

Poor Police?

THE *Daily Express* is of course one of our more reactionary newspapers (though compared to its sister the *Sunday Express* it is mild). The *Sunday Express* seems to be published simply for the purpose of insulting members of the Labour Party because they are behaving like members of the Conservative Party (which, of course, is the party that the *Sunday Express* supports).

Now this newspaper has never, at any time that this writer can remember, been a champion of working-class action for better pay and conditions, but when it comes to the police one would imagine that they were starving in rags to hear the sad story that is told. This Monday (10.1.66) an article appeared in the *Express* calling for a better deal for the poor policemen. We were told that a policeman's job is a lousy one, as are many, many other not-so-well-paid jobs (this however was not mentioned), that policemen have a lot to put up with, that crime was increasing and that they should have a substantial rise in pay.

The article was written by one Sir Peter Rawlinson, QC, MP.

'Yet the policeman, who is abused by the motorist, is the same man who may be struggling with armed thugs whose objective may be that same motorist's house. He is the same man who is called from his home to extra duty because of some public demonstration and he has to stand impassive, linked in a cordon facing a horde of people, while professional agitators among the genuine demonstrators roll ball-bearings under the police horses and shout insults hoping to provoke the less experienced officers into losing their tempers in front of the television cameras.'

Well, well, well, Sir Peter Rawlinson, your prejudices are certainly showing. I have yet to read an article on the police force that does not mention the fact that policemen are dragged from their homes and families in order to stop horrible demonstrators from wrecking the place. I could, of course, let my prejudices show and say that working men have been torn from picket lines where they have been trying to get better conditions during industrial disputes, and been beaten up in the Black Maria (Shell Mex dispute). That motorists can't all be wrong, and you won't find many who actually like policemen. That the police do a bloody poor job of protecting the private citizen's property, but are always saying that it would be better if he shelled them out more money. That on demonstrations 'professional' agitators very rarely get the chance to roll anything, as they are usually picked out and arrested right at the very beginning (George Clark), but I won't.

I am not one of those anarchists who believes that 'all coppers are bastards', for I have seen them act with great patience, too, during demonstrations where very unprofessional demonstrators have shouted insults and even thumped

policemen who were being perfectly non-violent. I do not, however, believe that giving policemen more money is going to solve the 'crime wave'. One reason against giving policemen more, is that being a policeman is like being a nurse and that just to give more money (when the job is a vocation) would lower the standard and bring in the riff-raff. Well, if that argument is good enough for a Tory government about the nurses, it should remain so for the police who, after all, must be incorruptible.

The reason the 'crime rate' has risen, is partly because crowding people together in towns makes them anti-social (which is something that nothing is going to be done about), and that these people who are crowded together do not act together to defend their homes and families. Of course their homes and families are not in very much danger because there are so many people that one crime a minute (though it may be a headache to the police and judges), is a drop in the bucket compared with the number of people who are not robbed, raped and murdered. But if, for example, each street decided to make sure that there would be a group of people in that street who were responsible for the security of the inhabitants (as well as being responsible to them), I rather fancy that the petty burglar hearing of this would keep away. However, whether the police would like it would be another matter.

This is not a 'free society' and giving the police more power would certainly make it less so, but the answer lies with the people. Probably they would prefer to delegate their responsibilities to someone else though.

JAFSIE.

South of the 32nd Parallel

ALL IS NOT well in the Dominican Republic, flare-ups continue to occur, even as recently as a few days ago.

It will be remembered that last year the US moved hundreds of troops into the Dominican Republic on the pretext of smashing a supposed communist takeover. As was to be expected, this was proven to be a load of hog-wash. The Dominicans wanted to change their oppressor, and the one they had in mind was not agreeable to Dominican vested interests or the American Government, and up went the balloon.

The Organisation of American States sent a peace-keeping force and by a strange coincidence 75% of the American forces remained to give them a hand. From then on diplomatic chicanery took over, whose first duty it was to save American 'face' and secondly help instal primarily a 'safe' President. Garcia Godoy got the job. He is described, politically, as 'middle of the road' which means a slight bias to the 'Right', but certainly not 'Right' enough for some of the Army leaders.

President Godoy is only provisional and therefore one of his tasks is to prepare the ground for elections. He therefore decided to 'exile with pay' rebel army leaders of the 'left' and 'right', sorting them out jobs in Washington and London, etc. The regular army revolted and took over the Government Radio, surrounded the Presidential Palace and set up road blocks. It is reported that the 'peace force' refused to help Godoy regain the station. In any case the army has returned the radio station to the OAS, on condition that it was used solely for non-political purposes.

According to some sources, American officials tried to dissuade the President from attacking the military. The American Government would rather see the 'right wing' army in control than a

liberal reformer.

