

Freedom

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BRITISH European Airways will not accept mail or freight for Tel Aviv until further notice. British Overseas Airways Corporation will not accept any Israel-bound freight from anywhere for the next 48 hours, as we write on February 23.

This embargo is a direct consequence of the crash of a Swissair Coronado airliner which crashed following an explosion which took place within 15 minutes of take-off from Zurich for Tel Aviv on Saturday night. 47 people were killed, but Mr. Shinwell, ever-so-veteran Labour MP, declares the BEA-BOAC decision is 'stupid and cowardly'. He wasn't thinking of flying to Tel Aviv himself just now.

On the same evening, an Austrian plane flying from Frankfurt to Israel had to turn back because of a bomb explosion in its mail compartment.

It looks as if Arab guerilla attacks on Israel-bound aircraft are stepping up and it may be taken that this is a direct consequence of the attack by the Israeli air force on a steel works near Cairo last week, when 74 civilians were killed by napalm and explosive bombs. Because this attack had been made in error, Israel's military bossman, Moshe Dayan, notified the Egyptian authorities of some time-bombs that had also been dropped, giving Egyptian sappers the time to defuse them. But the attack had been mounted against Egyptian military installations along the (present) Egyptian-Israeli border, which is virtually the Suez Canal, as a consequence of continued Egyptian artillery bombardments of Israeli positions.

THE DEAL WITH RUSSIA

These Israeli positions are of course not on Israeli territory proper, but are where they are as a consequence of the famous six-day war of June 1967, when the Israelis attacked and overwhelmingly defeated the Egyptian army and destroyed the Egyptian air force on the ground. This action was taken by the Israelis as a consequence of the threats and hate-propaganda continually put out by the Arabs in general and General Nasser in particular, in which he threatened personally to push all the Israelis into the sea.

In June 1967, Nasser raised the ante by cutting off access for Israeli ships to the port of Eilat on the Red Sea, and as a consequence of their

The Name of the Game is Consequences

provocative action and all the sabre-rattling and all that, the Israelis took the Egyptian army apart. Nasser had been able to make so much noise and to get himself taken seriously as a consequence of having done a deal with the Workers' Fatherland, or Imperial Russia, as it should properly be known. This deal started off by Nasser's accepting aid in the building of the Aswan Dam—a big barrier across the Nile which was going to provide water and electric power to transform large parts of the Nile Valley from an arid desert into an industrial desert just like the developed nations, while other areas would have some irrigation for the first time. The Russians were able to move in on this as a consequence of the British being bloody stupid and refusing to help the Egyptians, because the British wanted them to remain a backward nation and thus be for ever a market for British goods and dependent on the British economy, and on British protection against their enemies. But the Egyptians had come to think of the British as their biggest enemy, and thinking that 'my enemy's enemy is my friend', they embraced the Russians.

As a consequence of getting in on the economic aid, with the Aswan Dam for instance, the Russians were able to get in on the military aid as well, for they would dearly love to get a good military foothold in the oily and strategically important Middle East. So they sold lots and lots of guns and tanks and airplanes to the Egyptian army which had never seen such sophisticated things before, and thinking they must automatically be world-beaters with such stuff they began beating their chests and doing the war dance. But their chests turned out to be the only

things they could beat, because, after all, the poor bloody Egyptians had been educated by the British for a hundred years and didn't know their arses from their elbows, let alone how to get a Mig off the ground.

INTO THE REFUGEE CAMPS

The Israelis, on the other hand, were smart guys. They are not really a Middle-Eastern, desert peasant people at all; they are Europeans and Americans who have gone to live there and that means they know how to use the weapons of mass murder and all the sophisticated ironmongery that the Americans and the British and the French had sold to them to balance the crap the Russians were selling to the Arabs. Not only that, but they have a story in their holy book about David and Goliath, and they have been waiting two thousand years to re-enact it, and as a consequence of having been dispersed over the face of the known world and being a minority which insisted on being God's chosen people everywhere they went, thus making themselves thoroughly unpopular and so getting kicked around—as a consequence of all this, they had in the first place pushed their way into Palestine and changed its name to Israel (oh, all right then, back to Israel) and were bloody determined to stay there. As a consequence of the way they had pushed their way in, however, and of setting up a State of Israel to give themselves power, domination and gaffer's rights over all the land, they had pushed hundreds of thousands of Arabs out of their only known homes into refugee camps.

Now you would have thought that if any people in the world would not want to have anything to do with refugee camps—it would be the

Jews. But it is one thing to be pushed into a refugee camp and another to push someone else into one. And if there is one thing that the wandering Jews had learned from their long sojourn among the Christians, it is that turning the other cheek does not pay, that you have to hate your enemies, that before you can turn your swords into ploughshares, you have to use them to get hold of the land you want to plough, that thou shalt kill and covet. As a direct consequence of how they have been treated in the past, the Jews have become bloody-minded Israelis. As a direct consequence of that, poor, simple, deprived peasants who made the mistake of being born Arabs have been turned into nationalistic lunatics, baying for the wrong peoples' blood.

FROM EMPIRE TO CURTAINS

And the whole mess in the Middle East is a consequence of British double-dealing in the days of

Empire, when the Suez Canal was our life-line to India, when the earlier, gentler, Zionists and the simpler, more patient Arabs were all promised Palestine as a national home, when Aircraftman Shaw, better known as Lawrence of Arabia, used the Arabs and their horses for British Imperial Preference, and when the wogs could all be brought to heel with a gunboat up their canal.

As a consequence of those happy days the Israelis and the Arabs are looking down their gun-sights into each other's homes tonight; civilian workers die as a result of an error of calculation, and airliner passengers in a far-off land die as a result of a calculation being only too bloody accurate.

As a consequence of how they have all been used in the past—they are allowing themselves to be used in a mad and suicidal way in the present. The consequences could be curtains for the rest of us.

JUSTIN

Open the Files!

WE ARE IN danger of becoming a classified nation, all tabulated, recorded and neatly put away in our little boxes. Every civil servant, police clerk and bureaucrat has his files in which he accumulates all the letters, memoranda and laundry lists which document the fact that he has existed to put forward this mass of verbiage which adds to the mountain of paper which yearly denudes the forest areas of the world. The invention of the computer has provided yet another man to feed with records and build an empire for some bureaucrat.

It has long been recognised that to achieve a free society and destroy the state we must destroy the documents. (In America draft files were destroyed by buckets of manure—but this is not so easily acquired.) Another alternative presents itself. A precedent was set a few years ago when the secrets of the Regional Seats of Government were blazoned abroad by a group on the fringe of the Committee of 100. There is additional pleasure in printing 'Top Secret' information when it is known

that 'Top Secret' itself is a degraded term and has been superseded by higher ranks of secrecy.

Now students at Warwick University have learned through examining documents in an unlocked file that the University was keeping watch on the political opinions and activities of the members of the University. They accordingly duplicated and distributed the information.

An injunction has been served upon Warwick students to restrain them from publishing or making use of any of the documents 'found'. *The Times* points out, however, that the law of injunctions does not apply to other parties than those involved—one seems to have heard of this view expressed about squatting, and case law changed all that!

Of course we all know it is highly improbable that Midland industrialists and right-wing politicians would put pressure upon Universities to ensure that only students of impeccable political opinions would clear the hurdles of an academic career. We know it is unlikely

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NO HOME FOR CATHY—AGAIN!

THE LATEST HOUSING figures show that, in 1969, 40,000 fewer houses were completed in this country. Wilson's election promises have now been revealed for what they are—a fraud. Thousands of homeless families, and millions now living in slums, will just have to stay that way—kicked in the teeth by capitalism again. The 'white hot heat of the technological revolution' has brought little change to the slums of London, Birmingham and Glasgow.

But is there really a shortage of houses? Just look at the property pages of the posh Sunday papers—there you will see hundreds of beautiful homes for sale—sometimes costing as much as £50,000. Who buys these? Look around your own city—do you not see large mansions lying empty? Why?

The entire key to the housing problem lies in the ever-increasing spiral of interest rates. British capitalism is offering high returns on investments in an attempt to prevent the flood of capital to areas of the world where returns are greater. Thus, it becomes more and more expensive to borrow money. Local councils—even when they want to (and there are plenty of Tory councils who don't)—

simply cannot afford to build any more homes. As mortgage interests soar, fewer and fewer people can afford to buy their own homes.

In many cities now, half the municipal revenue goes on interest. This means that instead of rents and rates on existing houses going to build more, the money goes to the investor. Rotten for the slum dweller—lovely for the capitalist. Who are these investors who thus increase profit in direct proportion to the increase in human misery?

In London, for example, one of the principal lenders of money to the GLC is that benefactor of the people—the Prudential Insurance Company. It amounts to the 'Man from the Prudential' being the landlord for millions. Banks, insurance companies, investment trusts—all seek after the municipal coffers. Few people can ever afford to invest—beyond a couple of Premium Bonds and the local Co-op—and thus rarely read the business sections of the capitalist press. For there, you may read the adverts placed by local councils asking the rich to put their loot into 'City of — Bonds'—offering interest rates of as much as 10%.

But, you will ask, can't the Government do something about this bonanza for the well-heeled. Well, the Government itself is cashing in very nicely, thank you. When the Government lends money to local authorities, it is now charging around 10%. New election slogan—10% for Uncle Harold?

Capitalism can produce everything in abundance, from paper knickers to a plastic Santa Claus. The one thing it won't do is give you a decent home. The short term solution is for the homeless and the slum dweller to act for themselves, attacking local councils, slum landlords, etc. Squatting is one way of making sure that those £50,000 houses go to those who need them—and not to those who can afford them. The anarchist movement in every part of the country stands ready to assist families in this struggle.

But a final and lasting solution depends on the establishment of a society in which the profit motive is abolished and that can be achieved only by a workers' revolution based on anarchist principles.

IAN S. SUTHERLAND.

MILITANTS ARRESTED

IN A SERIES of night-time raids police rounded up several ex-squatters in connexion with the Brighton squat of last summer. This is said to have taken place a week last Friday, when many militants up and down the country are believed to have been picked up.

Four arrests took place in the Manchester area alone. Among those taken in here was one bloke, who has been systematically grilled and pressed by police, not only to make statements about the squat, but also to comment upon the character and activities of some of Manchester's leading anarchists and militants.

