

What is Happening in Belgium?

THE CLASHES between Flemish and Walloon speaking Belgians are the fruits of many years of 'divide and rule'. Those who believe that racial clashes are the results of races alien to one another being unable to mingle are confuted, alike with those who believe that racialism may be eliminated by legal reform. No racial groups or cultures could be more alike than the two arbitrarily welded together to form Belgium. The artificial barrier of religion, dividing Belgium from Holland, was scarcely noticeable in Belgium, although it is true that the Roman Church—true to the inherited policy of 'divide and rule'—has managed to establish a firm foothold amongst the Flemings, almost confining anti-clericalism to the French-speaking industrial proletariat.

Whenever it has suited the Belgian State, it has insisted on the ties that bind the two races, and it went to the extreme of appointing a German king solely in order that the monarch should be impartial between one racial group and the other. But whenever revolutionary feelings begin to grow—and they inevitably begin amongst the Walloons, the policy of division has come into operation once more. It is true that socialism has long since been tamed; and the late Queen Mother learned the art of taming the communist tiger; but the Belgian workers have never been sufficiently curbed to suit either the capitalists or the State. During the Second World War, sections of the ruling-class went too far in their endeavours to prevent revolution, in the by now classic policy of 'sooner Hitler than our own working-class'. The throne was placed in a position of jeopardy. Only by re-awakening the racial issue could the demands for abolition of the monarchy be shelved. 'It is only the monarchy that keeps the nation together . . . without the throne the Flemish would be a perpetual minority . . . the Church is in danger from the Walloons.'

Nobody actually wants to divide Bel-

gium, and the so-called Flemish extremists who are calling for some form of independence least of all. It is however the threat of division thus making the country economically impractical at the present time, that is intended to be the crack of the whip at all times of social crisis.

Only this explains the support of separatist movements by great industrialists who have more to lose than anybody if separatism really became effective, unless, of course, the separated part linked up with an even greater country. Profits having no boundaries, this again explains why the extreme patriotism of the Belgian Right can be allied with high treason, and why those who are so attached to their native soil that they wish to preserve it from other Belgians, have had no hesitation whatever in linking up with Hitler and being quite prepared to be absorbed in the Third Reich.

Nor would they today object, necessarily, to absorption by means of the Common Market into Europe—the Belgian Rexists claim to be entirely for a united Europe while bogging at a united Belgium. A united Europe would make the industrialists even stronger. A united Belgium might mean the unification of Flemings and Walloons on the social and industrial fields.

The multiplication of trade unions—Socialist, Catholic, Communist (which is a feature of Europe today), has become even greater in Belgium because of the language issue. Anything will do to prevent a unified, above all a revolutionary, working class. Those who have called up the whirlwind of separatist agitation are, however, unable to control it. Passions become aroused and real hatreds develop out of what is only an artificial quarrel. The Belgian industrialists did not hesitate to leave the Congo behind in an artificially-created shambles; and there is no reason to suppose that they will clear up the separatist mess they have caused in the homeland and have to clear out of there. INTERNATIONALIST.

The Strike that Never Was

THE EXECUTIVES of the National Union of Railwaymen and the Prime Minister have once again put on a wonderful show, managing to avoid going through with a threatened national strike, with Mr. Wilson following in the footsteps of Mr. Macmillan.

The NUR called off their strike threat, but have only gained small concessions in return. Their 3½% pay increase is to be brought forward one month to September, the 40-hour week is to be granted in March instead of April, with improved holidays and pensions. The final 'Wilson' concession, if one can call it that, is that the wage negotiations machinery for the industry should be looked into and the wage structure should be reviewed.

From the start, after Mr. Aubrey Jones's Prices and Incomes Board had come out against the railwaymen, Mr. Green, the railwaymen's leader, never did like the idea of strike action. I think that most people thought that it would never come off and that the Executive would finally pull back from the 'brink'.

Throughout the negotiations, the executives have really made fools of themselves and the ups and downs of their votes have been followed like a Test Match score. First of all, they voted in favour of strike action by 20 votes to 3. They even had a draw of 11 all, followed the next day by 18 to 5 then back to 12 to 11 and finally 10 to 13 against and so it was called off.

As for the rank and file, they are, for a start, split up into three unions,

the industrial NUR, the craft union, the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, and the white-collared Salaried Staffs Association.

With this whole mess and the executive's antics, it is no wonder that some branches were asking their leadership not to call them out.

GUILEBAUD REPORT

For years, railwaymen have been getting a raw deal, but they thought that the Guillebaud report would at last rectify this. Mr. Guillebaud thought that men earning such low wages should get a wage scale which compared with that of workers in other industries. Since then the railwaymen have had a strong bargaining counter, with a Government-appointed body coming out in their favour. But with the Labour Government's Prices and Incomes Board, this comparability had to go. In this policy, overtime earnings were taken into account and it was conveniently forgotten that all men do not get the chance to work overtime to make up their wages. They were told that if they got more than 3½%, this would lead to inflation. Mr. Brown's Incomes Policy was made acceptable to the unions by the inclusion of a provision by which those earning high wages should 'stand still' while their less fortunate brothers caught up with them. Aubrey Jones has chosen to ignore this point in the case of the railwaymen, who are some of the lowest paid workers, many taking home about £10 a week. They have been told that they can only have a rise of 3½% and this exposes the policy for what it is, a means of keeping

wages and conditions at a low level.

The *Economist* says that if the Government does give in then the whole Incomes Policy will be completely undermined. They should have stepped in last October when the railwaymen got a 7% increase. The Incomes Policy and now the early warning wages legislation are part of the Government's undertaking to gain the confidence of our foreign creditors. They had to show that they mean business with the Incomes Policy and so they took on the railwaymen. One wonders just how much was stage-managed. Mr. Jones, from the start, was told that the railwaymen could not have more than the 3½% and Mr. Wilson, who knew that they were weak and the NUR easy meat, used them to show the country's creditors that the Government intends to keep wages down and the pound strong.

GOVERNMENT ON SAFE GROUND

Mr. Wilson was quite willing to run the slight risk of a strike, knowing, I am sorry to say, that it would not last very long. As the *Economist* says: 'The cost of ending this strike by appeasement will not just be one or two million more pounds added to the annual railway deficit. The cost is much more liable to be something over a thousand million pounds unnecessarily cut off the gross national product which Britain could otherwise earn in the next two and a half years of thwarted economic growth. That would be an exorbitant railway fare to pay for the use of the trains during the next three weeks, or whatever is the maximum period over which the NUR is likely to be able to finance a strike.' So it seems that the Government was on safe ground and, as it was, it even avoided the strike and so won on both counts.

