

A TOUGH TIME AHEAD

WHATEVER political party forms the government of the day, it never tires of telling us that the country is either 'heading for' or 'facing economic disaster'. Equally it is true that governments in other countries are also predicting the same impending disasters. In peace time, these disasters take the place of the propaganda that governments churn out in times of war, such as 'the country is under siege' and that everyone must unite to fight the 'foreign enemy'.

This situation is obviously to the advantage of the ruling class of any country. If they can create by the means of the mass media a national unity against so-called 'foreign economic competition', then they have gained a competitive edge on their rivals.

Although there is competition for markets between the international corporations, they are now absorbing one another to form multi-national combines who exploit not only the people who are working for them, but also the earth's limited resources. To enable this exploitation to continue, all governments are continually hoodwinking the people into believing that the state's economy has something to do with them. They are always being told that their wage demands are too high. The present Tory Government in this country, contrary to the impression it gave during the general election, is now saying that wage demands will have to be curbed before any cuts in taxation are made. The electoral swindle is now working itself out and they will govern in the interests of those who own and control the productive wealth of this country.

The Government has made it perfectly clear that it is going to use

the nationalised industries as the barometer for its incomes policy and, like De Gaulle in France, they will keep wage increases to a minimum. Should any industrial action take place in the public sector, the Government will give every backing to the Boards of these industries in making a stand against the demands.

MARKET COMPETITION

We are told that control of prices can be left to 'market competition', while, in the same week, this fallacy is exposed by the report of the Prices and Incomes Board on tea prices. This states that the recent increases were unnecessary or at least could have been delayed. Some companies followed Brooke Bond, the main company with 43% of the market, because, if they had not, it would have made their brands look 'cheap'. So much for market competition.

This report also throws some light on profits and returns on capital investment. Brooke Bond made a profit last year of 4d. on every pound of tea and a 14% return on capital and forecast increases this year, while Typhoo Tea made 1/- profit on each pound and 37% return last year. It is no wonder that they were criticised. Although tea prices have not been raised for 13 years, the profits have increased because of the falling price of tea on the world market. This has meant cheap tea for us here and huge profits for the companies, but

disaster for the people who live in the one-crop economy countries like Ceylon and parts of India.

The Tories have made it plain that they are determined to give the workers a tough time during the coming months. They are going to stand by the Boards of the nationalised industries and fight the big wage increases that are being claimed at present by the miners, railwaymen, teachers, steel-workers and local government manual workers. We can expect a showdown on one of these fronts in order that the private companies, especially engineering, will be better placed to resist increases in their sector.

ANTI-UNION LEGISLATION

The Tories are also determined to 'reform industrial relations', by which they mean that they will try to make it harder for the rank and file trade unionist to organise and take action to get such increases. According to the employers and the Government, the law now favours the trade unionist, meaning that the trade unionist has become too strong for the law and that collectively they can win what they want if the combination of determination, will and solidarity is used for that purpose.

The employers favour a powerful Registrar of Trade Unions and it is expected that the Commission for Industrial Relations will play a much greater role in settling disputes. Among those serving on this

Commission include ex-trade union leaders, such as George Woodcock and Will Paynter, as well as representatives of the employers. However the emphasis in the proposed legislation is on strengthening the role of the trade union leadership, as was the case with Labour. They want strict set procedures both for negotiating and scrutiny of union rules. In fact they want the unions as a mere appendix to the ruling establishment of employers, the State and the Government. Certainly the leadership of the trade unions have played this role both now and in the past. Both the left and the right have done this to a lesser or greater degree, estimated by what they thought they could

get away with before their rank and file put the pressure on.