One of those pounced on here was 19-year-old 'Buz' from Middleton, Lancs., where he lives with his parents. 'Buz', a member of the North West Workers, has

recently sent articles to FREEDOM on the local industrial struggle. In the last year he has devoted himself to helping the homeless and in recent months he has shouldered the thankless job of alerting his fellow workers to the stinking conditions under which they work. At the time of his arrest he was actively involved in plans to improve the pay and conditions of his workmates.

This keen young militant, though well equipped with four 'A' levels, had chosen to work as a factory hand. He will certainly have the support of his family in any difficulties he may meet in connexion with this case.

However, since the case could well turn out nasty, it may be best to form a committee in order to provide extra backing.

NORTH WEST WORKERS.

There Ain't No Justice

LONDON TRANSPORT has always operated on the simple principle of when in doubt rat on your lowest-paid worker. As a way of life it has little to commend it but in the field of worker/employer relations it has always succeeded for the screams of the hired help will no longer offend official ears once the doors of the Labour Exchange swing closed. It is a vicious and an evil way of working for it makes a nasty joke of all those public-spirited advertisements that London Transport love to decorate the public wall space with, for the worse the service the bigger the slogan. London Transport has always loved to play around with the themes of loyalty and public service and in their behaviour to the public and their own staff they make a mockery of these proclaimed virtues.

The fault of this system lies in the fact that, as with all State or monopoly capitalistic organisations, it finally becomes a haven for whey-faced clerks and office-seekers and no man dare accept the responsibility for the faults or the misfortunes of those over whom he has responsibility for the buck must always be passed and the only men or women who cannot pass it on are the lowest-paid rank and file workers. It is a system that in a time of mass unemployment worked but now its frailty becomes all too apparent for, with a choice of employment, men and women

are refusing to stand like children and be publicly humiliated for fear of losing the weekly pay packet. Officials are punched when anger can no longer be contained and buses are left crewless at the side of the road as a swift answer to some banal argument. For that we all suffer, not least the unfortunate worker vainly trying to get home at the end of his or her equally dismal working day. And of those who soldier on with an indifferent shrug to the London Transport and the travelling public they are but a company of cynics of the school of Antisthenes, wise in the evils of their fellow-men and accepting the corruption of those in office and contemptuous not only of their acts but of their public statements.

Donald Douglas is a 29-year-old Jamaican London bus conductor and he can truly challenge the value of the courts and the help of his employer for when assaults on busmen and women have led to strikes and useless protests he has had to learn his lesson the hard way and one doubts if it is a lesson that will be easily forgotten. Lawrence Hennessy is a boyo who loves his drink and that in itself is no crime, for do we all not love the old glass or two, but when the No. 36 bus with Douglas conducting it pulled up at his bus stop Hennessy made his complaint that the bus was late. Douglas, true to the LTE tradition,

apologized that the bus was running late and Hennessy, with the old beer talking, gave him a mouthful. There the matter should have ended but when our beery boyo came downstairs he kicked the conductor in the back, pulled the conductor's tie in an effort to get him off the bus, pulled off the conductor's shoe as he tried to fend Hennessy off and then jumped on the conductor's back as he bent to pick up his shoe.

It was at this lurid point in time that Douglas, the Jamaican bus conductor, decided to defend himself and he took off his ticket machine and clouted Happy Hennessy with it. Both men were taken to hospital and after treatment the conductor was allowed to leave while Happy Hennessy was detained with head injuries and in all probability become the Playboy of the Wards.

London Transport held their usual inquiry and Donald Douglas, the 29-year-old Jamaican bus conductor, was cleared of all blame by his employers sitting in their role of do-it-yourself judge and jury. One would have believed that these employers would then have demanded a punitive revenge on the man who attacked their employee but this was not so, for a bemused bus conductor found himself standing in the Lambeth dock facing a magistrate who handed him a sentence of six months' imprisonment, suspended for two years,

and a £75 fine for assaulting Lawrence Hennessy on Christmas Eve. Imposing the fine the magistrate said, 'I accept that there were rather unusual circumstances and that you were subjected to extreme provocation.'

There is not a rabbit that that same charge could not have been levelled at should it have ever succeeded in scratching a fox. At the time of the Grosvenor Square demonstration some misguided enthusiast kicked a policeman in the face and the whole of our middle-class press screamed for vengeance and the collection boxes went the rounds of the saloon bars for economic aid for the unfortunate policeman. As I understand it, and one must use the case of the unfortunate Jamaican bus conductor as one's guide, if the policeman had used his truncheon to defend himself against the boot-happy demonstrator then that policeman would have been liable to a fine of £75 and a six months' sentence. Or does the logic break down somewhere, depending on the cut of the uniform and who you are hitting?

ARTHUR MOYSE.

Open the Files!

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that spies would be sent to political meetings to report back.

The dossier is full of forgeries such as the unlikely letter from the Headmaster of the William Ellis School telling the University that a prospective enrolment for a course in molecular science was a member of the London Schools Action Group and this is endorsed with a note initialled JBB 'Reject this Man'. Why should a University think a man in SAG was unsuitable for molecular science? A further forgery thanks the Headmaster for his information.

Another forgery purports to reprint a leaflet given out by University students to pupils of the Abbey High School. The document is entitled 'Is your school democratic?' and is allegedly published by Coventry SAU. According to the documentation this document disturbed none other than Enoch Powell who got it from a Kenilworth lady, he passed it on to Dudley Smith, the Member for Kenilworth—are we seriously asked to believe that this is the way MPs and Universities work? Mr. Smith is reported to have got in touch with the University. Meanwhile, the University got on to the Local Education Authority, so we are led to believe—and the local education officer insisted, that the University 'took a serious view of the incident' (i.e. 'the leafletting') and according to alleged minutes the person concerned would be 'spoken about to the police' and reconsidered 'as to whether he was properly qualified for entry to his course at Warwick'.

A really incredible document is the next exhibit which proves that the whole matter must be a forgery or else big business is full of spies and imbeciles. A certain Gilbert at Bowater House (occupied by Rootes of Coventry) sent a Mr. Catchpole (Director of Legal Affairs), to a meeting of the Coventry Labour Party (that revolutionary body!)

HILARY BOYLE.

AMMON HENNACY DIES

AMMON HENNACY, the individual anarchist who has picketed, fasted and been arrested for peace demonstrations more times than anyone in the movement, died January 14 of a heart attack in Salt Lake City. He was in the hospital six days but his condition had not appeared critical.

He was 77 years old. Along with Dorothy Day, he was for many years a moving spirit of the Catholic Worker Movement. He also was a longtime member of WRL and the recipient of the League's annual peace award for 1969. His book titled originally *Autobiography of a Catholic Anarchist* was changed to *Book of Ammon*. He quit the Church several years ago. His life was one filled with nonviolent direct action.

He engaged in individual action as often as he did in group action. One-man picket demonstrations and fasts were his specialty. While still a church member he, along with Dorothy Day picketed the late Cardinal Spellman when the latter resorted to scabbing in a gravediggers strike. Ammon was one of the pioneers of income tax refusal and demonstrated frequently in the ultimately successful campaign to end nuclear tests in the atmosphere. He was a unique figure in the movement and one who will not easily be forgotten.

WRL NEWS.

which was being addressed by a member of Warwick University staff. Mr. Catchpole was accompanied by a Mr. T. Norton who describes himself as a Security Officer—of Rootes. However the Legal Director and the Security Officer find no case for deporting the lecturer or prosecuting him. The incredible passage then occurs, 'Montgomery's speech revealed a very definite bias against employers in general. I can only guess from seeing the man that he would be most likely to exhibit a similar bias in his lectures at the University. If this is the case the students would certainly be exposed to a most undesirable indoctrination, as I do not think he would put the other view at all.'

Were it not for an injunction against boring our readers by retailing these incredible revelations we could print more of what 27 members of the staff, Mr. Dudley Smith and Sir Gerald Nabarro have protested about being made public.

It would be naive on the part of students to believe that files are not kept of their political activities and to believe that big business and its jackal-politicians do not advise on selection of 'blue-eyed boys' for big business.

It is told of a Home Secretary, former revolutionary J. R. Clynes, that when he asked to see his personal dossier at Scotland Yard he was denied access. Must this happen at British Universities?

Warwick may be 'white-tile' but it must not become a public convenience for big business.

JACK ROBINSON.

JUSTICE APPEARS TO BE DONE

LAST THURSDAY my case against Inspector Smythe who first twisted my arm to a point of unbearable pain while I was chained to the statue of CuChulain last August 9 in symbolic protest about the appalling housing conditions in Dublin, and then when I said in my ordinary voice 'You will break my wrist', slapped my face and said, 'I will break your bloody neck', was heard. I sued him for assault.

The case was for 2 o'clock. My Solicitor was not there. I asked for an adjournment. The very hostile magistrate refused saying he could not have the time of the court wasted and it was not his fault, so I was left to conduct my own case against one of Dublin's leading Counsels.

The next fracas was when I said I did not take oaths, I affirmed. I was told by the clerk unless I swore my case would be dismissed against me, so protesting it was against my conscience, I took the oath.

At first the magistrate boiled with hostility, but in desperation I called Superintendent Kennedy as one of MY witnesses. Kennedy went purple in the face with surprise. He loathes me

and is a beast, BUT he is a just beast and he does NOT lie on oath. I forced him to admit I was NEVER violent and that I never used abusive nor obscene language.

The magistrate's attitude to me began to change. When one of Smythe's witnesses, a very young *garda*, swore Smythe had never been nearer to the statue than 10 feet, this after Smythe himself had said he had not seen chains but might have accidentally pulled someone who was chained, one could feel the magistrate wavering. He asked the young man, 'Are you seriously suggesting that this very well-known elderly lady is deliberately lying and perjuring herself and has bribed all her witnesses to do the same?'

The young fool said he was. The magistrate said 'Why?' and the *garda* answered 'I suppose she does not like the *gardai*'. The magistrate shrugged his shoulders. Smythe himself had admitted that when I went to him when he was standing back against the wall and asked his name my wrist was very inflamed.

My Solicitor arrived about now. His secretary had booked the wrong date. He asked Smythe, 'Are you really ex-

pecting me to believe that when my client came to you, asked your name and told you she was going to sue you for assault, if you were innocent you did not even say, "Madam I have never been near you. It is a case of mistaken identity", but just remained absolutely silent?' Smythe had nothing to reply to this.