How long can the US continue to control the Latin-American countries? Economically the US has them by the 'short hairs', but there are faint signs of revolt by national, private and state capitalists. Eduardo Frei, Chile's President, made 'Chileanisation' a plank of his presidential election campaign. Basically, Chile should be one of the richest countries in Latin America, with copper, timber and potential food production.

Mexican economy is one of the fastest growing in the world with a high unemployment rate of 18%. It is estimated that at least \$2,500 of new investment is needed for each new job created—nearly \$1,000m. a year. At the present, total private and public investment amounts to \$14,000m. According to the economist this is not impossible. In *Newsweek* (10.1.66) Mexico is described as the 'New Octopus'. Mexican businessmen are tending to move south 'with an aggressiveness similar to that displayed by Yanqui capitalists in Mexico'.

El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Guatemala a few years ago formed a common market, which is successful in terms of finance for capitalism. Europe and Japan are pumping in fresh capital. Labour costs are probably the cheapest in the world.

It can be argued that this is better than having a revolution every other week, but are the ordinary people benefiting? Of course not. The divisions between 'haves' and 'have-nots' is as great, if not greater, than it ever was. The workers in some of the Latin-American countries have a vast experience in Direct Action both in industry and agriculture but, as always, the politicians take control, effect a compromise, and the game of politics continues to the certain detriment of the people.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

Does the US seek wider war?

ATTENTION must be drawn to the American war preparations in Thailand (Siam). It is little known that the American planes that bomb North Vietnam take off from airports in Thailand. (Did any legal-eagle complain about the violation of Cambodian and Laos air territory?) In Bangkok is the headquarters of SEATO, with the presence of thousands of American soldiers under the excuse of recuperation from the Vietnam war. In fact they are using Bangkok for a brothel and with the imposition of their money-values are creating a corrupt state similar to that of South Vietnam.

The Americans have spent \$200 millions in the past five years in Thailand and while the world's attention was drawn to the Vietnam struggle they have quietly built adequate port facilities for a full-scale war, a road (almost finished) that leads to the Mekong Valley, several

airports and great reserves of ammunition, latest weapons, tanks and the whole paraphernalia of war.

It is curious that neither the Russians nor the Chinese mention these massive war preparations.

On November 27, in a front-page article in *FREEDOM*, I said that if we wanted peace (with no enforced shifting of crisis) that would only come about by the direct action of the people in the locality. I said that the anti-government demonstrations all over the world 'were on their way to stop the war in Vietnam'. Our main concern is that the crisis should not shift somewhere else. There is a real danger, as soon as the great military road in Thailand is completed, of a sudden extension of the war to the whole of South-East Asia, with the possible use of nuclear weapons.

Readers may think that I am harping too much on roads and facilities. But it is partly the lack

of these in South Vietnam, partly the natural hostility of the Vietnamese to the foreign invaders, partly the forthright Berkeley peace campaign in the homeland of the aggressors, partly the enormous but unevenly distributed profits out of war that have lost the war for the Pentagon. But was the whole Vietnam war no more than a breathing space until Thailand is fully prepared as the bulwark of the West?

J.R.

P.S. The London Committee of 100 suggests that we demonstrate outside the American Embassy at 7.30 p.m. on the day that the Americans escalate the war by the bombing of Hanoi or Haiphong. We suggest that the extension of the war into other lands should be opposed the same way. But it is in Thailand that the opposition to the war must be the strongest.

Escalation into Genocide

THERE ARE GROWING signs—from the White House and the mass media—that the United States will bomb the cities of Hanoi, Haiphong, and the surrounding countryside, the agricultural heartland of North Vietnam. Before Johnson is sold on the policy by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and orders these air strikes, Americans should know what the orders mean. It is only twenty years since the high and mighty of the Allied world pointed self-righteous fingers at the German people—a people smothered by a brutal totalitarian state—for remaining 'silent' while Hitler committed genocide in virtually every corner of Europe. A time has come when Americans, living in a presumably 'democratic' country,

(This is the text of a leaflet issued by the New York Federation of Anarchists, 641 East Ninth St., N.Y.C., U.S.A., copies are available for distribution.)

are faced with an even greater moral crisis: to protest or remain silent in the face of genocidal actions of comparable proportions.

Hanoi is located at the foot of a plain called the Red River Delta. Three million people live and work in the city and on the surrounding agricultural plain. Just to the north of Hanoi are a series of dykes and dams which irrigate the plain and provide the area with hydroelectric power. If the dykes are bombed by the American Air Force, an incalculable number of people will die at once from drowning. Famine and plague, following the bombings, will cause the deaths of millions more who depend upon the rice crops in the Delta area. They will die from diseases carried by rotting bodies and from the famine caused by the destruction of the dykes.

