

Freedom

ANTI-ELECTION SPECIAL

9^d.

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YOU DON'T HAVE TO VOTE!

EVERY ELECTION is an insult to our intelligence. As anarchists we say this not only because any difference between parties is reduced by the game of vote-catching to the level of childish 'Yah boo, you're another', but that the real thing about an election is that WE are being asked to choose THEM.

WE are the people, THEY are the Government, and we have no interest in common. Our interest is to be free from government, to run our own affairs and enjoy the fruits of our labour, freely given and freely enjoyed. It is WE who create all wealth, THEY who exploit it. It is time we took back the right to the enjoyment of life.

The argument for the existence of government is that it is a necessary evil. This specious, lying, cheating phrase is used by all who wish to use something evil for their own preferment. Evil is never necessary; though we may have to tolerate it as long as we are not strong enough to be rid of it. But we should never choose it!

The evil of government is one that should be regarded in the same light as the evils of typhoid or smallpox. It is in fact a disease in the body of society, undermining all healthy relationships, eating away like an insidious cancer into all parts of our freedom and dignity, so that our lives waste away in futile conflict and sick irresponsibility.

Being asked to choose in an election is like being asked to choose which sickness we would prefer: typhoid or smallpox?

WE DON'T HAVE TO CHOOSE EITHER!

We are talking about 1970, not the dark ages. We have licked typhoid and smallpox—it is time we licked the disease of govern-

ment. No doubt in the dark ages, disease was regarded as a necessary evil—one of nature's pruning forks. God's Will and all that crap—but men arose who questioned what was and worked to eradicate the evils of disease. They were opposed by those with a vested interest in peddling God's Will—but all those with a firmer grasp of reality welcomed the attack on the evil of disease. The workers wanted to be healthy workers, and the bosses wanted healthy workers, too. But this is only the health of the body; a healthy mind is something else.

For a man with a healthy mind questions 'necessary' evils and attacks disease wherever he finds it. The disease of government seeks to protect itself against examination by attacking the mind—by education, by unceasing propaganda, and by fear, lies and the spread of false information. Government, in fact, is all in the mind.

What, after all, does government contribute to society? Governments do not make anything (except a balls-up of everything they touch). The Minister of Housing (assuming we have one) does not build houses; building workers do that. The Minister of Health does not heal the sick; nurses and doctors do that. The Minister of Transport transports no one (not even with delight); railwaymen and transport workers do that. The Minister of Works doesn't, and the function of the Minister of Employment and Productivity is to whip others into greater productivity in their employment.

In other words, governments do not make or do anything—they simply direct the exploitation of others and control the wealth that flows from that exploitation. Who needs that?

The anarchist argument is that

we who create the wealth are capable of directing it; we who produce and distribute are capable of controlling the processes of production and distribution. We are therefore

equality, freedom and dignity. Every government must, by its very nature, set out to make us do things we do not want to do and stop us doing things we do want to do.

ments of every known kind from fascist to social credit, expressing every known religion in some form or another. All that has flourished is hatred and fear—the basic requirements of government. All that has changed has been the scale and the techniques of government; the subtlety and the cynicism in the use of mass media and the brutality when that fails.

Each school of political thought has fouled its own nest. The capitalists have destroyed freedom; the socialists and communists have betrayed socialism. Nationalism has defeated internationalism — except among the ruling classes—and racism plays its part in the grand order of 'Divide and Rule'.

THERE IS NO HOPE THROUGH ANY FORM OF GOVERNMENT

In fact there is less than hope, there is only despair, the certainty of destruction. The result of the 'success' of statist forms of 'revolution' has been the emergence of the monster super-states which straddle the world today. America, Russia, Britain, France, China—all these states have at their disposal the means to destroy mankind. Their rulers profess differing shades of political creeds, but in their internal and international practices they are so similar that choosing between them is simply a matter of patriotism or faith, neither of which is good ground for revolution.

And it is revolution we are talking about. Everywhere the form of economy that exists is a kind of capitalism—'free enterprise' or state controlled makes no difference to the exploited. And everywhere the state apparatus exists to defend that form of economy. This is why right round the globe unrest is mounting, in 'democratic', communist or fascist countries dissatisfaction is growing into disgust, and young people everywhere are finding the energy and the courage and the ideas to attack the squalid systems which seek to suppress them.

and by whatever means of direct action are appropriate. The direct action bit is important because this is something we have to do for ourselves.

NOBODY CAN DO IT FOR US

Nobody is going to give us our freedom on a plate. Nobody is going to make the better world for us. This is why we have to set out NOW to make our own society, build our own communes, make our own works councils, prepare to take over.

We are already being called a 'sub-culture' by the squares who think they are the real culture. It is up to us to so reorganise our own lives that we can demonstrate the superiority in human terms of our ideas, of our way of living.

Work now to spread ideas! Build now the alternative culture of freedom and self-discipline and responsibility! Take over now in small ways, and prepare to take over all that we want to save of existing things. Make THEM the representatives of the sub-culture! Push their slavery and loranorder and social irresponsibility down and out!

The anarchist alternative to Mr. Wilson and Mr. Heath is—YOU! THE EDITORS.



PILKINGTON: End of an Era

LITTLE HAS CHANGED in the attitude of the General and Municipal Workers Union and Pilkingtons towards the rank and file workers. The reasons for the original strike are still present although workers have returned to work. Pilkingtons and the G&MWU especially still display their arrogant attitudes, for the union acts not as a representative of members, but as an organisation intent on being a law unto itself. Of course, in the past, this approach has been a god-send for the company. They thought they were on to a good thing when they signed an agreement last October with the G&MWU giving a 100% union shop. The outcome at Pilkingtons illustrates the pitfalls of such an agreement for the rank and file. The awards from an agree-

ment of this type are small compared with the control and power gained both by the employer and the union. The Pilkington agreement is an extreme example but one that should not be forgotten, since these bargains are becoming more and more popular, giving ailing unions extra members and employers a watch-dog over their militants.

As a union, the G&MWU is a farce. Members are mere subscription payers and have little or no say in the running of their own affairs. To a lesser degree, this is true of all trade unions, because those in power see themselves as leaders and not as delegates, doing a job of work for the members. They are too remote and cut off from the realities of

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Extra Parliamentary Alternative MEETING at CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER MONDAY, 15th JUNE at 6 pm

Many anti-Parliamentary Speakers
Anarchist Speaker: Philip Sansom

not interested in deciding which individuals should be in charge of the process of directing and controlling; we do not choose between old-fashioned landowners, individualist capitalists, bureaucratic managers, party caucus or leaders of unheard-of genius.

Every leader, every government, takes away our right to make our own decisions, run our own lives, give what we have to give and take what we need in a condition of

WHY VOTE FOR THAT?

In the early days of democracy—in this country effectively pre-1914—there might have been some excuse for believing that men of goodwill in power could bring about changes in society that really mattered; that poverty could be eliminated, wars be abolished for ever from human society; freedom and equality become reality. Today, 1970, there is no excuse for such idealism. We have seen govern-

THE ANARCHIST ALTERNATIVE

THE ONLY CONSTRUCTIVE ALTERNATIVE

One of the great features of the world-wide revolution against the status quo has been the re-emergence of libertarian ideas. All the political alternatives have been tried and found wanting. Anarchism is the only constructive alternative, since it is the only social philosophy which rejects the state and the whole power structure.

Anarchism is the only social philosophy which starts with the individual and works up; which demands that personal freedom be related to social needs but never submerged by them. Anarchism is the only social philosophy which demands worker control of industry and means workers' participation in their own exploitation, like the Liberals, or workers' councilship of the 'revolutionary workers' party' like the Trotskyists, but direct workers' control at the point of production through which the workers organise production in the interest of all—including themselves!