How do the railwaymen stand
Continued on page 4

Index of Death

can affect the world capitalist system.

Thus, when there is a variation in Dow Jones or one of its competitive indexes, important decisions can be made which affect the economic well-being of you and me. For no other reason than that the financial 'experts' do or do not understand why or how the index has changed, they act on the basis of rumour or fears, in a panic-stricken manner to change the index in the direction they don't want it to go in.

Let us look at some of the facts. The United States is materially the richest country in the world and action by its Government and private capitalists can affect the prices of goods and economic prosperity throughout the world. Paradoxically most US private enterprise is dependent on or supported and subsidised by US Government expenditure with the resulting profits. Much is spent on civil projects in the capitalist state—public works, housing, agricultural support, etc.—but a considerable amount is spent on showing the rest of the world that the United States is the greatest and most powerful nation state. This is done by paying private enterprises to do the work and provide the means for achieving this end. Hence extravagant amounts are spent on space flight, technological sophistications, irrelevant and useless economic 'aid' and, of course, military activities to show that the United States Government is dominant. Once it has been demonstrated, the rest of the world may accept or deny it as they dare.

Peculiarly an index of the success of these policies on a state-wise and individual-pecuniary basis are share price and other such indexes which the people concerned with making important economic and financial decisions implicitly and uncritically believe in. The economic prosperity of the United States and the rest of the world depends on the decisions made from them.

In terms of prosperity, the United States has never had it better since the Korean War, except for those who are 'poor or deprived citizens'. This has

been politically but only indirectly due to the Vietnam business. Theoretically the state could spend the money and keep everybody happy by supporting the large private corporations—identifying them is unnecessary here since there is so much sub-contracting that a large section of the manufacturing sector depends on the contracts of the few—by buying the rubbish they make and dumping it in the sea. Instead the people in control of the state have chosen to dump it with fatal results on human beings in Vietnam to prove the US is a great nation state.

The threat of peace has panicked the people benefiting most, financiers and people owning shares in private enterprise companies supported by the Government. A share price index reflecting their actions in selling stocks and shares for fear of financial loss fell sharply for a moment due to the remote possibility of peace. That is all that is signified by the change in a mere statistic—financial loss balanced against human life and the prestige of a great nation state.

Human life is sacrificed irrelevance and unnecessarily. After all the rubbish manufactured could be dropped in the ocean without financial or human loss, though perhaps loss of one state's power and prestige.

Someone once suggested the future of the human race was dependent on teaching people about the birds and the bees, now it seems more germane to understand the activities of the 'bulls and the bears'.

I. A. P. SOCK.

*An index-number of prices is a single figure designed to reflect the average of a number of different prices. An index is a series of such numbers intended to show how the average price varies, percentage-wise, from one time to another. Since it is necessary to decide how important each single price is when striking an average, and since prices can change in relative importance over time, the meaning of an index is rarely open to clear interpretation.

ANARCHY STOPS DEATH ON THE ROAD

SOMETHING STARTLING happened in Northolt last month when more than 200 housewives, their menfolk and children, blocked the road opposite the Yeading Green Council Estate in protest at the GLC's failure to provide a zebra crossing for children near a very busy roundabout.

Formal protests through official channels had fallen on deaf ears; vague promises by councillors had been made whilst injuries and in some cases death to school children had mounted over a period of six years. The mothers, increasingly concerned for their children's safety, decided they could be fobbed off no longer so, at 8.30 a.m. on Monday, these ladies stood shoulder to shoulder across the entire length of the road causing considerable delay to rush-hour traffic. It is therefore splendid to report that their action, which was obviously brought about by a desperate desire to obtain a solution, totally succeeded in its aim.

Everything went smoothly for the demonstrators. Only a motorist, an

obvious megalomaniac, perhaps afraid of a dressing down from his boss, took exception. He picked out one of the husbands guarding the road, and attempted to beat him up; William Molloy, the Ealing North MP, who has played quite a big part in this issue, was bitten on the arm for taking the trouble to becalm the irate motorist, who realising the militant mood of the parents, swore loudly before driving off. Shortly afterwards the police and sundry officialdom connected with the Highways Committee arrived to apprise the situation. They conferred with the demonstration leaders, and after a brief informal discussion, the morass of red tape was cast aside, and the mothers' demands met in full after a demonstration lasting only 20 minutes. The work on the pedestrian crossing was authorized to be carried out at once.

Mr. Molloy asked the women why they had not made their requests through the official channels, and back came the reply that people on the estate had been petitioning on and off for six years to no avail. Councillor Surry, responsible

in part for this shocking delay, pretended his department had never received a petition in this time, and in a further effort to stem the tide—which by this time was going very much against him—added that he'd only heard about the protests 'yesterday'. What a busy man Cllr. Surry must be! Mr. Molloy, who doesn't spend quite so much time delivering ripe clichés, vainly tried to minimize this fine show of solidarity which brought such swift victory. He told those present that he considered demonstrations to be healthy things, but the people should have met in the Ealing Town Hall. 'Although I am all for their demands', said Mr. Molloy, 'anarchy must not be substituted for order.' Although these people could never be classified as anarchists, they used tactics that we've often advocated, and theirs was a perfect example of direct action which one hopes will be an inspiration in the future. If they'd waited for 'order', maybe another six years would have passed!

R.P.

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BUSTER KEATON

THERE'S VERY LITTLE genius about in the arts of this century, but I believe that the cinema can claim disproportionately less than any. This has nothing to do with its comparative newness, for its rise and decline, as practised in the territory of its origins, Hollywood, was uncommonly rapid. Agnes de Mille, an innocent member of the great corrupting dynasty, the de Milles, gives, perhaps inadvertently, in *Dance to the Piper*, a concise, murderous account of the process.

There was something about the mechanics of the talkies that assaulted the other elements of the cinema—the visual or ideological, the lyrical, comic, satirical—and waged a successful war against them. This reduced film to a blast of dialogue, or hot air as it's known in the trade.

But before this came Buster Keaton. Prophetically, for the talkie machine would do him in, he rebelled, railed against, mocked the machine, and by his artistry illuminated certain aspects of our consciousness so that it will never be the same. For who can ever boil an egg without the uncomfortable awareness that there exists in this universe a method for boiling 500 eggs simultaneously (*The Navigator*) and that this represents not an achievement but a freakish bit of ingenuity that reduces man; for when he tangles with a mechanized process of such preposterous dimensions, it becomes humanly impossible to utilize it to boil an egg. In any thoughts of Buster Keaton, the words are, indeed, 'human' and 'proportion'.