In the heel of the hunt the magistrate dismissed the case, BUT when the *Gardai* Counsel asked for costs he said, 'Under no circumstances will I award them. No, certainly not.'

So though no *garda* has ever lost a case this amounted to 'Not Guilty, but do not do it again' and as they employed Counsel they will have about £100 to pay, while I have not had to pay as my Solicitor said he was so certain that I was speaking the exact truth would I please accept his services as a present.

I feel I won. None of our daily papers reported the case. This is our little police state, since I am always rather red-hot news and can hardly blow my nose without it being noted somewhere. You may like to report and comment on this case.

HILARY BOYLE.

SOUTHALL. Dave Smith, 102 Abbots Road, Southall.
TAUNTON. c/o Dave Poulson, 473 Bramley Road, Taunton, Somerset.
WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Regular meetings and activities contact Mr. T. Plant, 10 Thackeray Road, East Ham, E.6. Tel.: 552 4162.

ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION

NORTH ESSEX. Write: Peter Newell, 'Aegean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester.
BASILDON & WICKFORD. Mick Powell, 24 Cameron Close, Brentwood, Essex.
BISHOPS STORTFORD. Vic Mount, 'Eastview', Castle Street, Bishops Stortford, Herts.
CHELMSFORD. (Mrs.) Eva Archer, Mill House, Parleigh, Chelmsford, Essex.
EPPING. John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping, Essex.
HARLOW. Annette Gunning, 37 Longbanks, Harlow.
LOUGHTON. Group c/o Students' Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Borders Lane, Loughton, Essex.

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

Secretary: Phil, 7 Trinity Square, Preston.
BLACKPOOL. Contact Christine and Graham, 2 Fenner Avenue, Southshore, Blackpool.
BOLTON. Contact John Hayes, 51 Rydal Road, Bolton.
CHORLEY. Contact Kevin Lynch, 6 Garfield Terrace, Chorley.
LANCASTER & MORECAMBE. Tom Howard, 163 Rylands Road, Lancaster. Meetings Monday at 8 p.m., Phil Woodhead's, 30 Duncald Street, Lancaster. Regular literature sales.
MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Rachel Golditch, 34 Waterpark Road, Salford, Lancs. (740 2516).
MANCHESTER ANARCHISTS AND SYNDICALISTS. John Walker, 92 Clyde Road, West Didsbury, Manchester, 20.
MERSEYSIDE ANARCHISTS. Contact P. Duke, 70 Huskisson Road, Liverpool, 8.
PRESTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Rob Wilkinson, 73 Trafford Street, Preston. Meetings: 'The Wellington Hotel', Glovers Court, Preston. Wednesdays, 8 p.m.
STOCKPORT. Dave Crowther, 1 Castle Street, Edgeley, Stockport.

SURREY FEDERATION

DORKING. Mungo Park, 16 Overdale Road, Dorking, Surrey.
EPSOM. G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom. Tel. Epsom 23806.
KINGSTON. Michael Squirrel, 4 Woodgate Ave., Hook, Chesham, Bucks.
GUILDFORD. Contact Epsom Group.
MERTON. Eliot Burns, 13 Amity Grove, London, S.W.19. Tel. 01-946 1444.

SUSSEX FEDERATION

Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o Eddie Poole, 5 Tilsbury, Findon Road, Whitehawk, Brighton.
BRIGHTON & HOVE ANARCHIST GROUP TOWN & UNIVERSITY. Contact Nick Heath, Flat 3, 26 Clifton Road, Brighton.
MID-SUSSEX. Contact Adrian Howe, 10 Silverdale, Keyner, Hassocks, Sussex. Tel. Hassocks 3458.
CRAWLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Richard Ashwell, 87 Buckswood Drive, Gosspops Green, Crawley, Sussex.
SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP (see details under Student Groups).

YORKSHIRE FEDERATION

Secretary: Contact Leeds Group.
HARROGATE. Contact Roger Willis, 22 Princess Avenue, Knaresborough, Yorks.
HULL. Jim Young, 3 Fredericks Crescent, Hawthorn Avenue, Hull.
KEIGHLEY. Steve Wood, 26B Cavendish Street, Keighley.
LEEDS GROUP. Contact Martin Watkins, 3 Marlborough Grove, Leeds 2.
SHEFFIELD. Dave Jeffries, c/o Students Union, Western Bank, Sheffield, 10. I. C. Wood, 65 Glencoe Road, Sheffield.
YORK. Keith Nathan, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York.

WELSH FEDERATION

ABERYSTWYTH ANARCHISTS. J. Smith, Nanteos Mans, Aberystwyth, Cards. Bobus Marsland, c/o Students' Union, Laure Place, Aberystwyth, Cards.
CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. All correspondence to—Pete Raymond, 18 Marion Street, Stott, Cardiff.
SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Ian Bone, 18 Windsor Street, Uplands, Swansea. Meetings at the above address every Sunday at 7 p.m.
LLANELLI. Contact Dai Walker, 6 Llwynnendy Road, Llanelli, Carm. Tel: Llanelli 2548.

SCOTTISH FEDERATION

All correspondence to Bobby Lynn, Secretary, 12 Ross Street, Glasgow, S.E.
ABERDEEN ANARCHISTS & SYNDICALISTS. Contact Ian & Peggy Sutherland, 8 Eslemont Avenue, Aberdeen. Regular 'Freedom' Sale, leafletting, etc. Visiting comrades welcome.
GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Robert Lynn, 12 Ross Street, S.E.
EDINBURGH. Tony Hughes, Top Flat, 40 Angle Park Terrace, Edinburgh 11.
HAMILTON AND DISTRICT ANARCHIST GROUP. Robert Linton, 7a Station Road, New Stevenston, Motherwell.
FIFE. Bob and Una Turnbull, 39 Stratheden Park, Stratheden Hospital, By Cupar.
MONTROSE. Dave Coull, 3 Eskview Terrace,

Ferryden, Montrose, Angus.
ROSS-SHIRE. Contact David Rodgers, Broomfield, Evanton, Ross-shire, Scotland.

NORTHERN IRELAND

BELFAST ANARCHIST GROUP. No address available. Letters c/o Freedom Press.

SOUTHERN IRELAND

ALLIANCE OF LIBERTARIAN AND ANARCHIST GROUPS IN IRELAND. c/o Freedom Press.

IRISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Correspondence Liam O'Duibhir, 3 Gowrie Park, Dunspodden, Co. Wick, Ireland. Meetings: 20 Laoghaire, Meetings Sundays, 3.30 p.m., 20 College Lane, Dublin.

STUDENT GROUPS

LOUGHTON. c/o Students Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Borders Lane, Loughton, Essex.
UNIVERSITY OF ESSEX. Contact Andrew Chaik, William Morris Tower, University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester, Essex.
KEELE UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Pete Hannah, c/o Students Union, University of Keele, Staffs.
OXFORD ANARCHISTS. Contact John Nygate, New College, Oxford; Steve Watts, Trinity College, Oxford.
SWANSEA. Contact Ian Bone, 18 Windsor Street, Uplands, Swansea.

ABROAD

AUSTRALIA. Federation of Australian Anarchists, P.O. Box A 389, Sydney South, NSW 2000.
BELGIUM. Groupe du journal Le Liberaire, 220 rue Vivignis, Liège.

PROPOSED GROUPS

MONTREAL, QUEBEC. Anyone interested in forming a Montreal area Anarchist group please contact Ron Siger, Tel. 489-6432.
VANCOUVER I.W.W. and Libertarian group: Box 312, Postal St. 'A', Vancouver 1, B.C., Canada. Read 'The Rebel'—please send donation for postage.
NOTTINGHAM and area. Contact Dave Smalley, top flat, 43 Burns Street, Nottingham, or through folk club at the Central Tavern, Monday nights.
NOVA SCOTIA. P. Ridley, c/o Newport Post Office, Newport, Nova Scotia, Canada.

Please notify us if entries in these columns need amending.



All correspondence to
Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road,
Rotton Park, Birmingham 16

ANARCHIST FEDERATION of BRITAIN

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. All correspondence to LFA, c/o Freedom Press, Black Knight Group, 5 Nelson Road, N.8. Meetings Wednesdays.
LAVENDER HILLS. Contact C. Broad, 116 Tyneham Road, S.W.11 (228 4086).
LEWISHAM. Jon Raimes, 12 Oakcroft Road, S.E.13 (852 0951).
PORTOBELLO ROAD ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Andrew Dewar, 16 Kilburn House, Malvern Place, N.W.6. Meetings 8 p.m. every Tuesday.
FINCH'S ANARCHISTS. Regular meetings. Contact P.P., 271 Portobello Road, W.11.
BEXLEY ANARCHIST MOVEMENT. Steve Leman, 28 New Road, Abbey Wood, S.E.2. Tel.: ET 35377. Meetings every Friday, 8 p.m., Lord Bexley, Bexleyheath Broadway.
S.W. LONDON ANARCHISTS. Meeting alternate Wednesdays. Correspondence c/o Freedom Press.
NOTTING HILL S.P.S.H. 18 Powis Square, W.11.
NEWHAM. Pat Keen, 98 Clova Road, London, E.7.

EAST LONDON UNDERGROUND

Secretary: Anthony Matthews, 35 Mayville Road, London, E.11.

REGULAR WEEKLY MEETINGS

Mondays, 7.30 p.m., at Flat 10, Chessington Lodge, Regents Park Road, N.3.
Tuesdays, 8 p.m., at Freedom Hall, 84B Whitechapel High Street, E.1 (Aldgate East Station).

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary, Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road, Rotton Park, Birmingham, 16. Meetings every Sunday, 8 p.m., in the smoke room of St. Martin pub. corner of St. Martin's Lane and Jamaica Row.

