

When Thieves Fall Out

SO MR. GUNTER has resigned from Mr. Wilson's Government. There have been many explanations in the Press for his reasons. That he wanted to take a tougher line with the Unions. That he resented the preponderance of intellectuals in Mr. Wilson's Cabinet. That he disliked being moved from his old job at the Ministry of Labour. That he preferred the 'freedom of the backbenches'. The second suggestion is hilarious and the others are unconvincing. The simple reason is given in Mr. Wilson's speech in Wales, where he forecast an Erhardian economic miracle. The pawnbrokers in Zurich have taken some foreign securities and this has given another brief respite to our rulers. The hour of reckoning, the hour of bankruptcy having been postponed and the 'economic miracle' on the way, Wilson was going to take the 'credit' all by himself. Gunter, the trusted ally and bully, was to be sacked. Like all politicians Gunter preferred to go his own way.

This wretched man has done willingly all he had been asked to do. He was Wilson's big stick to hit the Unions with. This he did during the ASLEF strike of last year. Some people may remember

his Ministerial broadcast on that occasion, giving a yarn that was a long string of inaccuracies, innuendoes and threats. Here was a man, unskilled in anything but double-talk, rhapsodising about technological change.

Gunter then managed to hoodwink the Union. Then, as now, he presented himself as a member of the 'working class'. He was indeed once in the long-forgotten past, a booking office clerk. And yet he was lecturing engine drivers and telling them that he understood their problem. He even suggested that the whole dispute was a question of pride. That the dispute was over 'who sits where'. Whereas the real reason was to abolish the brake vans and to put the guard in the rear cabin of the reversible locomotive, where he is of no earthly use to passengers, to the driver or to the man on the moon. Then he could be sacked and this would be a saving in productivity and about £250,000 a year. Who cares about safety? Certainly not Mr. Gunter. Cash comes first, safety last.

We apologise to readers of FREEDOM for having wasted so much space on this despicable man. Good riddance.

R.

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS DEMANDS ALBEROLA'S RELEASE

ON MAY 29 STUART CHRISTIE went to the Belgian Ambassador on behalf of the Anarchist Black Cross, requesting that Octavio Alberola be given political asylum in Belgium following his detention. He stated that the Black Cross would find it necessary to picket the Belgian Embassy to protest against Alberola's expulsion from Belgium. The Belgian Ambassador (who stated that he himself had been in the Resistance) expressed his concern that this might happen. There were far worse governments than that of Belgium, he suggested. He promised to contact Brussels and find out what was happening.

The following day headlines in the Belgian papers (*Le Soir, La Dernière Heure, La Meuse*, etc.) mentioned the possibility of the Anarchist Black Cross picketing the Embassy in London; and explaining the case in full. It was mentioned that there was some hope of Alberola being allowed to stay. Comrade Alberola has since called off his hunger strike, and it is believed that asylum may be granted.

The first bulletin of the Anarchist Black Cross will appear this week (July 14), 6d., from S. Christie, 7 Coptic Street, London, W.C.1.

JEUDI 30 MAI 1968

Le monde aujourd'hui

Si la Belgique n'accorde pas l'asile politique au militant antifasciste espagnol Octavio Alberola

La Croix-Noire anarchiste manifestera devant notre ambassade de Londres

Read! Buy! Distribute!
ANARCHY 89
'The May Days in France'

Tenants in Revolt

COVENTRY CROSS is a GLC Housing Estate in Bromley-by-Bow, built in the 1930's. It houses 400 families in conditions that can only be described as inhuman. Situated on the banks of a canal (marvellous planning!), rats continually invade the flats of tenants living nearest the canal.

The flats themselves, often overcrowded, generally are not fit for human habitation; the bath is in the kitchen, and when not in use is covered by a wooden top, which is supposed to be used as a table; the plumbing is deficient, so that if tenants living on the upper floors empty their baths, the waste, instead of flowing to the sewers, appears in the baths of tenants living on the ground floor, often overflowing and causing irreparable damage to floor-covering and creating a nauseous odour.

There are about 800 children living on the estate, yet there is no playground, and the children can only play in the square, where irate tenants tell them to scam.

Individually, some tenants had contacted one of their local councillors, Councillor Downes, who in turn passed their grievances on to the District Housing Officer, G. E. Vale. In his reply to their complaints the Officer said that he isn't aware of any suggestion that the water services are defective'. Also,

some tenants had pressed Councillor Downes into bringing the local MP, Ian Mikardo, down to see the conditions in which they were forced to live. On arriving at Coventry Cross, Mr. Mikardo refused to make a speech, but discussed tenants' grievances with them individually. One of the more militant tenants, Mrs. Carr, prior to Mikardo's visit, had been to see him at the House of Commons, where she was treated to drinks in the Recess Bar. To keep her happy, Mikardo wrote her an unsigned letter, dated May 24:—

'Dear Mrs. Carr: I had a talk with John Branagan on Wednesday about conditions at Coventry Cross, and will also discuss the matter with Councillor Vic Johnson. When we have sorted out our ideas, I'll come back to you on it.'

They have yet to sort out their ideas, as nothing has been heard from them since, apart from the flying visit to Coventry Cross.

After hearing of the incredible conditions at Coventry Cross, from a tenant who attended one of our open meetings, members of the East London Libertarian Group went to interview people living on the estate. The vast majority of tenants interviewed expressed their willingness to participate in some direct action to change conditions, as they were utterly disenchanted with the promises of the bureaucrats, and invited

us to aid them in their struggle. As reported in Ron Bailey's article in the June 29 issue of FREEDOM, we leafleted all the tenants on the estate, telling them of a general meeting of tenants to be held in the local pub. For a first meeting the attendance was very good and the tenants were very enthusiastic. It was decided to form an action committee, half a dozen people volunteering to represent their respective blocks.

The first action committee meeting was held on Sunday, July 7. The tenants drew up a charter listing the things to be done to make Coventry Cross fit for human habitation:

- (1) Extermination of rats.
- (2) Construction of a children's playground.
- (3) Inspection and repairs of drains and sewers.
- (4) General repairs, i.e. railings, lights, etc.
- (5) Cleaning of chutes.
- (6) Alleviation of overcrowded conditions.
- (7) Control of noise made by barges and the flour mill on the opposite bank of canal.
- (8) Modernisation of all flats on the estate.
- (9) Transfers. Many people now living at Coventry Cross have exceptional medical reasons for requiring an immediate transfer.
- (10) Control of obnoxious odours from local factories and gas-works.

Another general meeting is to be held on Wednesday, July 10, where details of future action will be discussed, and we hope to let comrades know of the outcome of this meeting in the next issue of FREEDOM. The struggle at Coventry Cross will undoubtedly be a long one, so any help from London comrades would be much appreciated. Please contact us at 128 Hainault Road, Leytonstone, E.11 (LEY 8059).

TREVOR JACKLES.

Fords Taught A Lesson

THE FORD women sewing machinists have achieved a considerable victory. It cannot be described as a major breakthrough, but it does show once again that industrial action gets results. They were in a very strong position when Fords were breaking all production records and the way in which Mr. Batty, a managing director, appealed to the Government indicates that they were very worried.