This clearly means the end of boss control and state control, and with that must go all the various means by which we are manipulated; the money and wages systems, minority control of mass media and propaganda machinery, repressive education systems geared to produce profit-fodder and technological yes-men, law and its repressive perversion of 'order', policemen and prisons, the army, navy and air force, the authoritarian family, religion and the anti-sex morality they depend upon, private property and the profit motive, diplomacy, secret or otherwise... all, all this and all the whole lot of stupid and cruel things which stem from them.

This crazy system cannot be reformed or patched up. It has to be abolished. It cannot be taken over and changed from within, as the communist regimes demonstrate only too well. The power structure has to be destroyed and nothing put in its place!

How do we do this? We create the alternative society by living to our own standards of behaviour and fighting the system wherever we can

Drawn and Quartered, the world of the British newspaper cartoon. National Portrait Gallery until July 31. Admission 4s. (children and students 2s.), all proceeds to the Society for Mentally Handicapped Children. Photography not allowed.

WITH SOCIAL EQUALITY the extremes of our society have ironed themselves out. Consensus politics tends to produce consensus cartoons.

So ends a notice displayed at the entrance, next to a trite anonymous broadsheet of 1720, 'The Bubbler's Mirror or England's Folly', whose only interest is in its antiquity. An unnecessarily depressing and apologetic start to an exhibition of cartoons, past and present, which are strong, vigorous and sharp. Most of the famous classic political cartoons are here, alongside many others which deserve to be famous classics and will doubtless become so as a result of this exhibition.

Low's comment on the failure of the disarmament talks of 1937: a crocodile accompanied by wolves and tigers addresses a flock of sheep. 'My friends we have failed. We just couldn't control your warlike passions'. Low's men of Jarrow, marching past the backs of capitalists who are looking towards Europe. Low's Colonel Blimp, 'Gad Sir, we can't

GAD SIR..!

negotiate with that fellow, he's on the other side'.

Will Dyson drew his prophetic 'Peace and future cannon fodder' for the *Daily Herald* in 1919. Lloyd George, Woodrow Wilson, Clemenceau and Orlando are leaving the Palace of Versailles with the peace treaty. Behind one of the pillars is a weeping child, labelled 'class of 1940'.

Giles deals in the comedy of ordinary life rather than in pompous political allegories, but he nevertheless manages a savage political comment now and then. During the Korean War he drew a small boy writing 'Peace' on the pavement, and a small girl shouting, 'Mum, Cyril's written a wicked word'.

David Illingworth is a cartoonist whose brilliance as a draughtsman and wit is dimmed by the fact that politically he is a conservative. Cartoons against the

powerful have the charm of impudence, in addition to any merit; cartoons on behalf of the powerful have an off-putting sycophantic quality. Illingworth outlived Dyson, Low and Vicky, but never outshone anybody. It was during the few days that he stopped arse-licking in 1939 that Illingworth made history. Neville Chamberlain said Hitler had 'Missed the bus'; Illingworth drew Chamberlain as the driver of a horse bus who had fallen asleep with the reins in his hands; and this drawing became the focal point of the discontent which brought down the government. So Illingworth's mates claim, anyhow.

The exhibition is not limited to political cartoons. It also includes a somewhat unrepresentative collection of joke drawings, the work of the sports cartoonists, and examples from all the classic strips from Pip, Squeak and

Wilfred to Andy Capp. The world's longest running daily cartoon, 'London Laughs' by Lee, is included although its longevity is not acknowledged. There is a good introductory section, with many nineteenth century *Punch* cartoons and eighteenth century engravings.

The collection is a considerable feat of scholarship and diplomacy. The exhibits have been chosen with care and knowledge, and brought together with the co-operation of national newspapers from the *Daily Telegraph* to the *Morning Star*, a couple of museums and several cartoonists.

It is also a masterpiece of the exhibitor's art. Newspaper cartoons, however strong and sharp, could easily be assembled into a feeble, boring exhibition. For they are not designed to be hung on walls; they are designed to be printed in a newspaper and looked at, surrounded by grey type, from ordinary reading distance. But this exhibition is as attractive and vigorous as its contents.

Only a few of the cartoons are shown as published. The rest are in the form of original drawings, and photographic blow-ups of various sizes. Some are back-projected onto mock-up television screens, accompanied by good photographs of the news items which inspired them (Chamberlain agreeing with Hitler 1938, Bertrand Russell squatting 1961,

etc.) in a pattern which varies from minute to minute. There is an exhibition of 'this week's' cartoons, artwork in detachable frames which is varied weekly, or in some cases daily, by the publishers. Moving flat puppets of politicians bump and squeak over the entrance, and the Andy Capp strip is mounted on a roller and plainly meant to move continuously (it seems to have stuck, but the exhibition designer is not to blame for this accident).

There are sounds too. Snatches of Vera Lynn and the Beatles in the circular gallery where historical cartoons are compared, and, from a ceiling above a wall full of cartoons of Harold Macmillan, the fluffy voice of Supermac himself. A delightfully conceived and presented back-projection sequence shows Giles getting up and having breakfast, driving to his studio in Witleham, working on his cartoon, delivering it to the railway parcels office, and going off to the pub then to bed, while the cartoon is delivered, processed, printed and distributed all over the country in time for Giles to read it at breakfast the following day. This is accompanied by sound effects.

Exhibitions that you have to pay to visit are often crummy. This one is splendid; don't try to do it in less than an hour. There is no catalogue, but a pamphlet of potted biographies of cartoonists is on sale, price 1s.

DONALD ROOM.

Open Letter to Voters Everywhere

SUMMER DAYS are here. For the kids, some of them, it's fun and games galore, around the public parks, and village greens. For the adults, most of them, it's once again, KIDology time. The circus has arrived, the most fabulous circus of the century, clowns and comedians compete with their rivals, for entrance to CLOWNING Street—their colleague acrobats and somersaulters playing their historical roles, standing truth on its head; promising one thing, know-

ing full well they intend, if elected, to perform the opposite. All these would-be MPs clamouring for admittance to the PESTminster gasworks.

This spectacle would be really funny, if it were not resultant in tragedy. An all-time high for the periodical orgy of high-flown rhetoric, spell-binding oratory, breathtaking pledges, unfulfillable assurances, inflicted upon our long-suffering public.

PINK PARTY POTS and BLUE

PARTY KETTLES calling each other BLACK.

No matter how earnest some of the candidates may appear to the unwary, in reality, they are, irrespective of their differing ideological labels, all tarred with the same brush.

At the hustings, MP = MY PARTY. Once elected MP becomes More Pay, Much POWER. Later on, in dealings with other governments, MP results in Mammon and Plunder. But MP is never my people, it is always leading to mammoth prevarication, certainly never moral principles.

Some people will say: they're not all alike—Really? Think!

There are two greater CON parties exercising the age-old political confidence trick—and one lesser CON party. We have the Conservative Labour Party, the Labour CONservative Party, and the GLIBeral Party. All of them well organised CONspiracies against the people.

None of the parties trouble to interest themselves in the burning issues of today, the urgent and pressing demands of today, 1970 AD Atomic Decade. These demands are, if homo sapiens (homo sap?) is to survive—the abolition of poverty, the abolition of war, the abolition of preventable disease, the abolition of atmospheric and territorial pollution, the cessation of the draining away of nature's resources. No government anywhere has made a serious attempt to cope with the population explosion—all the major governments of the world are squandering the hard-earned monies of their citizens in ever-increasing nuclear armaments.

Three people out of four in this world have never eaten a proper meal, two people out of three on our planet cannot read or write—in vast areas of the globe one baby born out of every two is doomed to die in childhood, medical science being preoccupied in piling up

huge reserves of bacteriological, biological and other death-dealing ways of destruction, in preference to healing the sick and prolonging human life. An injury to one is an injury to all.

