

# Revolution on the Agenda

## Be the Suspicious Generation



This was the caption on the back of the photograph sent to and published by national newspapers.—EDS.

OCTOBER 27, 1968

### VIOLENCE BREAKS OUT NEAR THE AMERICAN EMBASSY DURING TODAY'S ANTI-VIETNAM WAR DEMONSTRATION

**PHOTO SHOWS:** Not what it seems! Apparently this demonstrator painted his face with a red dye to make things look realistic, but he was escorted away by police when violence broke out near the American Embassy in Grosvenor Square today.

**COMMENT:** This photograph was taken—and presumably the above caption was written—by B/A: Bob Aylett 'photographer of the year'.—EDS. BA/J. Keystone. BA/813293

**T**HE NUMBER of people who have leapt from upper windows within hours of taking LSD is almost as great as the number of people who have assaulted relatives within hours of eating fudge.

Therefore, we can assume that if you take LSD you will want to fly out of the bedroom window, and if you eat fudge, you will feel inclined to bash your granny.

And we all know, of course that taking soft drugs leads inevitably to addiction to hard drugs, in the same way as beer drinkers become meths drinkers and fudge-eaters get hooked on Super-fudge.

We can take all this illogical nonsense as long as it comes from the Press, from politicians, from the public. We can put up with it during those nutty arguments in pubs.

But we like to think, deep down inside, that there is one Voice we can trust, one that will not twist things, invent things, misinterpret things.

And that is the Voice of Informed Authority. It is supposed to calm rumour-plagued people. It speaks with the soothing coolness of the BBC announcer, with the sense of responsibility of the Policeman, the professional backing of the Doctor, the objectivity of the Judge. It is different from the voice of the Press or politicians, standing aloof from their mud-slinging and propaganda, although even Government Ministers,

especially in times of stress, are expected to tell us some truth.

When you first discover sinister—or merely careless—flaws in the Voice of Informed Authority, it comes as a terrible blow, like the discovery that one's parents or teachers are mere people, not Super-people. And each time I re-discover these flaws, I still get a sinking feeling, a sensation of weightlessness, a sense that there is no solid ground.

Here is a case unearthed by some research:

January 13, 1968—The Commissioner for the Blind in Pennsylvania State Welfare Department announced that six students went blind after staring at the sun while under the influence of LSD.

Newspapers throughout the world carried the story of how the students went to a wood near their college in Western Pennsylvania, took LSD, lay on their backs and stared at the sun. The report said because of LSD the students did not know they were staring at the sun.

Eight hours later, fellow students found them, blind and helpless, the report added.

January 17—Pennsylvania State Governor ordered his attorney-general to investigate the case, and told a Press conference: 'It is a tragedy that shocks each one of us and demands that we do everything within our power to end the illegal use of drugs.'

January 18—The report turned out to

**N**OT MORE THAN most years, but certainly no less, 1968 has been a year of governmental deception covering the mailed fist; the usual practice which conceals the Great Lie of Government itself. By deceit and bribery, by mis-education, conditioning and propaganda, by economic exploitation, taxation and legal robbery, by bullying, coercion and violence—by gentle and not-so-gentle 'persuasion', governments have continued the great lie that people need governments.

In this great con game around the world, all the world's authorities share in the shabby conspiracy—and so, for that matter, do the world's peoples. Who should we blame for this state of affairs? The minority in whose interests the great lie is perpetuated—or the majority who give of their blood, toil, sweat and tears in the interests of that minority?

The one glimmer of hope that has been raised in 1968 has come from the astonishing way in which revolution has been put back on the agenda. The word 'revolution' can be—and is—meaninglessly and easily bandied about by many with no real understanding and no real caring for its reality. Discussions by respectable churchmen on the telly end with a majority of them nodding sagely and agreeing . . . the only way is revolution. . . . Superficial, tendentious, romantic and snide reports have abounded in surprising quarters.

### FIGHTING FOR CONTROL

But what has made the bourgeoisie sit up and take notice has been real enough. In a year of student ferment around the world, the events of May and June in France

were of course outstanding, but by no means unique, except perhaps in the scale in which workers participated in action sparked off by students. Until this spreads in all cases, we cannot pretend really to have moved from a protest situation to a revolutionary situation—but it will come.

There have been two truly heartening aspects of the students' protests. Firstly, they have been acting for control of their places of work. While it would be foolish to pretend that the students are the only ones who work in universities, their situation at the bottom of the ladder, without any say in the way their immediate world is run, subject to pettifogging victorian restrictions and academically dissatisfied to boot, has proved intolerable. In places where the most inspired protests have occurred—like Hornsey—the constructive aspect of their demands has been recognisable, their responsible behaviour has been exemplary, and a large proportion of junior staff—not yet bought off with senior posts and pensions—have joined with them. The distinction has been quite clearly made between the administration, whose function is strictly authoritarian and financial, and teaching staff, whose function is educational. The parallel we draw here with workers' control in industry is surely in the distinction we make between productive technicians and unproductive profit-mongers.

The other aspect of student protest which seems to us of supreme importance lies in its international character. Not only in democratic, fascist and communist Europe, but in America (North and South),

Africa and Asia, too, militant actions have been mounted. Although many of these have had connections with outside 'political' themes like Vietnam, behind all has been the demand for more control right there at home. The international aspect has been important because it has drawn attention to the identity of interests in different countries under different regimes—which are of course, all fundamentally the same. The unifying call has been revolutionary.

### THE END OF AUTHORITY

Here, of course, we as anarchists should not be too starry-eyed. We have a long and sad history of going along with 'revolutionaries' who turn out to be just as reactionary as the last lot once they are in power. We are the heirs of popular revolutions in many countries where the fatal mistake has been made of allowing a central authority to be re-established, and up-against-the-wall for the anarchists.

For us, revolution means the end of central authority or it is no revolution at all. For us, revolution means, not the beginning of a 'Workers' State', but the destruction of all States; it means devolution down to the student at the desk, the worker at the bench, the peasant in the field. If the 'revolutionaries' in the International Socialists and Solidarity, if the 'Maoists' and the glorifiers of Che Guevara and the *Black Power seekers still think in terms of leading a revolution through a 'Workers' State' or some similar pattern of power, then we challenge their whole concept of revolution.*

JUSTIN.

## What Gives—or who gives what?

**R**EES MOGG MAKES another in a long series of calls for a coalition, but this time everyone takes it seriously. Just before Grimond—who had for some time been apparently bidding for support among leftists and students, with some fairly favourable speeches, and who recently went on record pointing out that 'marxists' are right in claiming that no worthwhile reform was ever won without force (not necessarily violent)—despite his self-chosen label of syndicalist, suddenly joined the right wing chorus in demanding that student demonstrators be disciplined more severely by police, courts and grant-giving local authorities, while Pardoe, Grimond's aide-de-camp, attacks the idea of coalition. A. D. Home (alias B. Vass, and hereinafter called chez nous), the idol of the Tory traditionalist Right, suddenly attacked Powell for expressing on Rhodesia, what one had always understood as being chez nous' own views.

be a fabrication. The Governor said the Commissioner had 'confessed' that the story was invented, the Commissioner having told a secretary to insert it in a report to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in Washington.