The attitudes of trade union leaders are conditioned by the extent of their vision of the continuation of a system of wage exploitation. Without that system their functions are finished, along with that of the employers, the State and the Government. They hang and die together. These same trade union leaders pontificate on the remedies for the economy. They say that expansion is the answer and this will lead not only to higher wages to buy the extra goods, but also to the absorption of the increasing number of unemployed. But their remedy, at its best, only ensures continuing

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BLACK POLICE POWER

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH supplement in a superficial article on political extremists spoke of the Black Power movement being 'not so much a movement as a state of mind'. This is quite true in two senses; it requires the awareness of the blacks and a degree of panic on the part of the largely white press and police to call it into being. As a political movement it probably has as much existence as, say, the anarchists. But it only took two incidents, seemingly, to bring forth a Home Office call for a report on the 'movement'. The first incident was at Caledonian Road police station where a mob of blacks stormed the station; it was claimed that a substantial proportion of the crowd came from the Black House nearby which is the headquarters of Michael X. The second incident was statistically more important—seventeen policemen were injured and nineteen people were charged after a demonstration against harassment by the police; a demonstration escorted (of course) by the police, eventually open fighting broke off, triggered off, it is said, by a policeman hitting a young demonstrator.

The hollowness of police injury statistics has been pointed out before, notoriously regarding Grosvenor Square; the police are employees and naturally subject to compensation, sick pay and sick leave, therefore even the most minor injury must be reported to safeguard their possible claims. Secondly, the police are the only section of the 'demo' who can secure first aid without any prejudice or suspicion arising. How many demo militants have slunk away and nursed their injuries in private? This is, of course, all apart from such unreported injury inflicted by the police in the heat of conflict or the quiet of a police-cell. But statistically, the score was more than even—nineteen for seventeen!

Whatever happened on these demonstrations cannot be fully described and it is impossible to believe press or television accounts as they are usually highly 'slanted'. On this aspect, the US official report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders took the US media to task for failure to portray an accurate reflection of the scale and character of the violence in American cities in 1967. 'The overall effect was, we believe, an exaggeration of both mood and event.' Most important, 'we believe that the media have thus far failed to report adequately on the causes and consequences of civil disorders and the underlying problems of race relations. We have found a significant imbalance between what actually happened in our cities and what the newspaper, radio and television coverage of the riots told us happened.' This is the usual minority experience of the media. What has happened to

the blacks, when this minor demonstration has been built up by the press into a riot and a menace to the country, is the usual experience of other minorities.

Their experiences with the police have not been out of the ordinary, the harassment of hippies and (revealed only this weekend) of down-and-outs is the usual experience of those who have found themselves seeing the law as it really is and the policeman as an enemy rather than as a friend to old ladies. We do not doubt for one minute the stories of police harassment in Notting Hill. *International Times* gave factual details of cases involving the notorious PC Pulley and others several months ago.

If one wishes for a really sick-making experience one should turn to the *People* of August 16 where an article is written advising the force to transfer PC Pulley for the sake of better public relations with immigrants. Not that the *People* with its double-faced style believes a word of the allegations, but the mere fact that such stories could circulate shows that relations with PC Pulley have deteriorated to such an extent that he should be transferred! It then goes on to relate, in its glorious 'both sides of the street' style, accounts of various encounters with the police, finishing each account by saying there is no evidence to bear this out.

One of the firm conclusions come to by every right-thinking liberal or progressive sociologist is that we should have more coloured policemen. One of the few coloured policemen, who was trained in Coventry—he resigned later on a question of pay—was speaking on the radio last week and said that a coloured policeman was useful in order that policemen should know what coloured people were like!

Do the blacks want more coloured policemen? This is one of the measures advocated by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders which is sufficient to damn the idea. One of the cardinal sins according to Black Power is Uncle Tom-ism. The creation of a black 'police force would, for the blacks, be Simon Legree-ism!

James Baldwin in his perceptive and prophetic book *The Fire Next Time* (written pre-Watts in 1962) says the final word on this, 'White people cannot, in the generality, be taken as models of how to live. Rather, the white man is himself in sore need of new standards, which will release him from his confusion. . . . The price of the liberation of the white people is the liberation of the blacks—the total liberation, in the cities, in the towns, before the law and in the mind.' This is the real black power, not the drawing apart under new masters which is all that Michael X promises.