BOURNEMOUTH AREA. Bob Fry, 30 Douglas Close, Upton, Poole, Dorset.
CORNWALL ANARCHISTS. Contact Arthur Jacobs, 13 Ledrah Road, St. Austell, Cornwall. Meetings on the second Friday of each month at 42 Pendarves Street, Beacon, Camborne. 7.30 p.m. Visiting comrades very welcome.
PEACE ACTION. Rory Weightman, P.C.T. Peace Action Group, St. Pauls Road, Portsmouth, Hants.
CROYDON LIBERTARIANS. Laurens and Celia Otter, 35 Natal Road, Thornton Heath, CR4 8QH (653 7546) or contact Keith McCain, 1 Langmead Street, West Norwood, S.E.27. Phone 670 7297.
EDGWARE PEACE ACTION GROUP. Contact Melvyn Estrin, 84 Edgwarebury Lane, Edgware, Middx.
FARNBOROUGH. 81 Mytchett Road, Mytchett, Camberley, Surrey. Tel.: Farnborough 43811.
HERTS. Contact Val and John Funnell, 10 Fry Road, Chells, Stevenage.
LANCASTER. John King, 4 The Grove, Lancaster.
LIVERPOOL ANARCHISTS & SITUATIONISTS. Contact Gerry Bree, 16 Faulkner Square, Liverpool.
LEICESTER. Contact Di and A. Humphrey, 74 High Street, Leicester (Leicester 22046).
MUTUAL AID GROUP. c/o Borrowdale, Carnaby Drive, Frodsham, Cheshire.
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE. Terry Phillips, 40 Grosvenor Way, Kettering, Northants.
NORTH EAST ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact M. Renick, 122 Mowbray Street, Heaton, Newcastle on Tyne 6.
NORTH SOMERSET ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Roy Emery, 3 Abbey Street, Wells, or Geoffrey Barfoot, 71 St. Thomas Street, Bath.
ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Orpenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.
PORTSMOUTH. Ken Bowbrick, 26 Hambledon House, Landport, Portsmouth, Hants.
READING. 26 Bulmers Road. Tel.: Reading 65645. Meetings every Thursday.

The Morality of Anarchism

THE ANARCHIST ASSERTION.

That authority is a bad thing, naturally gives rise to two questions which have to be constantly re-examined and answered afresh. What does the anarchist mean by authority, and on what grounds is he hostile to it? The first question was answered by Jeremy Westall in a short but useful article in *Anarchy* 23, in which he distinguished between functional and what I think he called institutional authority. The first is immediate, occasional, and arises out of what is being done, is assumed by, not bestowed upon someone who makes it evident that he has the particular ability to show others what is to be done in that particular situation; the other is arbitrary and traditional, it precedes and is imposed upon a situation and its participants, not achieved and created by them in it.

In neither form is authority in itself absolutely bad: it is the attitude of mind which in part creates and in part is created by acceptance of authority, that is the central object of anarchist critical examination.

In either form authority may be useful, even indispensable: in either form it may lead those who rely upon it into mischief and disaster. In *The Grammar of Assent*, John Henry Newman argued persuasively that the child's trust in its mother's judgment is natural, useful and good. All the growing child's relationship with the world does or at least should continue to be infused with this sense not so much of blind

as of unquestioning trust: perhaps it should even be called that faith without which the world is a hostile and unmanageable monster and oneself a terrified and constantly and futilely burrowing rabbit: the habit and experience of trust is what above all enables men and women to become aware of the exquisite convergence of absolute interdependence and absolute individuality which alone makes human society. Thus arbitrary authority and our acceptance of it can enable us to learn many things; but it is in the creation and use of the other form of authority that the individual begins to know and to develop the faculty of responsible social living: even when such authority is in a particular instance misplaced, even then the character of the relationship between people which it creates is one which encourages the primary human qualities of self-examination and acceptance of responsibility. The supreme value of these two qualities is what should make us cautious of accepting any authority, and especially any authority which requires our unreflecting acceptance.

The anarchist then, as I see him, is cautious, even suspicious, towards all authority, and totally rejects it in some of its pretensions. So does everyone. But then of course everyone is in his heart of hearts an anarchist. What does or ought to distinguish the professed and practising anarchist, self-aware and propagandistically effective—whose object is to strengthen and clarify the anarchism both in his own life

and in the lives of others, is a careful discrimination of the sort of authority he is opposed to, and why.

His opposition does not depend upon an absurdly idealistic faith in human nature. His charge against authority is not that it ought not to direct men's lives; but that it cannot. The existential fact is, not that a man ought to live his own life, but that he must. The metaphysical basis of anarchist morality is not a belief in man's innate goodness: but an assertion of his perfectibility—in the sense in which William Godwin used the word (*Enquiry Concerning Political Justice*, 1793), rather than in the sense his detractors have popularised: an assertion that a man can continually extend the area of his conscious and rational control of his life, and that he does this by constantly re-examining and improving the perceptions and reflections which make up that consciousness and rationality. It is this perfectibility which all authority tends to inhibit: so much so that Godwin thought that all obedience produces bad habits of deference and self-ignorance: and yet at times the saving of individual rationality may have to yield to the saving of the rationality of the community or even its life—or even of the life of the individual himself, as when an arbitrary interference ungraced by rational discourse drags back a man who is about to cross an unsafe bridge (John Stuart Mill): but again (as Godwin insisted) we must imaginatively consider always the possibility that there is an alter-

native to physical constraint or authoritative direction even in the most extreme circumstances—we underestimate, because we have lacked the courage to try, the full power of reason, and if there is failure it is not absolute because it is not reason that has failed but we, in discovering it to ourselves and others, and therefore the failure can be made good.

OPPOSITION TO AUTHORITY

Many people are opposed to authority who yet refuse to believe in perfectibility. They may assert that they reject authority simply on the grounds of their right to do anything they want to do—either all the time or under certain circumstances (at weekends or in their own home). But what a man 'wants to do' turns out to be, not simply an unstructured anything, but just that which accords with his idea of himself and of his self-fulfilment. The anarchist propagandist must point out that it is this real self which all men seek, and that what they need is education in ways of seeking it, and above all they need to know that this real self is to be sought at all times, in all their work and play and not merely in the intervals, and that not to seek it at all times is to degrade that search into an insignificant and ridiculous playtime, and thus to lose it. This search is that higher law of which Richard Drinnon writes so finely in his essay on Thoreau in *Anarchy* 26, in the name of which the anarchist rejects all other law.

To be an anarchist is to be didactic and moralistic: that is why I have written in that style: to pretend that anarchism has another face is harmful to the cause—not to mention one's own self-respect and self-awareness. My good friend Wynford Hicks has written (and often said) that anarchist morality should be purely utilitarian and immediate, needing no higher sanctions than those of simple desire. But the point is, that all morality is utilitarian and immediate, its object the attainment of what is desired: the question is, the nature of the desire to the attainment of which it is useful and immediately directed. A morality immediately and usefully directed towards the accumulation of money, is not useful to an anarchist. A morality of pure utilitarianism leaves out of account the question, as John Stuart Mill realised, as to whether tiddlywinks or philosophic contemplation—both equally efficiently and satisfactorily performed

—is in the end more useful: to what we really want to be. It is what in the end that we want our actions to be useful to, that is the higher sanction which is always with us.

3.11.1969

MARTIN SMALL.

Martin Small, the author of this article died on December 15, 1969 (one month after he wrote this article), at the age of 28. A full obituary appears in Anarchy 108.

'If you would see his monument, look around.'

Lysander Spooner

LYSANDER SPOONER (1808-1888) was one of the greatest theoreticians of freethought, and also a great exponent of libertarian socialism. That his name is unknown today to most freethinkers, and to most libertarians, is a particularly outrageous result of our educational system's being under the control of superstitious, reactionary and authoritarian pressure groups. It could be argued that his was one of the dozen or so greatest intellects ever to live on the North American continent, yet his books have been allowed to go out of print and the average student encounters his name, if at all, only as one of the leading Abolitionists. Actually, Spooner's writing career extended from 1836 to 1886, and in that 50 years he was continuously involved in crusades that were to his fellow citizens even more radical than that of the abolition of slavery.

His first book, *A Despic Reply to the Alleged Supernatural Evidence of Christianity* (1836), attempted to destroy the Church as an object of blind veneration; his last, and most brilliant, work, *A Letter to Grover Cleveland* (1886), applied the same unmitigated scepticism to the political State. Spooner was a lawyer and his arguments are put forth with the battering ram effect of a good lawyer's brief, and in a style (as Benjamin Tucker said) 'of singular strength, purity and individuality which needed to employ none of the devices of rhetoric to charm the intelligent reader'.

The range of Spooner's interests might be indicated by a listing of some of his most important books: *Credit, Currency and Banking* (1843); *Poverty: Its Illegal Causes and Its Legal Cure* (1846); *Trial by Jury* (1853); *A Defense of Fugitive Slaves* (1856); *A New System of Paper Currency* (1861); *No Treason* (1870); *Universal Wealth, Shown to be Easily Obtainable* (1879); *Natural Law* (1882).

Spooner's most famous heresy (although even this is only famous in limited circles today) was his opposition to the government's Post Office monopoly. He held that it was an infringement of free speech to force a man to send his written thoughts through a governmental channel and deny him access to all other channels. In the hope of illustrating and implementing this idea, Spooner defied the law and established his own postal service in

the New England area, between Boston and New York. The attempts to suppress him he fought through the courts for seven years. An interesting result of this struggle was that his competition forced the government, temporarily, to lower their rates 80%. For this escapade Lysander Spooner deserves to be refurbished as a hero to the extreme Right, even if the rest of his activities provide small comfort to them. Incidentally, Spooner's great argument that a government monopoly of mail would eventually lead to government censorship of mail was proven correct by the subsequent Comstock laws.

None of Spooner's writings are dull. Even *Trial by Jury*, which does not sound particularly radical when one hears its title, is devoted to proving the proposition that 'there are no legal juries in America or England today'. Historical research, Spooner indicated, demonstrates that Magna Carta granted to juries the right to judge the law as well as the defendant; that is, to vote on conscience rather than on legal precedent. 'No greater protection against tyranny' has even been granted to a people, Spooner argues, for, under this form of trial by jury 'the people defines its own rights against the government' whereas, under our present system, 'the government declares its own powers over the people'. How this right was destroyed, after Magna Carta, by 'interpretations' and 'rulings' and how this re-interpretation preserved the power of the Feudal (and, later, the Capitalist) ruling class, is Spooner's subject, and, in developing it, he fully convinces one that the present legal system is, as Kropotkin later proved in a different way, an engine of class tyranny.

Heads that were sent reeling by this argument were not comforted by Spooner's subsequent attack on the US Constitution in his *No Treason*. Neither Voltaire nor Jefferson, nor Marx nor Freud, has ever tackled so awesome an Authority-figure so boldly and coldly as Spooner does in this book. No man, Spooner argues, has the right to sign a compact, contract or charter binding upon other men who do not sign it; the creators of the Constitution, therefore, made a system binding only upon themselves and upon such lands as they personally occupied and used; it was not binding upon any non-signers at that time, and it is not binding upon

any subsequent generations.