Not only would the bombing of Hanoi and the dykes constitute a cold-blooded act of genocide, claiming millions of lives; not only could it be the beginning of a vast land war on the Asian continent with a provoked China intervening and the nuclear bombing of Chinese cities, followed by more mobilization and massive political repression in the United States; but the bombing would reflect a qualitatively new stage of moral degradation whose effects, beginning with mass murder in Hanoi, would eventually lead to mass murder in the Western world and in the United States itself.

We must face a basic fact about our time: modern technology has not only made it possible to kill millions of people in a single stroke through the use of nuclear weapons, but it has also rendered people 'superfluous' through the development of automation. In a humanistic society, where production is orientated towards man's liberation, this technology could mean freedom from material want and toil. It could mean the self-fulfilment of every individual, intellectually, physically, psychologically and spiritually.

In the vicious, coercive social order that prevails today, however, automation eliminates the need for workers and men are conceived of merely as disposable units of labour. In the prevailing social order, automation means that human life can be squandered as never before. In fact, the scientific destruction that marks our era—the electronic, chemical and nuclear techniques for impersonally destroying life that prevail today—are eroding the last vestiges of humanity in the modern mass murderers themselves. See how the Great Society budget dwindles as the cost of destruction grows.

All this in a year when the corporations reap the highest profits in history.

Flying ten thousand feet above their targets, a handful of natty men, merely by pressing a button can kill millions of their fellow human beings with cold impersonality. . . . Such men are reduced both spiritually and psychologically to the cold instruments of a destructive social order. They are the ones who are choosing to destroy with a technology that can be used to liberate all of mankind. Only when men take it upon themselves to use Technology in a humane way, to accept their responsibility to their fellow men, will it be possible to avoid this destruction.

Once started in Vietnam, where will the mass murder end? Having escalated the war in Vietnam from guerilla-like engagements to genocide, will we not also witness the escalation of the viciousness of the social order itself. In the US, where men are becoming 'superfluous' to production, can we live with the illusion that genocide will stop with the people of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe? Will the mass murderers, given free rein to claim life with their new toys, not stop until they have engulfed racial minorities, the old and infirm, and finally the unemployed and unemployable in the United States itself?

If Hanoi, Haiphong, and the dykes are bombed, North Vietnam will become America's Auschwitz, the agonizing slaughterhouse of three million human beings. If we do not speak up now to forestall this bombing, we will be witnessing the total triumph of profit over humanity, of genocide over life, of coercion over liberation. Eventually we will be the victims of the very horror Johnson threatens to unleash over South-East Asia. The new technology, which could liberate men from material want and toil, will be turned into the demoniacal instruments for massive destruction of life and the total subjugation of man.

We stand, now, not merely on the plain of the Red River Delta, but at a crossroads in the history of humanity. Our enemy is not the people of Vietnam. Our enemies are the power establishments on both sides of our divided world, the ruling elites who impede the full liberation of humanity from suffering, from insecurity, from want and toil.

THE WAR IN VIETNAM MUST BE STOPPED NOW, NOT ONLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE BUT IN OUR OWN INTERESTS! IT MUST BE STOPPED NOW—WITHOUT ANOTHER SHOT BEING FIRED! A M E R I C A N TROOPS MUST BE WITHDRAWN IMMEDIATELY AND UNCONDITIONALLY!

ANARCHY 59

The White Problem

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TO BE A TRUE individualist one must be alone in the world. For that, one must kill off all the rest of the world population. Then the animals, and after that, the plants. These, in the end, are also living entities. Alone, the individualist can then say: 'The world is my oyster'. Or, 'I am God'.

But, as the only human being on the planet, the true individualist will discover, much to his dismay, that he has a body that exerts a tyranny over him. It demands food, and certain pleasures. He will then be forced to grow vegetables and if vegetarianism doesn't satisfy him, raise cattle. It is his first step towards losing the sovereignty of the true individual. His hunger satisfied, he then finds that there are other hungers. He might, obsessed by going it alone, satisfy those hungers with masturbation, but he will find it is a poor replacement for the original. He will then create woman, for whom he will invent the words love, warmth and tenderness. To his amazement, he will discover that he loses more of his sovereignty as he realizes that lying with woman means mutual participation in the act of love if the words love, warmth and tenderness are to become sensations and feelings and not a cold seducer's advertisement. To his further amazement, unless he masters the Yoga technique of putting back the semen from where it came, he will see that more sovereignty is lost when the woman gets pregnant. The woman's state might make him feel isolated, the woman's love for her offspring might make him feel unloved, but he will find the way out by saying: 'I gain immortality with a son.'