JACK ROBINSON.

Freedom Travel for Londoners

THE BIGGEST FARE increase in the history of London Transport has just taken place, at a time when the service provided is diminishing. There is talk of 'commuter strikes', and a good deal of grumbling, but the probable result will be that still more people will abandon the public transport system and take to the car or the motorcycle. The decline of the public transport system means that London, and perhaps this will also come to apply to other big cities, will become more and more difficult to live in, unless one is well-to-do, will maybe become impossible to live in. The sheer size of the place rules out the push bike, and walking.

However, at the very time the fares are increased, Horace Cutler of the GLC, who now run London Transport, blandly announces that fares may be done away with altogether in Central London. This idea is not based on any anarchist idealism. The sole concern is profitability. Getting rid of ticket offices and their staff, ticket machines, inspectors, collectors and conductors would save so much money that the service would become economically viable.

A large number of people would lose their jobs, which probably does not worry Mr. Cutler. The great thing is to make a profit. 'Target, The Busman's Newsletter', in its June issue, states that probably 'there would be a big cut-back in private cars, then the enormous savings on road construction would enable LT to keep going for the rest of the century and well into the next!' It is possible that the authorities believe something like this would happen, but I very much fear that most of the population who have once been lost to public transport will not return to it, even if it is free and efficient. The car has become a fetish, and people would in many cases far rather travel inconveniently by car than conveniently by public

transport. I may be unduly pessimistic. I hope so.

A letter recently published in *The Times* suggests that public transport in Greater London should be financed out of the rates. 'A penny rate produces £2.65m.' This should be enough to finance a 'free service' and be a great saving for the ratepayers. The proposition sounds attractive. The trouble is that means and ends are inextricably woven together. If transport in London is made 'free', or at least fareless, simply because those who live in a vast city need it as much as they need air, food and light, then all is well, as much as one can expect it to be in an imperfect world. But if the thing is done in order to make a profit, the results are likely to be less good. One of the basic beliefs of the capitalist form of authoritarianism is that nobody must ever be allowed to get something for nothing, or get something easily, without suffering.

If the service were run by men like Mr. Cutler there would be bound to be some snags in it, of a kind that one cannot foresee. And the problem posed by the private car is not likely to be done away simply by better public transport. The passion for the private car represents in modern man another example, like the increase of racialism, chauvinism and violence-for-the-fun-of-it, of the breakthrough of the irrational. The car stands, I suspect, for power and individual self-assertion in many people's minds. One suggestion is that it be banned from the centre of the big cities, at least private cars, not of course vans delivering goods to shops. Anarchists can hardly support bans of any kind. Nevertheless something of the kind will very likely come about in the end. The trend has already begun with parking meters, and the permits which one has to have in some districts of London if one wants to keep one's car in the street

outside one's house.

Meanwhile what can one do about the immediate problem? A decade or more ago FREEDOM hailed the enterprise of the citizens of Barcelona, who, when the tram fares were increased, simply walked to work. Soon the fares were brought back to their original level. Is this sort of spontaneous action too much for Londoners? Perhaps it is. The London temperament is more passive than that of Barcelona, a city with an anarchist tradition. Also it is a much bigger place. One could easily spend all day walking to work. A suggestion has been made that people refuse to pay the new fares, offer the old fare and give their names and addresses. Some people will do this, no doubt, but most will feel that it is too much trouble. They have already enough to do, their jobs, their families and so on, without involving themselves in possible litigation, or even acrimonious disputes with ticket collectors and bus conductors.

What is needed is an organisation of militant commuters, quaint though the idea may seem, rather on the lines of that organisation which has been developed by those receiving Social Security benefits for their defence against officialdom. Such an organisation would soon find means of making effective protests, and would give confidence to individuals who might not care to stand alone. To refuse to pay one's fare, and start an argument at a crowded barrier, where hordes of people are pouring past, or trying to, tired and desirous of getting home with as little hindrance as possible, requires a good deal of courage. One's fellow citizens are liable to regard one as just another crank or nuisance. We have associations of consumers, neurotics, homosexuals, gypsies, housewives, black people and those concerned with civil liberties. How about a Commuters' Association? A.W.U.