It is altogether typical of Spooner that he disagreed with his fellow Abolitionists on the secession question, insisting that the South had a valid right to leave the Union at any time. (He also argued that the slaves had a right to combine and 'secede' from the South at any time, by force of arms, if necessary.)

After demolishing the Church, the Courts, the Federal Union, the Post Office and the Constitution, Spooner turned his attention on the most sacred of all sacred cows. Even a century later I tremble to repeat this most shocking of all heresies. Spooner held that the banking business is a fraud and a crime. Of course, Thomas Aquinas and a lot of medieval theologians had said the same thing; and so did Aristotle; and John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. But such an opinion is not merely unprintable in America today—it actually seems to be unthinkable.

Nevertheless, according to Spooner, all the defects of Capitalism are due, not to free competition, but to the lack of free competition—to the fact that the issue of money is monopolized by a collusion between government and certain banks, and that this monopoly is maintained in such a way as to preserve interest in a technological age in which it is no longer economical. Interest on real capital is derived from interest on money, and interest on money is an artificial fraud perpetrated by the cleverness of some men and the gullibility of others. (Readers familiar with socialist history will realize that Proudhon's statement of this argument against Marx's vastly different interpretation of Capitalism was the original cause of the split of socialism into a libertarian, or anarchist, wing and an authoritarian, or Marxist, wing. Spooner was a member of the First International, the one Marx dissolved because it had too many anarchists in it.)

Together with Josiah Warren (founder of the famous anarchist community, Modern Times, on Long Island), Colonel William Greene and Ezra Heywood (the first man to go to jail for printing birth-control information in America), Spooner attempted to start a Mutual

Bank—i.e., a bank of issue belonging to the people of the community and loaning without interest—in New England. Naturally, various legal obstacles were created and the bank was never allowed to begin operations. The Credit Unions of today are, however, a truncated and castrated shadow of the mutual credit system Spooner was attempting to create. Someday, perhaps when the last Totalitarian State collapses in the final bureaucratic snafu of history, men might be ready to reconsider Spooner's voluntary and libertarian approach to economic justice.

In his last years Lysander Spooner carried his individualism and freethinking to their logical conclusions and became an avowed anarchist. His *Natural Law* (1882) is a precise, thorough, exhaustive and crushing indictment of the whole system of law-by-precedent which has come down to us from the Romans, and a plea for a total restructuring of society. Everything based on absolutism, Authority, metaphysics and stasis must go; new institutions based on relativity, liberty, science and voluntary association must be forged. The Open Letter to Grover Cleveland recommends the step-by-step dissolution of the United States Government—Army and Navy, Congress and Courts, tax department and post office, etc., until finally only Cleveland himself is left, whereupon Spooner advises him to return to his home and earn his living as an honest man. In piece of

this huge, centralized, authoritarian apparatus of government and control, Spooner would put a federation of voluntary associations supported by dues rather than taxes. Resigning from such an association would consist of ceasing to pay dues; it would deprive one of the protection against invaders provided by such an association, but would carry no further penalty; having left an association, one would be free to form, or join, any other association which truly performed useful and necessary services, for their members would keep members, and a person would not be dragooned into them at birth as we are now dragooned into 'governments'. (The medieval Guilds and several Indian tribes have made such a system of federation work fairly well, incidentally.)

Lysander Spooner may well be considered the greatest and most consistent freethinker of all time. He questioned not one, but all, varieties of Authority which could not bear his questioning—every Authority based on irrationality, fraud, arbitrary tradition, or sheer brute force—he opposed with a vigour and a boldness seldom equalled in literature. He was one of America's keenest intellects, and it is no accident that his name is almost unknown today, while we labour under one of the most Authoritarian, centralized and priest-ridden governments since the Dark Ages.

ROBERT ANTON WILSON.

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

Every Man His Own Publisher

FIRSTLY, AN APOLOGY. This piece will be riddled with 'I', 'I', and 'I' but is not intended to be an advertisement for myself—anarchists have no need to advertise to each other but should, I believe, advertise their presence to other people. In this country, fortunately, you put yourself at no great risk in advertising your beliefs and I think that anarchists could do a great deal more in this respect. One way of advertising your presence and your beliefs is to produce a magazine and this is what I have been doing in the last three years at St. Albans. Now, after ten issues of *Poetsdoos*, it seems a good time to look back and see if it has achieved anything and if I have learned anything.

I suppose the original inspiration for running a mag came from Jeff Nuttall, who was editing a literary 'underground' mag in Barnet when I lived there. This was my first contact with the small mag scene and when I moved to St. Albans I had the idea that a mag might be one way of making contact with like-minded people at St. Albans. One of the reasons for choosing St. Albans to live and work was that it was still recognisably an entity—a community of about 50,000 living in a city with recognisable, though blurring boundaries, a market, civic hall, art school, building college, college of further education, a magnificent Abbey and park and a definite sense of community and civic pride. Now the sense of civic pride fostered by the conservative-controlled council and the immensely powerful Abbey hierarchy may not be what I, and anarchists as a whole, would admire BUT, it has **UNDOUBTEDLY** helped to maintain the sense of place and community within the city.

At the time I was greatly oppressed by the sheer size of Greater London and its attendant problems and the general drift, in every aspect of human activity, towards combination and central control. As my interest in Anarchism grew, so the desire to live in a community grew and so a second consideration in producing a mag was to contribute to, and foster, a sense of community. It seemed ridiculous to get neurotic about Vietnam when I didn't even know the people who were living and working about me. A third reason was simply to make contact with local poets, artists and writers and to offer a local platform for their work.

One of the most important decisions I made was to run the mag entirely by myself so that I would never lose control of it—I decided to accept help if it was offered but never to ASK for it and never to get in the position of printing something because I owed the writer a favour. I decided too, to ignore the local press and let the mag sink or swim on its own merits—after the first issue appeared a reporter did appear to do an interview, but was rather snide and was given the bum's rush very rapid.

I am a teacher in technical education and one of the first friends I made in St. Albans was Stuart Mitchel, whose address was then in *FREEDOM* under Herts. Anarchists. He taught at the same college and was keen to contribute, and another teacher, Don Egner, a past reader of *FREEDOM*, was interested in writing poetry and writing about music. Don agreed to review cheap label classical LPs and I was to review cheap label jazz LPs—at the time no one was reviewing cheap labels very much and really good buys were passing un-

noticed. Taking a cue from *Anarchy* I decided that each issue of *Poetsdoos* would have a loose sort of theme and the first issue was dedicated to the French architect Le Corbusier, who'd just died, and Picasso, who was celebrating his 85th birthday. The great thing about doing your own mag is that you can celebrate your own interests/influences/obsessions and I was fortunate to discover an English teacher, Phil Green, who had friends living in one of Corb's L'unités d'Habitation in Marseilles and wrote about it. Mitch wrote a poem to Picasso, I wrote a piece about both men, various other bits under assumed names, and most importantly, a sort of cod gossip column which was an unashamed advertisement for myself and a comment on the affairs of 'Snorbens'. All my students referred to Snorbens and I had the idea that *Poetsdoos* should speak to, and for Snorbens, while posh St. Albans had the local Arts Council Circular, The Abbey Diocesan Magazine and *What's On In St. Albans*, etc., to speak to them.

So I had a magazine. I bought duplicating paper and stencils, a friend offered to help with the typing, I began to learn one finger style, designed a cover and did some illustrations and snuck in to use the college duplicator when no one needed it. The only other equipment needed was a stapler and a long table for collating. I fixed the price at sixpence and on the first Saturday in January 1967 I was selling them in Snorbens market.

The first edition was 250 and I can't pretend that I was surrounded in the streets by excited mobs, eager to be turned on to mutual aid and self-help. But gradually the piles of mags lying around the house began to dwindle and *Poetsdoos* began to circulate. Then a local bookshop proprietor offered to take them in his shop and I sold them to him for 5d. each—this immediately hastened sales and the remainder of the edition soon sold out. I must admit that the response to the appearance of *Poetsdoos* was less spectacular than I hoped; one or two letters and a few poems in MS was the only apparent response—I hurried on to number two.

Number two was about William Morris, a prime inspiration to me, and someone I thought was rather neglected by anarchists. I printed an extract from *News from Nowhere*, some of Morris's poems and illustrations and wrote a piece about Morris (later reprinted in *FREEDOM*). The diary continued with record, book, film and radio recommendations (rather than reviews) and general chat about local affairs, and I reprinted a statement from Vietnam war resisters originally found in the short-lived American anarchist paper, *Black Mask*. This edition was generally less well received than the first one because of its rather strident anarchist tone and I decided that the third issue would be less polemic, with anarchist attitudes implicit rather than explicit and confined to my diary piece. This was an important decision because, from there on, *Poetsdoos* became more individualistic and quirky—anarchistic in tone rather than in specific content—expressing an attitude towards life rather than battering people with strongly-held personal convictions.

THE THIRD EDITION was devoted to football and included poems about football from the first of the many local poets with whom I came in contact via *Poetsdoos* and so at least one of the aims of the mag was reached. I also notice from my diary piece in that issue that I did a reprint of the first edition because of a continuing demand for it. Another important decision was then made to take more care in ensuring that *Poetsdoos* circulated in Snorbens—previously I was selling them to whoever and wherever I could, with the result that only about 150 were fetching up in Snorbens. By this time I found that with a certain amount of low treachery I could litho-print the cover for nothing and No. 3 had an eye-catching picture of a ladies' football team. From the first I had resolved to make as good a job as possible of the duplicating and was ruthless about chucking out poorly printed pages—I'd seen so many poorly duplicated mags that were nigh impossible to read and had tatty covers that I felt the extra time and care would pay off, and it did.

Then things began to happen. Unsolicited MS from local writers and poets began to come in, other magazine editors were sending me their mags and I received half a dozen or so

subscriptions and donations—at this time the mag was breaking even financially. By the time No. 4 came out I had enough poetry from local writers to do a complete local poets issue with a picture of Ginger Mills, a celebrated local wildman and conartist, on the cover. Because of Ginger's local interest value this edition was sold out in two weeks and Ginge, like the true artist he is, was buying copies from me at a tanner and selling them for two bob. At this stage, with a small financial surplus and an unexpected source of free duplicating paper, I decided to make the mag free and it's been so ever since. We organised a poetry reading in the

works of the Anarchist poet P. B. Shelley. No. 7 was a guest issue and a great success. Just to break the mould I decided to write to some established poets and ask them to contribute—of course I invited anarchist poets and among others, Dennis Gould, Arthur Moyses, Dave Cunliffe, Tina Morris, Paul Potts and Guy Gladstone were featured. After No. 7 it was back to the locals and on to Nos. 8, 9 and 10.