Who, after *The General*, can take war—its presumptive causes, the absurd dedication to its insanity—seriously? I rather doubt Buster Keaton was deli-

berately political in his work. The propaganda emerged obliquely through the art. And his comment on the human condition was one of great magnitude. Who was kinder is the question to ask when considering Keaton, not who was sadder. It was his appreciation of *de rerum aeternitas*—the rum show life tends to be in the ordinary way, with its lonely incommunicabilities, its pain and its culmination in death, that caused him to take his stand on the side of kindness and against cruelty, on the side of man against the factors hostile to the fullest realization of himself.

He never ridiculed man; only the follies some men commit, and through which we all stand condemned. He was a mournful spy against the conspiracy of inanimate objects. Even pre-Bomb, Keaton recognized the Scientific Revolution as man's fiercest enemy. He won a few skirmishes in this war: *The Navigator* is more impressive and exciting and valuable an achievement than any method for the manipulation of one or one million eggs can ever be.

However, the machine has won nearly every time and one of the losses in that uneven war that I shall most mourn is Keaton, against the Hollywood machine. He was a young man when it cut him down and consequently we are deprived of the output of decades by this Unique Genius of the cinema. (It must have been a personal tragedy as well; he earned his living as a script writer during

all those years.) He was given a chance to return to the films ironically enough, through Telly and only towards the latter part of his life. It was my good fortune to see him as guest in a Telly show, *Route 66*, in '62 or '63, a show, I'm persuaded, that without Keaton's presence, would have been the usual sort of trash such things are. But he hauled it out of the mire of easy commercialism into art. I don't know how. He nearly pulled all the actors up with him. Nearly, not quite. I imagine he was shy and modest, but must have been a

good director. (If he'd had a loud vulgarity or even only money—or some unhappy combination of both—he would have been a success in films.)

Let his few films constitute his epitaph: for he increased the landscape of our imagination. His melancholy dog is as real as any dog that ever was; so is his desolate pond, his leaky boat, his quiet wisdom and his conviction, in the teeth of all evidence to the contrary, that art is worth doing because miracles are a possible part of the experience of man. DACHINE RAINER.

LETTERS

Individualism

IN THE CURRENT FREEDOM correspondence section, there is a continuing correspondence from would-be Stirnerites. I too think of myself as being a Stirnerite, as well as a communist, syndicalist and several other things. Might I suggest that the whole idea of individualism is to assert the right of the individual to recognition as an individual by other individuals, and to negate the idea of mass-conformity. Let it be said here and now that I and most of my comrades, with whom I have discussed this, do not think much of individualist individualism if they haven't got the apparent courage to sign their letters with their own names and go for an anonymous pen-name. I would therefore suggest that the individualism of 'Individualist' and 'Nobodaddy' is no more than a sham—freedom from behind closed shutters is no freedom at all. PETER NEVILLE.

Community

IT HAS long seemed to me that we are completely ignoring one method of struggle in our attempts to establish anarchy. The simple community idea has often been bandied about, though never really discussed. However we can go much further.

The amount of money controlled by workers must be large, but is completely unused. The type of thing I am thinking about is the buying of a factory by those working in it. If enough capital can be raised to begin, this would snowball, with workers' control naturally replacing capitalism because of its greater efficiency.

Letters must be short, I've given none of the fine details, so think them out before you tell me how impossible, etc., the idea is.

To me the greatest danger is from within—the chance of it turning into mass capitalism. But please, may we have at least some sort of attempt at anarchy within this century? Glasgow. CHRIS BROAD.

POETSPEAK IN CHELSEA

PUBLIC POETRY READINGS, by nature, are entertaining and spontaneous fuses for poets of explosive and wild words. In contrast the writing of poems is an individual, lonely discipline of the soul and spirit. Nonetheless anarchic and authoritative in its necessity to say, with passion, feelings and ideas which touch the listener, into fresh awareness.

The POETSPEAK, Thursday, February 10, organized by two Battersea College students in aid of Dave and Tina Cunliffe's 'Golden Convolutus Erotica Fund' (i.e. court expenses), was an example of the audience that exists to hear poems and poesis. Folksongs and folksingers have accelerated such interest, not least because the best songs of people as different as Bob Dylan and Ewan McColl are poetry-with-music. It is fashionable to knock both these singers, but by looking at songs such as *Chimes of Freedom* and *Desolation Row* by Dylan (alias Zimmerman) or *Shoals of Herring* and *First Time Ever I Saw Your Face*, one sees the acceptance of poems with music.

This is a boost for poetry generally, particularly for that poesis which strikes chords of song and articulation in men and women who need, as we all do, encouragement and hope.

The Chenil Galleries were crowded with people standing around the hall listening quietly and very attentive. If there are young poets like Lee Harwood and Anselm Hollo... alive and publicly reading then this acts as a catalyst for others to take poetry seriously. To get away from Walter Raleigh's mud-bound cloak thrown at Elizabeth's feet and to read his poems of reasoned anger and love—*The Lie* for instance. However in POETSPEAK there were crude

and continual puns in some poems which, if outrageous and treasonable at the moment, quickly flipped into the mind's dustbin. Even the rawest and poorest of *The Common Muse* troubadours (Penguin folkpoetry anthology) would have laughed sarcastically at certain pathetic puns.

For all this the dialogue between poets and public, a young public, was continued. Beyond the trivial were poets Ed Dorn and Harry Fainlight who impressed by their concern to reach the listeners with serious poesis of revolutionary ideas and statements.

To be critical is difficult when audiences applaud practically every poem, though personally I found poems like Mike Horowitz's *Peking* very boring after a little time. As for 'people's poetry', I know only Ken Geering's interpretation, which denies, as Ewan McColl's interpretation of folk music denies, many from such artistic feeling and concern for human beings; concern for individuals who can be helped practically.

In a similar way Bob Cobbing's sound-poem—through the alphabet—was too long to hold and carry those listening, though I liked the use of language roots. His international poem-ballad which gnawed at the lazy Anglo-Saxon ear, sparked Asian and African speech, besides European tongues.

When not distracted by cameras clicking and tape-recorders whirring, I heard a little, was able to concentrate on Trocchi's reading from *Cains Book*, and as comparison to Pete Brown's jazz-poems and Tina Cunliffe's sensuously simple lovepoems this proved relaxing. Relaxing, for his style is cool and hypnotic, and the words of an alienated New York spirit drift into one's consciously awakened thoughts. When Lee Harwood read his subversive buddha-poems it led one to forget his traditional European approach; as against the American warrior-like shouts of poemspre, that many young poets adopt and interpret through the very excitement of Ginsberg and the statement of Ferlinghetti.