The management could, of course, just have paid the 5d. and upgraded the women sewing machinists but, in the long run, this regrading would have brought similar claims from other sections. Although that sickening tea and chat with Mrs. Castle, the Minister of Employment and Productivity, got the strikers back to work, Fords were up against it because the whole dispute brought out the sex discrimination in wage rates and raised the issue of equal pay.

Since returning to work, Fords have offered all their women workers pay increases, giving them 92% of the men's rates. This will put them in line with the women at Vauxhalls. This decision was announced at a meeting of the Ford National Joint Negotiating Committee, but from what Mr. Conway, General Secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundry Workers said, you would have thought that the union side of the Joint Committee had been in the forefront of the struggle. However, it was these same people who had told the women to return to work during the second week of the dispute.

Mr. Conway said, 'This is a great victory. We are very happy about this. The value of the NJNC has been more than justified.' The victory was the women's, not the union officials', who never even bothered to follow up a suggestion about equal pay when it was raised on the Joint Committee.

A company statement said: 'The company as a result of a revaluation of the contribution of their women employees in relation to male employees, offered to narrow the differential so that women employees will in future receive 92% of a man's wage for a similar job.' A revaluation came only when they were losing £8m. worth of exports and 2,200

cars per day.

The increase will give sewing machinists an extra 7d. per hour compared with the 5d. they were claiming for regrading. If the Court of Inquiry decides they should be upgraded from 'B' to 'C' grade, they will get a further increase. This 7% increase, with no productivity guarantees, shatters the Government's incomes policy, but so far Ministers have made no comment and no reference is expected to be made to the Prices and Incomes Board. This just shows what determined industrial action can do.

The women sewing machinists have taught Fords a lesson. All the company can do now is grumble to Jack Scamp's Court of Inquiry that the women broke the procedure agreement. But, at the same time, Fords would rather give this all round increase to women than just upgrade them, for upgrading would mean a rush of similar claims from other sections. Even so, Fords will never be the same. Things are changing and they are not having it all their own way as they have done since 1962.

The lessons are there for all workers. Faced with industrial action, the Government's policies are shattered. The Dagenham girls have not only shown the way forward for women, but also for all workers.

P.T.

LAST EXIT TO BROOKLYN

THE APPEAL against the Old Bailey decision on *Last Exit to Brooklyn* will be heard on July 22 at the Court of Appeals and Mr. John Mortimer, QC, will be leading for the publishers, Calder & Boyars Ltd.

Last Exit to Brooklyn, by Hubert Selby Jr., was found obscene by a jury of twelve men at the Old Bailey last November. Ever since there has been a considerable sense of outrage in literary circles at the banning of a book which had been well received by the press on publication in January, 1966, and which has been strongly defended by many eminent men of letters.

Calder & Boyars are still in desperate need of money to pay past and future costs. They are now receiving help from the Defence of Literature and the Arts Society which was set up recently to continue the *Last Exit* case. The Society's present offices are at 18 Brewer Street, home of Calder & Boyars.

M.H.

Success Already—CAPITULATION by the NAB

FOLLOWING my report in FREEDOM two weeks ago, the East London Libertarian Group's campaign against the Ministry of Social Security has continued—the bureaucrats have backed down completely, and the whole thing looks like snowballing.

We wrote to the Superintendent of Leytonstone Police; the Minister, Mrs. Judith Hart; and our local M.P., Patrick Gordon Walker (ugh!), pointing out how the officials have acted wrongfully and then called the police to back up their acts by removing protestors. The attempt to search Mrs. Margaret Wells was particularly stressed. The police were obviously worried because a day later the Superintendent visited my home. He regretted that he could not give me an assurance that his men would not remove me from the NAB offices.

However, there's obviously been some pressure somewhere behind the scenes, because on Thursday, July 4, some of us again went into the NAB offices and gave out leaflets. We fully expected the police to be called—but no! We were there for two hours, assisting claimants and no attempt was made to obstruct us. The manager even came into the office and spoke to me, but I was not ordered out. As we were about to leave the manager spoke to me. I assured him we would be back, to which he replied, 'Yes, that's all right, you are perfectly entitled to come here and assist claimants.' What a change: what a climb down!

We are continually receiving stories from claimants. Even when we're not there officials are constantly being made to pay out under threats of 'If you don't pay me I'll go and see the people with the leaflets'. In the face of this people have been paid out.

The NAB are shit-scared. There is no doubt that our protest has paid.

Meanwhile I am compiling a dossier of NAB behaviour for the NCCL to submit to the Minister. This could have widespread effects, and really put a rocket under the bureaucrats—nationally. If anyone has any revealing stories of their experiences I'd be grateful to receive them, and they'll be a great help. (See address in Contact Column.)

RON BAILEY.

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Freedom Bookshop

We've Moved

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New temporary address:

84a WHITECHAPEL HIGH STREET, c/o Express Printers, (entrance Angel Alley), WHITECHAPEL, E.1.
(Underground: Aldgate East. Exit: Whitechapel Art Gallery. Turn right on emerging from station.)

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THE Institute of Contemporary Arts is to be congratulated for offering the Town a membership cinema within minutes walk of Trafalgar Square. Congratulated in that the catacombs of *Nash House, The Mall, S.W.1*, can at least be reached by a public transport system that appears to have long ago dismissed the National Film Theatre and the Tate Gallery to that muddy hinterland where only those of private means or private leisure can find the time to include it in their normal routine. Of the small fashionable art theatre type, tomblike in its interior design and but with a single larger-than-life drawing by Picasso literally ripped, plaster and laths included, from the wall of a private house, the ICA offers for a £1 a year membership if not the best, at least the latest, avant garde glossy shockers that the public exhibitors dare not handle for fear of police censorship.

Jean-Luc Godard is a film-maker of established reputation and his contribution to the cinema is not what he has achieved but rather in what he has attempted to achieve for, like Stroheim, Bunuel, Lang or Eisenstein, his failures provide the intellectual ferment not only within the framework of the cinema, but within the social and political dialogues that engage the minds and tongues of the intellectually committed. Here then is Godard's film *Week-end*, a film that has been condemned by Dilys Powell as 'By the end, in fact, I find "Week-end" a pretty unpalatable film' and Jan Dawson's 'For "Week-end" is poetic in its structures as well as its imagery, alternately violent and tender, humorous and cruel. A dialectic poem, a revolutionary film'.

It is of course neither of these things and its value lies in the anger and admiration that it can call forth from two intelligent writers. One hesitates to give a synopsis of the story of *Week-end* for no other reason than a desire not to disappoint those in search of a good erotic kick and I write this with complete sincerity for I believe that there are certain organisations, and the ICA is one such, who have a moral obligation to those who support them and when the ICA makes certain claims for this film I feel that its failure to satisfy them is unworthy of this institute.

But a breakdown of the two-page review in *Sight and Sound* leads one to expect a view in bright Eastmancolor of death, mutilated bodies, the spectacle of the female head hacking her mother to death while the mother's blood belches over a freshly-skinned rabbit and all in beautiful Eastmancolor. A

Wisdom in Court

A 14-year-old boy found in possession of dangerous drugs was sent to an approved school by Grays Juvenile Court recently—to keep him away from bad company.

M.H.