I think I can say that *Poetsdoos* is established locally but I now mail between 60 and 70 copies to readers outside Snorbens; I print enough copies to ensure that at least 250 copies cir-

helped people to be more aware of their own talent and to persuade them to make use of it rather than to wait for somebody to do something for them. Above all I think the *existence* of a mag like *Poetsdoos* is important; the mere fact of it demonstrates you can do things for yourself.

As to the actual practicalities of making a mag, the following were learned the hard way:

Make as good a job of duplicating as possible; use a backing sheet and always clean the type face first. I bought a second-hand typewriter for £6 with a standard and a wide carriage as well. This enables me to alter the size and style of binding from issue to issue.

If you illustrate the mag, buy a proper stylus and always use a very hard backing so you get a sharp line on the stencil—stencils are much cheaper if bought in bulk.

Coloured duplicating paper is the same price as white and peps up the look of the mag.

Keep illustrations in from the margins and they will print better.

Collating is the greatest bore and some help is very welcome. If you can use or borrow a long table it makes the job much easier.

As to content, from my experience, write about what you know—leave other people to write about what you don't know, e.g., there is no use me writing about local industry and working conditions; the Cornwall anarchists, however, are involved and so write about it in their mag. I'm convinced, from my own experience, there is no point in endlessly hammering at international or even national situations. Stick to your own scene where there is the possibility you may have some effect.

If you're short of writers write it yourself under various names—you'll soon get more MS than you can handle. Know your own town and your potential readers and aim your mag directly at them—try and establish a style for your mag that makes it recognisable immediately—always assert your own personal attitude to things—nurture your own ego and advertise yourself.

The above remarks are written on the assumption that the thing is to be a one-man band—I know that if I'd waited to get a group of people who were interested I would never have got off the ground.

I see no reason why there shouldn't be a thriving network of small local mags with an anarchist attitude, concentrating on their own scene but loosely in touch with each other. This seems to me *essentially* an anarchist thing to do and not so very difficult—anarchists are essentially resourceful people.

And a start has already been made. There's the excellent *Some Things* run by Geoff Charlton in Birmingham, Cornwall Anarchists with their mag, Jim Duke and John Upton with Brighton *Head and Freak*, Keith Nathan and Mates at York University with *Blackguard*, George Cairncross in Filey, Yorks, with *Bogg, Red Papers* from Orwell Books in Ipswich, and others I've probably forgotten. A local mag can get to people in a way that *FREEDOM* can't and if ever anything particularly relevant comes up in *FREEDOM* you can reprint it and give a good plug for *FREEDOM* at the same time. So get to and get the presses rolling—and balls to Thomson and Murdoch. Every man his own publisher!

JEFF CLOVES.



local bookshop by the poets appearing in No. 4 and ran a more ambitious poetry and jazz event, at a hall behind a local pub, with the band that played in the bar. This was a far greater success than we expected and we ran another as a contribution to the stuffy official St. Albans Arts Festival. Meanwhile, quite independently of *Poetsdoos*, young poets in the City were organising readings, duplicating their own volumes of poetry, a very anarchistic penny broadsheet appeared and the poets and jazz musicians got together to form a poetry and music group which has been gigging around for 18 months now. Snorbens somehow seems to have more than its fair share of good poets and musicians—since then there have been innumerable readings and events, both spontaneous and planned, and a 'second wave' of poets have come along with their own publications. There are now two poetry magazines appearing regularly in Snorbens, as well as *Poetsdoos*, occasional broadsheets and one-off publications. We have run two shows of music, words and songs at the local theatre and plan events in the park for this summer.

But back to *Poetsdoos*. I had originally planned to do six a year; in the event, it's worked out at about three. No. 5, with more local writers, appeared, and then No. 6, the Shelley issue, largely written by Mitch, featured the life and

culate here. The local record shop and news-stand take some from me and I give them away in the market—contributors are always good for distributing a dozen or so each. But it's a lot of work and I can't visualize ever printing more than four a year. Now there are other outlets for local writers and poets I feel I can change the format and concentrate more on local affairs and the first edition of 1970 will be about the local gypsies.

As to what's been achieved. Well, three years later *Poetsdoos* is still in existence, but it became a poetry magazine, which was never my original intention. I did make contact with people in Snorbens and have some good friends as a result and I have had the opportunity to continually nudge people about protecting their individuality, fighting censorship, doing things for themselves, and being aware of some of the things happening on their own doorsteps which the local press ignores. I've made contact with other editors here and abroad and met some great people; I've had the pleasure of people asking 'When's the next *Poetsdoos* out then?'

I don't think the existence of *Poetsdoos* has brought about any measurable changes in Snorbens but it has genuinely helped local poets, who have at least seen themselves in print and in some cases have been published elsewhere as a result. I think maybe the mag has

STATE VIOLENCE

AN ARTICLE published in *Umanita Nova*, 27.12.69, registers the names, dates and localities of 98 people killed by police and carabinieri on occasions of workers' demonstrations between November 15, 1947, and October 25, 1969. *Combat of Paris* for the same period registers 91 assassinated by the arms of the papal republic of Rome and adds: '674 wounded and not less than 80,000 arrests'. We deplore violence that kills 16 people in the Banca Nazionale dell'Agricoltura at Milan, but we don't forget the 98 victims of the police and carabinieri, especially as these victims' assassins are known and are paid by the Italian government.

—L'Adunata, 17.1.70.
Translated S.M.

Notes from Italy

WE THINK that there are 75 anarchists held in jail. It is very difficult to obtain news from the South, where most of our comrades are in jail, after some struggles in Sicily and Pig-lia. In the North there are five comrades in jail in Pisa, two sentenced in Florence last week (two years' jail).

Our 17-year-old comrade Soriano Ceccanti is still paralysed, having been shot by the carabinieri at Viareggio on January 1, 1969.

About 12 or 13 duplicated publications have been suppressed: *Napoli Uno, Bari Uno, Linee per una Rivoluzione Libertaria, Bollettino Fagi, Notizie Anarchiche, Comunismo Libertario*, etc. But all will be published clandestinely in

the next month.

No one has been illegally held, but 6 comrades are still in jail for the April 25 bombs.

An old law, never abrogated, forbids every duplicated publication if not first seen by police and judges.

Our mail is opened and read by the police.

Our comrades Luisito and Maria Luisa were questioned on the night of February 1 from 9.30 p.m. to 4.15 a.m., their house raided, their children scared away by police, and literature and notebooks confiscated. The excuse was that objects connected with the Milan bombing might have been found there. They found nothing.

The police and judges do what they like, because there is virtually no government. But the judges are divided and last week there were some 'liberal' sentences.

The repression having failed in its object of legal prohibition of all left-wing groups and a government of 'law and order', is going to weaken. Already it is sporadic and more stupid. We don't fear it.

Anarchists, Movimento Studentesco, Young Communists and Socialists have held strong demonstrations. Many journalists are now on our side.

From 'L', Forli, Italy.
Translated by S.M.

RECENTLY the EETU leadership (Cannon & Co.) signed, without prior consultation with either shop stewards or rank and file, an agreement which comes into force on March 1. This is another treacherous step in their policy of class collaboration, being part of an overall plan by the joint action of the bureaucratic reactionary Executive Council which control our union, and the bosses of the electrical trade walking hand in hand along a road to bigger profits. This document is another link in the ball and chain, that Cannon & Co. have put around the ankles of our brother members.

The first example being the flexibility of the working day which spans between the hours of 7.30 a.m. and 6.30 p.m. Forty hours must also be completed between Monday and Friday before a spark qualifies for overtime payment, it also states in this part of the agreement that systematic overtime is denounced by the Joint Industry Board. Tell that to the average electrician getting up at 6.30 a.m. on a Saturday morning to do the overtime to maintain his standard of living, because of the fixed hourly rate the JIB compel him to work under at present.

THE REASONS for the anonymity of the above article is that the Joint Industry Boards of employers and union are all-powerful and disclosure of names could mean expulsion and blacklisting.

That this fear exists was illustrated back in August 1968 when electricians, protesting at their union headquarters about a possible expulsion, wore masks so that a cine-film of the demonstration would not identify them. The union admitted that such film had been used as evidence at 'trials' of members.

The March agreement is but a part of a long collaboration between the Electrical, Electronic and Telecommunication Union (the old ETU) and the employers. The JIBs are the judge, jury and hangman for the electrical contracting industry. Previous agreements have brought in a system of grading, with different rates of pay and the abolition of mates.

March Agreement

The slight increase in overtime rates will be of little interest to the average worker on a 40-hour week taking home £17 on measured-day work.

The next main attack of this agreement comes with the abolition of site-recruited labour, which will put a stop once and for all to the office opened up on or near the site, and the employee not paying the required fare from the real office. But look deeper, and the real sinister meaning becomes apparent, with the blacklist in operation which Cannon & Co. no doubt use the ETU computer for; militant trade unionists will no longer be able to by-pass the screening at head office, and will find it difficult, if not impossible, to get work.

The abolition of site-recruited labour is tied up with the following and will operate thus. Where a job is more than 15 miles from the employer's shop, workers living outside the 15 miles can

be locally engaged, from the head office, for which they have no need to pay the rate or fare, for which the firm's office is located, but the rate for the area in which the man lives; in simple terms, if the site is country located, then the firm pay country rate even if their office is London- or Mersey-based, which in hard cash terms means 1/- per hour less. The plot thickens. Because Cannon & Co. would not be able to police self-employed labour as they like, he decided to make it illegal inside the JIB rules. I wonder where Cannon will recruit his scabs and strike-breakers now?

Cannon's definition of a good shop steward is as follows:

He shall be responsible for the application of the JIB Rules, National Agreement and National Working Rules, and for maintaining good industrial relations.

The JIB rules include penal clauses

Cannon's Business Arrangement

The JIB will 'regulate and control employment (without abrogating an individual employer's right to management), levels of skill and proficiency, wages and welfare benefits and the industry's productive capacity'. Some of the JIB's defined objectives are 'increasing the profitability of the industry. Measuring output to ensure increased productivity and making corresponding benefit to employees. Regulating and controlling overtime and elimination of all unauthorised stoppages of work and providing for the right of appeal by either employers or employees from decisions of the Board to an independent inquiry.'