As the newborn grows, the true individualist finds that he either has to repress the child by saying: 'He is a selfish monster and I must keep him in line', or give him all the freedom the child needs. He either becomes an authoritarian bastard or a loving adult who is responsible and respects the right of the child to happiness, declaring him an individual. It is then the complete loss of the sovereignty of the true individualist. He arrives at the conclusion that man, woman and child are all individuals, but dependent on each other. He can say: 'We're all in the same boat, but we can all have our little corner to ourselves'. As time goes by, he discovers that the boat gets more and more crowded, thanks to the woman. He is forced to admit that more sovereignty is lost as the crowd becomes a community who, strange though it may seem to him, is composed of individuals who all have the same needs. He is either forced to work as the rest to supply those needs, or to declare himself a rebel and go it alone, spurning the others. He invents the word 'herd' to distinguish himself as an individual. He drops the adjective 'true' and terms himself individualist.

To go it alone means isolation from the herd. The top of a mountain, the jungle, a small uninhabited island are the ideal places for contemplating one's navel. But, unless his mind is in the perpetual blankness of nirvana, the individualist finds that his brain has ideas. They revolve in such a way, that he finds he must tell someone about them. He discovers that communication is also a human need, so he abandons the mountain.

FRUSTRATION INCREASES

The individualist will then talk about his ideas. If he finds approval in others to his words, he will feel pleased. If he does not, he will feel frustrated. Or indifferent. But he will go to those who will listen to him, with whom he can say he has an 'identity'. Despising the word 'herd', he will find himself in the midst of a group or sect enclosed in neat corral fences, all with his same ideas. It is another loss of the sacred sovereignty of individualism and anguish begins. Frustration increases, the cry of 'individualist, individualist' becomes hysterical. It is his recurrent theme. Others begin to

HOW TO BE A TRUE INDIVIDUALIST

call him 'crank'. Or stupid.

The individualist denies that man is inherently good and that Mutual Aid exists. He is only concerned with the here and now, denying that anarchism is possible as a form of society and, if an anarchistic society comes about, it can only be produced by tension between sovereign individuals. History is full of examples of tension between sovereign individuals. Kings versus kings, statesmen versus statesmen, businessman versus businessman, nation against nation, all can claim individualism. The difference between an anarchist individualist and an authoritarian one is only that the latter have no scruples to slit throats. But both are in essence the same kind of over-ambitious mediocrity. In the first, mediocrity and scruples make him a nihilist, an old-fashioned term for a coward looking for the easiest way out. In the second, mediocrity is dressed up with pomp to hide the knife, the weapon also the preference of cowards. A Beethoven could say to a prince: 'Princes come and go, but there is only one Beethoven', but an individualist cannot say 'I am Beethoven', or 'I have the same genius as Beethoven had', unless he proves it, like Beethoven did. And in the proving

there is a lot of frustration, caused by the surrounding mediocrities. The genius is above his time.

With freedom, a man can express himself in many ways. He can turn to the arts to satisfy himself, and if navel contemplation is his form of expression after he has done his work, he will idolize his navel. If he is conscious of his limitations, he will know of the division talent and no-talent, and he will come to terms with himself, or the whims of a distorted ego. To say 'I am only concerned with the here and now' is to say 'After me, the deluge'. It is the old cry of the politician. It is 'The here and now is no freedom, we are in a vicious circle, let's take advantage of it by becoming bastards'.

MUTUAL AID

A politician can also speak about Mutual Aid, as it is a good excuse for taxation. If he is listened to, it is because Mutual Aid is an unconscious drive in the human being, or because it is an appealing idea. The misfortune of Mutual Aid and its sister, solidarity, is that it is only seen working during catastrophes: an earthquake, a fire, famines. It goes unnoticed in acts like helping the homeless with floor space of

one's own, in taking care of somebody else's baby, because these unpublicized acts are always done by private individuals and not institutions. The saying 'Today you, tomorrow me' was not created out of thin air. But, if Mutual Aid is not an unconscious drive in the human being as the individualist says, it is at least a good idea and it seems worthwhile to struggle to put it into effect. To deny it and remain on the sideline, is to sabotage the idea. Man is not born knowing. He can live in fear all his life and consider it his natural states unless he finds out that fear, in most instances, is artificially created by the taboos of society. And how is he to find out if not with experiment? Curiosity leads to experiment, and no individualist can deny that the human being is curious. Nor can he deny that necessity is the mother of invention, and if Mutual Aid does not exist, the need for it would have invented.

The individualist says that any man has the right to maintain his purity as an individual. He will not condemn the murderer, he will allow a man to slit another's throat without interfering. He does not ask himself why a man should

Continued on page 3

News from Nowhere

THE SLIGHT CHANGE in the title is due to the lack of response from groups, although, I believe, *Peace News* quoted the story of the white bikes. This column, I repeat, is open to all groups and individuals who wish to show a sign of life.