Since all poets are committed to some-

thing, and even the 'uncommitted' are towards conservatism, it is hopeful that so many young writers and poets are seeking to enliven and make festive otherwise dull halls by their readings and chants; sounds and songs; sonnets and psalms... and even concrete structures of typography and design!

Ed Dorn read poems from his book *Geography*. An American poet living in England who was influenced by the Black Mountain College poets-school—was one of that group; and writes in the words of a fellow poet 'in the American tradition with much hatred in the poems'. But where there is hatred there is love, even if it does not reach into Donald Davie's Nationhood of poets loving their country beyond measure. Surely he loves those torn and trodden upon, and their environment of mountains, hills and towns.

But the poet does not extend almighty love to his nation, even if he is the conscience of those people within the country. Far different to saying he is the conscience of the nation! as Donald Davie did in the *New Statesman* (11.2.66). The poet, the artist, is the conscience of man, or he reduces art. Anselm Hollo's poem *Iron Mountain* has stayed in mind; has created images of official, uniformed men in gigantic concrete cities underground within some mountain range of the sweeping Mid-West states. Ah these burrowing authorities in their warrens of tomb-civilization... safe from blast, heat, fallout and oxygen exhaustion.

Very late in the evening Dave Cunliffe read some short, acid poems of sex and sense; politics and anarchy; religion and law. He still has debts from the trial and something like £200 to collect, so please send donations and orders for the GCE to 11, Clematis Street, Blackburn, Lancashire... it has been reprinted. You could also order a copy of *POETMEAT*, their quarterly magazine.

Others might like to ask Dave and Tina to visit their town to read and explain the glorious *Golden Convolutus* affair! DENNIS GOULD.

'Freedom' and Football

AT A RECENT 'Readers, Writers and Sellers' meeting the significance of the popularity of football journalism was raised and fortunately lowered again. Until the hawk-eyed diagnostician brings the syndicalist significance of the Footballers' Union within our ken or until we stand agape at the revelation of the place of mutual aid in league tables we shall not refer to football in these columns—yet. Except to mention that the presence of large crowds at football matches may give those who feel like it opportunities to sell FREEDOM.

Last Saturday at Stamford Bridge, despite a saboteur's attempt to spread the word that the game was 'off' (Pawlowski?) two Fulham comrades succeeded in selling two dozen copies of the paper each. They would have done more but they had urgent business on hand—to see the match. By the way, Chelsea won. Why not try to sell at your local ground? J.R.

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FEB. 20 Cedric Fauntleroy Permanent Protest

FEB. 27 A. Rajk Anarchism Without Anarchists

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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.

4th Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at David Bell's, 19 Aberdeen Road, Highbury, N.5.

LEWISHAM. Meeting at 61B Granville Park, Lewisham, Thursday, February 3, 7.30 p.m. Subject: 'What Scope for Anarchism in SE London?'

WANDSWORTH LIBERTARIANS. Correspondence to Tony Cadman, 116 Tilehurst Road, Earlsfield, London, S.W.19.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

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

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

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Convener: Peter Neville. Correspondence Secretary: Martin Bragg, 25 Fitz Roy Avenue, Harborne, Birmingham, 15 (BE Arwood 1504). Sales: Gordon Causar, 27 Upper Gunpowder, Tamworth, Staffs. (Tamworth 4562). Regular Meetings.

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

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

COVENTRY ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence Secretary: Eric Harrison, 9 Hermitage Road, Wyken, Coventry.

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

HARLOW ANARCHIST GROUP. First meeting Wednesday, February 23 at 14 Centre Avenue, Epping. Enquiries to Keith Nathan, 12 Shawbridge, Harlow or John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping.

LEICESTER ANARCHISTS. Next meeting, Monday, February 21, 8 p.m. at the Students' Union Coffee Bar, Leicester University. All welcome. Correspondence, Peter Gibbon, 22 Fosse Road Central, West End, Leicester.

MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact: Mike Mitchell, 3 Bakewell 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.

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NORTH-WEST ESSEX. Meetings on the first Saturday of each month at 7.30 p.m. at Robert Bartrop'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.

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

READING ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Philip Lord, 160 Castle Hill, Reading.

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

STOKE LIBERTARIANS. Correspondence Secretary: Bob Blakeman, 52 Weldon Avenue, Weston Coyney, Stoke-on-Trent.

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 (MAR 036). Meetings every Wednesday. (Next meeting February 2.) Jack Robinson on 'Anarchism and Peace'.

PROPOSED GROUPS

GOLDERS GREEN AND HENDON. Anyone interested get in touch with David McLelland, 54 Litchfield Way, London, N.W.11.

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

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.

ABROAD

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

U.S.A. ALBANY, NEW YORK. Contact E. Strauss, 230 Washington Avenue, Albany. Discussion group meets about twice a month.

'ANARCHIST INTERNATIONAL'

I WAS PLEASED to see that the editors of FREEDOM had noted the non-appearance of *Anarchist International*; nobody else seems to have missed it at all.

I should, however, like to point out that the paper has not been 'dropped', as you put it: it's just that there was never anything to pick up. Despite several general circulars and separate specific appeals addressed to movements abroad, support has been anything but enthusiastic. I have received the odd occasional appeal from comrades in other countries for reports for their particular journals, but no-one seems to want to contribute anything—or rather, there are not enough people who do to make *AI* a viable proposition, since by the time we have enough copy for a single edition half the stuff is out of date anyway.

This, I would suggest, is probably due to following reasons:—

1. The original *AI* was not really 'international' in any important sense: too often it seemed to convey a picture of world anarchism which had a curiously narcissistic, anglicised flavour. It did not therefore endear itself to readers in other countries, quite apart from any language problem involved. Besides, movements in most countries have their own publications which attempt to keep their readers informed of international news, and some already do this quite successfully. They see little point in supporting a foreign paper in a foreign language that they have had no hand in producing. This leads us to:

2. In so far as FREEDOM itself now has much better coverage of foreign news, as well as being 'considered the organ of the movement' in this country, copy from abroad also tends to be sent there rather than here; this is, of course, the only way to get something published at the moment, but it does help to perpetuate the vicious circle that *AI* suffers from: not enough copy because it doesn't get published, and it doesn't get published because we don't receive enough copy.

3. Further, being weekly, FREEDOM affords other international secretaries a good source of news of the British scene, so the swapping of journals is of mutual benefit. *AI*, however, was to have been produced at irregular intervals, a state of affairs not conducive to the free flow of gratis journals to this end; such a one-sided exchange is naturally an unpopular thing.