This joint policing of the industry takes away all freedom of action. The

perpetual threat of expulsion (loss of ticket) and therefore the means of livelihood hangs over electricians. As such it raises the question of whether bodies of this nature should exist and whether they are consistent with civil liberties.

This is the type of agreement that employers favour and trade union leaders are increasingly obliging with, although not so completely as the EETU. Grading, productivity and flexibility are creeping in to the agreements, often with little or no consultation of the membership. An example of this is the recent agreement in the building industry.

In the *Daily Mirror*, Mr. Cannon makes his position clear, if we did not know already, on how he feels about

which can be the imposition of a £100 fine and/or three month's suspension of the JIB card, which is more or less the removal of his right to work.

Comrades, take note: the Prices and Incomes Board singled out the ETU as an example for other Trade Unions to emulate.

At present the Shop Steward or the JOB/SHOP REPRESENTATIVE, as he is now called, applies for the overtime permit, but not any more. The final shift of power, from Rank and File to Hayes Court (ETU head office) is sealed, in this agreement, in as much, from March 1 and I quote:

'From time to time, as circumstances require, a Regional Joint Industry Board may declare permissible hours of overtime in its region. When and if such a RJIB declaration is made the permissible hours of overtime laid down must not be exceeded without RJIB permission.'

Finally, the reader of this article will note that there is no mention of the struggle for conditions and pay increases; the right for shop stewards to negotiate for this at site level has been signed away by Bros. Cannon and Chapple in previous agreements. ELECTRICIAN.

the views of his members. He said: 'Power never has and never will leave the point of production. It is, therefore, absolutely ridiculous of people to talk about power returning to the floor. But,' he adds, 'workpeople pay their trade union leaders to lead them—to negotiate for them—and, in moments of crisis, to provide judgement. And that is what they should do.'

While agreeing with the first part of this statement, Cannon's attitude is not one of an elected delegate doing a job of work for the membership, but of an authoritarian dictating what is best for the members. His is a business arrangement with the employers and has nothing to do with trade unionism. P.T.

Law and Order Strikes Again

THE OBNOXIOUS Public Order Amendment Bill is now law. As was expected, of the MPs who strenuously opposed its passage through the parliamentary ritual only two were prepared to come out onto the streets to take part in sit-downs. The PD and some local CRA were the only ones to defy the Bill, which now gives penalties of one month for a sit-down and six months for occupying a public building (including universities). PD demonstrations were held in six towns and the pigs noted the names of 111 demonstrators. It was later announced by the Inspector General that this time no prosecutions would result—seen as a quid pro quo for his amnesty for the 16 pigs found guilty of 'misconduct' at Burntoll and the Bogside.

The watered-down Police Bill is going through the motions at Stormont (as

you were, it's still the black bastards, since they refuse to accept Hunt's recommendations that pig gear be blue like your friendly London copper) despite hysterical squeals from Willie Craig and Joe Burns. John Brooke is our new Minister of Propaganda and we've had 12 bomb explosions since January 13. All in all, it's business as usual. The explosions, so far all token ones which have not resulted in loss of life, have been at shops, offices, a liberal ex-MP, Crumlin jail, a street near the University and inside the Crumlin Courthouse. This splendid piece of activity (like the rest the work of the UVF) occurred during the trial of McKeague (or UV Fruits as he is locally known) and four others for the Dunadry water-pipe explosions last year which succeeded in their objectives in getting rid of O'Neill and releasing

Paisley and Bunting.

The trial has been enlivened by the evidence of Squealer Stevenson who was broken by the army intelligence squad and confessed. He's serving 12 years and has fingered some of the others, including Mallon, former paymaster of the UVF, and a certain Derek Elwood. His touching plea was that since he was a serving B-man he was naturally against violence and couldn't have had anything to do with it. Stevenson's wife gave evidence about seeing guns being loaded up in Paisley's Ulster Constitution Defence Committee rooms and the good Rev., at present undergoing regular treatment generally given to the mentally bewildered, is heavily implicated. So far not all the evidence against Paisley has come out and if it doesn't we'll print it as soon as possible.

WITH ALMOST 300,000 members, the National Association of Local Government Officers, or just NALGO as it is usually called, is probably the tamest and least militant Union in Britain.

Traditionally more concerned with pensions and 'security' rather than with cash, many Town and City Hall employees still imagine that they are not members of the working-class at all,

Town Hall Staffs Still Tame

but are middle-class. Recent negotiations would appear to confirm this view, although there have been, mainly since the teachers' strikes, a few militant-sounding noises from some members and branches. This, however, has had little effect on the leadership of whom, rumour has it, there are a few communists.

'The Local Government employees must be laughing behind the backs of their hands at NALGO members,' writes John Price in the *Surveyor* of February 6. 'Some months ago they were sweating when a pay rise negotiated by the Union was turned down flat by the members. Negotiators were sent scurrying back to the employers with the embarrassing news that the rises which they had agreed (3½%) were not going to be accepted.' At last, NALGO, the white-collar giant, was waking up—or was it?

At first, local councillors, that is the employers, reminded NALGO about the sanctity of agreements; but then, just under a month ago, they came up with a fresh offer, or to be more precise, an offer of an offer, or indication that they might be prepared to discuss a further £25-£35 a year over and above the already-accepted 3½% for all staff whose annual salaries were less than £2,400 (only a minority of Town Hall staffs, such as senior architects and engineers, earn more than £2,400 a year).

On Friday, January 30, the Union's National Executive Council called a special meeting in London. At last it

looked as though something was going to happen. A small group calling itself the Action Group picketed the conference hall, demanding an immediate strike ballot. The Action Group want a 10% increase for all grades, with a minimum of £100 for all local government workers earning £1,000 a year or less. Inside, about 25 motions and amendments were tabled rejecting the NEC's report and the employers' offer of an offer. These were telescoped into one motion. One of the amendments called for an across-the-board increase of 15.5% with a minimum of £120; and another called on the NEC to prepare immediately for a national campaign for militant action in support of wage claims. Manchester Branch wanted a 20% increase, and even threatened a series of one-day strikes all on its own if an offer of less than 10% was accepted.

Glyn Phillips, chairman of the Union's national local government negotiating committee, urged the 1,500 delegates to accept the offer of an offer, because, he said, 'it was the biggest cash award we have ever been offered'. But he did admit that the Union's negotiators had lost the confidence of the rank-and-file members, although they intended to win it back by 'leadership' and 'action'. In the next round of pay talks, later in the year, he said, they would ask the employers if they could have at least 10%. Theo Harris, a senior engineer from Wandsworth, criticised the NEC for their

lack of skill in negotiating with the employers and mocked them for their 'timely' announcement that they would 'set up machinery for militant action' in the future. He called for a national strike campaign. At this stage, some delegates actually were moved to demand an immediate vote on strike action. This, however, was bad tactics at that stage of the proceedings. It gave Phillips a chance to swing delegates towards the NEC's position. He told delegates that if they took a vote with so little discussion they would be letting themselves be pushed into a corner with their eyes closed. That said, the vote was taken with no further debate; and the strike motion was defeated by 584 to 449 on a show of hands. And that was that.

Oldham branch unsuccessfully tabled an emergency motion calling on delegates to agree on an £80 minimum, with a further increase in August. After a number of points-of-order, the conference degenerated into a complete shambles. One delegate mumbled: 'I'm fed up. Let's go home.' And they did. First, second and third rounds to the NEC and the employers. Meanwhile, back in the Town Halls, grumbings and moans about the cost-of-living continue.

But, of course, what NALGO members really need is some action—militant action!—not conferences, pious motions and amendments. And they will have to take that action themselves. Indeed, a Birmingham branch delegate, Max Bowen, was more than right when he remarked: 'The offer is an insult, and should be kicked out as a show of strength to the employers. NALGO should stop touching its forelock to the

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employers; the message from other industries was that militancy pays off.' The sooner NALGO members realise that the better. It's the only language employers, private or government, understand.

NALGO MEMBER.
Postscript. The Union of Post Office Workers have accepted—subject to ratification by branches—an offer of between 9% and 18.5% for all their members. Said Tom Jackson, UPW general secretary: 'We got all we asked for.' The Union were making arrangements for an all-out strike if the PO had not agreed.

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Union Recruits 'Lump' Men

IT IS NOT a pleasant task to report on the defeat of a justified and honourable stand by workmen, who have stood together on an issue of principle, of opposition to the operation of the blacklist and the use of labour-only 'Lump' merchants.

Those carpenters who have picketed the St. Thomas' Hospital site of John Laings in Lambeth, London, have been betrayed by those elected to serve their interests. George Smith, the General Secretary, and the Executive Council of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, have withdrawn their official backing for the dispute. The EC have had a meeting with Laings and they have agreed that Whelan and Grant, the 'Lump' labour-only sub-contractor, can remain on the site.

The ASW will also be recruiting these 'Lump' scallywags into the union as my article forecast last week. As part of this agreement, these carpenters will not have to attend branches to be elected to mem-

bership, but will be signed up and have their contributions deducted at source by the employer. The EC of the ASW have on a number of occasions recommended this practice to the members, but each time the rank and file have voted against it. However, the EC is now introducing it by the back door.

Laings have offered employment to the sacked carpenters on their other sites, but make no mention of the brothers they sacked before Christmas. The district officials are trying to negotiate their employment with Whelan and Grant in the hope of reorganising the site, but they stand little chance of success. The EC is also arranging for their National Officer, Mr. Greaves who is a productivity deal expert, to work out and introduce a scheme with Whelan and Grant for these newly recruited scallywags.

The ASW leadership is more interested in productivity and increased membership than the interests of the trade

unionists they are supposed to represent. They would rather join up these carpenters, knowing that this same firm operates on a number of sites where they pay by cheque and do not stamp any cards. This union, like the employers, dislikes and fears strong union organi-

sation at site level. They both want disciplined trade union members who only carry tickets for a job. With unemployment growing in the industry, all the militant trade unionists will be without jobs while all the scallywags will be working.

This deal with Laings should receive the widest publicity and be made known to the members of the ASW. This will show them that it is not official support that one should seek when in dispute, but that of fellow trade unionists.

P.T.