THE LONG WEEK-END

poetess is burned alive, 'an obscene cook, his white robes smeared with blood officiates at the rites of the FLSO (*Seine et Oise Liberation Front*) by breaking eggs between the girl's legs before raping her with an enormous fish' while ending on a finale of Corinne, the female lead, eating a fricassee of leftover pork containing portions of an English tourist and parts of her late husband.

All good, clean, campfire, girl-type fun, but one cannot hold the creative artist responsible for what his admirers or detractors choose to read into his work. Despite his audience I find much of Godard's work, in spite of his committed stand, rather naive and a little tedious. Like those Victorian moralists who penned those warped tracts for small children, Godard loves to film his condemnation of the hour in the blood of the innocent and the guilty until, as with the Victorian writers, one is forced to ask who is sick—the audience or the artist.

Within this film all is so obviously make-believe that one cries for a Hitchcock to point to the macabre for each healthy body is so patently that of a rose-tinted actor with nary a broken limb or torn flesh to give the audience a healthy Karloff shudder and even the much-mentioned fish rape scene takes place outside the screen area with only Corinne's pretty knees appearing coyly above the lower edge of the screen as the unlisted fish disappears out of our sight to perform its wicked task, while the final and ultimate horror of Corinne eating her late husband deludes no one when shown as a close-up of a smiling girl eating a large pork chop.

To compare this cannibalistic theme with that of the American *Suddenly Last Summer* by Tennessee Williams is to realise how silly and pretentious Godard's version is. If I raise my voice on behalf of the pathetic voyeur then I am in respectable company, for Jan Dawson states that Godard acknowledges this by forcing the spectator to choose between moralities. What Godard has managed to achieve with this film is something more important than the banal and ineffective horror of a few burning secondhand cars and red dyed hair, and actors living in attitudes of posed mortality on the well-swept French autoroute. Godard has taken two or three rather sleazy bourgeoisies, well groomed, well fed, and well housed, and thrown them into an acceptance of undisciplined working-class violence.

The bourgeoisie have always sincerely and openly accepted the necessity for violence to maintain their particular society but always regimented violence and at second hand and without hypocrisy they have taken the sons of the working class to defend by brute, bloody and physical force, the interest

of the bourgeoisie but always within the framework of a strict and legalised discipline. And this same bourgeoisie have instantly and without hesitation refused to tolerate the raucous, unorganised and sporadic violence of the working class within its own environment though they harm no one but themselves, be it a public house brawl or a street mob riot, for the bourgeoisie demand that they shall direct the regimented violence necessary for the protection of their society and within that context the Charge of the Light Brigade and the Grosvenor Square punch-up are but two sides of a single coin.

Within minutes of the opening of *Week-end* we watch a group of French middle-class men pour out of their

cars and immediately begin to fight each other and this is the trigger for Godard's film in the shock of seeing middle-class men publicly brawling like drunken lorry drivers in a building site punch-up. This is the point that Godard is trying to make in showing us this interchange of two social moralities. Here is violence and what shocks is seeing the gentlemen of property making common cause with the violence of the mob, the generals fighting each other in the gutters of Whitehall. That within a society there are two ways of life and by this interchange of moral attitudes Godard has shown the senselessness of one and the moral turpitude of the other and Godard fails, for within the darkness of the press show a woman laughed, gentle and amused laughter, and all became dross in that sophisticated and intellectual cavern while the screen unfolded its pleasant Eastmancolor.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

Plight of Unmarried Mothers

UNMARRIED MOTHERS, a Survey of Institutions in the London Area, by Ron Bailey. 6d.

FOR THOUSANDS OF YEARS all over the world, and in some parts to this day, or until very recently, particularly in Mongolia and Tibet, children usually took the name of their mothers, and 'illegitimacy' did not exist. The idea seems to have begun in royal and aristocratic families, who made much of 'blood' and inheritance, and imposed restrictions on the sexual activities of their womenfolk so that a man might know his sons (daughters too of course, but they were of lesser importance) to be of his own fathering.

However it originated, the concept of sexual purity, of sexual sin and by extension of bastardy, has now been accepted by everyone in society, except of course by anarchists, humanitarians and other cranks. But 'illegitimacy' (one cannot avoid the inverted commas, for how can a child be other than legitimate?) in Britain is growing. The social order is changing, and perhaps we are heading back towards a matriarchal system.

There is still a long way to go. Ron Bailey investigated a series of homes for unmarried mothers in different parts of London, and found them all, with one exception, frightful. The girls are treated as if they had committed some kind of sin or crime. They rise early, do housework, even carrying coal and raking out the boiler in the basement, which one would not expect pregnant women, or those who had just given birth, to do. They are restricted as to when they may go out, and have to be in bed by a certain time, which is usually early in the evening. In one hostel they had even to ask permission to change the television channel. In fact they are treated like children.

Their handling of their babies is restricted too. Breast feeding is discouraged in one hostel. When the baby can be fed is regulated by the clock. The baby must not be touched, however much he or she howls, until 1.30, or whenever the time is, to the very second.

To add insult to injury, the girls are charged a good round sum for their weekly board and lodging. This may be as high as £8!

The authorities showed themselves hostile and secretive, when Ron Bailey carried out his inquiries. They even got the police onto him on one occasion. We should all be grateful for his efforts, however. The position of most women is still that of hopeless inferiority to men. The fear of a pregnancy that will bring shame or hardship, in spite of the availability of birth control, spoils the lives of women, restricts the freedom of their relationships with men (even when sex is not involved, because fear has a way of spreading), and leads to a general limiting of life and a narrowing of it. Movements exist to emancipate the workers, colonised peoples and pretty nearly everybody. But practically nothing is done about the status of women.

As a step in the right direction we might well begin with the abolition of the custom whereby on marrying a woman takes the name of her husband. She should be free to keep her own name, and her children should take it, unless they specially wish to adopt that of their father. Legal documents should take no cognizance of whether the woman was or was not married when the child was born.

This is only a reform, but one which would be well worth having. To rid ourselves of the whole concept of 'illegitimacy' would spare a deal of misery.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

Anarchist Federation of Britain

General enquiries should be sent to the London Federation, c/o Freedom Press, 84a Whitechapel High Street, London, E.1.

LEWISHAM. Contact Mike Malet, 61B Granville Park, Lewisham, London, S.E.13. Phone: 01-852 8879.

EALING ANARCHIST GROUP. Get into touch with Ken King, 54 Norwood Road, Southall.

FINCH'S (PORTOBELLO ROAD) ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact: Pamela Pearce, 271 Portobello Road, W.11. Meetings every Wednesday evening at Finch's.

S.W. LONDON LIBERTARIANS. Contact: 14 Clapham Court, King's Avenue (Acre Lane end), S.W.4.

WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Contact Stephen Higgs, 8 Westbury Road, Forest Gate, London, E.7. GRA 9848. Regular activities. Meetings every Wednesday, 7.30 p.m., Railway Tavern, Angel Lane, E.15 (2 min. Stratford Station).

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

Every Wednesday at Jack Robinson's and Mary Crippa's, 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m.

Meetings at Donald and Irene Room's are suspended until September.

3rd Friday of each month at Dennis Fen's, 314 St. Paul's Road, Highbury Corner, N.1 (above Roundabout Self-Service).