A more recent case you will no doubt remember is the picture splashed across several newspapers following the October 27 demonstration of a student being led away by policemen with his face covered in what Scotland Yard said was red paint.

**SCOTLAND YARD HAVE NOW ADMITTED THAT IT WAS BLOOD. THEY SAID AN INVESTIGATION HAD BEEN ORDERED INTO THE REPORT THAT THE STUDENT HAD DAUBED HIMSELF WITH PAINT TO APPEAR INJURED.**

I wonder how many people notice these little flaws? The Press give the original reports in a big way. The Blindness story was prominent even in the Sunday heavies; the 'Sketch' carried a

Coincidence? Or is there a strong current in political high places towards a coalition? Did Rees Mogg consult others before making his plea this time? Or did those who have laughed at or ignored the plea before and applauded it this time sense a change of climate? If so who is the intended premier? and who the king makers? Are leading politicians, from the supposed Left to the far Right, busily establishing their bona fides as men of the centre so as to qualify for the new coalition cabinet, as being both influential at the wings and trustworthy moderates to boot?

The 'experts' who earlier pooch-pooched the possibility of an overt repetition of Ramsay Mac. now confidently predict one. There are one or two factors which cast doubt on this. They boil down to the statement that whatever else H. Wilson may be, he is no reckless philanthropist, anxious to sacrifice his own career for a cause.

picture of a policeman being kicked, with the caption: 'Casualties—the truth'. It placed alongside this a picture of the 'paint-daubed demonstrator' with the caption: 'Casualties—the lie!' Well, now we know what the 'lie' was, but the correct version, like the correct version of the blindness story, got far less play in the papers.

When a flaw is found in the Voice of Informed Authority, as much fuss should be made as possible. That is all we can do. People must KNOW that they can, and sometimes are, conned even by officials and professionals of whom we expect the highest integrity.

So don't trust anybody. Be the Suspicious Generation. From the rising of the sun, and in the evening, remember the fate of the Gullible Generations.

GEORGE SHORT.

(Reprinted from *Beaver*, journal of the LSE Students.)

Ramsay Mac. lasted just until the Tories were ready for an election where they could be sure of winning without other help. (And what do the 'Gallups' say at the moment?) He was then dropped. Wilson, however little his Keynesian views may tell him about the workings of capitalism and the need for change, is nevertheless no fool when it comes to discerning his own future career. He knows he is hated by the Tories, however much he has served their purpose, and he is not fool enough—willingly—to trust his fate in their hands.

Donnelly—not a man noted for reliability of his 'facts'—has claimed that he knows of 100 Labour MPs prepared to see reason. Which one assumes means that whereas the pressure for coalition round Ramsay was purely at the top of the parliamentary party, this time it is suggested that it stems from the parliamentary rank and file. Reasonable in this context presumably means that they are prepared to sell themselves for something akin to their true worth. Nothing: no pounds, no shillings, no pence; devalued, new or otherwise. But one is inclined to treat this story with as much reserve as one normally accords Donnelly's tales, as it seems unlikely that 100 Labour MPs are so short-sighted and blind to the main chance as not to be aware that this would be political suicide and that, as the Tories once in power have the option of going to the country and getting a landslide victory, this would politically be as much suicide as for Wilson to do a Ramsay.

But rumours must be being bandied about, there can be no other explanation. One inclines to suspect that perhaps the artful dodger has a new trick up his sleeve, and that the rumours may emanate from none other than Wilson himself with a not-unfounded hope of counter-productive results. For even the most right wing Labour rank and filer,

Continued on page 4

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AT THIS MOMENT in time when the acceptance or rejection of a bucket of shit, as an art object, can threaten, we hope, the whole foundation of the Town's Art Establishment, corrupt ancient friendships and become the mucky launching pad of angry affirmations and denunciations we can but turn with sorrow on our brow, sadness in our tread, and a Private View card in our pocket, towards the Royal Academy of Arts at Piccadilly, W.1, to bear witness to their Bicentenary Exhibition for 1768 to 1968.

Again we climb the massive staircase leading upward and upward to the red and black garbed servants of Burlington House, to present our Private View card, to accept with a slight bow the thick catalogue and then to make our entrée into that world that our politicians and our press deny exists. That world of men in tailored morning suits and those fragile and eternally elderly women, ill-draped in the flowered creations that only those of long-established wealth dare wear.

Yet we who, at 4.30 a.m. that very morning crept through the dark and ice-hung morning to our place of employment and now find ourselves sleepy and free within this leisured community, would be wasting our pity or our anger for just as those who control the channels of information deny that people of wealth and leisure such as these still exist within our society so these people in their turn deny in their press and in their hearts the existence of an exploited subterranean working class. Here is an established class with a tradition and an acceptance of wealth and here on the walls of Burlington House is the work of artists who have served them and their illusions faithfully these hundred years.

It is so easy to mock this type of exhibition and to pretend, in conjunction

# A Monstrous Strip Cartoon

with our dribbling art-buying nascent middle-class, that this sentimental craftsmanship no longer commands a market were it not that within fifteen minutes' walking distance of St. James's Palace one could identify ten to twenty art dealers who specialize in this Victoriana. They leave the painted dress of the Redfern, the Hanover and the ICA to the bad taste of the company directors and the swinging set for their market lies with those who control power and not the bloated vermin who live off a corrupt society. Like some monstrous strip cartoon these paintings unfold, frame by frame and room by room, until the mind becomes sodden with the glossy waxen faces and the effeminate stances. The quasi-religious paintings of an age and a class whose very living was a negation of the Christian faith blaspheme on every wall while the fat and rose-tinted female nudes are but the painted dreams of Anglo-Saxons whose boney, sharp-tongued wives surrendered their bodies only after shedding their armour of whaleboned corsets.

Yet within this exhibition there is much that is worthy of your attention. I would have willingly walked half way across the Town for the rare pleasure of seeing the work of one of our greatest water-colourists, Thomas Rowlandson. Here is his wonderful 'The English Review' from the Queen's collection and the two elderly ladies standing before me slowly and methodically identifying every figure in Rowlandson's 'Old Vauxhall Gardens' from the Prince of Wales to Mrs. Thrale, span the years again to Rowlandson.

Here are Blake and Turner, Reynolds and Constable, in all their majesty as painters and though one may puke a little at some of the lesser-known work of Constable, with their sour, brooding and overworked canvases, one must accept that here are supreme exponents of the craft in that, like Rowlandson, they can isolate and identify a moment in time and space that we feel extends beyond the confines of their canvases.

