permeating it. This dichotomy may strike some as a possible source of debilitating conflict, but it didn't prevent the IWW from being the greatest revolutionary force ever seen on this side of the Atlantic. Evidently they just synergized the zeal from both movements. It's odd that the Wobblies, present and past, never could understand that the class struggle is supposed to be an internecine tug of war among rival socialist sects. Somehow in their ignorance they seem to view it as a battle between capitalists and workers. Or, as their Preamble delicately intimates:

'The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.'

'Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.'

R.S.C.

The Need for Workers' Control

Continued from page 1

are on a small scale, in personal relationships (when they are left to themselves) they don't commit the monstrous crimes of the kind that are carried out by governments as a matter of course. If for instance building workers were assured by the rest of society of means of livelihood, and left to decide in co-operation with whoever was interested, what to devote their efforts to, we feel sure that they would very soon provide accommodation for all the badly housed population of England, rather than putting up any more prestige office blocks. If scientific research workers had complete freedom to use resources in whatever way they felt best, we are equally sure that more research on the medical problems of mankind would be carried out, and less or none at all on the H-bomb! What stands between workers of all kinds and the beneficent use of their efforts is always state control, and therefore any challenge to this state control, whether on the factory floor or the university staff room, is the most vital kind of confrontation that can take place.

At the present time, when it does take place, it is usually in the form of sporadic rebellion, without much of an idea of the wider issues involved being apparent in the minds of the rebels. It is at this point that propaganda is necessary, and I make no excuse for using the word. The sporadic outbursts of rebellion can be more effective if the people concerned realise that the state is the enemy and resist it at every stage, and can crystallise into a movement that could qualitatively alter the nature of our society, if enough people wanted that. Finally, it is worth pointing out that for a libertarian society to really work the vast majority of the people have to want it, and there are more manual workers in the country than university teachers, so it is not really so outrageous to devote a quarter of the paper to industrial matters.

P.H.

PRESS FUND

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GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence: Joe Embleton, 11 Balliol Street, Glasgow, C.3.
 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. Next meeting August 1 (Sunday) 5 p.m.

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.

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.

LEEDS LIBERTARIAN ALLIANCE. Anybody interested please contact Roy and Frankie Todd at 15 Clarendon Place, Leeds, 2. Telephone 24282.

NEW ZEALAND. Auckland Anarchist Group. Public Meetings every Sunday in Myers Park at 2 p.m.

The Lighthouse of Truth

Dear Comrades,

David Coull asks, 'Should cultural articles appear in a revolutionary propagandist paper?' or in other words should articles like Bill Jamieson's on Sibelius appear in FREEDOM? The simple answer is YES! Why?

Firstly because FREEDOM is not '... a revolutionary propagandist paper'; it is a weekly paper of the British anarchist movement, and as such it is all things to all men; it must give a balanced viewpoint of news, ideas and interests relevant to people in the anarchist movement, i.e. people of many diverse viewpoints and attitudes. Once it does only one thing it is finished, no one will read it, no one will sell it, and it will not act, as it does at the moment, like a lighthouse of truth in a stormy sea, but merely blind our eyes till we founder on the rocks of ideological truths as so many Marxist groups tend to do today.

Secondly, because the people who do tend to become anarchists often arrive there by very devious paths and have on the way accumulated knowledge and experience which may be of great interest and use to other comrades. I was pleased to note the inclusion of Bill Jamieson's article (which incidentally I largely disagreed with), because it, to me, denoted a broadening of viewpoint on the part of the new editors to stray from the narrow path of Jazz/Blues/Folk so typical in 'peace' circles today. We need to know more of each other's likes and dislikes, after all we do have to live together in our movement. I may get to like jazz, eventually, just as I might interest you in Mahler, Bruckner and Vaughan Williams. Whatever 'sends' one comrade into ecstasies might well open a new dimension of experience to other comrades. He who says 'x' is good is setting his integrity up, he is saying 'Look mate, I think this is good, it has a value for me, maybe we can understand the world and ourselves a little better from listening to this', and if we respect his opinion we will pause awhile and listen.