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

ABERDEEN ANARCHIST FEDERATION (SWF local group, Folk Song Workshop and Committee of 100, Collater Climbing Club). Contact Iain MacDonald, 15 Cotton Street, Aberdeen.

BEXLEY PEACE ACTION GROUP. Enquiries to 150 Rydal Drive, Bexleyheath, Kent.

BIRMINGHAM LIBERTARIAN AND ANARCHIST GROUP. All anarchists, syndicalists, individualists, etc., please contact Geoff and Caroline Charlton, 32 Swinton Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham 17 (near Portland Road). Note new address.

BOLTON. Get in touch with Les Smith, 108 Radcliffe Road, Bolton.

BOURNEMOUTH AND EAST DORSET ANARCHISTS. Please contact John McCain, 65 Norton Road, Winton, Bournemouth (B'm'th 59509) or Tim Deane, Juliet, West Moors, Wimborne, Dorset (Ferndown 3588).

BRISTOL ANARCHISTS. Contact Susie Fisher and Adam Nicholson at 15 The Paragon, Bristol 8.

CORNWALL ANARCHISTS. Contact Arthur Jacobs, 76 East Hill, St. Austell. Discussion meetings on the second Friday of each month at Brian and Hazel McGee's, 42 Pendarves Street, Beacon, Camborne, 7.30 p.m. Visiting comrades very welcome.

CROYDON and area Libertarians alternate Fridays, 35 Natal Road, Thornton Heath, Croydon.

Melvyn Estrin, 84 Edgwarebury Lane, Edgware, Middx.

HERTS. Contact either Stuart Mitchell at South View, Potters Heath Lane, Potters Heath, Welwyn, Herts OR Jeff Cloves, 46 Hughendon Road Marshalswick, St. Albans, Herts.

IPSWICH ANARCHISTS. Contact Neil Dean, 74 Cemetery Road, Ipswich, Suffolk.

KILBURN, LONDON. Contact Andrew Dewar, 16 Kilburn House, Malvern Place, London, N.W.6. Meetings 8 p.m. every Tuesday.

LEICESTER PROJECT. Peace/Libertarian action and debate, every Wednesday at 8 p.m. at 1 The Crescent, King Street, Leicester.

NORTH SOMERSET ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Roy Emery, 3 Abbey Street, Bath, or Geoffrey Barfoot, 71 St. Thomas Street, Wells.

NOTTING HILL. Meetings at John Bennett's, Flat 4, 88 Clarendon Road, W.11. Every Monday evening, 8 p.m.

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

Next meeting July 21, 8 p.m.

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

TAUNTON LIBERTARIANS. Jill and John Driver, 59 Beadon Road, Taunton, Somerset.

ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION

Three-monthly meetings. Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o Keith Nathan, 138 Penny-mead, Harlow, Essex. Group Addresses:—

BASILDON. M. Powell, 7 Lingcroft, Basildon, Essex.

BISHOPS STORTFORD. Vic Mount, 'Eastview', Castle Street, Bishops Stortford, Herts.

CHELMSFORD. (Mrs.) Eva Archer, Mill House, Purleigh, Chelmsford, Essex.

EPPING. John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping, Essex.

HARLOW. John Deards, 184 Carter's Mead, Harlow, and/or Geoff Hardy, 6 Redricks Lane, Harlow. Essex. Monthly meetings in 'The Essex Skipper', The Stow, Harlow.

LOUGHTON. Group c/o Students' Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Borders Lane, Loughton, Essex.

SUSSEX FEDERATION

Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o Eddie Poole, 5 Tilsbury, Finden Road, Whitebank, Brighton.

BRIGHTON & HOVE ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Nick Heath, Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road, Brighton, BN1 3HN. Poetry readings, Fish Market Hard, every Sunday 2 p.m. Meetings every Thursday, Combination, 76 West Street, 8.30 p.m.

SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP. Information from Francis Jarman, 39 Harefield, Harlow, Essex.

WELSH ANARCHIST FEDERATION

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. All correspondence to—Pete Raymond, 18 Marriot Street, Splott, Cardiff.

MERTHYR TYDFIL ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence to Huw Rowlands, 16 Cromwell Street, Methyr Tydfil.

SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact J. Ross, 111 King Edward's Road, Brynmill, Swansea. Weekly meetings, 'Freedom' sales and action projects.

LLANELLI. Contact Dai Walker, 6 Llynwynnedy Road, Llanelli, Carm. Tel: Llanelli 2548.

EAST LONDON LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION

Support wanted for numerous activities in area. Secretary: Anthony Matthews, 35 Mayville Road, London, E.11. Meetings fortnightly on Sundays at Ron Bailey's, 128 Hainault Road, E.11 (LEY 8059). Ten minutes from Leytonstone Underground.

LEYTONSTONE GROUP. Get in touch with Anthony Matthews or Ron Bailey (address as above).

STEPNEY. Trevor Jackales, 10 St. Vincent de Paul House, Dempsey Street, Clichy Estate, E.1.

NEWHAM. F. Rowe, 100 Henderson Road, E.7.

ILFORD. Del Leverton, 12 Hamilton Avenue, Ilford.

DAGENHAM. Alan Elliot, 98 Hatfield Road, Dagenham.

WOODFORD. Douglas Hawkes, 123 Hermon Hill, E.18.

WALTHAMSTOW. Desmond MacDonald, 80 Martin Road, E.17.

LIMEHOUSE. M. Solof, 202 East Ferry Road, E.14.

STUDENT GROUPS

There are groups at East Anglia University, Liverpool University, LSE, Oxford University, Sheffield University, Southwark College, Sussex University and College of St. Mark & St. John, Chelsea.

For reasons of space we are leaving these out during the vacation.

SCOTTISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION

Groups and Proposed Groups:—

ABERDEEN ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Contact Bob Comrie, 288 Hardgate or Liz Smith, 3 Sineclair Road.

FIFE. Contact Bob and Una Turnbull, 39 Stratheden Park, Stratheden Hospital, by Cupar.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Robert Lynn, 16 Ross Street, C.1.

HAMILTON DISTRICT FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. Contact Ronnie Anderson, 100 Union Street, New Stevenston.

MONTROSE. Contact Dave Coull, 3 Eskview Terrace, Ferryden.

LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

Meetings—discussions—activities. Contact Peter Ford, 36 Devonshire Road, Mill Hill, London, N.W.7.

VOLUNTARY WORK TEAM

Forwarding address: 11 Barway Road, Manchester. (See Contact Column for present work project.)

ABROAD

AUSTRALIA. Federation of Australian Anarchists, P.O. Box A 389, Sydney South. Public meetings every Sunday in the Domain, 2 p.m. and Mondays, 72 Oxford Street, Paddington, Sydney, 8 p.m.

EAST AFRICA. George Matthews would like to make contact. Secondary school teacher from UK. P.O. Box 90, Kakamega, Kenya.

USA. James W. Cain, secretary, the Anarchist Committee of Correspondence, 323 Fourth Street, Cloquet, Minnesota 55720, USA.

GROUP (TRESPASS). Australian Anarchist, c/o Melbourne University Union or Paddy Evans, c/o the same.