But what must be the main attraction for the gelled mob at this exhibition is surely the competent journeyman examples of Victorian hypocrisy. Half a century of commercial coloured reproduction have made these gross works part of our contemporary folk culture and in four galleries hang your chance to vomit, be it Fildes's 'Application for Admission to a Casual Ward', Hicks's 'Dividend Day at the Bank of England', Alma-Tadema's female meatballs stripping in a Roman 'Apodyterium', Hunt's 'Light of the World' or that old perennial, Yeames's 'And When Did You Last See Your Father?'. What all these things have in common is their shallow surface approach to women, poverty, religion and philosophy. The Victorians reduced them all to the same flat level of amusing pastimes for an idle hour and the well-paid hacks of their age produced for them coloured copies of the deserving poor, placid, mindless and pot-bellied women stripping for God or the Sultan, and an interpretation of religion and philosophy that only Hollywood, the Vatican and the Communist Party have succeeded in emulating at the same degrading level.

Sir Hubert von Herkomer's canvas 'On Strike' could prove of some slight interest to some little comrade because of its subject matter and the fact that it was on exhibition at the Turin International Labour Exhibition of 1961 but without the title it is meaningless for, as with so many propagandists for worthy or ignoble causes, Herkomer could not accept that strikers, paupers, millionaires, communists, vegetarians or clerks do not have particular and identifiable characteristics peculiar to their mode of thought or life but are only men and women reacting in different ways to a certain set of circumstances. While one may recreate the situation only a fool would seek to identify by certain physical characteristics the man or woman who is involved, willingly or unwillingly, in the action.

But here are these pretty Victorian lies as part of the British betrayal of history yet who dare protest when the Academies of America and Russia still honour their living hacks for churning out the rubbish that we have learned to sneer at and slowly reject.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

## NEXT YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTIONS

AS THE Financial Statement shows, a subscription renewals have come in well during the year. A great number of subscriptions, however, fall due at the end of the year. If yours is one of these, it will be a lot of help to us if you will send in your renewal without waiting for a reminder from us.

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## THE ROAD BACK TO PARLIAMENT

THE EXTENT to which the Communist Party will retreat on basic Socialist principles appears to be endless. The logic of their acceptance of the Parliamentary road to Socialism leads them to the position where they pander to the most backward sections of British society.

In the new edition of the *British Road to Socialism, the principles of Marx and Lenin* are completely absent. In its attempt to attract the support of the bourgeoisie it has embraced Christianity—what became of the opium of the people concept? It now democratically talks of 'freedom for all religious beliefs and creeds' and to leave no one in any doubt that it no longer is the 'Red Bogey' of yesteryear, it adds this gem of encouragement: 'Democratically organized parties, including those hostile to socialism, would have the right to maintain their organisation, publications and propaganda and to contest elections' (page 52).

Presumably Enoch Powell, Colin Jordan and other such racialist characters have no reason to fear a curb on their activities. Even the radio and TV are open to them!

One can almost believe the stories of

capitalist restoration under Dubeek, when the approval of such people as the Rev. Paul Oestreich is studied. 'If you trouble to read the *British Road to Socialism*, this reverend gentleman says, 'you will find that it reads very much like the reformed programme of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party.'

So the idea that the capitalists have about the CP are completely unfounded—Jesus was really an early communist—God and Karl Marx are reconciled. But wait, there's more to come, the need to gain wide support on the basis of a Christian-Marxist dialogue among the bourgeoisie isn't by any means sufficient.

In order to pander to the backward elements in the working class, immigration control (albeit unspecified) is accepted.

The October issue of *Comment* says of this subject—'Regrettably, Labour immigration control, taking up where the Tories left off, is also weighted against those with the "wrong" colour skin. . . . Certainly control immigration, but let it be as the communists propose, wholly free from any discrimination on the grounds of colour, race or creed.'

Presumably their idea would be based

on the skills of the would-be immigrant—which of course would be weighted against people from mainly agricultural backgrounds, i.e. Africans and Asians (coloured people).

In the absence of any clear-cut policies on religion and race, the British Communist Party, in order to gain support, has taken on the guise of a respectable bourgeois party—acceptable precisely because it has adapted itself to the prevailing ideologies and prejudices of the ruling class.

Its role in industry is also becoming well known; far from leading struggles, it heads them off. At a conference called by the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions, a well-known industrial militant shop-steward was refused entry—his crime? he was on 'official-strike' and was giving out strike leaflets. He was a member of the SLL. Many trade unionists in the hall kicked up such a rumpus that he was allowed in. So much for defending trade unionists! How much more retreating on principles—how much more flirting with religion—how much more treachery can rank and file CP members put up with?

TOM HILLIER.

## Freedom Bookshop

# Write or Come!

Editorial office open Friday, December 20 6-8 p.m. and Monday, December 23, Telephone: BISHOPSGATE 3015.

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.)

Temporary opening times: Tuesday-Friday, 2-6 p.m. Saturday, 10 a.m.-4 p.m.

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## Anarchist Federation of Britain

Note to readers: Wherever address is not given letters should be sent to London Federation, c/o Freedom Press. The full list is printed once a month (next full list January 25, 1969). All groups that wish to be included in this shortened version (because of meetings, activity) should let us know at once. New groups (as Yorkshire Federation) stay in for eight weeks.

**LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS.** Sunday evening meetings at the Metropolitan (corner of Clerkenwell Road and Farringdon Road), 7.30 p.m. Next meeting Sunday, December 22.  
**HARINGEY.** 'Siege of Sidney Street Appreciation Society'. Meet Wednesdays, 8 p.m., at A. Barlow's, 2a Fairfield Gardens, Crouch End, N.8.  
**PORTOBELLO ROAD ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Andrew Dewar, 16 Kilburn House, Malvern Place, N.W.6. Meetings 8 p.m. every Tuesday.  
 There are also active groups in: **LEWISHAM, WEST HAM, EALING and ARCHWAY.**

### OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

Every Wednesday at Jack Robinson's and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m.  
 3rd Friday of each month at Donald and Irene Room's at 13 Savernake Road, N.W.3, at 8 p.m.  
 Every Monday at A. Barlow's, 2a Fairfield Gardens, Haringey, N.8. (Siege of Sidney Street Appreciation Society).

### REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

**BEXLEY ANARCHIST MOVEMENT.** C/o John Bonner, 40 Lullingstone Crescent, St. Paul's Cray, Kent. Tel.: 01-300 8890. Meetings every Friday, 8 p.m., Lord Bexley, Bexley Heath Broadway.  
**BIRMINGHAM LIBERTARIAN AND ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Geoff and Caroline Charlton at Flat One, 69 Sandon Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham 17. (Entrance side of house.) Regular discussions being held on Tuesdays, 7.30 p.m., Crown Corporation Street (upper room).  
**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 LIBERTARIANS.** Meetings every 2nd Friday of each month. Laurens and Celia Otter, 35 Natal Road, Thornton Heath (LIV 7546).  
**LEICESTER PROJECT.** Peace/Libertarian

action and debate. Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. at 1 The Crescent, King Street, Leicester.  
**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.  
 There are also active groups in: **BOLTON, BOURNEMOUTH, EDGWARE, HERTS., IPSWICH, NORTH SOMERSET, REDDITCH and SELBY.**

### ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION

Three-monthly meetings. Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o Peter Newell (see N.E. Essex Group).  
 Group Addresses—  
**NORTH EAST ESSEX.** Peter Newell, 91 Brook Road, Tolleshunt Knights, Tiptree, Essex. Regular meetings.  
 There are also active groups in: **BASILDON, BISHOPS STORTFORD, CHELMSFORD, EPPING, HARLOW and LOUGHTON.** All correspondence to regional secretary: Peter Newell, c/o N.E. Essex Group.

### NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

**LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST PROPAGANDA GROUP AND 'HIPPI' MOVEMENT.** Gerry Bree, 16 Faulkner Square, Liverpool, 8. Meetings weekly. 'Freedom' Sales—Pier Head, Saturdays, Sundays, Evenings.  
**MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP.** Secretary: Sue Warnock, 9 Boland Street, Fallowfield, Manchester, 14. Regular weekly meetings. Contact Secretary for venue.  
**MERSEYSIDE ANARCHISTS.** Meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. at 118 High Park Street, Liverpool 8. Contact: Chris Kneath, Basement, 52 Belvidere Road, Liverpool, L8 3TQ.  
**PRESTON ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact J. B. Cowburn, 140 Watling Street Road, Fulwood, Preston. Meetings: 'The Wellington Hotel', Glovers Court, Preston, Wednesdays, 8 p.m.

### 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. Regular fortnightly meetings. Contact Secretary.  
 Other groups in **CRAWLEY** and **SUSSEX UNIVERSITY.**

### YORKSHIRE FEDERATION

Meetings every 8 weeks. Next meeting February 2. Secretary: Colin Beadle, c/o Oakwood Farm, Lund, Selby, Yorkshire. Look out for 'Liberty'—monthly 6d.—out in January.  
**HALIFAX:** David Stringer, c/o Paul Simon, 91 Essex Street, Parkinson Lane, Halifax.  
**HULL:** Jim Young, 3 Fredericks Crescent, Hawthorn Avenue, Hull.  
**KEIGHLEY:** Steve Wood, 26B Cavendish Street, Keighley.  
**LEEDS:** Direct Action Society. Contact John Boutwood, 142 Brudenell Road, Leeds, 6.  
**SELBY:** D. Mackay, 247 Residential Site, Drax Power Station, Drax, Selby.  
**SHEFFIELD:** Dave Jeffries, c/o Students Union, Western Bank, Sheffield, 10.  
**YORK:** Nigel Wilson, Derwent College, University of York, Heslington, York.

### WELSH FEDERATION

**CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP.** All correspondence to—Pete Raymond, 18 Marion Street, Splott, Cardiff.  
**SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Ian Bone, 3 Bay View Crescent, Brynmill, Swansea. Weekly meetings, 'Freedom' sales and action projects.  
**LLANELLI:** Contact Dai Walker, 6 Llwynnendy 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.  
 Active groups in: **LEYTONSTONE, STEPNEY, NEWHAM, ILFORD, DAGENHAM, WOODFORD and LIMEHOUSE.**

### STUDENT GROUPS

There are student groups in numerous universities. Full list January 11, 1969.

### SCOTTISH FEDERATION

All correspondence to Dave Coull, secretary. There are also active groups in: **ABERDEEN, GLASGOW, EDINBURGH, HAMILTON, FIFE, PERTSHIRE/CENTRAL SCOTLAND, MONTROSE.** Dave Coull, 3 Eskview Terrace, Ferryden.

### NORTHERN IRELAND

**BELFAST ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Robert Dunwoody, 10 Newry Street, Belfast, BT6 9BN. Meetings every Saturday, 2 p.m., 44a Upper Arthur Street (top floor). 'Freedom' sales.

### LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

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

### 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, 59 Eveleigh Street, Redfern, Sydney, 8 p.m.  
**USA.** James W. Cain, secretary, the Anarchist Committee of Correspondence, 323 Fourth Street, Cloquet, Minnesota 55720, USA.  
**VANCOUVER, B.C., CANADA.** Anyone interested in forming anarchist and/or direct action peace group contact Derek A. James, c/o 24-160 East 20th, N. Vancouver, B.C., Canada. Tel.: 985 7509 or 987 2693.  
**USA: VERMONT.** New Hampshire Anarchist Group. Discussion meetings. Actions. Contact Ed. Strauss, RFD 2, Woodstock, Vermont 05091, USA.  
**TORONTO LIBERTARIAN-ANARCHIST GROUP.** 217 TorYork Drive, Weston, Ontario, Canada. Weekly meetings. Read the 'Libertarian'.  
**PROPOSED GROUPS**  
**LANCASTER & MORECAMBE.** Contact Les Smith, 192 Euston Road, Morecambe, Lancs.  
**KINGSTON, WIMBLEDON, MERTON, New Malden, and Surrey.** New group forming. Please contact K. W. Bennett, 65 Hook Road, Epsom, Surrey, or G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom, Surrey.  
**WATFORD.** Anyone interested please contact Ronnie Anderson, 31 Marlborough Road, Watford, Herts.  
**ROCHDALE, BURY & OLDHAM** areas. Those interested in libertarian activity contact David Purdy, c/o 35 Balmoral Drive, Darn Hill Estate, Heywood, Lancs.

# The Free Schools Campaign

FIFTH COLUMN

## Too Cool, Baby

THE TROUBLE WITH James Mossman's Tuesday Documentary on BBC 1 *The New Radicals* was not just that it left out the anarchists. In fact the film would have been better if it had left out a few more of the revolutionary groups and concentrated on one or two.

The October 27 demo and the Hornsey College of Art sit-in both involved people of varying left-wing tendencies—and none: the two events could have been used to introduce a film on either the New Left or the International Socialists or Solidarity. This would have made it possible for Mossman to have explored a particular tendency in greater depth.

As it was the film showed us glimpses of various revolutionaries and gave us extracts from their conversations and speeches. Some were more coherent than others, but the effect of cramming so many different people into one film was inevitably to reduce the meaning and impact of what they said.