Thirdly, anarchism is not a revolutionary movement, it is a social, cultural and intellectual movement. It is a set of values for those who have rejected values and a religion for those who have rejected God. It is only incidentally revolutionary if anarchists have felt the need, in certain circumstances, and at a certain time, to be revolutionary. It is therefore not revolutionary, it is merely ANARCHISTS, and only some anarchists at that, who are revolutionary. It is a social movement because when one becomes an anarchist the truth of anarchism is so blinding that one cannot help oneself, one is an anarchist because nothing else is possible and rational and true, it is more akin to a religious faith than a political ideal. It is the position where we can let our hair down and be nice to each other and tell the truth to each other and ourselves. It is not a movement of hate and bitterness and revolutionary vengeance. And people who behave as though it was, and use the term anarchism for justifying hatred, meanness, and irresponsible and inconsiderate behaviour are not in my opinion anarchists.

Lastly, as one who tries to sell FREEDOM, I am conscious that its propaganda value is not due to its having articles on 'revolutionary propaganda' but by having serious articles on social, cultural and intellectual matters. I often find new 'converts' especially in the 'peace movement' refusing to buy a second copy because 'It's all politics and such like' and yet still becoming anarchists through experience, thought and discussion. Films, Books (especially novels), Music, Art, mean more to people than trumpet calls and clichés. Coull says as a postscript 'Articles on Sibelius in particular are liable to lead into

deeper water than is suitable for propaganda.' Who the hell is he talking to, two-year-olds? Let us run shouting joyfully into this deeper water and teach ourselves to swim. If we cannot, is our anarchism real enough to have value for us? If we risk losing a convert by offering him the benefit of our experience on a plate, so that he might have a more enjoyable life and be a more rounded person, isn't that more important than his body lie crushed under the state's tanks in another abortive revolt, the reason for which was never clear in his uneducated mind.

If Comrade Coull would accept my frequent offer, which he has refused to date, and sell FREEDOM to people in the streets and pubs of Birmingham, perhaps he would understand a little better just what people hesitating on the verge of anarchism are looking for. It certainly isn't 'revolutionary propaganda'; they have made their own dialectic from activity in the 'peace movement'; they seek to see anarchism in the wider perspective of the past and the present culture so that they can see themselves in relation to the world through anarchism. If all they get is propaganda, they give groans of boredom and drift away to find suitable niches in capitalist society to while away their lives and are lost to anarchism for ever. We need to cut down mental blocks, not create them. Please editors, let us have a broader, more cultural FREEDOM and leave the revolutionary propaganda alone — besides, what hope in hell have we got in present circumstances to have a successful anarchist revolution? Let the revolutionary propagandists drift away to form their own group, let them produce their own paper, and stop wasting the anarchist movement's time.

Erdington, Birmingham
PETER NEVILLE.

Anti-Marxist

Dear Comrades,

I think Jörg Christian Fauser is a Marxist. At least, in two letters in two successive weeks he has praised the Communists.

In the first, about Stalinallee, he claims that the strikers were Nazis. Perhaps, but isn't the point of interest, to an Anarchist at least, that the workers were revolting against a so-called 'Workers' State'? And if the workers don't like the 'Workers' State', who else does, except the politicians? As for them singing chauvinistic songs, as far as I'm concerned they can sing what they bloody-well like. I couldn't care less if capitalism went under to the strains of 'Rule Britannia', as long as it goes under, which will happen when people get sick of the present set-up in the world.

'Comrade' Fauser goes on to say that he has seen 'people laughing, singing, kissing just as much as anywhere else, maybe more, because they don't have to care about high rents, snakes in the bathroom, rising butter prices and no job'. If the people of East Germany are that happy, why is it, then, that they revolted? Why didn't they keep on laughing, singing, and kissing in their (or J.C.F.'s) Marxist paradise?

Which brings us to letter number two. J.C.F. quotes a Bulgarian Communist who said: 'Before the revolution the peasant slept on the bare ground. Now he sleeps on a mattress, twenty inches above the ground'. True enough, but Disraeli, a Conservative, passed the first Public Health Act in Britain. That doesn't make me a Conservative. That sort of thing isn't politics, it's common decency. Someone's got to do it.

I don't know how J.C.F. got Spain into his letter, but I can assure him that the Communists were nearly non-existent at the beginning of the Civil War. The people of Spain were fighting for the

LETTERS and Controversy

right to live their lives as they wanted to, and not how someone else wanted them to. The Marxists only got popular because of the support given to the Republic by the International Brigades, which is a very capitalistic method.