We who are Anarchists have no religious drums to bang, no ideological or national flags to wave, no political bugles to play. We are not a political party. You cannot 'JOIN' us—indeed all recorded history demonstrates that 'Joiners' often become CABINET MAKERS. We have no heroes, all the same we are sorry Guy Fawkes did not succeed—'Do-Your-Own-Thing, make your own Revolution! To hell with Leaders!'

Politics is the art of the plausible, deceiving the gullible, and history is a tragedy-packed catalogue of man's social blunders, economic plunders, and governmental thunders. We refuse to vote. There is no other way of disturbing the status quo of our slave-ridden, authoritarian war-harnessed social system.

We suggest you think this over. Refuse to vote! Ignore the slick and loquacious word-mongers peddling their pet panaceas, these political quack doctors and medicine men assembled at the many party market places.

Deny these professional cheats, deceivers, liars and tricksters the opportunity of taking you for a ride again. Only by striving for a genuine non-authoritarian, frontierless, moneyless SOCIETY can we justify our life-span on planet Earth.

Your parents, your grandparents, your ancestors for centuries have trusted these con-men with their lives. Say no to voting, don't fall for the same bloody swindle again!!! Mutual aid is the one and only solid foundation for a sane, equitable and just SOCIETY—forever purged of war, poverty and preventable disease.

MARK WILLIAM KRAMRISCH.

Squatting Still Goes On

SINCE OCTOBER 1969 there has been a steady flow of families into Arbour Square. There are now approx. 23 families including some 40-odd children squatting in Arbour Square.

Two more families are expected to join us in Arbour Square this weekend, one of whom is from Northern Ireland and is homeless, as a result of being burnt out by the B-Specials.

The other families are squatting for various reasons like not being able to cope with 'things' in welfare accommodation, or being unable to afford the extortionate rents demanded by the slum landlords of East London.

Tower Hamlets Council, which is, and always has been, Labour controlled, are the owners of the property in which we are squatting and are now throwing writs and possession orders around like nobody's business. Hence we have the situation where 25 working-class families may be facing eviction in the not too distant future. We must combat that sort of situation, which is becoming more and more an issue on its own.

Housing, squatting, rent strikers, are separate struggles carried out by the various organizations involved, who do

not wholly support each other on matters of policy. However, the situation that now confronts us all is Evictions, and how do we prevent ourselves and other working-class families from being thrown on the street by her majesty's pigs.

We can get the materials together to physically oppose 'x' amount of pigs and/or bailiffs, but, in the final analysis, the real solution to the situation is the strength and solidarity which the working class possess in the trade unions, tenants' associations, and on the streets. Those of us who face eviction must relate the reality of our situation to our comrades in the factories, offices, shops and homes, so that together we can transcend the myth of capitalism and really start organizing, to control our own environment and consequently put an end to such brutal and inhuman events.

If any comrade can help with physical, material, or monetary support, please get in touch.

Duncan Brown,
71 Arbour House,
Arbour Square,
London, E.1.

DUNCAN.



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

**ANARCHIST
FEDERATION
of BRITAIN**

The AFB information office will produce an internal bulletin. Comrades interested in its production are to meet in Birmingham on the first Sunday in July. All groups will be informed in detail. Address all letters to:

Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road, Rotton Park, Birmingham, 16. Tel. 021-454 6871. Material that cannot wait for the bulletin to be sent to R. Atkins, Vanbrugh College, Hellington, York. The Contact Column in 'Freedom' is also available for urgent information.

Groups should send latest addresses to Birmingham. New inquirers should

write direct to them or to the AFB information office in Birmingham.

AFB REGIONAL GROUPS

There are now anarchist groups in almost every part of the country. To find your nearest group write to:

North West Federation: Secretary, Tom Howard, 163 Ryelands Road, Lancaster.

Cornwall: A. Jacobs, 13 Ledrah Road, St. Austell. (M. Ma. B.)

Essex & E. Herts.: P. Newell, 'Aegean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester. (QM, FL.)

Surrey: G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom.

Sussex: E. Poole, 5 Tilbury, Findon Road, Whitehawk, Brighton.

Yorkshire: Martin Watkins, 3 Mariborough Grove, Leeds, 2.

Scotland: Tony Hughes, Top Flat, 40 Anglepark Terrace, Edinburgh 11.

Wales: c/o P. L. Mare (address above).

N. Ireland: c/o Freedom Press.

S. Ireland: Bill Dwyer, Island, Corner Merrion Road and Nutley Lane, Dublin 4.

University and Student Groups: c/o P. L. Mare. (Abbreviations: M—meeting; Ma—magazine; B—badges; Q—Quarterly; FL—free leaflets)

Defend Frank Keane!

Dear Comrade,

We would like to bring to your attention the case of another Irish political prisoner who, included in the official 'Republican Movement's list of political prisoners. He is Patrick Frank Keane, a member of the Saor Eire (Free Ireland) and a former O/C of the Dublin Brigade, Irish Republican Army. Saor Eire is composed of the IRA who have become disillusioned with the pseudo-left path politics of the movement in recent years. These revolutionaries saw the need of a genuine revolutionary course which has led to the formation of a guerrilla grouping to combat the forces of Imperialism north and south of the Irish border.

Since its inception it has carried out numerous bank raids and arms raids. It has come into conflict with the State forces in the North and in the South and been actively involved in local

blowing-up of the Ballymun wall, amongst others.

Frank Keane was arrested in London on May 13, on a provisional warrant charging him with the alleged murder of Garda Richard Fallon during a Dublin bank raid on April 3, and extradition proceedings are at present underway. The shooting of Garda Fallon has been used as a pretext by the Irish political police for the biggest witch-hunt against a political group ever seen in the Irish Free State. The Special Branch have stated that they will shoot members of this organisation in preference to arresting them for questioning. Frank Keane has a long history of political activity and has already suffered imprisonment for his beliefs.

We would therefore ask you to give some space to the case of this young revolutionary who may shortly be on trial for his life.

Yours fraternally,

M. PRICE,

Saor Eire Action Group.

Fraternally,
Chippenham, Wilts. H. C. JENSEN.

THE WEDNESDAY MEETING

Passion and Youth,
Changers of the World

MARK WILLIAM KRAMRISCH speaks

FREEDOM HALL, Angel Alley
JULY 1 at 8 p.m.



PRESS FUND

June 1 to 8 inclusive
Wolverhampton: J.K.W. 2/-; K.F. & C.F. 2/-; J.L. 11/-; Quebec: R.Y.-B. £1; Glasgow: B.W. 10/-; Oxford: W.S. 5/-; Corby: T.P. 10/-; Leicester: A.R. 4/-; Los Angeles: J.S.E. £18/16/8; Dublin: H.B. 10/-; Taunton: D. & P.P. 8/6; Chippenham: W.C.J. 5/-; London, W.11: P.McG. £1.

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DON'T VOTE FOR US!

THAT SEEMS a strange statement at a time when all the political parties are making extravagant promises of how marvellous things will be if only you vote for them. But you have heard all the empty promises before and you know that elections are a farcical game which the politicians play for the power to control your lives. The whole system of the capitalist State and Parliament is based on the assumption that you are not fit to control your own lives, and that you need the politicians, employers, police, priests, trade union bureaucrats, etc., to do it for you.

As Anarchists we take a completely contrary view; we believe that you as workers are the only people who can organise your lives in your own best interests. There is no Anarchist Party because the idea of political parties striving for power is the opposite of what we believe in. No one can build a better world for you—you must do it for yourselves. Of course, you can count on the help of Anarchists wherever people are fighting for the freedom to control their own lives. In industry they support rank and file action against the bureaucrats. In the schools, colleges and universities they support the demands of students for a say in the running of their establishments. Where people have suffered from homelessness, racialism and religious persecution Anarchists have resisted the exploiters and oppressors with direct action. But, of course, these have only been attacks on specific issues

where the capitalist system has dropped the mask and revealed its cruel face. The capitalist system remains all over the world, both in the avowedly capitalist countries of the West and in the so-called plotters and oppressors and decide to live together in freedom and harmony. You may well agree with our criticism of present society but you wonder what we would put in its place? The answer

accept, without criticism, their holy writs and put them in power in place of your present rulers.