Now all this is perhaps not such a terrible thing. FREEDOM does now give considerable space to foreign news, as I have said; perhaps there is really now no need for *AI*.

Yet if we really do believe in international liaison with the movements of other countries (and who can not when there are so few of us), it seems to me that these movements really ought to try to co-operate on a practical basis by producing a genuinely international paper, not just a national paper that will reprint snippets from the national papers of other countries. Admittedly, FREEDOM has begun to publish the kind of contributions I have in mind, such as the excellent despatches from its American correspondent. But FREEDOM is not the right vehicle to extend this approach to become truly international; indeed I maintain that this could only happen if the movements abroad participated to the extent that they felt they were involved in the running of the paper.

I should therefore like to suggest now, through the columns of FREEDOM, and in the near future by the sending of

circulars, that the movements of different countries consider co-operating to produce a new, truly international publication which would be acceptable in all countries by virtue of the fact that each would take a turn at producing it.

It could, and I feel should, be a multi-language production, but the economies of large-scale operation that capitalism makes possible (!) should prevent the cost from being exorbitant; I understand that cheap offset printing is a speciality of the Dutch—perhaps comrade Mendes-George has some ideas. . . .

Anyway, I should be most grateful to receive any comments or suggestions from anyone in the movement either here or abroad on this theme. Then I can throw the whole thing at my successor—always assuming that the forthcoming Conference considers an International Secretary, or an international publication, desirable. I know that I was pretty ineffectual, but that's me.

Yours fraternally,
MARTIN BRAGG,
International Secretary.

FOR THE AGENDA

I OFFER the following ideas to the movement at large and also for discussion at the proposed AFB Conference:

1) The Easter March.

If anarchists are participating 'en masse' in this year's march, might we not make a more distinctive impact if instead of (or as well as) carrying group banners, we carried slogans with direct anarchist impact? Possibilities that have occurred to me are: 'War is the health of the State'; 'Politics equals War'; 'To change the master is not to be free'; 'Power Corrupts'; 'To vote is to give up your own power'; and 'Chaos until Anarchy is restored'. More original and apt epigrams will no doubt occur to readers. I feel that an array of such messages in black and red proceeding along Whitehall or ranged in front of the inevitable Labour MPs (and TV cameras) in Trafalgar Square would be a very heartening sight. What do others think? We would be glad to hear from other Groups and individuals interested in this idea.

2) Proposal for an 'Association of Libertarian Teachers'.

As I understand from the 'Freedom Readership Survey' (*Anarchy* 12, 1962, 'Who are the Anarchists?') that teachers are the largest single professional group among readers, I put forward the following idea as a means towards practical co-operation. I suggest that an address list of teachers and students in training colleges might be compiled and a copy made available to each individual on the list. It would then be possible for various forms of contact to be established providing opportunity for comparison of experiences. Also individuals considering moving to a new, or first school would at least know of those establishments already benefiting from the presence of an anarchist teacher and could obtain from him information about the place. This would seem to create the possibility of building up a minority of libertarian teachers in a 'state' school who could then begin to exert more effective influence. Similarly local Teachers' Action Groups might be formed, capable of the type of agitation exemplified by Ilford Libertarians.

PETER FORD,
Arlesey Group.

ST. VALENTINE'S DAY found Dr. Desmond Morris of the London Zoo making arrangements to mate Chi-Chi, London zoo's panda, with An-An, Moscow zoo's panda. There was however no pander-panda. There was ideas in the trial of Andrei Syunyavsky and Yuri Daniel, who were on trial in Moscow for smuggling out to the West novels attacking the Soviet regime. According to the *Daily Worker* they are charged under article 70 of the Russian Federation penal code which makes it a crime to produce, disseminate or possess anti-Soviet literature. The *Worker* on Saturday said: 'The trial is being held at the Moscow regional court in the presence of about 100 members of the public attending by special invitation. . . . Lack of accommodation in the court room is the reason given for the decision not to admit any foreign journalists'. The *Worker*, pandering no doubt to its popular yearnings, prints in a Reuter story on the panda: 'The sudden appearance in Chi-Chi's cage of a tiny baby no bigger than a rat could be the first sign of success.' . . .

EQUALLY NAIVE was the *Worker's* first question to Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front—'Could you please tell us what progress the South Vietnam National Liberation Front has made since it was founded five years ago?' A statement from the United States Information Service insists that President Johnson's Honolulu meeting was planned six months ago (before Johnson's operation) but concludes with the following paragraph. 'Two weeks ago, aides reported, the President told Bill Moyers (Press Secretary for Mr. Johnson), that he would like to confer with Mr. Thieu and Mr. Ky. The President wanted the meetings in Washington, but thought this would be considered too dramatic. So it was decided to meet at a half-way point—Honolulu.'

AMERICA HAS PUT an embargo on the importation of human hair (for wigs and eyelashes) which mingles Chinese hair with non-Communist hair. Professor Staunton Lynd who recently made a visit to Hanoi (and also spoke on Vietnam in Trafalgar Square) has had his passport revoked for making an unauthorised visit to Vietnam. . . .

A WOUNDED SOLDIER from Memphis said to a Press Agency (UPI), 'We didn't mean to kill those prisoners. We just got back from burning down a Vietcong (alias NLF) village and they sent us out to another Vietcong village. We found about 15 Vietcong there, they were sick,

'Rabbis in Row over Rejected Pay Claims'

—Sunday Telegraph

that's all. So we moved them outside of town and that's when we got hit. . . .

We took about 25 more prisoners and put them back with the others. There were about 40 prisoners. When our reinforcements came up they thought the prisoners were still fighting and they killed all but ten. I just sat there because I couldn't move, and I can't move now.' According to the *Daily Worker*, President Nguyen Huu Tho lists among the achievements of the NLF (alias the Vietcong) the destruction of 'nearly 6,000 concentration camps disguised as "strategic hamlets" out of a total of 8,000 set up by the US and its henchmen'. A reporter in the *New York Herald Tribune* (17.1.66) wrote: 'During a recent visit to the US base at Da Nang, Senator Henry Jackson (Democrat, Washington) stopped a Vietnamese shoeshine boy on the street and asked to have their photograph together. The little boy shouted an obscenity at the fatigue-clad senator and added, "Go home". An American official with Jackson blanched and said, "Well, that's pretty much the feeling around here".' . . .

DR. CASTRO ACCUSED the Chinese of betraying the good faith of the Cuban people and joining the 'American imperialist blockade' against them. . . .