Fauser calls R.J.'s article 'feeble and sickening'. I disagree, but even if I didn't, I wouldn't blame R.J. for it. Marxism is so damned illogical that it is a very difficult task to make any attack on it at all, except that it is damned illogical! For example, in 1917, Lenin stated that 'While the State exists there is no freedom. When there is freedom, there will be no State'. Fair enough, but what happened to this principle? Instead of withering away the State, the Marxists have merely strengthened it to an unprecedented extreme.

Another example of Communist illogic is the Hungarian Revolution, mentioned by R.J. I have in front of me a history of the British CP, which I have borrowed from the public library. Under the reference to the Hungarian Revolution someone, one presumes a Communist, has written: 'The fact that the Press and the BBC supported the Revolution shows that it was anti-working class, and was supported by English and Yankee Secret Service Funds in league with Hungarian Catholics'. If 'Comrade' Fauser, or anyone else, can make any sense out of that, good luck to 'em.

The last thing I wish to query is Fauser's appeal 'Give us more from ... someone who writes for people'. I have a guinea-pig, and, even if he could read, I'm sure he would not be in the least interested in R.J.'s (excellent) article. Besides which, I am sure that if Bakunin or Malatesta were alive today, they would have written something in the same line as R.J.

Yours,
Whisby, Lincoln
JOHN WALKER.

More Controversy, Please!

Dear Comrades,

Is it the intention of the new editors of FREEDOM not to permit controversy about the various ends and means of anarchism and to present, instead, only their own version, i.e. the militant workers — revolutionary people type anarchism? Such would certainly seem to be the present trend. Where now are all those lively controversies, often deliberately provoked by the then editor, which enlivened FREEDOM in the past, and which provided so much information

about the various aspects of anarchism?

Having pointed to a gap, I will do something towards filling it. There recently ended a marathon series of articles by P.S. entitled 'Syndicalism—The Worker's Next Step'. I promise P.S. that I will gladly spend my life propagating syndicalism if he will satisfactorily answer, in a further article, the following two fundamental questions which he has so far ignored. The first is: Why are the workers suddenly going to become revolutionary when they failed to become so even in the blackest depths of the 19th century? The second is hypothetical: What chance of victory has a syndicalist struggle in these days of mass brainwashing, nerve gas, radar sets that can pick up a crawling man at five miles, etc., etc., etc?

Yours hopefully,
Merioneth
JEFF ROBINSON.

Left-handed Liberty

Dear Editors,

I was lately taken to task for failing to be suitably impressed by the achievements (as enumerated by an American lawyer), of the Negro Civil Rights movement: 'Progress is being made'. On paper, the American Negro has possessed, for a century, all the liberty he can conveniently use. Yet, he continues monstrously maltreated, uniquely so in the North where hypocrisy is added to his other burdens. This hypocrisy seems a natural outcome of the separation between words (often the stirring words of great social documents) and deeds.

The Englishman is, I believe, one of the most fortunate victims of history: there appears to be just a trifle less discrepancy between his historic documents and social patterns. Nevertheless, as a view of history, concepts of progress depending on legislation, leave me cold. As a contribution to ideas, the Great Charter has its place. But is it not the Peasants' Revolt in England or the Direct Action in Montgomery, USA, that alters social forms? How much Great Ideas (which are self-evident to the oppressed, in any case; it is only the oppressor who fails to grasp them), play in social change one can't estimate. I believe very little.

Perhaps if John Arden regards himself as an anarchist with a small 'a' then he believes in legislation with a small 'l'. Then the potency of the Magna Carta is reduced and the misunderstanding between us (since I don't know what size anarchist I am) is minimal. I hope so. Now about that Royal Anarchist! Because King John is conceived sympathetically as 'a sort of anarchist wearing a crown'—and I think it's a tenable view of John—there is at least a suggestion in the third act of *Left Handed Liberty* that something impressively good will occur as a consequence of the Magna Carta. Never mind. Anarchist or no, John was a viable and appealing character.

About Timothy Bateson; he was such an ogling fellow, he had me in a flap.

I don't know how I got the ladies mixed, but I am sorry.

It's comradely of John Arden to defend the Aldwych, although it's naughty of him to make a dichotomy between architectural and artistic circumstance. I do know the difference and I am not responding to wide corridors only.