Mossman's assumption of the role of detached observer also had the effect of creating a distance between the film and the audience. You felt as you watched that October 27 was a long time ago, that the revolutionaries speaking were not to do with you. A hostile attitude to the subjects of the film would at least have demanded that the audience react in some way.

The Arts Lab sequence was the most successful: the girl sang to the camera and involved you. In style the sequence did not relate to the rest of the film.

The mood of the film as a whole was clearly expressed by the folk singing which played such a prominent part in it. And not only was the singing turgid: it featured a man whose claim to being a new radical must have died somewhere on the first Aldermaston March.

## Light My Fire

LIKE MANY other people I switched over later to watch *The Doors Are Open* (Granada). I found it better in every way.

I had seen one of the Roundhouse performances by the Doors which Granada filmed for the show. On film the group was more powerful than it had been live.

Very rarely when you watch pop music on film do you see the camera used in a straightforward way to increase the impact of the music—concentrating for instance on the singer or musician featured in a solo. Frequently pop film and TV cameramen just play about creating patterns of their own.

The Granada cameramen did a superb job for *The Doors*: they made them more exciting than they are. The newsreel sequences of cops and demonstrators were used brilliantly: in the first part of the film *The Doors* came over as an explosion of rebellion against authoritarian American society. Later on when they opened their mouths to speak at press conferences and in interviews they dispelled this illusion.

A further point of comparison: *All Our Loving*, Tony Palmer's recent film on BBC 1, used—among other things—various musicians of contrasting styles, newsreel sequences including demonstrations and atrocities and a jumble of interviews with people talking about different things—e.g. the Tin Pan Alley man down by the riverside who seemed to think that pop music hadn't changed since 1958.

If Tony Palmer had a point it seemed to be that the real world was often horrific and that pop music was part of the real world; therefore pop music must be related to horror. This idea when you look at it is either obvious or absurd—and in any case I am not confident in my suggestion that Palmer wanted us to get this idea.

If he did not have a point then he was presumably seeking to paint a picture of contemporary pop music. In the same way James Mossman was trying to paint a picture of 'the new radicals'.

The Granada film succeeded partly because it selected a group and approached them with an attitude; the other two films presented us with a wealth of material, offered little comment and left us in confusion with the memory of a few good shots.

## A Happy Xmas

A SPECIAL hash-filled Xmas to all. Did you read that in Boston a study of the effects of marijuana was held up for two months because they couldn't find enough student subjects who hadn't smoked before.

WYNFORD HICKS.

WHEN AN EDUCATION system as oppressive as the British one exists, it is not very long before somebody, somewhere, rebels against it. It is not by its academic results that the worth of education should be estimated but by its ability to produce a person capable of thinking for himself and acting with consideration for his community. The obvious failure of today's system is seen in the increasing number of people taking drugs, suffering from nervous breakdowns, participating in football-match 'punch-ups', and generally dropping out of society. However, it is best to add that today's society is almost as rotten as the 'education' it gives its children. As Marshall McLuhan recently said on television, 'Nowadays schools are just an interruption in a child's education.' This is exactly how the Free Schools Campaign regard the situation: a point to be appreciated is that pupils today put up with a system that would never have been tolerated in a factory or an office 20 years ago.

A little background knowledge is required before the FSC can be discussed or debated in any depth. It was started about two months ago in South London. Though initially only three people were involved, the FSC now embraces possibly 1,000 (both teachers and pupils) and has contacts in at least thirty schools. It is also in touch with two similar campaigns, one in Swansea and another in Manchester (names and addresses for both these groups and any FSC contacts will be supplied if an s.a.e. is sent to the address given).

FSC aims have never been standardised, but most people accept a few basic ideals. These can be divided into 'introductions' and 'abolitions'. I'll deal with the 'introductions' first as these seem more positive. They are:

1. The introduction of a school council, composed of teachers and pupils to deal with all decisions involving the school. The idea is to produce a 'system' of mutual respect where pupil and teacher are equal, and where they are both encouraged to think and govern their own affairs and not be arbitrarily governed. (This is discussed in greater depth later.)

2. The introduction of a personal choice of timetable, and where possible an increase in the scope of subject courses available, as today people study subjects they know to be irrelevant to

their future.

3. The introduction of a self-disciplinary system to replace the present authoritarian one.

The 'abolitions' consist of:

1. The abolition of school uniform as this makes the individual devoid of all individuality; it also inhibits the wearer and makes him self-conscious when appearing in public.

2. The abolition of prefects and the cane as these are the trappings of authoritarianism and by definition can only suppress the individual. (It is accepted that acts of vandalism and violence are usually the sole means of releasing pent-up emotions and frustrations. These again can often be caused by imagined, or genuine, persecution.) When Michael Duane, the ex-headmaster of Rivinghill, abolished caning at his school (a school with a very bad record for vandalism) a lot of the internal troubles cleared up.

3. The abolition of compulsory attendance: as the new concept of a school would be rather more of a social centre than the present mental abattoirs, pupils would not want or indeed see any reason to stay away.

4. The abolition of the Board of Governors as this is an obsolete body of people usually with no knowledge of education other than hazy recollections of their own totally inadequate schooling.

5. The abolition of examinations as these are purely a test of the amount of facts assimilated parrot-fashion by the exam candidate. They also take no account of the individual's abilities.

6. The abolition of the more archaic rules: the new rules would act as guide lines for acceptable behaviour, than as internal legislation.

These proposals as they stand, show what the Campaign stands for. One point rarely appreciated is that if the school council idea was adopted, this alone would break down the barriers between teachers and pupils. It is also likely that if a school council was formed, then liberalisation could follow as a matter of course.

Already many schools have form representative or council meetings. This is designed to make the pupil think that he genuinely has a say in the way his school is run, but when an issue is brought up which is for definite reform then it is remarkable how quickly the suggestion is thrown out. For example, last term in a local grammar school a

petition which contained the signatures of most of the upper school said: '... boys over 16, with parents' consent, should smoke at break and lunch in a room provided for this purpose.' The matter was brought up at a form representative meeting (the majority in support) and the petition was presented. The issue was thrown out almost immediately.

The reason why the present form representative meetings do not work is because the head has the veto on all decisions. The schools councils as the FSC see them should be run on the lines employed at Summerhill which has been running successfully for 35 years.

The main thing to be wary of is hatred of people because of their position. This is especially applicable to headmasters as, by the very nature of the job they do, they are very prone to attack. It is pointless to do this as it's not the individual that the FSC must destroy but the entire system.

Once this is done, then the individual, who may have been previously authoritarian, will have to change his methods accordingly. Also the headmaster may feel, and in many places quite justifiably, that if he openly supports the campaign his job may be in jeopardy. This is an attitude I can easily understand but not wholeheartedly support. It is supported by the number of teachers one sees who consider that they are doing their job well. The teacher's superiors will probably agree as he teaches completely within the system, not too strictly or too leniently. It is necessary to get the support of this type of teacher as he would do his best to teach well under any system, but can never find the initiative or the courage to teach outside it. He is often conscientious but unimaginative and apathetic.