AUBERON WAUGH, writing of the banned TV-film of the *War Game*, says: 'Through the democratic process, this country has accepted the logic of the deterrent. We know what that logic involves. The system will break down only if the deterrent loses credibility.' Nigel Lawson, in the *Spectator*, says of the *War Game*: 'Although the visual material is scrupulously realistic, the sound commentary dubbed on to it is straight propaganda for unilateral nuclear disarmament as a first step to unilateral pacifism.' Cassandra in the *Daily Mirror* complains that he was refused an invitation to the showing although he was allowed to go to a hydrogen bomb explosion on Christmas Island in 1957. The editors of FREEDOM were also refused an invitation. Upsala University

reported that the Russians held an underground test in Central Asia estimated at nearly eight million tons equivalent in TNT. . . .

MR. TSARAPKIN, chief Soviet disarmament negotiator at Geneva, warned the 17-Nation Disarmament Conference that military quarters were already planning to set up bases on the moon. He said that the prospect of lunar bases made it more imperative that the delegates should get on with their task. 'He did not,' says the *Guardian*, 'specify which military quarters he meant'.

FIVE AMERICANS have been charged in Texas with conspiring to export arms, including guided missiles, illegally to Latin America. The Americans have not yet recovered a hydrogen bomb from the sea off Palomares, on the east coast of Spain. . . .

IN FRANCE a proposal was made to substitute the electric chair for the guillotine as 'less repugnant'. A Bill to abolish the death penalty was tabled in the National Assembly by 87 deputies from all parties except the Communists. Northern Ireland still having the death penalty and, having condemned a man to death, is now seeking a hangman since there is now no official British hangman available. . . .

THE AMERICAN LEFT-WING *National Guardian* erroneously named the anarchist writer Johann Most as President McKinley's assassin, it was pointed out that the assassin was in fact Leon Czolgosz and Most was only arrested in the anti-anarchist hysteria that followed the assassination. . . .

MR. HAROLD WILSON, replying to a group of 5,000 mothers calling for the restoration of the death penalty, said that some murderers may have to stay in prison for the rest of their lives. He points out that the whole question of capital punishment will be carefully considered again within the next five years and there is no question of being 'soft' to murderers. . . .

INTERVIEWED in the *Chelsea Post*, Sally Anne, an Australian 'stripper', told the reporter she was engaged to a chef. 'I met him in Australia although he's English,' smiled Sally, moving a *Larousse Gastronomique* off the bed. 'She told us' (said the Post reporter), 'stripping is on its last legs in Sydney.'

JON QUIXOTE.

NEWS FROM ELSEWHERE

SINCE THE UNDERSIGNED, etc., set the ball rolling for the next annual conference of the AFB the letter column of FREEDOM has been bulging—a sure sign that the organisers should go ahead—and shown the difficulty that besets a paper of our size. Clearly it is unsatisfactory to cut or omit letters but what else can we do? Can we set up a fund for enlarging FREEDOM? With 200 comrades chipping in five bob a week, it would give us the opportunity to print four extra pages. In the meantime groups and individuals should contact BAG direct with their proposals and resolutions. We shall, of course, print the final agenda and arrangements for the conference (scheduled for April 2 and 3, in Birmingham).

CONFERENCE IN FRANCE

We have received a letter from the 'committee for the organisation of the European meeting of young anarchists'. Jean-Michel writes: 'Our Spanish comrades desire deeper contacts between young anarchists everywhere. This wish is gradually becoming a reality. First contacts were made in Carrara (Italy) last November between some young Italian, Spanish and French comrades, who had received letters of agreement from English and Dutch comrades who were prevented by distance from attending. The meeting was just the first step, a new conference is called in Paris for the young anarchists of Europe. The organisers want to receive proposals on: (a) The practical means to European co-ordination; (b) Possible activities on a European level. On the second point English comrades are asked to prepare a report on anti-bomb activities.' Other suggestions include the publishing of booklets and a 'European anarchist paper'.

The date of the conference is left open. Easter weekend is not really practicable, and their second suggestion for April 16 and 17 would ensure a larger contingent from this country. All communications to Jean-Michel (24 rue Sainte-Marthe, Paris 10, France-75). We also hope that our European comrades will also be invited to our conference in Birmingham. In typical anarchist fashion but rarely heard nowadays Jean-Michel's letter ends: 'We are

setting up a fund which will be used for the journey of needy comrades.'

DEATH OF A COMRADE

Mr. E. Michaels died in Hackney Hospital after a stroke. He has been many years secretary of the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* group and worked with Rudolf Rucker. Visitors to the 'Lamb and Flag' will know his son Harry.

EDGWARE PROJECT

From February 26 to March 26 the Edgware YCND group is undertaking an ambitious project of street canvassing, leafleting of local factories (Rawlplugs and Boosey & Hawkes). Meetings will be held at factory gates. A schools leaflet is in preparation. Melvyn Estrin would like to hear from anarchist speakers and people who are willing to sell FREEDOM at Edgware Station on most nights. His address is 84 Edgwarebury Lane, Edgware, Middlesex. ST0 7278.

SCOTTISH MARCH

Many comrades in London have expressed support for the Scottish Easter March (FREEDOM, 29.1.66). D. McLelland and Martin Gilbert, of the Golders Green AG, are trying to arrange a coach. People interested should get in touch with them.

LIBERTARIAN COMMUNITY IN LEYTON

Ron Bailey writes: 'The pamphlet on education is coming along well. The ideas are being discussed all over the country—we have dozens of letters.'

LAG PLEASE NOTE

Alistair Rattray writes: 'I came down from the bleak north for the New Year, attended a Hyde Park meeting, sold a few FREEDOMS and one *Industrial Worker* to a middle-aged American, also a reader of FREEDOM; who enquired after Philip Sanson.'

'The meeting on Sunday evening at the "Lamb and Flag" was variously described as "old hat", "boring" and "rubbish". A racist, Roman Catholic, individual sat at the back making trite remarks during question time. Intellectually he was an anarchist but emotionally he was RC, took communion and hated coloured people and was willing to say so. (The talk was on prejudice.) In the bar a girl said she had been coming to the meetings on and

off for three months to find out about anarchy and as yet still knew nothing about it. She complained that many anarchists were reluctant to discuss their views when their answers were questioned. She had once asked a comrade about anarchist communism and was told that it would take him a fortnight to explain—maybe she was just daft, as she also thought that politicians, police and Vietnam did not affect her. Still I would have thought that three months of anarchist company, albeit only on the day of worship, would have modified some of her ideas. However, there were some genuine anarchists present and it was pleasant knowing where they could be met.'