I have not been around much so maybe I haven't sorted things out and my play-going seems limited to the Mermaid on press tickets, or the Aldwych (where my bête noir is Peter Brook) when I can afford to throw away a pound. Consequently, comparisons are inevitable. The Mermaid, however it may have come about, is a happy combination of various aspects of theatre, of which brave acting and the honest production of plays is paramount. At the Aldwych, I observe (but often do not hear or understand) poor actors under ill-conceived direction, in what seems like a determined effort to misconstrue a play's meaning. This letter is lengthy; anything further will have to move into private correspondence.

Again, congratulations, John Arden, for a remarkably fine play.
London, S.W.3
DACHINE RAINER.

'World Without War' Meetings

Dear Sir,

The St. Pancras & Holborn CND is considering sponsoring a series of public meetings in the autumn under the tentative title 'World Without War'.

We envisage that speakers from various organisations will present their ideas on the feasibility, or otherwise, of a world without war. It is hoped that the speakers will be local people rather than 'personalities' and we are trying to get as varied a list of speakers as possible. We have no wish to limit the field to only those people whose views are favourable to CND. We aim at as open a forum as possible.

If any of your readers should be interested in participating in such meetings, would they please contact me at the address below.

Yours faithfully,
D. T. CLINTON (Miss),
43 Woollett Court, Acting Secretary,
St. Pancras Way, N.W.1

Standing Pat

Dear Sir,

Further to my letter of last week, readers of FREEDOM will no doubt be glad to hear that Pat Arrowsmith is not after all being dismissed from *Peace News*. A satisfactory arrangement has been worked out whereby Pat will stay with the paper for a further trial period, with a somewhat altered working arrangement. The NUJ branch secretary, who took up the case of Pat's dismissal, is drawing up terms, on agreement with Rod Prince the editor.

Yours faithfully,
London, N.16
WENDY BUTLIN.

OUT OF THIS WORLD

'New Hope for a Loveless Bull'—Daily Mirror

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME retired from leadership of the Conservative party. The 'glossy' soap opera *Compact* on BBC TV came to an end after its 272nd episode. Dr. Syngman Rhee, former Premier of South Korea during the Korean war, died in bed. The hopes for a return by Mr. Papandreu, former Premier of Greece, were increased by the killing of a student in riots. . . .

LADY ALICE SEELEY (aged 95) gained an order in the High Court preventing her daughter and son-in-law interfering with the use of dustbins at their mansion Lockner Holt, Chilworth, Surrey. . . .

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT appears to have been suspended (on trial) for five years; Harry Allen, 'the last of our hangmen' (according to the *News of the World*) has been modelled in wax for Tussaud's Chamber of Horrors, to stand by his 'victims'—Guenther Podola, Peter Manuel and Derek Bentley about whom Allen said 'the only one I fell sorry for'. A deputation of MPs (including ex-Home Secretary Chuter Ede who signed Timothy Evans' death warrant) secured a Government promise by Sir Frank Soskice to set up a commission of enquiry into the Timothy Evans case. The *News of the World* thinks it possible that the coincidence assumed by the first commission of enquiry that there were two stranglers in the same house was not improbable. . . .

TOM WISEBEY, one of the imprisoned train robbers, ended his hunger strike at Arnsley Gaol in protest against the tightening-up of security regulations after Briggs' jail-break. Hugh Delargy in the *Sunday Citizen* points out that Leonard Field, jailed for five years only, in the same trial is locked up in a lighted cell

for 23 hours a day. The Prison and Borstal Governors' Branch of the Society of Civil Servants have submitted a memorandum to the Royal Commission on Penal Reform, in which they say that the existing structure of the prison service is 'unnecessarily complex and unwieldy', that its original founding was 'para-military' and hence it was instituted by men who 'followed the prompting of their own military experience to produce a simple hierarchical structure'. . . . 'It seems to us,' they comment later, 'that there is nothing intrinsically desirable in the existence of prisons or a prison system'. . . .

TWO HUNDRED PRISONERS rioted at Mount Eden maximum-security jail in Auckland, New Zealand. They set fire to the main 100-year-old building. Troops in training for service in Vietnam were called in to guard against a break-out. . . .

THIRTY-NINE YOUNG Vietnamese were feared drowned when they jumped overboard from a naval vessel in protest against being taken for military service. According to Reuter, 'Dodging the military draft has now turned into open rebellion, according to official services.' The Turkish Air Force is holding an enquiry into attempted mass suicide by cadets who failed in their examinations at a warrant officer's school at Eskieschir. A Swedish private who took an extra pat of butter instead of margarine is to be prosecuted in a civil court on a pilfering charge. . . .