MELBOURNE. Get in touch with Bob Hopkins and Margie Reid, P.O. Box 192, Carlton South 3053. Public meetings at Yarra Bank, Melbourne. Secretary: Dave Coull (see Montrose).

DANISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Gøthersgade, 27, Viborg, Denmark.

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

USA: VERMONT. New Hampshire Anarchist Group. Meets weekly—discussion, individual action. Contact Ed. Strauss at RFD 2, Woodstock, Vermont 05091, USA.

SWEDEN. Stockholm Anarchist Federation Contact Nadir, Box 19104, Stockholm 19, Sweden.

SWEDEN: Libertad, Allmänna Vägen 6, Gotenborg V.

TORONTO ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact R. Campbell, 219 TorYork Drive, Weston, Ontario, Canada. Weekly meetings.

BELGIUM: LIEGE. Provos, c/o Jacques Charlier, 11 Avenue de la Laiterie, Sclessin-Liege, Belgium.

NANCEKUKU: LOCAL PRESSURES

PORTREATH is a scattered village of a few score granite houses, a big Council car park, an attractive beach with good surf and a stream running through where the kids build dams. The miniature harbour used to have a flourishing trade in Cornish tin. On any summer day the car park fills up early, and few visitors notice a thin line of wire on the hill above; it does not obtrude. Only a couple of battered signs betray the presence of anything untoward: 'Ministry of Defence Establishment, No Through Road'.

But Nancekuke is at last in the public eye. Thanks to the editor of *Sanity* and an unknown civil servant we now realise what it is that hides in the hills above the holiday village. At Nancekuke they manufacture the gas CS, used recently against our comrades in Paris, and also used by the Americans in Vietnam where reliable reports deny its alleged 'non-lethal' nature. (CS is also supplied to the British police.—Ed.) Nancekuke, indeed, contributes stalwartly to the economy; we export the stuff to the tune of a quarter million pounds a year, and of course the factory employs local people. As the Chairman of Camborne-Redruth and Cornwall County Councils are at pains to point out, jobs are so hard to get down here, and it is really very good of the Government to give us

this valuable factory. Perhaps Auschwitz and Dachau were depressed areas too.

Dozens of rumours circulate about the Establishment. Security is so close (or was before last April) that most locals genuinely did not know the nature of the place; they also made small effort to find out. Even now that some facts are known, few people doubt that many more sinister secrets remain to be discovered. But at last the State isn't having it all its own way. When Graham Hewitt, a 27-year-old lecturer from St. Ives, heard about the factory he and some friends decided to give out leaflets in Portreath. They were simple, straightforward, duplicated sheets demanding merely to know what Nancekuke does. He got his name in one of the local papers; since then he has had a stream of phone calls asking 'When is the demonstration?'

This was the start of a remarkable spontaneous movement of Cornish people who (not before time) seem to be waking up to the implications of having Nancekuke foisted on them. On Sunday, June 23, a highly disorganised, almost unplanned and completely spontaneous demonstration took place there. About fifty of us, including an incognito group of Cornwall Anarchists, met in the car park and drove to the main gate, straggling up the tree-lined road to the fence; the Press duly photographed the notices

saying 'Official Secrets Act, Prohibited Place: Photography Not Authorised'. A man leant on the bell marked 'Enquiries' but no one emerged from the cluster of buildings beyond the gate. We could see dogs with their handlers lurking in the background.

Then we drove round to the back entrance; nothing here at all, just wild heath and gorse, sea and sun, and a lot of wire. No uniformed police in sight all morning, although a couple of plain-clothes men arrived later. A security jeep rolled up and we talked through the mesh to the guard. He was a middle-aged local man in a very shabby uniform. We believed him when he said he did not know what he was protecting. He seemed thoughtful when told the truth, but pointed out that jobs are hard to get in Cornwall.

A girl had brought a placard to lean against the gate. 'What goes on at Nancekuke?' it said. So spontaneous was the action, so unorganised the group, that this was the only poster or banner of any type among the crowd.

As we dispersed to leaflet the village, Graham collected names and addresses. A group has now been formed called the 'Nancekuke Co-ordinating Committee'. They feel that the existence of this gas warfare factory (for such it is: let no one hide any longer behind the neutral term 'Establishment') is a national issue and should be made an acute embarrassment to the Government by a nationally-based campaign. The group want a demonstration there; if possible something large, dramatic and forceful. For this we must involve people from 'up-country' in a big way. Cornwall is a long way from the centre of things, which no doubt assisted the Government's decision to place such a vile manifestation of the Warfare State down here. Consequently only imaginative and powerful actions will gain the publicity the factory needs. Graham Hewitt's address: 24 Back Road West, St. Ives.

Meanwhile the group will continue to confront the personnel of the factory with the nature of their work. Comrades visiting the area may like to help by calling at the main gate and ringing the bell; or maybe phone them up at Portreath 341.

Trelawney

FIFTH COLUMN

No Loss

RAY GUNTER has given his farewell television performance. The pity of it is that he will not go back whence he came. If he did he might at least begin to understand why there is such a gulf between the workers and the party which claims to represent them.

The gulf exists: that nobody can dispute. But it is not caused by the domination of the party by intellectuals.

The present cabinet includes more university educated members than Attlee's did. As has been pointed out this is a reflection of the educational expansion of the past 20 years.

Moreover the candidates for the intellectual label in the Labour Government—men like Crossman, Crosland, Jenkins, Wedgwood Benn—have not as a group appeared to differ politically from their colleagues. The Labour Party has always included intellectuals of the right and of the left, middle-class intellectuals and those of working-class origin.

It has also from the beginning included simple-minded thugs like Gunter—men who have risen on top of the working-class, who claim therefore to speak on its behalf—and who spend their political lives trying to suppress any sparks of militancy that come from it.

There is nothing so arrogant and reactionary as the working-class politician of the right. At least the bourgeois recognises that he is dealing with people who are alien to him, whose lives and experience are read about, observed but not felt.

But a man like Gunter seriously believes that his origins give him a special insight into the minds of the workers—and the privilege of regarding the decisions he makes as essentially theirs.

Some years ago Ray Gunter said in a speech: *I didn't join this party to be a left-wing liberal. He added: I'm a socialist.*

It is obvious that Gunter, the most strident opponent of industrial action in Britain, is not a socialist. It is equally obvious that unlike the intellectuals he suddenly dislikes so much he is not a liberal. And he is not a Tory. Like Enoch Powell he is something less pleasant than that.

No Alternative

IF THERE is one major reason why the workers are alienated from the Labour Party it is surely that Wilson's government does not appear to represent their interests. It is not necessary to be an anarchist or Trotskyist to see that. Instead of using political power to redistribute wealth, to improve wages and conditions, to introduce better social services, the government has increased ordinary taxation, fought wage increases—and reintroduced prescription charges. The government has acted as it has, not because the politicians have wanted to necessarily—but because they have had no alternative. It is absurd for people to complain that the government has been wicked, broken its promises, abandoned the working-class: the point is that this is what governments always do.

Thus it is a law of politics that whenever there is economic difficulty the government will be unpopular with the working-class. Perhaps Ray Gunter could spend some of his new leisure time involving himself in the intellectual studies he professes to despise.