LETTER FROM AMERICA

The *New York Times* magazine on November 7 published an account of what it calls 'the new underclass'. Here is an excerpt from a letter we received from a comrade:

You would be encouraged to see the spread of the anarchist idea in America. As you probably know, the new left in America has a deeper 'inner affinity' for anarchism than for either liberalism or socialism. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC) are anarchist both in ends and means (participatory democracy). FREEDOM is read in these circles and frequently discussed—even in an out of the way place like Buffalo. The editor of the student newspaper here is an avowed and serious anarchist—he is a very bright young man well-grounded in anarchist theory and history—and I suspect we will be seeing more of his type in years to come. The leadership of the local SDS chapter is explicitly anarchist and the whole organization, locally and nationally, is implicitly anarchist. It would be good if FREEDOM could make connection with the student movement here in the US. 'we zijn TROTS op je!'

This headline appears in the latest issue of the excellent Dutch anarchist magazine *de vrije*. They are not turning trots—it means 'we are proud of you' and happens to be a translation of P. Pawlowski's account of demonstration outside Brixton prison where Brian Lomass and Roy Mills were held (FREEDOM 11.12.65).

IT COULD BE YOUR CHILD

Paul Pawlowski has put out a leaflet asking people to co-operate with him bringing a Vietnamese child here away from the suffering. Paul's address is 9 Tavistock Road, Croydon, Surrey.

'FREEDOM' IN THE MARKET PLACE

West Ham anarchists sold 60 copies of FREEDOM in Petticoat Lane last Sunday and intend to go back again despite threats from the police.

BIRMINGHAM EDITION OF 'ANARCHY'

I notice in the newsletter that P. Neville assiduously sends out that *Anarchy* is planning an entire edition on Birmingham. 'If anyone is willing to produce informed articles on Housing, Town Planning, Welfare Service, Race Relations, Industry and so on' they should let P. Neville know at 12 South Grove, Erdington, Birmingham, 23.

Also that there was a special meeting of the Midlands Projects for Peace Working Group convened by Eric Harrison, December 28, at Paul James, 50 Windermere Road, Birmingham, 21. It was attended by members of the Committee and Anarchist Group and several other interested people. It was decided to investigate the possibility of starting a Peace Bookshop cum Coffee Bar with room or rooms for a Peace Action Centre attached (to provide meetings and also accommodation for visiting peace workers engaged on peace projects), and it is hoped that this will ultimately be self-financing. This is at present being investigated. A second project was that a Factory for Peace should be established in the Midlands. After some discussion it was felt that a toy factory would be appropriate. Investigations are being made in the Shropshire, and Gloucestershire areas. One comrade has already volunteered to participate on a full-time basis.

'HAVE WITH YOU TO SAFFRON WALDEN'—(Thomas Nashe)

Our initial group meeting was highly successful. There were ten of us—we had a discussion of anarchism. For the January meeting, Des McDonald is going to come and talk about syndicalism, and we hope to have other speakers on various aspects of anarchism.

We still think there are plenty more people to be brought in: there must, for example, be some in Cambridge and other sympathisers in the Saffron Walden area.

John Huekett and I both have vans, and we provide a ferry service for meetings. Anyone who wished to come but had no transport would only need to let us know and we'd arrange to pick him up. The same applies to visitors from London. There is a good train service from Liverpool Street to Audley End, and anyone can be met there who likes to tell us what time.

NO BOMBS IN CARDIFF

Firstly a 24 hours fast took place on Christmas Eve and a collection was taken for Oxfam. Posters used were 'Who loses in Vietnam...?' and several of our own including:

'The World needs schools, factories, hospitals— Governments spend your money on guns, bombs, wars.'

Oxfam was asked, if possible to divide the money equally between N. and S. Vietnam. The sum of money collected was £183.

Secondly, several weeks ago a Labour Party rally took place. We expected Dennis Healey but he didn't arrive and we were left with George Thomas as principal speaker who had to face questions prepared for Healey. Incidentally, the meeting had an interesting preliminary when the hall was cleared while police and dogs searched for a bomb. What does a bomb smell like?

When the meeting got under way practically all questions came from anarchists, who formed a reasonably large percentage of the number of those gathered to hear the words of wisdom. Questions about Rhodesia, Vietnam, and the 'Forces Leaflets' were all unsatisfactorily answered.

CHARITY BEGINS AT HOME

Can't we devise a scheme to increase the number of pages of FREEDOM? Or sell more copies?

R.

Anarchist Federation of Britain

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

London Anarchist Group 1&2

4th Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at David Bell's, 19 Aberdeen Road, Highbury, N.5.
WANDSWORTH LIBERTARIANS. Correspondence to Tony Cadman, 116 Tilehurst Road, Earlsfield, London, S.W.19.

'Lamb and Flag', Rose Street, off Garrick Street, London, W.C.2. (Leicester Square tube) 7.45 p.m. All welcome.