Contact

Contact Column is for making contact! Use is free, but donations towards typesetting costs are welcome

CRICKET

Dear Friends,

Ron Pearl makes an admirable, if not entirely complete, exposition of the current politico-cricket crisis. May I supplement it?

Till last December when the MCC reaffirmed its intention to go ahead with the non-coloured South African tour, I had for over twenty years been a member of that club; then I resigned. Nearly ten years ago I was a lone voice at the Annual General Meeting of the club, when the President welcomed the then forthcoming South African tour: I spoke for ten minutes in an icy hush to an audience largely (but happily not entirely) composed of bigots. So I am in a good moral position to comment!

The first point is that almost 80 years ago, the second English team to tour South Africa played a coloured team: the only occasion this has happened. Significantly, the amateurs refused to take part. The coloured team contained a fine all-rounder named T. Hendricks: he was good enough to have been chosen for the first South African tour to this country shortly after in 1894, but was omitted on purely racial grounds, as admitted by the liberal, but powerless, captain of the side, who deplored the matter.

All that was long before Verwoerd or Vorster were ever heard of: it is how 'white' South Africans have always behaved, and in particular, those of English origin.

The second point is that the MCC, who are far to the right of the Tory Party's political spectrum (I have heard some very vile things stated inside that pavilion about both Jews and coloured people) are playing politics. They want to keep in touch with South Africa, they swallow the South African anti-communist line. To them anyone as far left as Sir Edward Boyle is a fellow-traveller. They wish by any means to see the Tories in power, and their long-term unspoken reasons for wanting the non-coloured tour to go on is so that they may play the 'lornawder' issue as hard as they can in the hope that the result will be a Tory electoral victory.

The 'lornawder' issue is, of course,

being deliberately incorrectly stated by the MCC and by Tory spokesmen generally, when they talk of the right of the majority (if indeed it be a majority, but that is for my purpose irrelevant as an issue). That right is heavily qualified: the majority may not do anything repugnant to a minority, however lawful, if the lawful protests of the minority against the majority's action should lead to a breach of the peace. The point is

Letters

that it is not the protesters who cause the breach of peace: it is the intention of the performers to persist in their action despite receipt of protests from their opponents, that occasions a breach of the peace. (Anyone who ever had to deal with communal riots, as I did in India in days long gone by, will confirm that this is the true position.) Thus provided the anti-apartheid demonstrators do nothing outside the law—and there are countless methods of lawfully disrupting a cricket match (which in this context does not differ from the bygone cock-fighting and bear-baiting, and the modern blood sports)—it is they who are entitled to protection by the police not the cricket authorities.

Apologies for the length of this but it seemed worthwhile setting it out.

Yours

Cornwall ROWLAND BOWEN.

P.S.—By the way, some of MCC's troubles is semantic, owing to insufficient command of the English language—they welcomed all 'creeds' getting together in South Africa: no one ever supposed there was a religious angle involved: and they now welcome a multi-racial team composed entirely of Jews!!!! (their words).

Arbour Square Squat Freeze-Out

BLANKETS & OIL STOVES URGENTLY NEEDED!

Arbour Square, London E1

loose structures to be found at present among anarchists). When the revolution is achieved, such a structure will not wither away, however much Ian Sutherland may dream of this conclusion.

A non-violent revolution needs the co-operation of most of the population, if it is not immediately to be crushed or corroded. The first task must therefore be to spread the ideas of anarchism, which cannot be done with the isolated notion of class struggle, since the concept is rooted in the present and would have no meaning in an anarchist society and moreover only appeals to those at present 'workers' who are by no means the whole population, whereas anarchism is for all, since by its nature it cannot encompass such exclusive structures.

It is not enough for workers slowly to gain control of production, since any such movement will be stopped with the tacit consent of the public at large unless they are themselves positively sympathetic to anarchist ideas.

For practical reasons then, anarchism cannot be a piecemeal process, such as that of gaining workers' control. By its nature it must encompass and radically alter the whole concept and way of life. To communicate the ideas of anarchism in a practical way requires therefore a whole vision of life, and it is to this that Dave Cunliffe is contributing. It is not dodging reality.

MICHAEL SKAIFE D'INGERTHORPE, Harrow, Middx.

THE ANARCHISTS OF MILAN

WHAT WE DEFINE in the points that follow is the unanimous position taken by the anarchists of Milan regarding recent events. We underline that our basic position, since December 12 has always been substantially unanimous in confirming and continuing the position already taken after April 25 on the provocative nature of the attempts which there have been in Italy since the same April 25, on their political function and on the repression (see the notices, the manifestos, the press bulletins and numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4 of the bulletin *Crovenera Anarchica*).

DECLARATION

1. Comrade G. Pinelli (judged militant by the anarchist group's *Black Flag* and furthermore an active member of the anarchist Black Cross and of the circle *Ponte Della Ghisolfia*) did not commit suicide. He was killed, directly or indirectly. All that the press, at the suggestion of the police, can say or has said to justify the thesis of suicide is lies.

2. Piyro Vslpreda is innocent and an anarchist for at least 10 years (even if for almost a year he had been on the margin of the movement because of certain debatable positions he had taken up). We should therefore defend him publicly and without reserve, reserving judgment on the obscurities that concern him but which have no relation to the accusations that have been made.

3. Group 22 March also is not guilty of the bomb attacks. The political judgment and the debatability of its theories, the ambiguity of certain mem-

bers of the group (according to the press and according to the denunciation by the groups FAI-FAGI of Rome).

4. The anti-anarchist manoeuvre, based on provocative actions and on police persecution and on defamation by the press, culminated by the massacre of P. Della Fontana, by the arrests, the perquisitions, the denunciations, and the calumnies and very violent press campaign, has been, as we foresaw, the beginning of a larger repressive manoeuvre against all the extra-parliamentary and union opposition.

It is clear now that this manoeuvre has been made instead of the *putsch* that was feared (instigated perhaps to hide what was really going to happen). This means that this has served the ends, not of the colonels and traditional fascism, but of social democracy, which can often better serve the anti-revolutionary repression than a clearly reactionary regime. The connection discovered several times between the Greek and Italian fascists (in particular there are proofs of Greek participation in the April 25 attacks) is absolutely not in contradiction to the political analysis of the bomb attacks. In fact it is certain that American imperialism, which supports the Greek colonels regime, has with them a common interest in a strong government in Italy, but realising that the internal political situation could never stand an open *putsch*, must hide under the mask of social-democracy.

THE ANARCHISTS OF MILAN.
(Trans. Stuart Maxwell.)

Milan, 5.1.70

STEALING FROM A THIEF

AMONG the poor sods who have been herded through the offices of the Social Security in Manchester, in recent weeks, have been a body of libertarian leafleters led by Manchester militant Jack Bennett.

Many claimants have since sought our advice as to their rights and entitlements. Reception from the SS managements has been mixed, with one 'poor law guardian' threatening to do violence to us, though for the most part they were careful to keep on the right side of us.

About the middle of last month came our first real case. An unemployed navy, having been told he was to lose a day's allowance, 31/-. complained to us and we accompanied him to the SS office. Eventually we got to see a supervisor who assured us the man would be paid in full.

Clearly, many helpless claimants are getting fobbed off in this way, by either arrogant or ignorant clerks on the desk. With this in mind, the Manchester anarchists have helped form the Manchester Claimants Union, to combat mindless bureaucracy and to ensure claimants get their due.

THE FAILURE OF WELFARE

Clearly our expensive welfare system is far from satisfactory. It tends to brutalize the army of public functionaries who man its services and, in spite of our small efforts, it will continue to humiliate the vast majority of its recipients.

Ignazio Silone,* the Italian novelist, is acutely aware that it is in the very nature of what he calls the social aid State to bring out the worst in people, when he comments on the case in 1944 of the

'moroccanised' women of Ciociaria. At the time, it seems, the Italian Government offered a little financial compensation to women raped by Moroccan troops at the termination of World War II. Surprising as it may seem, in the parts of Italy where 'crimes of honour' are still frequent, many women took to pressing bogus applications and getting their relatives to perjure themselves, for sums scarcely large enough to cover the solicitors' fees.

Silone continues, 'The opinion I once held, namely, that social welfare could be made to work better if it were taken out of the hands of the bureaucrats and entrusted to the responsibility of those directly concerned, has been badly shaken by seeing people reduced to the plight I have just described. It is of course far easier to get away with swindling a public office than to deceive one's own workmates. But how to ensure that those elected to responsibility would really be the most honest? And how long would their honesty resist the pressures and petitions of their relatives, friends, and Party comrades?'

Whatever the State has a hand in, however well-meaning it might be, it automatically contaminates. Good causes like welfare suffer the same fate as bad causes, once the Government takes over. To liberate Social Welfare from State control must be our aim; if only because the general public rightly regard stealing off the State as being like stealing from a thief.

NORTH WEST WORKERS.

*Encounter, March 1968. 'Rethinking Progress.'

Biafra

Dear Comrades,

Nigel Wright in his letter on Biafra describes himself as a libertarian and then goes on to describe the Ojukwu regime as 'probably the only workable set-up in present circumstances'. Has he forgotten that under similar conditions of chaos and foreign invasion the Spanish workers of 1936 and the Makhnovites of the Russian Revolution managed to carry out the 'libertarian experiments' which Nigel Wright contemptuously considers impractical in Biafra? (And if it is objected that both were defeated then, what else happened to the 'responsible leaders' of Biafra?)

It would be interesting to know what kind of libertarian Nigel Wright considers himself to be. Few people, whatever their political persuasion, would doubt that a free society is desirable. What however distinguishes the libertarian is his belief that such a society is not only desirable but practical. If Nigel Wright merely pays lip service to a free society but in conditions of 'extreme emergency' (and is a revolutionary situation ever anything else?) calls for 'strict organisation and responsible leaders', he hardly seems to deserve the title.

Perhaps if he were to tell us what policies these 'responsible leaders' should follow we would be able to judge what part of the non-anarchist political spectrum he belongs to.

Yours fraternally,

Beaconsfield, Bucks. ROGER SANDELL.

The Class Struggle

Dear Editors,

Surely Ian Sutherland (24.1.70) is being superficial in dismissing Dave Cunliffe's articles (17.1.70) and, no doubt, 24.1.70) as reality dodging.

In achieving an anarchist revolution, there are the two possibilities of violence and non-violence. Moral questions apart, violence must be rejected, since violence directed towards a specific end needs a rigid structure of organisation (not the