Of course, individual Anarchists have their own views of the sort of free society that they would like to see and they demand for themselves the right of free speech which they demand for others. The writer of this leaflet advocates a free society, based on the voluntary co-operation of the workers of the world, where production will be to satisfy the real and urgent needs of mankind and not for the profit of the capitalists who, at present, control our industry. In our present society our energies are devoted to producing those articles which it is most profitable to produce, those articles necessary to maintain the rich and powerful in their privileged position (e.g. armaments), or to performing some service necessary to maintain the power of the capitalists and politicians. Obviously there is little profit in feeding the hungry or housing the homeless because they are too poor to pay, so they are left in their misery. These and so many other problems (like anti-social behaviour) which have their roots in our present oppressive and exploitative society will only disappear with its demise.

But again we say only you can bring about a better world by your own conscious action. Have no faith in those who only want your vote, who want to act for you, who believe that you are not fit to control your own lives. DON'T VOTE—ACT.



Communist countries where party dictators have taken the place of private capitalists. It will remain, with all its poverty, wars and oppression, until the workers of the world, refusing to be deluded any longer with fantasies of race and national interest, throw off their ex-

is that we would not impose any system of society. Today there are left-wing groups offering numerous brands of 'revolution', but only those with an anarchist outlook allow you the freedom to create your own society on your own initiative. The others just want you to

What about the Workers?

YOU REMEMBER the white paper 'In Place of Strife'—a Labour Government, acting for gnomes of Zurich and other international parasites, attempted to introduce restrictions on the right to strike. For people in the nationalised enterprises it would have meant being tried and sentenced by the boss; for all of us it meant more state encroachment on our freedom. This scheme was defeated not by the Tory Party, nor by the TUC; but simply by the growing opposition among ordinary workers.

Now the Tories, led by Ted Heath, well-known yachtsman, organist, and friend of the people, are advocating 'Trade Union Reform'. First there's formal registration. This means that unions will need a licence to represent their members. Any union which doesn't toe the line will be outlawed. Then there's legally enforceable contracts. Though they probably won't say so before the elections, there is little doubt that a Tory government would make these compulsory if ONE side—that is, the employers—so wished. What they HAVE said is that they want a no-strike clause for the duration of the contract. This means that if something unexpected happens which isn't covered by the contract—an unjustified sacking, for instance—any action the workers might take will be illegal. Furthermore, even when there is no contract in operation, sympathetic action by workers other than those most directly concerned in a dispute will be illegal. In short, these Tory 'reforms' amount to an old-fashioned attack on the hard won rights of the working class.

like you to vote Labour. Far from it. We regard all political parties, Labour, Tory, Liberal, Nationalist, Communist or anything else, with the deepest mistrust. We do not vote, because it achieves nothing. After all, some of the most important decisions are taken by people who aren't elected—the Stock Exchange, for example.

But our attitude isn't just negative. We say that, instead of putting your faith in politicians, it's better to co-operate with your neighbours and workmates in gaining control of your own lives.

Whatever party wins the election, the important thing is that workers should be ready to stand up for their rights. As fellow workers, we'd like to offer some advice on how this can be done. Whether you take it or not is up to you.

Above all don't put your trust in 'leaders'. Some unions have Labour Party officials and a Communist 'opposition'. The bureaucrats are mainly interested in their own salary and status. They'll give you any amount of hot air to stop you rocking the boat. As for the Com-mies, or League of Russian Empire Loyalists, they will produce all manner of petitions and resolutions from their magic bag of tricks, but such 'activity'

is useless. Another bunch of power-seekers are the Trotskyists, whom we would describe as a hotted up version of the Communist corpse. Don't trust any of them.

DO IT YOURSELF

The sensible thing to do is to ignore the union bureaucracy. You and your mates should get together in defence of your rights, then link up with similar groups in other factories, etc. Any association formed in this way should be so democratic that the possibility of a 'leader' taking over doesn't exist. This means that all elected persons must be delegates, doing only what the rank-and-file tell them. Ideally, even if an industrial union grows from this movement, there should be no full-time officials; but should that be felt necessary, they should be elected for a short period of time, then revert to being ordinary workers.

IT CAN BE DONE

In addition to better wages, greater job control should be sought. Instead of coming out on strike, stay in and lock the bosses out. This tactic, used in France and many other countries

with considerable success, is virtually blackleg-proof, and gives protection from police interference. Occupation means it's impossible for the employers to



To be governed is to be watched over, inspected, spied upon, directed, legislated at, regulated, docketed, indoctrinated, preached at, controlled, assessed, weighed, censored, ordered about, by men who have neither the right nor the knowledge nor the virtue. To be governed means to be, at each operation, at each transaction, at each movement, noted, registered, controlled, taxed, stamped, measured, valued, assessed, patented, licensed, authorised, endorsed, admonished, hampered, reformed, rebuked, arrested. It is to be, on the pretext of the general interest, taxed, drilled, held to ransom, exploited, monopolised, extorted, squeezed, hoaxed, robbed; then, at the least resistance, at the first word of complaint, to be repressed, fined, abused, annoyed, followed, bullied, beaten, disarmed, garotted, imprisoned, machine-gunned, judged, condemned, deported, flayed, sold, betrayed, and finally mocked, ridiculed, insulted, dishonoured. Such is government, such is justice, such is morality.'

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon.

continue production, and, in order to get the workers OUT, the police or security forces have to get IN, which might be difficult!

If you don't feel quite up to that, how about a work-to-rule? This costs you little, and, in the complicated and bureaucratic capitalism of today, can be a brilliant weapon. It could be kept up for months. Eventually, the employers would be glad to pay up. Since there is no law against doing exactly as you're told, what could the government do? Then there's the lightning strike, the 'good work' tactic, and so on. Never let the bosses know what to expect. Use your imagination.

We want neither state exploitation (as in Russia and China) nor control by non-producing shareholders (as in the West), but a society in which people will run their own lives, beginning with full workers' control in industry. We uphold a society based on freedom, and the revolutionary principle, 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs'. For more information contact:

The Scottish Anarchist Federation, c/o 40 Angle Park Terrace, Edinburgh.

Dear Eighteen-year-old,

So you've got the vote, and you take seriously this recognition of your responsibility.

I don't mean the happy hippy who didn't go on the register anyway. Nor the toffee-nosed rising advertising executive or bank manager who's going to vote Tory regardless of whether it turns out to be Heath or Powell.

But the many of you who look around and are worried by what you see, the poverty, the pollution, the wars and racial oppressions in which we are involved by proxy. Particularly those whose position I heard articulated in a recent interview with the BBC: *Neither party has anything to offer, but, yes, I'll vote because I think you should.*

Why? Isn't this a bit masochistic? You don't approve but because they involve you by giving you the vote, you want to take some of the blame?

Is the lesser evil a valid choice for you? Doubtless the choice of party has much importance for the stockbroker making his spurious manipulations of the 'economy'. Maybe it has some meaning for the car industry workers turning out an endless stream of pollution and miles of traffic jams to fray the nerves and exhaust the spirit of the City zombies made late for their eight hours of pushing bits of paper from one place to another; for the workers in the arsenals and chemical factories pouring out the CS gas to half blind the eyes and sear the lungs

A Letter to New Voters

of impoverished Belfast Catholics and Protestants blaming each others' religious beliefs for their common economic misery; or building workers engaged in perpetual struggle for another hour and amelioration of the dirt and danger they wade in throughout their working day putting up prestige offices, luxury flats and new shopping precincts while many of them are packed with four or five children in a couple of crumbling rooms. They're already trapped in the weary old futile treadmill of keeping the wheels running and watching for the chance to get a drop of smoothing oil here and there to take some of the grind out of their lives. They'll go

to the polls because to them it is of immediate and real importance to get a £1 off the motor taxes, sixpence off the income tax or 3d. on the hour; their eyes are long since dulled and they can't see the wood for trees.