No Sense

THE RAILWAYMEN'S work-to-rule and overtime ban inspired this comment from an NUR press officer (*Evening Standard*, 25.6.68):

Many stations just could not function if the men did not work 12-hour shifts, Sundays and rest days. And they usually have to do extra work to get a living wage. Dammit, we pay our typists at NUR headquarters more than a top graded engine driver gets without the bonus schemes.

The work-to-rule is of course the perfect propaganda weapon: by putting into practice the rules the bosses make for them workers demonstrate how crazy it is for rules to be imposed from above. The bosses have to plead with the workers to abandon the regulations so that normal efficiency can be restored.

If an overtime ban creates chaos it illustrates how inefficient management is in the first place. It illustrates also that an operation depends on paying workers less than a living wage.

WYNFORD HICKS.

WE GO TO PRESS ON MONDAY. LATEST DATE FOR RECEIPT OF MSS., LETTERS, MEETING NOTICES IS THE MONDAY IN EACH WEEK OF PUBLICATION.

Repression in Hanoi

ALL IS NOT WELL IN HANOI despite American reverses in South Vietnam. Last October, the National Assembly Standing Committee of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam approved a 'Decree on the Punishment of Counter-revolutionary Crimes' which was subsequently promulgated by President Ho Chi Minh on November 10, 1967. The decree, however, was not made public for almost six months. The fact that the North Vietnamese Government has considered it necessary to enact such legislation demonstrates that the workers and peasants of the North are, like their fellow-countrymen in the South, becoming increasingly restive at the continuation of the war. It also demonstrates the totalitarian nature of the so-called Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the folly of supporting national 'liberation' struggles. A government and state in a 'communist' country is every bit as repressive as a government in a 'fascist' or an American-dominated one. Supporters of various pro-Vietcong organisations should ponder this.

According to Article 1 of the decree, 'Counter-revolutionary crimes are opposition to the Fatherland and the People's

democratic power', sabotage of 'socialist' construction, 'undermining National defence and the struggle against US aggression for National salvation aimed at defending the North, liberating the South, and re-unifying the country'. Any citizen of the Democratic Republic who collaborates with a foreign country to harm national independence will, according to Article 3, be jailed for 20 years or executed. Anyone who attempts to organise for the overthrow of the 'socialist' (read 'state-capitalist') régime is liable to be imprisoned to a minimum of 15 years in jail or executed. In extenuating circumstances, any accomplices may be imprisoned from three to twelve years. Espionage, as defined in Article 5, includes 'collecting and supplying information and documents which are not state secrets, but which can help foreign countries harm the interests of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam'. Such 'espionage' will be punished by imprisonment ranging from twelve years to life. Also included as 'counter-revolutionary crimes' are: 'armed rebellion', 'banditry', 'defecting to the enemy', 'murder', 'assault and kidnapping'. Article 11 mentions all the usual acts of sabotage plus 'destroying the organs of government, of political parties, and of People's organisations in the Vietnam Fatherland Front'; and '... undermining the monetary system and trade...'. The old 'communist' crime of 'inciting others to undermine labour discipline and military discipline' is also included in Article 11.

Article 12, which is headed 'Undermining the People's Solidarity Block' is particularly interesting. In it 'counter-revolutionary crimes' include: '... creating feuds and discord among the people and armed forces, sowing discord within the Fatherland Front, between the People and the Government, between the People's armed forces and state organs; undermining the nationalities' policy' of the Government, 'undermining religious policy, sowing discord among religions, between the religious and the non-religious, and between the religious and the Government...'. All those who sabotage the carrying out of state policies and laws may be sentenced to life imprisonment or death. Disrupting 'public order' is likewise punished, according to Article 14. Article 15 deals with the dissemination of 'counter-revolutionary propaganda', and includes propaganda opposing the administration and 'distorting the régime', whatever that means. Article 16 covers 'persons who free prisoners from detention camps' or jails, and Article 17 includes anyone who harbours 'counter-revolutionary elements'. All of which amply demonstrates the repressive nature of the North Vietnamese régime. It is not surprising, therefore, that Anarchists are as much opposed to the so-called Democratic Republic in the North as they are to the American puppet-Government in the South. That is why they have coined the slogan: 'Neither Washington Nor Hanoi'. Whichever side ultimately wins, it will make very little difference to the workers and peasants of Vietnam. They, like workers throughout the world, should oppose both gangs of robbers. It's their only chance of survival.

Amando Borghi

Dear Editors,

Thank you for printing my small obituary of Armando Borghi. I hope you will be kind enough to spare me a line or two somewhere to correct an error.

I wrote that I was unaware of any of Borghi's books which had been translated into English, but a correspondent has since pointed out that in 1935 Wishart books published his *Mussolini Red and Black* with an epilogue, *Hitler: Mussolini's disciple*—189 pages. Somers D. POULSON.

AFB Conference—When & Where?

Dear Comrades,

We would like to lend our support to the Liverpool comrades' offer of holding the conference there in September.

As a future plan of action, Manchester Anarchists have decided to spend Saturdays in towns in the North-West where, as far as we know, FREEDOM and Anarchist literature has not been sold. We intend to leaflet, sell FREEDOMS and hold public meetings. Towns that have been suggested are:—St. Helens, Wigan, Leigh, Oldham, Rochdale, Ashton-under-Lyne, Stockport, Sale, Altrincham and Salford.

If any people in these towns or in any others in the North-West have any suggestions as to the most suitable places for selling FREEDOMS, etc., and names of people interested, would they please get in touch with us at this address.

On behalf of Manchester Anarchists, 9 Boland Street, SUE WARNACK, Manchester, 14

Guildford Mystery

Comrades,

Probably the student actions have given us all pause to think about our theories since the class composition does not denote the proletarian revolution of which we had always thought. Probably we have all at some time tended to think of the fact that increasing numbers of working-class students reach university, and decided that this was the reason, though observation does not normally show that working-class undergraduates are notably more radical than ones from public schools.

However the revolt that most seriously disturbs a class analysis is probably that in the Guildford Art School, now tastefully bedecked in anarchist banners. The Guildford Art School and Tech. (they used to share the same building and are still neighbours) must always have been unique in that, being as it is in the heart of stockbroker-civil servant country, the majority of students there are generally filling in time before university. I had two short spells there before and after National Service. Compared to the Guildford Tech., Marlborough had been positively proletarian, and I was to find Trinity Dublin (though it was then proud of its reputation as being the last bastion of British Imperialism) to be leftist in comparison. Most of the art school students (the more aristocratic of the two) used to turn up in chauffeur-driven Rolls/Daimlers or some such, the more poverty-stricken making do with MGs. (This was 1951.)

It is of course not surprising that the children of the rich should choose to rebel against bureaucracy when—as in the LSE—that bureaucracy has a Fabian tinge. But that they should do this under the anarchist banner—and thereby risk alienating parents who would have supported them in a purely student struggle against college admini-

P.N.