THE CASE was dismissed against a 16-year-old educationally sub-normal boy for stealing a slice of bread worth one penny from a police-constable's son. An inquiry is to be held and the boy's

parents are considering civil proceedings. Police searched 350 children at a secondary school after a £1 note had been taken from a teacher's handbag. The theft was the third from the school this month—the money was not found. . . .

SIR JOSEPH SIMPSON, police chief of the Metropolis, said in his annual report to the Home Office, 'I regret to say that 1964 has proved to be the worst year of the century for crime'. Among causes Sir Joseph lists: The absence of householders for long periods because of lack of domestic help, and absence of housewives at work and accompanying husbands to station and children to school; and the drowning of the noise of intruders by television. . . .

A CONSTABLE KNOWN as 'Buster' Eastmond appealed to the magistrate to stop a case in which he was being cross-examined in order that the constable could be legally represented. He was giving evidence in a case in which a motorist was charged with assaulting him. The solicitor for the defence asked if there had been numerous complaints about the constable. 'Not numerous,' he said. He agreed that there were two complaints about him in 1958 and another in 1959. He denied that he was nicknamed 'Buster' because of the number of motorists that 'I crack'. . . . A MEMBER of the Russian Orthodox Church in Emperor's Gate, South Kensington, told the *West London Observer* regarding the murder of the Czar, 'This is something which our church feels strongly about. Russia today is a godless place ruled by ruthless dictators. If the Emperor Nicholas II had not been killed Russia might be a different place today.'
JON QUINTE.

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Wilson downs the Gauntlet

MR. WILSON IN A speech at Newtown, Montgomeryshire, issued a challenge to the workers in this country. He stated, 'I have made it clear that the government is not prepared to tolerate industrial attitudes which stand in the way of urgently needed improvements in productivity, nor can we tolerate out-moded practices of over-manning particular jobs, or insistence on archaic working rules'. He also nattered on about managements sitting complacently on their back-sides.

This attitude is no surprise. A Labour government will always chance its arm at cracking the whip hoping to get, and nearly always succeeding, the support of the trade

union bureaucrats. Before the general election Labour trotted out the bogey line about the possible anti-union legislation of the Tories. They are probably right, but isn't this to be expected? Many trade unionists expected a Labour government to be on their side, 'After all', they say, 'it is our government'.

Previously, at the miners' Gala in Durham, Wilson attacked the industrial action of the railwaymen. He stated, 'If working to rule means slowing up production or crippling essential services, then we had better change the rule'. Mr. Brown has issued the expected warning that if his wage freeze policy is not operated voluntarily, then he will do it by legislation. It is fairly safe to say that the time is not far off when a Labour government is going to throw the book at the workers in this country, probably backed by the Royal Commission on Trade Unions.

In the 'smallest room in the House' their Lordships have contributed their farthingsworth in the general attack on the workers. Lord Thomson opened the attack by bleating about the grave national consequences of industrial disputes resulting in work stoppages. Thomson has

spent a fair amount of his life in Canada and US, where the employers still use the big stick. He called for legislation to control irresponsible action by members against their own unions and approved contracts. He would also like to see legislation similar to the Taft-Hartley law in the United States, which calls for a 200 days cooling off period before a strike takes place.

If any legislation can be preferred to another, the Taft-Hartley Act is the most detested piece of legislation ever introduced in the States. Lord Thomson, when he arrived in this country, had more bounce than a rubber ball, but the printworkers in the *Sunday Times* put Mr. Thomson fully in the picture, the big whip he was going to crack offered barely a squeak.

Another noble lord who dived in was Lord Brown, who made the point that for the past 18 months in the Ford's Motor Company, there had been little heard of in the matter of strikes. Implying of course, that since the '18' got sacked all has been quiet. Ford workers took a bashing in that round because they were 'sold out', but I can assure Lord Brown, Wilson and George Brown, they will be back. These speeches are not all hot air, the Labour government will do anything to hang on to office and court middle class support. We can expect a set-to in industry before the next 18 months are out.

Contact Column

Andrew Gordon. Will Andrew Gordon of Norfolk contact his home?

Central London Branch ILP. Meeting on Thursday, August 5 at 8.30 p.m., at 197 Kings Cross Road, London, W.C.1. John Sangster (a member of the ETU) will speak on 'Trade Unions 1965'. Everybody welcome.