A question which has often been asked is: what kind of person joins FSC? Before this point is gone into in any detail, it is best to add that FSC has no 'official' membership and therefore nobody 'joins' it. 11,000 leaflets have been produced and paid for purely by donations from members. Many of the older FSC members have large numbers of 'O' Levels so that it cannot be said that the reason why FSC refuse to acknowledge any form of exam is that none of us has any paper qualifications (though this is true in my case). The spirit of the thing can be summed up by one of the

older teachers in the Campaign. He has said that the energy of the FSC is tremendous; that difficulties aren't accepted or ignored, they're overcome, and this adds to the tremendous enthusiasm and liveliness of meetings.

As far as hierarchy is concerned, FSC has none. The officers are created as required but there has been no necessity to have more than four, namely: chairman, treasurer, secretary and press officer. None of these people can make major decisions without consulting the meeting.

Teachers are quite prominent in the FSC. They are mainly young and full of philanthropic theories. Their ideas are parallel to those of the pupils though the pupils usually resent the system more as they are suffering within it. The teacher-pupil relationship is good and everybody goes by their Christian name. If this could be extended to the classroom it would be an important step in the right direction.

So far there have been two attempts to crush FSC. Though a ban was placed on all Campaign activity in two schools, the Campaign blossomed at both of them. From one school, for example, I received six letters asking for more leaflets even though boys would be detained if found with FSC propaganda on them.

As far as politics is concerned the FSC is 'as apolitical as any movement can be without betraying progressive principles'. It contains a great wealth of mainly left-wing political factions, yet politics are rarely mentioned and there is no sectarianism of any description. The fact that the aims of FSC are apolitical is probably its greatest strength.

In conclusion, FSC is a young body, very optimistic and anti-defeatist. Because it is growing quickly and has these qualities, I am confident that it will achieve its aims.

For further information please send s.a.e. to:

Roger Sadiev, Secretary FSC,  
90 Ermine Road, London, S.E.13  
or 'phone 01-690 1572.

## Accommodation ?

Accommodation wanted (January 3-4) for people attending FSC Conference. The conference will take place on January 4 from 9.30 a.m. to 5 p.m., at Holborn Library, 32-38 Theobalds Road, W.C.1.

## AFB Group List

THE SPREAD of anarchist ideas in this country has multiplied the number of anarchist groups. In 1962 there were only six groups listed in FREEDOM (all of them in London).

Last week's issue contains addresses of 85 groups. This is great news for the movement, but eats up space in our meagre pages. By the end of next year we will probably have to give up the best part of a page for this list. Last week alone 14 new groups have been added. Therefore, as from now, the full list will only be published once a month.

The shortened version includes all groups which announce definite activity (meetings, literature sales and other projects). New groups are left in for eight weeks in order to help them find their feet. All other groups will be left out, but readers can write to the London Federation, c/o Freedom Press, who will put them in touch with the required group.

It is also right to mention in this context that not only are there many new groups, but new anarchist publications are appearing. *Red Paper* (Ipswich), *Liberty!* in Yorkshire, and there is talk of a Scottish edition of FREEDOM.

EDITORS.

## The Ever Open Question

SECOND ONLY TO BOOKS on Vietnam in padding publishers' lists and filling reviewers' bookshelves are books on race relations. *The Closed Question* by Dick Pixley (Geoffrey Chapman, 140 pp., 21/-), is for a change neither sociology nor polemic, yet its freedom from the jargon of the one does not preclude such curious locutions as 'indigent' for 'indigenous', 'favoured son' for 'most favoured nation' and—strangest of all—the management of the television station for the BBC; while the absence of polemic allows some rather cosy conservative attitudes (there is even a reference to 'impatient liberals'), and a rare degree of facetiousness and patronization: thus a man Mr. Pixley interviews is repeatedly referred to as 'mine host', and Black Power advocates are 'anarchists' (in the popular press sense) and 'television personalities'. This is surprising from a Jamaican radio producer who, the blurb says, 'has been closely involved in the race problem ... for many years'.

The book, it is true, does give a conspectus—readable, but superficial,

## Erratum : The Revolutionary

MY REVIEW of *Michael Bakounine* and of *Zo d'Axa* published in the supplement of FREEDOM (29.11.68) lost half its title, owing to a piece of the paper on which it was printed being torn away I think. It was originally *The Revolutionary and the Rebel*. I was making a comparison between the type of man who rejects existing society but has an alternative to offer and the type of man who simply rejects it without offering anything. Both points of view have their strengths and their weaknesses. Most anarchists seem to belong to one type or the other. It seemed interesting to put the two men side by side. I like and admire both of them, but cannot make up my mind whether I am a Bakounist at heart, or a follower of the ideas of Zo d'Axa.

A.W.U.

## NOT OUR OWN WORK

ONE OF THE MOST necessary but most uncommon things in the present revival of anarchism in this country is the discussion of first principles. The development of consciousness and the discovery of action are common enough, but the definition of theory which should follow tends to get left out. An impressive attempt to fill this gap is made by a leaflet called *The Meaning of Anarchism*, which was produced at York University last autumn and has been reprinted in the current issue of *Insurrection* (number 6, published by the Essex and East Herts Anarchist Federation; reviewed in FREEDOM on November 30).

*The Meaning of Anarchism* is indeed so impressive and yet in some places so peculiar that it raises suspicions about its origins—which is not surprising, since a closer look shows that it is in fact a careful copy of the Solidarity statement *As We See It*, which was produced in London in spring 1967, was printed in *Solidarity* (volume 4, number 6), and has frequently been reprinted as a separate leaflet.

The authors of *The Meaning of Anarchism* have simply used nine of the ten points of *As We See It*, leaving out the one which deals with working-class

consciousness, suppressing the references to Solidarity and 'workers power', disguising the quotation from Marx, substituting the words 'anarchism' and 'anarchist' for 'socialism' and 'socialist', and making a few other alterations (for the worse) in the original text. The result reads well, even in this mangled form; though it is surprising to be told that 'anarchism is not just the common ownership and control of the means of production and distribution' when no one ever suggested it was (change 'anarchism' back to 'socialism' and the sentence makes sense).

*As We See It* is a typically excellent statement of libertarian socialism, derived from a syndicalist development of Marxism. There is a wide overlap between this form of socialism and true anarchism, and the Solidarity line is certainly relevant to anarchism and worth discussing by anarchists—but surely not in this form, wrenched out of its context and dressed up as some kind of anarchism. Are we so really hard up for ideas that we have to take them (without acknowledgement) from Solidarity and then pretend they are ours? If so, no wonder we get jeered at by libertarian socialists who are not anarchists.