Violence as an Art Form

THERE ARE FASHIONS in political attitudes to the problems of the time, and the days of the gentle cockney mystics working out the world's salvation in the lonely isolation of the offices of *International Times* is part of last year's legend. This is now the bloody hour of the muscle boys, Black Power fascism and guns for the political thugs on both sides of the Irish border. Any anarchist or group of anarchists who allow themselves to become involved in furthering this religious and power-seeking violence can have little to prate of when a child is killed in a café bombing, an uncommitted traveller is mass-slaughtered in a bomb planted plane, or a panic-stricken youth is killed by a badly-aimed bullet fired from the sanctified authority of Paisley, Pope or Her Gracious Majesty. Where are all the poets who wept, in blank verse, for the starving children of Biafra or the maimed peoples of Vietnam, now that our trendy mass circulation UNDERGROUND press is advocating Revolution Hot style?

There is that time when violence is the only answer to our own situation but when that happens we can seek no one's aid for we have chosen to act out the final judgement and in doing so abrogate our own right to participate in the affairs of others, for in killing a fellow man, and that is the ultimate and inevitable end-product of the policy of violence, we have made an irreversible decision, for if we choose to play God then we must accept his splendid isolation.

It was left to our poets to sing the world's lamentations, for the artists of the Town were painting the visual wallpaper for their middle-class employers and their only display of independence was their gay flowering of pop-art homosexual paintings. Now there has

come the break-through of good hard core erotica that should spell out the public break with the acceptance of the artist as a talented hack.

The Robert Self Gallery in Horse Shoe Yard, W.1, has now mounted the second London exhibition of the erotic drawings of Hans Bellmer and I can do no worse than quote George Melly on our national pastime when he writes that 'Bellmer's imagery, until recently too shocking for the public light, may yet spawn its imitators... for Bellmer's beautiful and lyrical line drawings are, in their attack on public taste, a manifesto for the apostles of violence and Bellmer's lovely erotic lines have not been seen since Beardsley, and the Town is fortunate to have two exhibitions of this artist.

But it is Johnny Upton at the Mannheim Gallery at 303 Kings Road, S.W.3, who should concern the readers of FREEDOM for here is an anarchist artist known for his actions and his personality as much as for his art. These are the dog days for the movement and we commit the saddest of all sins in that we reminisce about the past and the giants of the movement and that time lag is too short for comfort but among the giants of our mythology is Johnny Upton. Here is a pacifist who has earned the right to that title by virtue of the fact that he fought the late Randy Turpin in Germany and flattened the title contender, George Newman, in one round so, having done that, he can rightly claim to wave the rose in the name of peace. But Johnny Upton exists as the eternal individualist for he is and always will be a rebel within any society. His front page drawing for a John Rety issue of FREEDOM became a *cause célèbre* within the anarchist movement and,

whatever one's feelings about the subject matter, one could not deny its impact while Johnny Upton's triptych in a local prison chapel is still a worthy addition to that worthless place.

Here at the Mannheim Gallery is an exhibition of Upton's paintings and drawings. His work lacks the strong disciplined line of Leger and, like Bratby, he relies too much on the use of masses of bright unrelated colours while the faces of his figures, as with Bratby, become stylised masks but, like Carol Weight, his deliberate naivety succeeds because of the intensity of the feeling that he puts into his subject matter. The word *naïve* is not of my choosing for I feel, indeed I know, that this is a false assessment of Johnny Upton's work for he is a lazy painter who has refused to bring to full flower his natural talent. His large painting, *Let Brian Breathe*, is an indication of this with its background of muted coloured bricks but in his other work too much is a painterly shorthand.