But you are looking at the world you're inheriting with honest, open eyes. Do you really think that by conscientiously choosing Tweedledum over Tweedledee you will lessen your misgivings?

Maybe you think that staying home or going on a picnic on June 18 won't do anything towards remaking the world. You are right. What it will do is keep your foot off the first step of the treadmill, establish in your own mind and make clear to the thousand-odd men and women who are begging you to afford them entry into that cosy, privileged Westminster club, that they do not have the excuse that the arrogant playing around with people's lives and callous shelving of the screamingly obvious needs to be filled before we can call ourselves civilized, is all acceptable because they have your permission.

There has never yet been an age in which human life has been decent and

dignified. From where we are now it's a long haul.

If you who say 'There is little to choose between the parties', who have rumbled the worthlessness of the parliamentary game, nevertheless commit yourselves to following its rules, we will never make a start.

M.C.

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One Step Forward—One Summer Back



THE SHADOW of a summer-long sectarian battle was cast over the PD conference held in Belfast this May 25. Although much concerned with the internal problems of its own organisation, PD was very much concerned with the effect of sectarianism and its bloody aftermath. The election, too, was also in the minds of many members; although no concrete attitudes evolved as to PD putting up candidates, PD came out very strongly in condemnation of the so-called 'Unity' candidates who are nothing more than a green tory front. Since leaving the higher echelons of the CRA, PD has not wavered in its attacks on the green tory elements around Austin Currie and the Fianna Fail-supported *Voice of the North* (subsidised to the tune of £400 an issue). They unhesitatingly attacked Messrs. Blaney and Boland of gun-running ill-fame for their involvement in right-wing Catholic extremism and some of the more dubious elements of the 'provisional' IRA. As *Free Citizen*, the paper of the PD, said in issue 32, 'The North can gain nothing from these pseudo-republicans with their cant about "our people"—the Catholics—in the North and their total contempt for the welfare of "their people" in the 26 counties. . . . When those workers and farmers (of Ireland) demand what is theirs, Blaney's guns will be turned against them.'

Joe Quigley's report as outgoing secretary reflected the activity of PD in the past few months. After analysing the drop in activity earlier in the year, he went on to list the activities which are increasing in volume and number throughout the North. Activities primarily on a socio-economic front, attacking the housing conditions and the sectarianism that still goes on in housing

allocation, participation in industrial struggles and of course the actions on Lough Neagh together with the fishermen, which is familiar to the readers of *FREEDOM*.

Despite this, the feeling of the conference was that not enough headway had been made in diverting the struggle away from sectarianism to attacking the Stormont Government as the tool of exploitation for British economic imperialism.

The attitude of some delegates was ambivalent to the processions of the Orange Order in the summer. The most dangerous of these is scheduled to march through Pomeroy, a small 100% republican hill town, on the Twelfth of July. The last time the Orange Order tried to march through here was in 1935 at the time of the Belfast riots. It was met with gunfire and there seems every likelihood that it could happen again. Despite the fact that this route was discussed between Chichester-Clark and Callaghan on his last visit to London, the mad major appears unwilling to ban this exercise in sectarian bloody-mindedness this summer. A large section of the PD feel that it should be stopped or diverted, but how, nobody seems to know. Despite some divergence of opinion the greater majority of PDs seem to be determined to prevent sectarian bloody-mindedness even if it appears in the process that they are siding with the Army. They state quite categorically that they will not support attacks on the Army if they occur because the Army is trying to keep apart two mobs trying to tear each other apart. However it has no doubt that it will support any demonstrations against the Army if they are against their presence to preserve the status quo

and the position of Stormont. As Kevin Boyle forcibly said, they cannot be seen to be ambivalent about sectarianism.

The failure of PD to make much impact outside certain centres was discussed at great length. Much blame was distributed to certain gentlemen in Derry and elsewhere. However it seemed to me that although PD was willing to criticise itself on the level of failure to go out and do the field work, what they were unwilling to do was look at the fact that they have become highly centralised in a negative way and they have no longer the appeal that they had as an open movement in the beginning. Certain delegates even welcomed this development. But this fails to look in the face what they are. They are not a party, they are a movement open to many diversionary opinions. Censuring members of the NILP for supporting Labour candidates seems to me a little odd as it places PD in the position of dictating to a section of its membership what it will or will not do. It is all very well attacking 'unity' candidates on the basis of sectarianism. However, if this logic is going to mean the expulsion of sectors of the membership, which it clearly is in the case of Fermanagh PD (backed up by the central committee), then the libertarian caucus within PD is walking on thin ice. PD is not against elections on principle, so it would seem to me that they are attempting step by step to evolve into a party structure unwittingly and that alongside that, their logic will lead to the exclusion of

those disagreeing with the majority line, thus isolating the libertarians within the organisation and leading eventually to a split by the two dominant wings of PD.

So the summer will come. To be honest, as an observer it appears to me that PD is no better prepared to face the problem than it was last summer. It will valiantly attempt to diminish sectarianism. To this end it hopes to create a co-ordinating committee of shop stewards and all left groups to try and diminish the possibilities of sectarian conflict. This, however, should have been done months ago if it is to have any serious effect. I hope it does well—but I doubt if it will have the time before it is strangled in July and August. Sectarianism, political and religious, still has its happy hunting ground in the North and if PD is not careful it will be affected by it, and thus diminish its force in the North to yet another of the many political groups which abound throughout the six counties.

Still, after that expression of gloom, I hope that PD continue with their unremitting spade work at the grass roots and maintain their fine stand. The *Free Citizen* continues selling 5,000-6,000 an issue each week and the much belated bi-monthly magazine is coming out, the *Northern Star*, which will have John McGuffin as the next editor. With the amount of work that goes into PD I hope that they expand themselves and the struggle for social justice in the North.

JOHN DIGGERA.

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N.Y. Guardian Crippled

ON APRIL 12, the office of the New York *Guardian* was invaded by about 50 people. These 'assorted ultra-leftists, anarchists and other self-styled "revolutionaries"' (so-called in the April 18 issue of the *Guardian*) took this action as the final step in a long dispute between the *Guardian* and a large portion of its staff.

The *Guardian*, which calls itself an 'independent radical newsweekly' generally follows the RYM II (part of SDS which did not join Progressive Labour or participate in the 'Weatherman' statement) line. Their position is strictly Marxist-Leninist, with the emphasis on building a wide-based working class support. They regularly condemn 'left-adventurism', anarchism, 'individual terrorism' and other groups which deviate from their line. The paper is run by 'a co-operative' whose members consist of workers who have 'worked with the newspaper four months or more and (have) been elected by the staff. Temporary, part-time and candidate workers (less than four months) participate in *Guardian* discussions, but do not vote'. In other words, the controlling body of the paper is self-sustaining, and new members must have the correct line before they can have a voice in editorial content.

The dispute centered around a 'non-negotiable' demand that 'the *Guardian* must be reorganized in a collective manner with all work and decisions shared collectively with each worker having one equal vote'. There were also other negotiable issues involving working conditions and 'alienation'. The principal demand was unanimously rejected by the editors.

The temporary help walked out, caucused, and, after a brief strike, invaded the offices of the paper. After some scuffling, the editors left the building and the paper was 'liberated'. The staff printed its own paper, while the editors met secretly and managed to publish a 'regular' issue. Since they retained the mailing list, most of the subscribers received only one side of the story.

RAT, a far-left, anarchist, Weatherman, women's liberation paper—itsself just liberated by a women's collective—printed their version of what happened at the *Guardian* offices, which was, as could be expected, generally sympathetic to the liberators.