When LAG/2 took over the running of the Sunday night meetings attendances were at a very low ebb. Numbers, of course, don't make for good listening. During talks people go in and out of the room for drinks or talk gaily at the back of the room. Nevertheless this is the best we can do. Perhaps the rough and ready lot have frightened away the more sensitive souls. Perhaps the sensitive souls will restart the Malatesta club.

Hey!

WEEK 6, FEBRUARY 12, 1966
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After the Lord Mayor's Show

AS ONE READ the national press on Saturday one could hear the 'braying of the asses' in the distance, bursting into full blast in the Sunday nationals. 'How comes a union could hold the country to ransom?' Quintin Hogg told us in the *Sunday Express* how daddy had introduced the Trade Disputes Act of 1927, and it's worth repeating the relevant section. 'It is hereby declared that any strike is illegal if it has any object other than, or in addition to, the furtherance of a trade dispute with the trade or industry in which the strikers are engaged and if it is a strike designed or calculated to coerce the Government either

directly or by inflicting hardship upon the community.' Attlee's government repealed the Act. Hogg goes on to say that 'the Royal Commission on Trade Unions might do well to consider in the light of recent events whether the law to deal with industrial blackmail directed against the community has not been dangerously weakened'.

Mr. Hogg may have a boyish chuckle and may be good at playing the handbells, but one can have no illusions where he stands on industrial questions. He didn't have Martell's support in the Tory leadership struggle for nothing.

Another line pedalled during the

long diatribe of the post mortem was how the unions should modernise themselves, even to the tune of a government subsidy so they could pay their national officials a larger salary and employ more staff, similar to the subsidy paid to some industries. In all fairness I must point out that the phrase 'state controlled unions' was not used.

Over the past few weeks some Tory MPs have had a cloak and dagger meeting on industrial affairs. They met under the name of Policy Group 20. The Shadow Labour Minister, Sir Keith Joseph, was there, Mr. Ray Mawby (the show piece of the Tory party because he is a trade unionist), Mr. Adian Crawley, MP (ex Labour), the man who wants guts in a government when dealing with industrial affairs. Also present were Conservative Party Officials. The upshot of the tete a tete was stronger union laws needed vis a vis penalising individual strikers, extending the use of legal injunctions, and legislation on restrictive practices. They also support the American type 'cooling off' period, but who is going to impose the 'cooling off' they are not quite sure.

All this clap trap by the three major political parties on industrial affairs is cold calculated election propaganda, by propaganda I don't mean they won't attempt to carry out some of the promised legislation but 'anti rank and file unionism' is always a good vote catcher for the middle class and floating voter.

The minor political vote-chaser, the Communist Party, came out with a gem. At its executive committee meeting on January 8 it issued a statement attacking the Prices and Incomes Board, which is fair enough, but it went on to say: 'In no other major industrial country does the State interfere so drastically and one sidedly in negotiations on wages and conditions as this Bill proposes.' I'm sure that Russian comrades will resent the implication that the Soviet Union is not a 'major industrial country'.

It has been reported that the first job of Tory Government will be to move a vote of thanks to the Labour Government for opening the doors for anti-union legislation.

The railway fracas has proved a happy hunting ground for electioneering politicians, it's all a great act, one can only sum up, 'After the Lord Mayor's Show'.

B.C.

Can't beat 'em—join 'em

NINE NATIONALISED INDUSTRIES have joined the Confederation of British Industry, they are only allowed in on an associate membership basis but will pay the same pro rata rates as private companies: £4,400 per 100,000-120,000 workers plus £500 for each additional 20,000 employees. London Transport cannot afford the fee, their subs would work out expensive and they are skint. British Rail are members, they have plenty of cash to throw around, but not for workers' wages or cheaper

fares.

The nationalised boards would not have voting rights and would not be in on any policy making decisions. The National Coal Board (another affluent nationalised undertaking) is a member, along with BEA, BOAC, Electricity and Gas Councils. This is wonderful progress for both worker and consumer. It's comforting to be 'stitched up' face to face, far more sporting than being stabbed in the back. We Joe Soaps don't mind being called chumps, but when it is proven, then that's a different matter—or is it?

NOT WHAT YOU KNOW—WHO YOU KNOW

THE MANUFACTURING industry looks to the public schools for a significant proportion of its management material.' So said Sir Peter Runge, Vice-President of the Confederation of British Industry.

The old school tie and the old boy network did have a real significance. Sir Peter went on to say that if a public school education amounted to a privilege then that was something which should be examined, for it was repugnant to a modern society that it should be possible to buy privilege.

Surely Sir Peter this is what life is all about, the 'haves' being trained for leadership and the 'have nots' being brainwashed to follow orders. This 'follow the leader' lark is the backbone of the 20th century. One can see the wonderful progress we are making; odd wars here and there, the slightest chance of peace breaking out and the stock markets take a dirty great dive. Obsolete Blue Streak wasted millions and on the other side of the road a collection box is rattled for Cancer Research. We need public schools for leaders, like we need a hole in the head; our noses are for smelling 'with not to put rings through.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

Contact Column

Pamphlet. 'The Victims Speak'—a comment on the White Paper and general racial situation in the U.K. 2/- from J. Jeshi, General Secretary, Indian Workers' Association, 1 Birch Croft, Erdington, Birmingham, 24.

Badges. 'I am an Enemy of the State', 'Make Love not War'. Sixpence each and fourpence postage. 5/- a dozen. £1 for 50 post free from 'Badges', 3a Highgate Road, London, N.W.5.

Accommodation wanted. Accommodation needed by couple (small income) with boy of 2½ and baby. London. Preferred unfurnished. Reliable and considerate. Box 23.

Friendship wanted. Young couple wish to meet young people in London for friendship, socials, etc. All letters answered. Box 24.

Minus One. An individualist-anachrist review. No. 12 now out. From S. E. Parker, 2 Orsett Terrace, London, W.2. Price 9d, post free. Or from Freedom Bookshop.

Poetry Reading. By Adrian Mitchell, Anselm Hollo and Tony Jackson at Friends' International Centre, Byng Place, London, W.C.1 (nearest tube Goudge Street). Friday, February 25, at 7.30 p.m. 4/- admission.

Meeting. Danilo Dolei at Hampstead Town Hall, February 25, 8 p.m.

Help Wanted. To sell FREEDOM. West Ham Anarchists. At Brick Lane (Petticoat Lane). Meet Sunday morning, 11.15 a.m. at Bishopsgate entrance, Liverpool Street Station.