Sundays.
JAN. 16 Sid Parker
Anarchism versus Socialism

JAN. 23 'Freedom'
Readers, Writers and Sellers meeting

JAN. 30 'Jassie'
In Defence of 'Mucky' Stories

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

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m.

Last Thursday in month at George Hayes', 174 McLeod Road, S.E.2.

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

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

ABERDEEN GROUP. Meets at the Adelphi 2.30 p.m. every Sunday. Correspondence to I. R. Mitchell, 137 Foulds Road, Aberdeen.

ARLESEY GROUP (N. Herts., S. Beds.). Meetings on first Friday of month. Correspondence to Peter and Maureen Ford, 102 Stotfold Road, Arlesey, Beds.

BEXLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence to Paul Wildish, 2 Cumbrian Avenue, Barnehurst, Kent.

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

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

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

DUNDEE GROUP contacts: (1) Bob and Una Turnbull, 44 Peddie Street, Dundee. Meetings at 44 Peddie Street, Dundee, every Saturday at 3 p.m. (2) Sheila Whittaker, 64 Polepark Road, Dundee.

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

MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact: Mike Mitchell, 3 Bakeswell Road, Droylesden. Meetings alternate Tuesdays, 8 p.m. at the Lord Nelson, Chapel Street, Manchester.

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

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

NORTH-WEST ESSEX. Meetings on the first Saturday of each month at 7.30 p.m. at Robert Barrtop's, The Old Vicarage, Radwinter, near Saffron Walden. January meeting on the 8th.

ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson. Next meeting: January 23, 5 p.m.

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

READING ANARCHIST GROUP. Meets second Tuesday of month at Friends' Meeting House, Church Street (off London Street), 8 p.m. Correspondence: Phillip Lord, 160 Castle Hill, Reading.

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

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). Meetings 7.30 p.m.

WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Contact Mr. Karl Taylor, 98 Clova Road, Forest Gate, London, E.7. Meetings on Wednesdays.

PROPOSED GROUPS

LEICESTER TOWN & GOWN. Get into touch with P. Gibbon, c/o Students' Union, Leicester University.

HARLOW. Proposed Group. Get in touch with Keith Nathan, 12 Shawbridge, Harlow, Essex.

LEWISHAM, LONDON, S.E. Have baby. Can't travel. Seek sympathisers/comrades in area. Mike and Alison Malet, 61 Granville Park, S.E.13.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE. Anyone interested get in touch with Bob Yorke, 69 Grumbold Avenue, Raunds, Wellingborough, Northants.

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

SCARBOROUGH. Any anarchist-minded persons please contact John B. Feetenby, 29 Cambridge Street, Scarborough, Yorks.

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

ABROAD

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

The State Steps In

SURELY BY NOW, the myth that the Labour Party is the party for the workers has been exposed. Ever since they came to power, the Government has attacked the interests of the working people. This was to be expected and, in fact, the Labour Party leaders gave plenty of warning of these moves well before the General Election.

A WARNING

For instance, Ray Gunter, the present Minister of Labour, said at that time: 'I am persuaded that unless the unions face the facts of life as they are in the late 1960s, then in seven to ten years' time the State will have to intervene. Industrial courts, with the authority of judicial courts, will be created and any dispute will have to be referred to them. Some of my trade union colleagues are gloomy enough to believe that this is inevitable in any case, and that the main object should be to make sure that they are completely independent of any Government. I am not so pessimistic; the unions can do it themselves, but one thing is certain—the trade unions are not eternal. They will exist just as long as they are relevant to the times in which they seek to

exist.'*

The Labour Government has not reached this stage yet, but it is well on the way. It has been assisted by the TUC who have been far from 'independent of any Government'. The TUC has gone along with the Government's incomes policy. It did not like Mr. Brown's proposed legislation on 'early warning' on wages and so it voted for a 'voluntary' system. But what has this move achieved? Absolutely nothing. The Government now proposes to bring in legislation anyway and the TUC have tamely agreed to it.

Clive Jenkins, of ASSET, writing in *Tribune* called this support of the TUC, a 'demonstration of bankruptcy of policy' and 'nothing short of disgraceful', but didn't Mr. Jenkins vote for a Labour candidate at the General Election? Of course he did!

Newsletter, the paper of the Trotskyist Socialist Labour League, has also attacked the proposed legislation. It is calling for a lobby of MPs at the House of Commons on January 26. In another journal, *Keep Left*, which is a by-blow of the SLL (although they deny it), they call for support for this lobby and say: 'It will be a crime, carrying heavy punishment, if we fight for wages under conditions not approved by the capitalist parliament. This is the outcome of a great conspiracy between the right wing of the Labour Party, the Trades Union Congress and the employers.'