The 'regular' *Guardian* account of the disorders refers to the staff as 'The Mob' and themselves as 'The Defenders'. 'The workers do control the *Guardian*', they said, 'and they're not going to let it be taken over by a bunch of anarchists'. Before the invasion, the *Guardian* locked out the dissidents saying "it was decided that all those who con-

tinued to identify with the blanket anti-*Guardian* statement and the attempts to destroy the paper's operation would be considered as having resigned from the paper'.

The editors rejected all the demands saying that their structure was 'an extremely democratic form of democratic centralism with the emphasis on the democratic aspect'.

On the question of alienation (detailed accounts of systematic division of workers by the editorial staff through the use of malicious gossip and financial manoeuvres were given in RAT, April 15), the *Guardian* managers said, 'Much "alienation" stemmed from an opposition towards the *Guardian* political line. In other words the *Guardian* has been too "liberal" in its hiring practice. Over the years, though a number of workers have left the *Guardian* because of such "alienation", very few have been Marxists in any sense of the word. Those who were, exhibited strong remnants of bourgeois individualism, despite their theories.'

Other demands, e.g. charges of 'bossism', threats of violence against workers, male-supremacy, white-supremacy, etc., were simply brushed aside with the statement that they 'simply could not be taken seriously'.

FREEDOM has not received a copy of the *Liberated Guardian*, because, as was mentioned before, the mailing list remained in the hands of the 'managerial collective'. One fact is clear, however, the struggle is not over. The old offices are still occupied by the staff. The paper put together by the 'regulars' is now running a series of articles including for example, 'The Bourgeois Roots of Anarchism' (April 25) among others. They are also increasing their attacks on RAT, Weatherman, etc. Each issue also runs ads requesting money to 'Help the *Guardian* Survive'. They enclose a mimeographed sheet with a new address.

The old address, now the offices of the *Liberated Guardian* is 197 East 4th Street, New York, N.Y. 10009, USA. I have not seen a copy as yet, but if you write to them enclosing 30 cents (2s. 6d.), for the paper and 20 cents (1s. 8d.) for the air mail postage, they will probably send you one. Make sure you address the letter to 'The *Liberated Guardian*'.

At last, it seems, we have seen that even the 'movement leaders' are not blameless. Although the slogan of 'Power to the People' may ring hollow for them, there are some of us that take it seriously.

MIKE BOARD.

*The May 2 issue of the regular *Guardian* says that all offices are vacant, as the landlord has closed the building.

ANARCHY OR . . . ?

LIKE SO MANY Anarchists I came to my beliefs through personal rebellion, bypassed Marxism on the way, and arrived at my present position of Libertarian Communism. Although personal rebellion was instrumental in turning me towards Anarchism, it is no longer the reason for that Anarchism.

Today I am an Anarchist because emotionally, intellectually, and ethically, Anarchism stimulates me, and I believe that an Anarchist society will herald the beginning at least of a more truly human (as opposed to subhuman) society.

Therefore despite the fact that in these wonderfully critical times, all professed dogma, all social panaceas, are open to uncertainty, I call myself an Anarchist. I believe in the establishment of Anarchy or Social Order without authority, without bosses, as the first step towards a world of, pardon the cliché, 'Liberty, Fraternity and Equality'.

I arrived at this credo by a process of elimination and (liberation?) starting as a believer in inspired leadership (The Enlightened Dictator Myth), through the quagmire of Social Democracy (Labour Party), turned by Marxism, and arrived at a system which I believe is the most plausible, most logical of all political ideas, in other words Communist-Anarchism.

One thing that always strikes me about Anarchists in general, even Anarchist writings, is that they are habitually on the defensive, as if it were almost necessary to apologise for their beliefs. Thus many call themselves Libertarians, etc., when what they really mean is Anarchist. Is Anarchism plausible and workable in the modern world?

Time after time I have listened to Marxist, Social Democrat, Capitalist

apologists, all pouring scorn upon Anarchists' 'unreality', 'Utopianism', etc. My reply is simply, 'Lookahere friend, at least our system has not proved the catastrophes that your systems have turned out to be. In fact the times Anarchist ideas have been tried for any brief space of time, they have not only worked, but they have worked better than your systems. It has been realistic, very realistic, until outside forces crushed it. In other words, our failure has not been an internal structural one, as yours have, but a case of outside force used against it.'

I am also an Anarchist in this day and age because I believe that the world is fast coming to the time when all men will be put to the choice between a Brave-New-World-type of centralist, oligarchic state (Plato's mad 'Republic' come to life), or a free system without frontiers, boundaries, and bosses. Time is running out for us, comrades, the choice is soon. Consider the first steps; that the United States has considered the keeping of files on every citizen from birth to death, plus the abnormal amount of repression existing throughout the world today and you don't have to be a seer to read the future in store for us all.

Finally, I honestly believe that the word Anarchy is synonymous with survival, and that the future existence of humanity depends on whether we can actually (and soon) smash the State, Government, etc., or be smashed or blown to pieces by them. I have found all political systems other than Anarchism, to be outdated, 'Utopian' and downright dangerous. So as far as I'm concerned, it's Anarchy now!—and after, who knows, but it's a start!

PETE RIDLEY.

LETTER

THE MYTH OF INTELLIGENCE

Dear Comrades,

I was rather surprised to see the apologists of Behaviourism occupying the columns of an anarchist newspaper. Anarchism and Behaviourism are not compatible philosophies. I would like to attempt an explanation as to why I think this.

The behaviouristic psychologist essentially seeks power over his human subjects. To achieve this, he attempts to reduce all the aspects of human behaviour to such highly simplistic formulas as exemplified by that of Stimulus-Response. Because he regards psychology as a science of behaviour he attempts to study it by the application of experimental scientific techniques: such 'experimental variables' which he cannot control are conveniently declared 'irrelevant' or 'meaningless'. Such are the scatological and mystical elements referred to in the dispute over intelligence (*FREEDOM*,

29.5.70). It would perhaps be interesting to examine the psychological implications of the Behaviourists' fierce denial of these essentially 'human elements' in their subjects anyway.

The Behaviourist is concerned with controlling the variables which affect human behaviour in order that he may make 'scientific' predictions about that behaviour. That is, he is seeking to perfect his control of human behaviour in order that he can manipulate it—experimentally or otherwise. Behaviourism seeks to control and manipulate human beings (ostensibly in the interests of scientific objectivity).

The manipulator holds power over the manipulated. A manipulated person is not free. Anarchy is freedom—Behaviourism as the pursuit of power over others is a negation of freedom.

Yours, etc.,

Nottingham JIM HEWSON.

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The Festival of the People

IN ORDER to combat the 'Don't just do something, stand there' attitude of many of the don't vote campaigns, a group of Anarcho-Syndicalists have decided to help provide an alternative.

On June 18, in Itchy Park (opposite Aldgate East Tube Station) there will be a 'Festival of the People' where all those who rejoice in the freedom of not voting, will come to make their statements of joy.

This exercise in the politics of ecstasy will begin at 12 noon. As the tension builds it just may expand into the streets. The organizers plan to bring a little happiness to the lives of the drab businessmen, and the people in the park will eventually march to the Stock Exchange in a merry procession.

This Sunday at 2 p.m. at the Roundhouse there will be a 'coming together of the Extra-Parliamentary Opposition'. All ideas, theatre, disruption, etc., is welcome. Even if you can't make it, try to be at Itchy Park on June 18. Bring your bodies, guitars, flowers, bricks, shaving cream, lemon pie or any other props you'd care to share.

M.B.

Interview with Anarcho-Pacifist

The following article is a condensation of an interview with Joffre Stewart, Chicago pacifist, by a correspondent of the Roger Spark, on the subject of anarchism. (The Roger Spark is a community newspaper for the Rogers Park area on the north side of Chicago.)

SPARK: Why do you want anarchy? Isn't that what we have today—chaos, confusion, everybody at cross-purposes?