N.W.

# Building Unions Back Down

THE GOVERNMENT GAINED another victory for its incomes' policies when the construction industry's trade union leaders climbed down rather than oppose the Government's freeze Order and accepted

## Contact Column

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

- Save Biafra Committee.** Stop the War Fund Dance and Cabaret, Camden Town Hall, January 3, 7.30 p.m.-midnight. Tickets 10/- each from 13 Goodwin Street, N.4, or at door.
- Australian Get-together.** January 11, 11 a.m., Australia House, Aldwych. Greet Gorton Committee.
- Used books, pamphlets, periodicals** wanted by American radical. Box
- Hello.** Eltham and Lewisham College Anarchist Group. Contact John Bonner, Bexley Anarchists.
- Godwin.** Has any comrade got a copy of 'William Godwin' (publ. Kegan Paul) to lend to a Japanese comrade in Tokyo for a month for reference in a book he is writing on Godwin?
- West of England Schools.** Anyone interested in joining a school libertarian movement please contact Steve Gledhill, Hill House, Monkton Combe School, Somerset, B42 7HG.
- Job wanted.** Young anarchist ex-university student. Colin Smith, 98 Herne Hill, S.E.24.
- Help Increase 'Freedom's' Circulation.** Are you willing to take 'Freedom' and 'Anarchy' regularly to local newsagents and collect returns and cash? If so we'd like to hear from you. — CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT.
- Wigan Anarchist** seeks contact with anarchists from same area. Brian J. Banks, 553 Liverpool Road, Platt Bridge, near Wigan, Lancs.
- 'Far from Vietnam'** (Godard's film). AEU Hall, Robinson Road, Crawley, Sussex, 3 p.m., Sunday, December 22. Admission 5/-.
- Poster Workshop Benefit Night.** All Saints' Hall, Powis Gardens, Notting Hill, 7.30 p.m., Friday, January 10. Admission 5/-. CAST Theatre Group, Angry Arty Film Society, Agit-prop Street Players.
- Poster Workshop.** 61 Camden Road, N.W.1. Silk screen facilities at the service of the class struggle.
- French Student of British Anarchism** 1918-1950 wants first-hand information. Lalloreth, 18 rue du Cdr. Bicheray, 76 Le Havre.
- Orgone accumulator** required. Pref. rent but buy if cheap. Write Frances Edwards, The Barn, Stair, Newlands, nr. Keswick, Cumberland.
- Any comrades** going to European Conference in Lucca, Italy, December 28-January 4 with car, please contact: Jen & Roz, 33 Clifden Road, Brentford, Middx.
- Free Schools Campaign.** Support needed for anti-authoritarian Schools Campaign. Posters available 6d. each, 5/- per dozen. Duplicated leaflets 1/- per 100, postage extra. Any other leaflets or posters on schools needed. Contact Roger Sadiev, 90 Ermine Road, S.E.13, or phone Mike Rauley at DUN 1572.
- Makhno Poster/Calendar.** In aid of (Anarchist) Black Cross. Splendidly designed and printed. Poster 2/6d. Calendar 7/6d. from Freedom Press. Postage extra.
- The Crypt,** 242 Lancaster Road, W.11. Music, Poetry, Theatre every Wed. 2/6. Audience participation.
- Birmingham Discussion Meetings.** Tuesdays at 7.30 p.m. Venue usually at The Crown, Corporation Street. Further information from Peter Neville, c/o Peace Action Centre, Factory Road, Birmingham. 19. (S.A.E.)
- Badges and Banners.** Rectangular metal black/red badges 2/6 each post free or bulk rate (10 or more) 1/- each—resell at 2/- or 2/6. Also flags and banners to order, from 7/6. McGee, 42 Pendarves Street, Beacon, Camberne, Cornwall.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

a penny an hour cut in wages, so giving craftsmen 2½d. an hour increase and labourers 2d., as recommended by the Prices and Incomes Board.

Building workers, except those on local authorities, Ministry employees and health departments, have been receiving the 3½d. and 2½d. an hour interim increase since November 4. Now, from December 30, workers will have their wages reduced. The exceptions above still have not got the increase and when they do, the back-dated amount will be at the reduced rate.

The unions got themselves into a fine old muddle. To say they would accept the PIB recommendations on the penny was an escape for them. It put things off and the intervening financial crisis made things more difficult, and they decided to break their promise. Having done this, they again dodged the issue by seeking incentive bonus schemes from the employers, arguing that they would accept a cut of a penny only if these schemes, giving 20% bonus and 30% lieu payments in the absence of such a scheme, were agreed to. This brought the freeze Order and instead of fighting the Government, they climbed down and made themselves look ridiculous. However, no one expected them to oppose the Government and so break the law.

## PIB RECOMMENDATIONS

In all this, the negotiators have lost sight of the original claim for £17 11s. 8d. for craftsmen and £15 for labourers. Although, technically, the threat of strike action still stands if the employers refuse or delay to negotiate incentive schemes, many workers already receive such payments. The real threat to building workers lies in these negotiations, because they will certainly comply with the PIB recommendations for new incentive schemes. Therefore these new bonus schemes will be tied to increased productivity and a revised wage structure. Bonus earnings under these sort of agreements are only expected to be about 25% of the basic wage rates. A widening of the differential between craftsmen and labourers, with a new job grading for all operatives is also expected to be part of the agree-

ment, together with attempts to get different national wage rates for construction and repairs and maintenance.

These measures, if enacted, will worsen the pay and conditions of the building workers. The unions, despite the militant talk of some leaders about going to gaol, have and will continue to follow the dictates of the Government. They understand these people in power for they talk the same language. Many come from the same backgrounds and through a lifetime of bargaining and compromise, their positions have become mere jobs. Both are elected and neither represent their electors. The executives of the different unions might have different views on how they were going to finally accept the Government's wishes (i.e. from just accepting the cut, making constitutional amendments and seeking bonus schemes to threatening to strike for these schemes). But all had one thing in common, to avoid a direct fight against the State, for this is what it means when workers finally refuse to go along with a Government Freeze Order.

## RANK & FILE PLAN STRIKES

Last week I wrote that it was still up to the rank and file and this is even more so now. In London a day's stoppage is planned for January 3 (not the 2nd as reported in the last issue). In Glasgow, building workers will have already taken action by the time this is printed, but obviously token strikes like these will have little effect. If a struggle for the full claim is to be mounted, then further efforts are needed. A mass meeting in January, in London, might well launch such a campaign of struggle. Considerable liaison exists between militants in the large cities so if it is decided to take any action, it can quickly be co-ordinated.

Government policies should be challenged. When this has occurred in the past, such as with the gasworkers in 1951, the dockers just after the war and the Kent miners during the war, the Government has given way. It needs just such a challenge again and it is up to the rank and file to provide it.