UP THE GARDEN PATH

But surely, if it is all a 'great conspiracy', then the SLL are part of

it, for they told their readers to vote for the Labour Party. Does the SLL really think that by lobbying the 'capitalist parliament' it is going to prevent the proposed legislation? Are workers going to be continually led up the garden path by this type of useless activity? I hope not. As for getting the 'left wing' labour MPs to vote against the Government on this matter, their past performances show that there is not a chance of this happening.

Another journal which supported the Labour Party at the last General Election was the *Economist*. This saw a Labour Government acting as a shot in the arm for British capitalism. In this analysis, they have been quite correct, although now they are getting impatient at the slowness at which it is being achieved.

British capitalism is undergoing a vast technological change, for which it needs a huge amount of capital investment. To get this, it must be shown that the financiers will get a good return for their investments. The Labour Government's Incomes Policy and proposed legislation on wages are the State's way of helping to achieve this return. Wages have to remain within guide lines and so not only are they restricted, but the freedom to take action is threatened.

Modern highly capitalised factories are very susceptible to strike action. When this expensive machinery is idle, it becomes very costly for the employers, therefore stoppages must be prevented, not as in the past by paying up, but with the help of legislation.

We have a Labour Government going hand in hand with the employers to prevent the workers from improving their conditions. To combat this, a strong organisation must be built up at rank and file level. Though this legislation might be a political issue, it can be defeated by the action of the workers themselves. It is not by going to Parliament and by electing a lot of leaders that the plans of the Government and big business will be defeated. P.T.

**Socialist Commentator*, April 1964. 'Time is Not on our Side' by Ray Gunter.

Freedom For Workers' Control

JANUARY 15 1966 Vol 27 No 2

Banks Have Dark Secrets

IN LAST WEEK'S FREEDOM it was reported that bank employees were going ahead with their wage claim. Later on during the week four banks issued their profit figures and dividends showing an increase of 10s, more in the £ than 1964. On this basis alone one would think that the bank employees should cawkwalk their wage claim. After all, we are all in this together, and ALL should share the benefits. Well, that's what George Brown said anyway.

But this is not the whole story, banks only publish figures to show the trend, what they really make is a closely guarded secret. It is suggested they really make twice as much profit as is published. How very cosy! Workers wages and earnings are headline news, plus the fact that figures stated by the press are often misleading, but bankers, for the sake of expediency, safeguard of investment and all that mumbo jumbo, issue phoney figures.

Will George Brown and the 'heavenly body' have a bash at that one? Not ruddy likely! It's the basis of the system the Labour Party wish to perpetuate.

THE REPORT THAT REALLY NEVER WAS

THE PIB is expected to publish its report on railwaymen's pay in the very near future and it is strongly rumoured that the Guillebaud principle will be quietly dropped. The Guillebaud Report gave railwaymen a fighting chance (no more than that) in the wages rat-race. It recommended that railwaymen's pay

should be kept roughly in line with earnings of equal work in other industries. In making their claims railwaymen have really struggled to achieve this, but in fact have always been behind (at the moment they estimate to be about 11% in arrears). If the Government do sell out on this vital principle, then the railwaymen have a harder struggle before them than ever before.

There is no reason to believe that the Government won't sell out, it's only a matter of taking their policy of wrecking of public transport a stage further. Ask London busmen!

Stanley Raymond, chairman of the British Railways Board, states that management should be prepared to deprive strikers of fringe benefits such as travel or holiday entitlement or sick pay. This was part of his contribution to the Royal Commission of Trade Unions. Raymond also believes that the responsibility for disciplining workers who take part in unofficial strikes should mainly rest with the unions. He congratulated railwaymen on their self-control during the past five years when the labour force had been reduced from half million to 350,000. This is what is called scientific planning—cut out lines and rationalise the labour force, and to hell with railwaymen and passengers alike.

CAN'T BEAT 'EM?— BLOODY JOIN 'EM

VAUXHALL MANAGEMENT at Luton have appointed four 'trouble shooters' for the Luton plant. The four men to join the management are all trade unionists, an AEU works convenor, a Luton Town Councillor, a sheet metal worker and a production foreman. Their job is to sort out problems arising on the shop floor.

No doubt these men think they can help their fellow workers from the management side. How misguided can you become. When the crunch comes you are employed by the management, and if you want to hold onto the job that's where your allegiance must lie. The policy of so called modern trade unionism is to encourage this policy, they spew forth the idea that workers must prove they know 'what it's all about'. On the contrary, they only know 'what it's all about' when they tell the management where to stick these types of jobs. BILL CHRISTOPHER.

PRESS FUND

WEEK 1, JANUARY 8, 1966
Expenses: 1 week at £80: £80
Income: Sales and Subs.: £57
DEFICIT £23

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*Denotes Regular Contributor.