JOFFRE: This question shows that the greatest failure of the anarchists, from the educational angle, is that they haven't attacked the semantic problem. Anarchists would do well to form an Anarchist Anti-Defamation League. Straightening out the meaning and use of the word would be perhaps the most immediately valuable thing they could do. One reason why anarchism is such a misunderstood and maligned term is that anarchism is really into the freedom thing, and nothing threatens the status quo like a genuine concept of freedom. Now the Greek word *anarchos* translates as ruler and the prefix *a-* or *an-* signifies the negative, so anarchy means no ruler, no rulership. The general idea is that people can get along much better without this phenomenon of rule, of authority, of command, than they can get along with it. Thus, it does not signify chaos, but signifies a true harmony. The State is based on force and violence, and the function of force and violence is to get people to do things they don't want to do. And these are usually wrong things, like maintaining the status quo with all its wrongs, the military establishment, the property system, rent-paying, tax-paying, etc.

SPARK: But isn't some kind of socialism the answer—instituting social controls for the benefit of all the people instead of a privileged minority? Doesn't this make more sense than trying to get rid of all controls whatsoever?

JOFFRE: The idea of anarchism is to get people in control of their own lives. Now if this is going to happen it means that we have to get rid of the mechanisms which are set up to con-

trol people. Such mechanisms are what most people mean by the State. They are certainly what most Marxists mean by the State. Most people who use the word socialism mean use of the State to control. When people have control over themselves, what we have is voluntarism and co-operation. Anarchism equals co-operation equals freedom. This can only happen by getting rid of the State. What I am advocating is not a democratic thing, it is an anti-craic thing, a contra-craic thing. Democracy still contains the unnegated root -craic, from *kratos* meaning rule.

Now co-operation as a macro-social phenomenon is not understood. The concept is completely lost on a lot of people. If people don't understand co-operation, they don't understand how to be free. Or if they think that co-operation can be mixed up with the idea of democracy, they don't know what freedom is all about. Because democracy, just as any other -craic or -archy, means cops, courts, jails, taxes, armies, twisting people's arms, beating them up, snatching their property, throwing them in jail—in other words, the opposite of co-operation.

SPARK: But we have to have a State, a government of some kind. History shows that.

JOFFRE: Six to ten thousand years of history is enough to show that the State is a means of the few manipulating the many. Of some people dominating others. Where anarchists clash most strongly with the Marxists is that Marxists believe you can get a non-coercive system by coercing people. Marxists want the State. They want to twist people's arms and thus introduce society into a period of freedom. It won't work. It can't work. This is what they mean by a period of transition. It's just a trap. Every year the Russian revolution gets older, I think the weight of my argument gets stronger.

SPARK: But what about human nature? Even if anarchism is a positive goal in your mind, isn't it an unrealistic one? Wouldn't people tear each other apart or at least mercilessly exploit the weaker if it weren't for the restraint of

government, laws, policemen, etc.?

JOFFRE: Nothing is more necessary than a nonviolent revolution against authority that would yield a Stateless, classless, non-racial society on a basis of free love. My religion is not realism if realism means jail, being beaten up by police and stuff like that. It's nothing I want to live by. Now the bomb is a very real thing. The risk of ABC war—not just nuclear but atomic—this risk can only be obviated through anarchy. That means through getting rid of the State, getting rid of that which organizes people for war. This is anarchist realism. If you want peace, if you want to stay alive, if you want to live in freedom, it means getting rid of the State, of all authoritarian arrangements.

Where most people get hung up is that they think of human nature as they know of it in America, or perhaps only in the big cities of America, and then they generalize. They have no anthropological information that would demonstrate the varieties of ways people could live without a State. A recent English work entitled 'Tribes Without Rulers' points to what anarchists are talking about. Here we have a whole group of people—who live without the phenomenon of rule. These are people as human as we are.

Americans are more afraid of each other than they are of the Russians or anybody else. That's the fear that's behind such questions about 'human nature', and the suggestion that people would go at each other's throats as soon as the brakes—cops, courts, jails, etc.—were taken off. I don't know what to say about that directly except to expose it.

Another thing people don't realize is that there is a connection between the means you use to change society and the resulting society itself. No *deus ex machina* is going to accomplish the change toward freedom. This means that people themselves are going to have to engage in nonviolent actions which are contrary to and contradictory to the legal establishment.

SPARK: What kind of actions do you have in mind?

JOFFRE: People should renounce citizenship. They should stop paying taxes and allowing themselves to be drafted. They should stop walking when arrested. They should stop saying the Pledge of Allegiance and singing the 'Star Spangled Banner'. A consistent position also entails not pleading in court. I consider it beneath my dignity to 'plead' in court. It means not going into court except for the purpose of

showing contempt of court. It is contempt of court simply to behave as the equal of the judge. There are some of the basic things which must be done. In these ways you are undoing the key institutions of the status quo. It is also very necessary to experiment with cooperative alternatives.

New social conditions also can give new possibilities for the development of character. Insofar as people have become more nonviolent in the process of disobediently retiring the political system they take pressures off each other, giving character a chance to form itself without being warped.

SPARK: But if people want this freedom you describe, if they are capable of it, why is it that they seem to submit themselves voluntarily to authority, seem to crave it over them, seem afraid to take on the responsibility for their own lives that your version of anarchism would entail?

JOFFRE: People don't know the alternatives to authority. This voluntary submission is also partly because of language habits. The language takes it for granted, this submission to authority. These language habits are engrained in liberalism and the liberal attitude. But one can also criticize many of the current Movement leaflets. For instance, here is one called 'No More Hiroshimas'. A quote from the back pages: '... a trillion dollars and many lives later we are engaged in a bloody war in Vietnam.' Well, 'we' are not engaged in a bloody war in Vietnam, if only because I am not engaged in such a war. I am a Stateless person, having renounced citizenship. If you are in a war in Vietnam, at this distance, it is because you identify with the State. I quote again: '... that all our troops be brought home immediately.' They aren't 'our' troops since as a pacifist I don't have any troops and won't have any. Also the passive voice 'be brought' implies that the troops should stay in Vietnam until someone over here in the White House pulls them out. This statement implies that armies should be maintained. The person who wrote this obviously didn't have any fundamental criticism of keeping armies. An anarchist position would be addressed not to the government, but to the troops—to break ranks and return themselves home as free men against the State.

There are two main concepts which have to be destroyed as well: patriotism and respectability. Neither comes under attack nearly enough. After two world wars with some eight million killed in one and up to ninety million in the other.

PILKINGTON'S

Continued from page 1

the shop floor.

'BLOODY AWFUL UNION'

The titled General Secretary, Lord Cooper, amply symbolises this remoteness, but his reply to criticism at the union's conference was 'get stuffed!' The critic had called the G&MWU 'a bloody awful union' with a leadership of 'comedians', who are afraid to offend the establishment. Attention was also drawn to the union's slow growth of membership in comparison with the Transport and General. It was probably this comparison which upset His Lordship and caused such an undignified outburst.

It may come as a surprise to us that such a useless union should have any members, were it not well known that workers spend more time picking out horses than they ever do choosing a union. It would be wrong, however, to assume that the workers are happy as pigs in shit simply because stoppages are rare, as at Pilkingtons. The everyday carryings on inside a factory are hard enough for a wideawake shop steward to keep tabs on, let alone an outsider.

This is why there were conflicting reports about what happened when the workers went back to work, with the firm claiming that the atmosphere was calm. From the top, it must have been how it looked, it was how they wanted it to look and it was how those lower down would have wanted to make it look. Other reports from the shop floor, however, suggest that there was fighting between scabs and those returning from the strike. Clock cards belonging to the scabs were ripped up and some of these men were sent to Coventry. We know this only because the newsgatherers were still in St. Helens, but on any other day we would have been none the wiser.