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.

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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If you wish to make contact let us know.

FREEDOM

For Workers' Control

FEBRUARY 19 1966 Vol 27 No 6

Industrial Unions & the Closed Shop

THERE ARE MANY panaceas tossed back and forth which are said to be able to solve, or help solve the problems of the workers, not only in the day to day struggle, but in the eventual abolition of the capitalist system. Amalgamation of the unions into one large one for an industry, and a closed shop policy, are the kind of answers that are bandied about. However, I think it is not so easy, and before these solutions are given they should be explained, for they mean a great many things to different people.

For instance, take the closed shop. At one time this idea was condemned and attacked by employers and the State. It must be admitted that, in many cases, it still is, but employers are coming round to see certain advantages in it. Ilford recently signed an agreement with the General and Municipal Workers' Union for a closed shop. In return, any unofficial action by members will be taken on pain of expulsion from the union. Talks have also taken place in the car industry for the same sort of thing.

The advantages of an industrial union over that of an individual craft or general union is that when a dispute occurs, everyone takes part and different crafts and sections do not scab on one another. This is an obvious advantage when the strike is official, but only about 5% of all strikes fall into this category. This percentage might be won more easily or might achieve better settlements, but at the same time, industrial unionism could lead to a tighter discipline of the rank and file, the employers supporting industrial unions for this reason.

On the other hand it could be said that because workers were organised industrially, it would be easier to organise unofficial groupings within

these unions. In the building industry, which is organised on a craft basis, with a Federation to link these up, the main impetus for unity of action on an industrial basis comes from the organisation at site level. Here is a natural growth, brought about by common interests of all the workers on the job and not something which has been imposed from above. It is a logical and natural way of organising to achieve the maximum amount of strength on the rank and file's own terms, even to the extent of a closed shop agreement. The important thing is: Who runs and controls this organisation?

Industrial unions as such have not brought the advantages which are accredited to them as the giant industrial unions in America have shown. These, like the unions here, have no programme which could be described as revolutionary, and not one of them want to abolish the system of employer and employee.

While we can say that the existing industrial unions both here and in America are for the 'status quo', should we attempt to form new industrial unions based on membership control and a revolutionary programme? Or should we work in the existing unions on an unofficial basis, not only doing the necessary work of organising for better wages and conditions, but also for a complete revolutionary alternative to the capitalist system.

I think these panaceas and methods of organisation need a great deal of thought and should be discussed by Anarchists, Syndicalists, Libertarian Socialists and others who have been called the 'extreme left'. We have to understand the terms we use and make sure we know what we mean when we use them.

P.T.

SOLIDARITY WITH TAFFY WILCOX

BUS DRIVER Raymond 'Taffy' Wilcox was sacked after his bus had been involved in a collision. Said Taffy, 'I feel my sacking was a hasty decision. I have only been bus driving for three weeks, but this could have happened to anybody. I like this job, and I shan't give it up without a struggle.' Taffy's mates at the Central SMT depot at East Kilbride, Lanarkshire, agreed that he had been unfairly treated, and 270 of them decided unanimously to strike in protest at the sacking. Taffy said, 'I am very proud that my workmates have stuck up for me.'

A spokesman for Scottish Motor Transport said, 'Sacking is not automatic. We are always prepared to reconsider the decision—through the proper channels.' A TGWU official said, 'This strike is unofficial. It was made clear to the busmen that nothing at all could be done about the dismissed driver until they return to work.' Workers are getting fed up of this kind of rubbish. Nothing at all would ever be done if it were not for the use of industrial action. I wonder if the bus-workers of East Kilbride know about the Bus Crews' Association, the 'breakaway' union formed in Glasgow, which stands for the very principles of solidarity and rank-and-file democracy, which Taffy's mates have shown?

Transport workers who go on strike are often called 'selfish' by the gutter press, because their action hits the general public. Well, it seems to me that acting in solidarity with a sacked comrade is an unselfish thing to do. One thing they could do is to produce a leaflet putting their viewpoint to the

public. Of course, if transport workers in a struggle really want to get the travelling public on their side there is one sure way to do it... take the buses out but without taking any money from the passengers. This will delight the public and terrify the management bureaucrats, who will stop all buses going out. But this would be a lock-out, not a strike—the men would be willing to provide a service! If one man attempted this he would be in trouble. But if 270 do it...

D.C.

THE STRIKE THAT WASN'T

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now? Their executive was up against not just an employer, but the State, the whole issue being a political one, affecting the whole of the working class, not just one section of it. Although some sections are strong enough to win out with their demands, others, like the railwaymen, are not in this position, their isolation from other industries being their weakness. On a political issue, where one comes up against the whole apparatus of the State, i.e., State of Emergency Powers, workers in other industries must give their support. This stage has not, I regret, been reached, but even more effort should be made to do just this. It is a long job I know, but one I feel that is well worth attempting.

P.T.

STILL OUTSIDE THE GATES

ALTHOUGH THE Transport and General Workers' Union reach a 'settlement' with the management of R. Woolf of Southall, the struggle, in fact, is still going on. Under 'the settlement' there was to be a paused return to work. So far about 200 out of the 300 strikers are back, while the others, including three of the four shop stewards and other militants, are still waiting to return.

As if things were not bad enough, Woolf's are also insisting that those returning accept alternative jobs and many strikers are finding themselves with even more unpleasant jobs than before the strike. The scabs who were recruited during the strike are still at work and so, no doubt, some militants will find themselves redundant and will never get back into Woolf's. Those still outside the gates are willing to accept alternative work so that they can get back and start restoring union organisation.

So far, the T & GWU, although it made the strike official, has still not paid out any strike money. I am afraid these Indian workers have learned the hard way, by bitter experience, just how rank and file members stand with their

unions. They are also bitter about the fact that the T & GWU have said they will not give support for action in attempts to get members back to work.

If the management does refuse to take back certain workers, one must consider just what chance they have of getting alternative employment in the Southall area. Not very much, I am afraid. Already some families have been forced to move out of the area in order to get a job. These Indian workers did a wonderful job of organising, where many had failed before. Now they have been, more or less, slapped down by the T & GWU. The least they can do is pay out strike benefit.

Now, with the actual strike over, these 100 workers are left with very little financial support. I am informed by one of the stewards that their funds are just about exhausted. I think those remaining without jobs should receive further financial support to ensure that they can continue the struggle for a full return to work.

Donations should be sent to: Mr. N. S. Hundel, Woolf Dispute Fund, c/o T & GWU, 219 Broadway, Southall, Middx. P.T.