Starting Again

Contact Column

The Secular League. Britain's only secular/freethought society, wants association with all progressives. Aims: Equality for all, internationalism—united from the bottom—no pontiffs or political careerists welcome. S.A.E. for principles and objects: J. A. Millar, 139 Elm Road, Section 4, New Malden, Surrey.

Hurry! Hurry! Hurry! Festival of Fools extended (by public demand) to January 15 and 16 at New Merlin's Cava, Margery Street, W.C.1. LCS Singers' Club. Club members admission 5/-. Non-members 7/6. Tickets may be booked by 'phone. PAR 0649.

Debate. With SPEB on anarchism at 52 Clapham High Street, S.W.4 on Thursday, January 20 at 7.30 p.m. Bill Gape will be putting an anarchist case and would welcome supporters.

The Cuddonites. Announce the seventh issue of Cuddon's *Cosmopolitan Review* (new series) including offensive cartoons by Arthur Moyses, articles, short stories, verse and literary trivia. Dec./Jan. issue of what has been rudely termed the 'anarchist literary supplement'. One shilling and sixpence from CCR, 283 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1 (or available from Freedom Bookshop).

Accommodation. Wanted, libertarian working girl to join West London (near Marble Arch) mixed community in mid-January. Own sordid room. Rent £2 10s. including electricity and gas. Box 20.

Teach In on Immigration and Integration. January 26 at 1.15 p.m. at Borough Polytechnic (Elephant & Castle).

Contacts Needed. Long Beach, California, USA area. Get in touch with Charles Levy, P.O. Box 743, Long Beach, California, USA.

Accommodation. Couple wishing to 'legalise' quite soon; must find accommodation before doing so for selves and 2½-year-old daughter as soon as possible. Cheap rent perhaps in return for some work in house, garden, etc. Town or country; anything, anywhere considered. Please contact Stella A. Fauser, 242 Amesbury Avenue, London, S.W.2.

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New Zealand Federation of Anarchists. First Annual Congress, December 26 to January 6. Enquiries Box 5455, Auckland C1, NZ.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

MORE THAN JUST A STRIKE

THE NEWS THAT a leader of a union has been carted off to jail is, to put it mildly, a little unusual. It happened in America, where Mr. Michael Quill, an Irishman, and eight other leaders of New York's bus and subway workers' unions were arrested for contempt of court, in refusing to comply with an injunction to end the transport strike.

Soon after being taken to prison, Mr. Quill suffered a heart attack and was transferred to hospital where he is now recovering.

The unions, the Transport Workers Union and the Amalgamated Transit Union, are claiming a four-day, 32-hour week (instead of the present 40-hour week), a 30% wage increase, six weeks' holiday with pay after one year of employment and retirement on half-pay after 25 years of service. These are demands for which it is really worth having a long strike, but surely it is an anachronism that union leaders are showing such militancy. I must admit that it was great hearing such utterance as Mr. Quill's 'the judge can drop dead in his black robes', but without being cynical in any way, I would like to know the motives that are behind this unusual show of militancy.

SPIES AND 'BUGGING'

It seems that eight years ago, the 'boot was on the other foot'. At that time, Mr. Quill's own authority was threatened, in that some subway motormen were dissatisfied with his leadership and formed a breakaway union of their own, called the Motormen's Benevolent Association, and came out on strike. Mr. Quill urged City Hall and the Transit Authority to use the law to break the strike and the new union. The Transit Authority did just this, with the MBA leaders going to jail. The Transit Authority admitted to having spies at an MBA meeting and to 'bugging' their headquarters. Mr. Quill did not raise his voice then and even let the Transit Authority pay out a bonus to his members for helping to break the strike.

One also wonders how far political

motives are involved in this dispute. At the recent elections in New York, the Democrat candidate was defeated by Mr. Lindsay, the Republican. This means that Mr. Quill's old Democrat buddies are now out of City Hall so what could be better than a shake-up for the new Mayor with a transport strike. This does not imply an attack on the strike, but knowing something of Mr. Quill's behaviour in the past and the possible strong motives, one cannot help but question reasons behind the action of the transport workers' leaders.

On the other hand, the strike has shown just what power the workers have, if they are prepared to use it. Even with public transport functioning normally, there is still a traffic problem in New York, but with those workers on strike, it is sheer chaos. What is really happening is that New York, as a commercial centre, is ceasing to exist. Already business interests are feeling the pinch.

How far will the union leadership go and how long are they prepared to fight for the demands? The unions' new bargainer, Mr. MacMahon, says they will stay out 'till hell freezes over'. And if they do not, will the rank and file continue the struggle? I think they could win the demands, or at least a very substantial part of them if they are prepared to carry on the strike. Workers on the railways have already threatened sympathy action if safety limits are exceeded because of overloading. This would really bring New York to a standstill. If need be, their support should be called for, and so win some really worthwhile demands. P.T.

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