The everyday goings on in the factories are often known only to the immediate participants. Because of this, the press rarely penetrates more than skin-deep into any strike situation. But even they managed to capture some of the anarchic qualities at work in the St. Helens' strike, when it became clear that the strike committee viewed itself more as the servant of the strikers than a god-sent leadership. The *Guardian*, while recognising the sincerity of this committee, criticised them for not directing the workers and recommending a return to work when enough progress had been

made'. The paper put the committee's failure to do this down to 'inexperience', but it is this committee and not the experienced bosses of the Municipal Workers' Union who today have the support of the men at Pilkingtons. It was the strike committee alone which understood that men like to determine the course of events for themselves and not be treated like kids. It could well be that the committee is not all that clued up on top-level diplomacy, but they are none the worse off for that.

Mr. Feather, the General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress, in his role as conciliator, has a difficult, if not impossible task. He cannot even get Lord Cooper to meet the strike committee, let alone produce a reconciliation. No doubt Lord Cooper thinks things will cool down and that he can ride out the storm with his procedure agreement with Pilkingtons which stipulates that contracting out of the union should be done in accordance with the union rules.

The only way Mr. Feather seems to have of coming out of this situation with credit is by persuading the union to let those members contract out if they so desire. However, there seems little hope of this being agreed upon. Such an outcome would leave Mr. Feather defending the company-union agreement.

CONTRACTING OUT

To my knowledge there has been no outcry from those freedom-loving individuals who shout and rave about the tyranny of the 'closed shop' and its threat to individual liberty. Yet over 4,000 men have signed forms, not the union ones however, saying that they want to contract out of the G&MWU and have asked Pilkingtons not to deduct their 2/6d. contribution from their wages. With the Bridlington poaching agreement, other unions are unlikely to join up these members.

Those contracting out will form the Provisional Pilkington Trade Union, which, according to the strike committee, is open to a take-over by either the Transport and General Workers Union or the Chemical Workers Union. It is unlikely that either of these two unions will do this and risk breaking the poaching agreement.

Due to the lost orders, Pilkingtons announced some 240 redundancies, which include some members of the strike committee. Now Mr. Wells, G&MWU

Folkestone's Young People Persecuted

LAST OCTOBER we received a number of complaints, mainly from young people in Folkestone, about the difficulties they were facing in their dealings with the rest of the community and particularly the police. The situation was confused by charges and counter-charges and certain court cases created a climate of bitterness. An NCCL observer visited the town and reported: 'There has been a curtailment of civil liberties in Folkestone by certain sections of the police. Many young people have certainly provoked the police but even taking this into account as well as pressure from local traders and councillors, I suspect that some officers have been more repressive than is necessary or acceptable. . . . If local traders and the Council spent as much time, effort and money in a positive attempt to help and promote the town's young people as they do now in repressing them, I am sure things would improve.'

acting Regional Officer, has said that only 90 men are threatened and that natural wastage over the next two months will prevent these men from losing their jobs and that there are vacancies in existence at other plants. The company has said this was because of pressure from the union. Hearing this, Gerry Caughey, member of the strike committee, said: 'This firm is making history. It is the first time that I have ever known a company to state that it was due to union pressure that they had decided to reinstate the men.' He claimed, quite rightly, that the pressure had come from the rank and file and

The report was sent to the Mayor and other community leaders interviewed by the observer. In an editorial the *Folkestone Herald* remarked that it was doubtful that much, if any, notice would be taken of the report of the 'self-styled' National Council for Civil Liberties. This tended to confirm our impression of the negative role in community relations played by this paper. The MP, Albert Costain, was more constructive and read our report 'with much interest'. He felt that we had underplayed what had been done by the local Council to improve amenities for the young, including 'one of the most modern sports centres in the country', some of the cost of which had been met from donations by local residents.

There are always two sides to every question yet some of the allegations made by the young people of Folkestone must not be left unanswered indefinitely.

NCCL MONTHLY BULLETIN.

not the union.

Certainly Pilkingtons will never be the same again. Gone is the era of the employer-G&MWU reign. The rank and file have asserted themselves and have thrown up their own organisation of struggle. Workers should belong to whatever organisation they choose. The paternal attitude of the company on one side and the 'we know what's best' of the union on the other will no longer serve many at Pilkingtons. In our opinion they are best rid of the G&MWU.

NORTH WEST WORKERS AND P.T.

Patriotism is the cover story for the ninety-eight million deaths and all the war-related deaths since then. If concepts like patriotism are not attacked and exposed and put down, it means that people's minds are still in the authority bag without their even thinking about it.

I regard anarchism as the theory of pacifism, pacifism as the practice of anarchism. But it's not just a matter of ideas. The ideas of Jesus, Lao Tse, etc., have been around two thousand years and longer, and we're still stuck with cops, courts, jails, and wars. My point is not merely to get you to understand, but to get you to act.

Contact

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

Going to Canada to Avoid the Draft?

You need the new March, 1970 edition of 'Immigration to Canada and its Relation to the Draft and the Military'. Single copies free from the Montreal Council to Aid War Resisters, Case Postale 5, Succursale Westmount, Montreal 215, Quebec, Canada.

Industrial Democracy. Conference held in Toronto in March. The speeches delivered range from collective bargaining to workers' control and they have been collected into a book, 'Industrial Democracy and Canadian Labour', 14/- inc. postage (send international money order, from Post Office) Praxis, Research Institute for Social Change, 373 Huron Street, Toronto 181, Ontario, Canada.

Notting Hill Libertarian Society. Meetings every Monday at 7.30 p.m., upstairs room of 'The Ladbroke', Ladbroke Crescent, Ladbroke Grove, W.11. Nearest tube station Ladbroke Grove. Correspondence to Sebastian Scragg, 10 Bassett Road, W.10.

Spartacus Theatre Group meets Tuesday and Friday evenings at St. Philip's Church Hall in Whitwell Road (off Balaam Street, Plaistow). For further information phone 472 7139 and ask for Alan.

Black Flag Bookshop opening soon. 1 Wilne Street, Leicester. Anarchist and secondhand books.

Comrades in Southern England needed to picket/leaflet Cornwall holiday routes (A.30 and A.38), main line stations, etc. First co-ordinated weekend, Saturday, July 4. More details from **Close Nancekuke Now**, 42 Pendarves Street, Beacon, Camborne, Cornwall.

Oxford Anarchists. New group being formed, contact Dave Archard, Corpus Christi College, or John Humphries, Balliol.

Chemical and Biological Warfare Action Group. Meeting on Monday, June 15, at 7.30 p.m., at 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. All who are concerned welcome.

'The Alternative Election' — Anarcho-Syndicalism; illustrated poster available, 4/- post free or 7 copies for a guinea. From Syndicalist Workers Federation, c/o 18 Scoresdale, 13 Beulah Hill, London, S.E.19.

American Anarchist will be in Amsterdam for a week starting about August 18. Needs lodging. Write Mike Board, c/o Freedom Press.

'Spanish Political Prisoners' and 'Looking Back After 20 Years in Jail' by Miguel Garcia Garcia. 2/6 the pair inc. post from Freedom Press.

Merseyside Anarchists: Meetings 8 p.m. on first Sunday of each month at 172A Lodge Lane, Liverpool 8. Contact J. B. Cowen at above address.

Wednesday discussion meetings at Freedom Meeting Hall from 8 p.m.

Manchester Anti-Election Campaign. Bill West, 16 Northern Grove, West Didsbury, Manchester 20. Meetings every Wednesday.

Tory Five Point Fascism Electioneering. We must start our work now—preparation for printed leaflets and posters for a nationwide factory gate campaign—money and ideas needed—Interested? Contact L.S.F., c/o Keith Nathan, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York.

Urgent. Help fold and dispatch FREEDOM every Thursday from 4 p.m. onwards. Tea served.

Badges? Contact Pendarves Workshop, 42 Pendarves Street, Beacon, Camborne; tel. Camborne 3061. Red and Black or plain Black, 2/6 each or 10 for 10/-.