Back to the Soil? Would anyone like a fortnight (August 14-28) on a farm, in return for a few hours help in the house? Anne Albon, The Stable, Glynleigh Farm, Pevensey, Sussex.

New Zealand Federation of Anarchists. First Annual Congress, December 26 to January 6. Enquiries Box 5455, Auckland CI, NZ.

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.

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: STRatham 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.

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.

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. Rety, 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.

WHEN A STEWARD IS NOT A STEWARD

IN THE ISSUE of FREEDOM dated July 17, the question was posed whether shop stewards on board ship would be freely elected by rank and file seamen. The question has been answered. To qualify for the job a man must be a member of the union's approved panel, have at least five years continuous sea service and a clear conduct record for the previous 12 months. The stewards are expected to carry out their duties in their spare time.

If that system doesn't sort the militants from the conformers I don't know what will. The NUS, by strict vetting procedure, prevent known militants from becoming shop stewards. How this will work out probably only time will tell, but under the present set up, the whole scheme is a facade in an attempt to ward off rank and file pressure.

YANKS INVADE FORD'S UNION LEADERS OF Ford workers in Britain have decided to challenge the appointment of an American, Mr. Stanley Gillen, as managing director and chief executive officer of Fords of Britain. The union leaders are seeking information from Mr. Gunter about the number of work permits granted to Americans to work for Ford's in this country. If the truth is known, Mr. Gunter probably welcomes the American boss to Ford's, they have a reputation for cracking down on workers in the motor industry. The unions claim that Ford's have broken their promise that the management will remain British.

METERMEN SURRENDER

IT WAS DECIDED at a works meeting to obey the union and board's directive to start at 8.30 a.m. and finish at 5.30 p.m. instead of 8 a.m. till 5 p.m. There was a great deal of talk by the men, but most of it was ducking the real point, that the Board was stopping 2 hours' money every week. This was the real clincher. Under the new agreement the Board must make up our money because it was guaranteed, but this was ignored by most of the men because they did not want to 'stand alone' for their rights. It was said, 'That the union was to blame because they weren't doing anything about it'. It was pointed out that 'It was up to us, that we should show that we meant what we said. That our only chance

They claim that the factory at Basildon is crawling alive with Americans.

This gesture by the union leadership is 'big deal'; if they couldn't save the '18', I'm damn sure they will not back up their argument to prevent the American boss from taking his appointment. I suppose it makes good copy at the time, but not such good copy after the bloke has been here for 10 years or more.

Craftsmen at Ford's Motor plants have just been granted an increase, the T & GWU has disassociated itself from the settlement. This increase has widened the gap between the skilled and semi-skilled worker in terms of 10½d. an hour and 2s. per hour over the unskilled. Twenty-one unions have decided to lodge a new general claim for a substantial wage increase.

Ford management realise that union organisation in Dagenham is at its lowest ebb and therefore the tactic is to divide and rule. This tactic will continue to pay dividends whilst 21 unions represent Ford workers. Obviously, one organisation could be the aim of Ford workers. If my memory serves me right, before Ford's requested union organisation in their plant, if there was a dispute the entire plant came out as one man, this could happen again but only if the divisions between skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled are broken down. The terms AEU, NUVB, T & GWU, and NUG & MW will have to be forgotten if real unity is to be achieved.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

was to fight for a local agreement. We could do this alone (all the other depots had given in), we should be responsible and not give in, by leaving it to the union.' But all to no avail. Only seven voted to carry on the struggle. So workers of the world goodnight!

EEB METER READER.

The community that will not allow its humblest citizen to freely express his opinion, no matter how false or odious the opinion may be, is only a gang of slaves.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Freedom For Workers' Control

JULY 31 1965 Vol. 26 No. 24

Unemployment Up

THE CHANCELLOR'S BUDGET measures seem to be having an effect on the economy of the country as there has been a general all-round easing off of investments. Consequently, unemployment is on the increase at a time when it is normally the reverse. The figures show that in the month ended July 12, when it is normal for the number of unemployed to go down by as many as 15,000, it, in fact, went up by 4,193 to 280,335. This has only happened twice since the war, in 1956 and 1962.

Compared with the latest unemployment figures, the total of unfilled vacancies stands at a higher one of 452,357. This shows that in certain jobs, labour is still scarce. This is further confirmed by the recent wage increase by Fords to craftsmen and the National Provincial Bank's decision to give its employees a rise of 5%, which had already been turned down by the Staff Association, stating that this would not prejudice future negotiations. Nevertheless there does seem to be a trend which could lead to the number of unemployed reaching the 400,000 mark by the end of the year.