MOVING FUND

Target is £500.
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PREMISES FUND

Target is £1,000 per year.
Pledges honoured to date and donations—£421 4s. 2d.

keep it up!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Estimated Expenses	
27 weeks at £90:	£2,430
Income: Sales and Subs.:	£2,074
DEFICIT:	£356

PRESS FUND

Los Angeles: D.W. £4/10/-; London: Anon 2/6; London, N.7: V.S. 5/-; London: D.S. 5/-; Glasgow: A.J. 1/-; Wellington, N.Z.: R.H. 17/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; Reading: V.C. 10/-; New Malden: G.B. 6/6; Carlton, Vic.: M.R. £1; Taunton: J.D. £1; London, E.7: P.C. 4/-; London, S.W.3: P.&G.T. 10/-; London: West Ham Group 5/-; Chelmsford: C.A. 10/-; St. Cloud: M.G.A. £5/13/4; Leeds: D.S. 2/-; VAUD: D.W. 4/-; Hereford: J.M. 10/-; York: H.F. 10/-; London, E.7: P.C. 4/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; Reading: A.R. 2/-; Manchester: C.O. 4/-; Lerwick: P.J. 3/2; Kenya: E.M. 10/-; London: L.R. 15/-; Stoke-on-Trent: J.A. 5/-; Hadleigh: L.J. 15/-; Selby: H.N. 8/5.

TOTAL:	£21 1 11
Previously Acknowledged:	£420 2 3
1968 Total to Date:	£441 4 2
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TOTAL SURPLUS:	£85 4 2

*Denotes Regular Contributor.

Railways: Crunch Postponed

THE NATIONAL UNION of Railwaymen's acceptance of a 3% general wage increase for its members represents a victory, though limited, for industrial action.

It is limited because the NUR are not renowned for fighting for substantial demands even though many of their members take home a basic pay packet of just over £13. However, in view of the terms on which the struggle was fought, the award represents a qualified victory. The action of the railwaymen forced the Railways Board to climb down from its original position, that any general increase would have to be offset in future productivity deals. The terms of the present agreement give 30,000 lowest-paid workers a 10/- per week (4½%) increase, with others getting 3%.

To obtain this, the NUR annual conference agreed that the present pay and efficiency negotiations will be completed by September 2. Previously the Board and the Government had insisted that any general increase would have to include a clause that if a productivity deal was not negotiated by an agreed date, the increase would be withdrawn, but there is no insistence

on this now. However, Mr. Greene, NUR General Secretary, said that they have only promised 'to do the best we can'. Mr. Neal, the Labour Relations Officer for the Board, did seem confident that a productivity deal would be negotiated in time.

REDUCED LABOUR FORCE

Of course the Board's original offer only gave increases to lower-paid workers and nothing to the members of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. So much depends on these productivity negotiations which, although likely to give substantial increases to the majority of railwaymen, will lead eventually to a cut in the labour force of more than 80,000 men.

This general increase settlement breaches the incomes policy. Reports say that Mr. Neal made several telephone calls to his own chairman, Sir Henry Johnson, and to Mrs. Castle and Mr. Marsh, the two Ministers responsible for the railways.

The reason for this reversal of

the Board seems to be that, despite threats of suspension of the guaranteed week, the laying off of workers and the rejection of an offer to extend the original increases to more railwaymen, the resolution to continue the work-to-rule made the Board and the Government climb down rather than face disruption which would affect the economy.

While the Government maintained that it was a straightforward dispute between the Board and the unions, they were nevertheless right behind the management in their stand against a general increase. The Government's dilemma was whether to let the dispute continue or make concessions. They have plumped for the latter, purely, it seems, because they think a continued work-to-rule would do more damage to the economy than the concession.

Some employers and bankers will interpret it as 'going soft'. To avoid this interpretation, Mr. Neal and Mr. Marsh have gone to great lengths to explain that the settlement is in line with the incomes policy

Freedom For Workers' Control

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and that the Board can afford to pay the increase.

A FACE SAVER?

While the work-to-rule has brought concessions and a limited victory, the crunch has still to come. This could be just a face-saver for the unions and the next round of negotiations will be the crunch for railwaymen. Both the Board and the Government want integration of jobs. This would mean that the labour force would be reduced in return for wage increases. Although the Board would make a profit, services for the public and jobs for workers would be drastically cut. The emphasis would be on long-term contracts for freight haulage.

The railways, like the buses, have ceased to be a service and yet, although the Board wants to reduce their staff still further with productivity deals, railwaymen still have to work overtime and rest days. This

is not only to get a living wage but also to keep going what is left of a public transport system.

Could not the railwaymen turn this chaos and frustration, known as British Railways, into a public service? Certainly they could, even though they have many grievances, such as low pay, insecurity, poor pensions and the increase of officialdom. They thought that nationalisation would bring about vast improvement, but all it has meant has been a run-down of the industry.

The only answer to this is education and propaganda to raise the consciousness of railwaymen to an awareness that they themselves could run the railways. Many workers are aware that militancy gets results, but more and more workers have to seek control over their industry. Unless they do this, workers' interests will always be sacrificed for profits.

P.T.

Contact Column

This column exists for mutual aid. Donations towards cost of typesetting will be welcome.

AAG. Thank you for Sane Society. Please make contact. Melbourne Anarchist Group.

Where is it? Hitch to Paris then on to the summer camp. Can leave now. Val Clarke, Balmerthe College, Woodley, Reading, Berks.

The play that started the Huddersfield Revolution. Little Malcolm and his struggle against the Eunuchs. Unity Theatre, July 12, 13, 14.

Fun fair attraction. Tower Hill July 8-20. In a sideshow 1.30-2.30 p.m. July 18 Colin Ward confronts barrister Steven Sedley, 'The Law is an Insult to Free Men'. (Joan Littlewood's Fun Palace Trust Inc.)

Colchester Military Tattoo. Leafletting and/or demonstration against militarism. Meet War Memorial (at front of Castle), Saturday, July 20, at 7.30 p.m. Bring leaflets, banners, etc.

Kenya. Wanted one or two people willing to try progressive methods in teaching English in a generally authoritarian school. From January 1969 onwards. Write for details to: E. G. Matthews, P.O. Box 90, Kakamega, Kenya.

Addio Lugano Bella (33 r.p.m. 12" record) anthology of Italian anarchist songs. Price \$4 from Edizioni del Gallo s.p.a., 13 via Sansovino - I 20133 - Milan (Italy).

Anarchist Doctor. Could someone recommend one. London area. Box No. 13.

Student and toddler seek accommodation N., N.W. London. Ring NOR 1242 evenings.

Conference. 'The Free School in the Unfree Society' Day Conference organized by the Libertarian Teachers' Association, Saturday, July 20, from 10.30 a.m. at 36 Devonshire Road, Mill Hill, London, N.W.7. Send 5/- P.O. before July 14 to P. Ford at above address.

Communal Farm. Am now doing research into aspects. Any ideas? Write Dava, 137A Burnt Ash Hill, Lee, London, S.E.12.

Work wanted. Woman teacher, refugee from State school rat race seeks work. Near Greenford preferred. Box 12.

Voluntary Work Team. Present address: Formby Hall, Formby, Lanes.

Peace News—Weekly, price 1/- from 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

Direct Action—Monthly, 6d. from 34 Cumberland Road, London, E.17.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

IN ALL SOCIAL conflict syndicalism can be seen to be of obvious relevance. It offers the most practical and easily applicable alternative to State chaos. It attempts to replace State rule from the top with workers' control from below.