P.T.

## Depression in Germany

THE REVOLUTIONARY SCENE in today's Germany looks a bit sad. After the peak at Easter, three things happened to harm the movement. The Emergency Laws have been passed and the German Left had to watch helplessly the treachery of the Social Democrats and Unions. The French students have been beaten, and it wasn't satisfying at all to see the French Communists turn out what we always expected, a bunch of authoritarian bourgeois. The Russians invaded Czechoslovakia and brought us back to the days of the cold war.

But the internal events as well showed the anti-authoritarian movement that the way through the institutions will be a very hard one. In Berlin students started with so-called basic groups all over the city, sometimes with some effect on school people but with very little among the working people. The specific language of students turned out to be one of the main problems. Only the anti-authoritarian kindergartens seem to be successful. But they are more or less only for students' children and the students don't know whether to make the kids happy or political. And if so, how. And a lot of court cases are coming up against the APO (out of parliament opposition) so that political action is action against a political justice. The only real violent demonstration hap-

pened when the public prosecutor arranged a court of honour (!) against the main defender of the students, Horst Mahler.

So it's no wonder that people, who believed half a year ago the revolution was at hand, now retreat back into the university. They say, before we can argue with workers, we have to change our own working place. And there the establishment has offered some chances for reforms, just to keep them busy and pacify the Left. And in the university even for the capitalists there is need for reforms, for more productivity.

So nobody really knows how it's going on. The Left movement has never been as big during the last thirty years, but what for? J.K.

ON SALE NOW  
**ANARCHY 94**  
The Machinery  
of Conformity

# Freedom For Workers' Control

DECEMBER 28 1968 Vol 29 No 40

## OPEN ALL HOURS?

OVER THE LAST few years, the general trend has been towards later closing hours for large stores. No doubt many shop assistants have welcomed the extra hours to supplement their low wages.

The Shops Act sets the closing limit at 8 p.m., but also contains a provision whereby the local councils can extend this limit on seven days in each year. Two London boroughs have taken advantage of this provision this year. Islington Council's order sets the closing limit at 10 p.m., while the other borough, Hackney, has set no limit at all. Both orders cover the week before Christmas and have been granted at the request of the local Chambers of Commerce.

Obviously their interests lie in taking full advantage of the Christmas spending spree, but what of the shopworkers? Their union, USPAW, called it a 'diabolical liberty' and said it was a 'step back into the nineteenth century'. The Assistant Secretary of the union said: 'We are totally opposed to such an extension of shopping hours and will support any of our members who may be victimised by employers for refusing to work excessive late hours'.

No one should be victimised for refusing to work overtime, but, as we know, this does happen and in some cases because some union agreements allow a certain amount of overtime to be worked at the employer's request.

Before the war shops used to remain open until the late evening and many a working class family got their Sunday joint of meat when the butcher was selling the last of his stock off cheap before closing. Then, however, there were many more one-man businesses.

The corner shop never seemed to close and this is true to a much lesser extent today, when they stay open as long as the law allows, often in order just to get a living.

A Prices and Incomes Board report recommends that the statutory restriction of opening hours should be abolished and that there should be more shift work. Of course this would tie up with the increasing use of shift working in industry as a whole.

Knowing how weak the union organisation is in shops, this could mean a worsening of conditions for the shop assistant. Many large stores have a paternal attitude towards their employees, but would not hesitate to sack any staff who resisted the plans of the company.

While the trend seems to be towards extending the hours of opening, the majority of shops religiously open during week-days, whether it is worth while or not. An example of this are the London shoe shops who are going to open on the Friday following Christmas. The union has threatened a strike for that day if the employers do not come to terms, and since it is ridiculous to open this type of shop, it seems to me that the union is correct in its attitude.

All workers should strive to lessen their working hours. Extending the hours of opening is just a way to increase profits still further, at the most profitable time of the year. It is commercialism running riot at the expense of the shop assistants and the general public who have been bombarded by this or that advertisement to buy this or that present.

P.T.

## What Gives?

Continued from page 1

the name Ramsay MacDonald still ranks somewhat lower than that of Beelzebub; while most older Liberals are under the impression that the Sin of Simony is derived from Sir John Simon rather than his biblical namesake. So an inspired leak that there might be another 1931 coalition is as admirably designed as it could be to rally the militancy of the right of the party and the liberal centre, and at the same time to deflect into aggressive loyalism any left Labour disgruntlement there may be over the Rhodesia deal still being prepared. (Its actual announcement has been deferred until after the meeting of the Commonwealth premiers next month.)

Predictably the *Morning Star's* response was a call for a Left Coalition, though since I only saw the headline I do not know whether they hanker after a Popular or an United Front; the issue is not altogether relevant since in present circumstances any coalition which is dominated by supporters of the present Government would be like the Popular Fronts of the thirties. Governments already discredited in the eyes of the workers who because of the failure of Centre Left politicians were looking elsewhere, undecided as to whether to turn to Far Left or Far Right critics of the reformists. Whether the hard Stalinists (whether Maoist or Castrati) of BVSM and VSC and their pseudo-Trotskyist allies will be similarly stampeded into a modern equivalent of a Popular Front remains to be seen. Just as we cannot yet know whether Wilson will survive or whether a Centre-Right coalition will come into existence. We must realize though that if the latter happens then there will be an enormous pressure on the Left opponents of Wilson to go into and rejuvenate a purged and more left Labour Party. If this happens we ourselves will not escape it and the pressure for unity

## Joining the Army

COMRADES EMERGING from their usual Saturday morning refreshment at Finches, Portobello Road, the other week, were astonished to find themselves assailed by the forces of god, namely the Salvation (b)Army.

We rallied to their exhortations to sing for Jesus. But, not really caring for their choice of material, some of our more musically-minded comrades were soon leading the crowd in the rousing 'Song of an itinerant' or 'Halleluia I'm a bum'.

After this, battle was really joined, and the insipid bleating from the Army's platform was replaced by the cut and thrust of repartee, as comrades joined in dialogue with individual 'Army' members, during which the obvious sincerity of the salvationists invoked our sympathy if not our support. Indeed when the Army leaders saw the degree to which fraternisation was taking place, they assembled their forces and marched them away.

This type of 'confrontation' being so much more pleasant than our usual brush with the law—after all, whoever heard of musical fuzz (although they do seem to do a bit of a 'song and dance' when they come into contact with us)—that we look forward to future meetings of this sort creating a breeze strong enough to dispel the sour, distasteful bourgeois haze which invests this part of the 'Gate'.

SCOUSE.

and unpopularity of 'sectarian leftists' will be even stronger than it was from '63 to '66 when International Socialists and others such were calling us 'objectively pro-Tory' when we warned that a Labour Government could not significantly alter society, and might well make things worse.

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