A GODSEND FOR BROWN AND JONES

Now I am not sounding any alarm bells for an impending crisis, but there is little doubt that this trend will be welcomed by the Government and the

employers. It will, of course, weaken the bargaining power of the workers and could well be the answer to the Incomes Policy of Mr. Brown and Mr. Jones.

One of the strongest reasons for the employers giving way to wage demands has been the competitiveness of the labour market, but this could soon change if, as it looks likely, the unemployment figure continues to rise. Then the employers, aided by the Government, will be in a position to resist wage claims and in fact, any strike action taken to gain these demands might well back-fire, resulting in defeat and demoralisation.

Overtime working at present could be the means of doing ourselves out of a job. It is quite common now for employers to introduce overtime working and at the same time sack men. This sort of thing is going on now at Singers on Clydebank, where 1,000 workers are now banning overtime in protest against the decision to sack 300 men in the tool and maintenance section.

The huge capital outlay on plant and machinery makes it far more profitable for the employers to keep the machines manned by a smaller labour force, working overtime, than to have a larger one working less hours. However, less hours and no sackings should be the aim of all workers and now is the time to start doing something about it, before our position becomes even weaker.

P.T.

MOTORMEN'S WORK-TO-RULE

THIS WEEK the work-to-rule tactics of the motormen have extended farther in the Southern Region and have also spread to the Eastern Region, where men at Southend have joined in. Other areas have expressed their support for such action but so far do not seem prepared to take the step themselves. But even with the present amount of support, there have been considerable delays for passengers and British Railways' already inadequate services have been thrown into chaos.

The railwaymen's claim of a £3 3s. bonus per week has been going back and forth to negotiation for the last nine months. The Railways Board say that any bonus agreement must be tied to a higher productivity agreement, meaning more single manning of trains. This higher productivity has in fact already been achieved, with the loss of 13,500 jobs since 1963, for even with this reduced manpower, there has been a 5% increase in mileage working.

INCREASED BURDEN

All along it has been the railwaymen who have had to make the sacrifices. With each new pay agreement there is a qualifying clause which, when put into operation, means that the manpower force is gradually being decreased and those who are left have to work a great deal harder. Under the present manning agreement for passenger trains, single manning is limited to 200 miles or 6 hours per shift for a stopping train, or 100 miles or 2 hours per shift for the express non-stop services. There is no single manning during the midnight to 6 a.m. period.

This elimination of the second man in the cab and the continued tightening of schedules is placing an ever increasing burden on the motormen. It gives rise to a greater margin of error, placing the safety of the passengers in jeopardy and all because of the Railway Board's bid for higher productivity. So one can see why these men are very angry, not only with the Railway Board, but also with their own union, the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. The union has failed to win the demand

because they are not prepared to fight for it, and the Railway Board knows this. This week the union has shown that they are not prepared to make the work-to-rule official, but instead are hoping to recall the conference. At the previous one, the executive had been given a mandate on an 8-1 majority to demand the bonus claim, with no strings attached, but instead of carrying this out, they are now urging this second conference on August 10, to support them in trying to get the claim 'on the basis of obtaining the highest possible payments with the minimum relaxation of the manning agreement.'

PASSENGERS SUPPORT NEEDED

So when one boils the whole thing down, the union executive are quite prepared to negotiate with the possibility of having more trains with single-manning and are hoping to get a mandate to do this. Of course, if there had been no opposition to single-manning by the rank and file, then no doubt the union would have done a deal a long time ago, but they had an early foretaste of how their members felt when they worked-to-rule last November. It seems hardly likely that the ASLEF executive will get the mandate it wants, but will find some other way out.

The action taken by the motormen should get the support and not the insults of the passengers. A *Solidarity* leaflet, aimed at the passengers, says: 'Let's put the blame where it really belongs, squarely on the shoulders of the employing authority; British Railways. Help the men struggle against this bureaucratic monster which has been pushing them around for months. The fight of the motormen is the fight of the working people for a decent wage and decent conditions. Support your drivers! Tell British Railways to pay up!'

The four vote majority decision by the motormen will give their union a further chance to manoeuvre. In this light it seems a regrettable move, for it also places their union executive back in control. Let us hope that these negotiators are watched very closely and kept to their original mandate.

P.T.