Any anarchist or syndicalist who hasn't grafted on the shop-floor can't easily grasp the real significance of shop-floor syndicalism. Yet, many militants who don't believe in the theory, carry shop-floor syndicalism into practice daily. Without thinking about it, these men work to the basic principles of syndicalism.

One such is Stockport AEU district secretary, John Tocher. A freewheeling communist, John has carried out his duties as union secretary and negotiator for the Roberts-Arundel strikers, as if his political views were of no importance compared with the workers' well-being. Apart from working hard to see the strikers didn't go short financially, he has seen to it that those militants picked up by the police—which included at least one anarchist—got a union legal defence and their fines paid, even the neighbours who gave tea to the pickets weren't overlooked by him, who saw to it they got paid out of the strike funds.

This is as it should be! The politics of the leader doesn't matter so long as the majority have the power to direct him.

On being asked about the chances of occupying the factory, John seemed to think this anarchist suggestion which appeared in FREEDOM wouldn't find widespread support among workers just now. And he's right! There's no noticeable demand for workers' control amongst rank and file workers. The only people interested besides us are a few trade union bosses. Any sensible syndicalist should see that the best way to influence and make militant the unions, is to stir up a militant union membership.

This is not an easy job! But it's not hopeless. The Roberts-Arundel strikers were no less conservative than any other section of the British working class. But when the police were beating their mates up; when the courts were passing 'cut and dried' sentences against the pickets; when the bosses were locking them out; when the politicians side with the bosses; then overnight they take on another nature. They snap up anarchist papers like FREEDOM, as they did both at Arundels and during the Heywood Cranes dispute at Redditch. They volunteer information and listen with interest to anyone who shows any concern for them.

A SYNDICALIST SOLUTION

It's no accident that anarchism hasn't caught on with workers in this country! The blame is not with the workers! The reason for this, in the North West at least, has been because anarchist groups have had no roots in the local community, no contact with the ordinary people. On top of this certain comrades have a piss-poor propaganda approach, which put ideology before the assistance

Stockport Strikers and Syndicalism

of workers and their well-being (this had its most damaging effect at Rochdale with Industrial Youth). Worst of all, we've got no definite and clear-cut policy of what we've got to offer. None of these qualities appeal to a working man, steeped as he is in the painful problems of everyday life.

It is vital to our progress as a movement that we now consider seriously the following questions which are now becoming urgent:

Organisation and Leadership

To do anything in the way of making impact on and gaining respect of ordinary people we must organise! There's nothing clever about lack of organisation in the anarchist movement.

Disorganisation doesn't protect us from leaders! As Malatesta said, '... the less organised we have been the more prone are we to be imposed on by a few individuals'. So it is that the leadership of our movement often goes to the best organised groups, like the Freedom Press Group.

This is the fault of nobody but the movement! Until the anarchist organisation takes on some more responsible form and structure, it can't complain if FREEDOM doesn't reflect its attitude on national issues. Without a clear indication of the feeling in the anarchist ranks, FREEDOM is bound to put over either a vague policy or be in danger of imposing the views of the editors upon the movement.

How can we organise? Through our federations of groups, with each group paying group rather than individual subs. (a group membership organisation with the benefits and services of the federation to any group who pays its subs.). Regional anarchist committees in all main centres, organising socials, and dealing with local demos and strikes.

A national committee with delegates from all regions to advise, organise, mobilize the movement, extend our influence and to encourage our supporters to take up socially useful activities in their locality. For as Malatesta suggests that there are anarchists '... who while recognising the need to organise today for propaganda and action are hostile to all organisations which do not have anarchism as their goal or do not follow anarchist methods of struggle ... and goes on to say, '... if we ourselves besides being organised as anarchists in a

party, were not as workers organised with other workers, we could achieve nothing at all, or at most, we might be able to impose ourselves. ... We could go on calling ourselves anarchists, but in reality we should be rulers and as impotent as all rulers where the general good is concerned.'

Ideas and Propaganda

The workers' well-being in order of importance transcends all ideologies! The First of May Group (International) in their recent document placed too much value on the idea.

Anarchist or otherwise, ideas are not usually of vital importance when the masses adopt a political or social stand. This is particularly true of this country.

Bitter experience and concrete facts, not theories, that's what the workers understand. What does Bakunin say? 'Only individuals, and a small number of them at that, can be carried away by an abstract and "pure" idea. The millions, the masses, not only of the proletariat but also of the enlightened and privileged classes, are carried away only by the power and logic of "facts", apprehending and envisaging most of the time only their immediate interests or moved only by monetary, more or less blind, passions. Therefore, in order to interest and draw the whole proletariat into the work of the International, it is necessary to approach it not with general abstract ideas, but with a living tangible comprehension of its own pressing problems, of which evils those workers are aware in a concrete manner.'

To be usefully occupied in the social struggle is more valuable than any amount of ideological propaganda. For social movements are not born in the heads of profound thinkers and doctrinaires, but are the outcome of the harsh actual impression of the economic 'facts of life' on working men, which causes them to form movements to deal with them.

Malatesta has said much the same, 'To make propaganda we must be amongst the people, it is in the workers' associations that the workers find their comrades and especially those who are disposed to accept our ideas. But even when it were possible to do as much propaganda as we wished outside the associations (TUs), this could not have a noticeable effect on the working masses. Apart from a small number of individuals more educated

and capable of abstract thought and theoretical enthusiasms, the worker cannot arrive at anarchism in one leap.'

Aims and Policy

There's not much doubt in my mind that the only tailor-made libertarian policy which has any sense or reason in it under prevailing conditions is the syndicalist solution.

The Liberals have a slogan 'People Count', this implies they put the people's interest before party politics. We syndicalists have an aim—the workers' well-being; this supposes that under syndicalism the workers will direct society. Not surprisingly some syndicalists and young Liberals have now found they have a lot in common.

In our social aims too, we don't differ much.

Decentralisation, autonomous regional councils to administer the main city areas, with delegates representing surrounding towns.

Local town councils subject to the direct control and direction of their own residents at regular mass meetings.

Factory managers to be elected by and responsible to the workers.

Industry organised through the industrial unions; factories controlled by their workers.

Direct democracy in every sphere of social life.

Freedom of regional and local cultures (nationalists please note).

Decentralisation in every possible field and full people's participation in local affairs.

Abolition of the national state, and central government.

Much of this would suit some Liberals, but our main objection to the Liberals is that instead of involving themselves in the social struggle in society they seek to impose their beliefs by way of parliamentary politics.

Our complaint against this is not just moral but practical, insofar as we consider politicians can't help people even if they wanted to. How can a professional politician, effectively outside the social struggle, seated in the setting of parliament, identify himself with the workers' cause, even assuming that parliament has the power to effect a real social change on society?

That's why the sensible syndicalist just concentrates on being handy supporting strikes and helping people in conflict. That's why we backed the Stockport strikers in their fight for trade union rights and recognition. That's why we've fought for apprentice demands in the North West. Argued in FREEDOM against wage restraint and cuts in our standard of living. Campaigned that the Government keep its hands off the workers' wage. Advocated that tenants resist rent rises. Called on workers to withdraw their political levy. Fought for free and militant trade unionism, and applauded every attempt by workers to advance for themselves their own living standards and the cause of industrial freedom.

B.B. & J.P.