As happens all too often we find a brilliant draughtsman deliberately destroying his gift by suffocating it under a blanket of bright and irrelevant colours. One hopes that Johnny Upton will turn to the discipline of the thin line and a muted use of colour for when this happens we will have an artist of rare worth. The same can be said of Lylal Watson who has much in common with Johnny Upton for here is a fine draughtsman who has wasted so much of his talent in seeking to increase his range with the use of an overbright palette.

At Lylal Watson's current exhibition at 16 Woodstock Street, W.1, are his brilliant line drawings and, like Searle and Upton, one knows that brilliant draughtsmanship becomes that much

lesser when they tint it, for the Upton who drew the external and internal revolutionary front page of that disputed copy of FREEDOM, Searle who raised shouts of disgust and stimulated vomit with his early work, and Watson who did the fine illustrations for the book *Katy and the Winged Horse*, are not the same men when allowed near a bright paint brush, but Upton and Watson are personalities and draughtsmen to be envied.

It was this year's Royal Academy that was a little poorer this year in that it did not, among so many purged works, contain a painting by Elizabeth Lablache but the journey to the Chapter House at Coventry Cathedral that The Lord Bishop of Coventry and I made, by independent routes, was worthwhile, for Elizabeth Lablache's paintings are in the great religious tradition of the English mystics. As the etchings of Piranesi reduced man to a creature of unimportance within an existential universe, so Elizabeth Lablache, unconsciously, offers man once more raised to a creature of importance in relation to a supreme deity and, while her work forms the antithesis to Piranesi's thesis of man as nothing, so Upton's gives us the synthesis of man in relation to the universe and to his fellow man.

But while they sweat out the problems of our age, let us salute, if with no more than a friendly thumbs-up, the cheerful unphilosophical and uncommitted drawings of Martin Weener at the Cockpit, Gateforth Street, N.W.8, for here is good workmanship, cheerful content and happy anger and, when the debate becomes too pedantic, let us cock a snoot at the world and the muscle men with Martin.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

LETTER

Women's Liberation

Dear Comrades,

I agree with Jacquetta Benjamin (FREEDOM, August 8) that Women's Liberation should be solved on an individual level, at least initially, because any form of liberation must be, if it is to be truly liberating. But I would hardly say she is a realist when she says 'we must not let ourselves be exploited'.

It is hard enough for women already aware of their exploitation, of their narrow feminine role, to prevent themselves being exploited. Never mind the great majority of women who are not even consciously aware of their exploitation. How can you say they must not let themselves be exploited?

If Women's Liberation does little more than make a lot of women (hopefully all women) stop and think and question how they live their lives and how they regard themselves as individuals, it will have achieved one of its main aims.

Terry Phillips (same issue) ought to find out a bit more about W Lib before he condemns so harshly. Since it began, in this country at least, Women's Lib groups have shown marked anarchist tendencies and ideas, despite the harangues of a few Maoists who have thankfully been shouted down.

Yours,

JUDITH WEYMANT.

Leeds

P.S. What happens to Jacquetta's kids while she is so fantastically free to do as she pleases during these summer weeks?

THOSE OF US who have assumed that Labour would get back and that therefore we would be faced with much the same problems in spreading anarchism as we have previously encountered, are rather in the position of the grammarian (Dr. Johnson) caught by his wife with the maid on his knee. 'Samuel, I am surprised.' 'No my dear, I am surprised, you are astonished.'

Let me admit that I made a thumping error of analysis, and that the type of arguments I have been using in this last anti-election campaign against support for Labour depended on the presumption that Wilson would get back and that the question of whether he should or not was irrelevant, and only what a socialist revolutionary should do in these circumstances counted.

This affects tactics—obviously strategy, like aim, is unaffected—and I should doubt if I was the only person whose analysis was wrong and therefore whose tactics were less effective than they might have been in this election period.

All the various Trot groups have been hedging their bets in one way or another—the RSL which, last Autumn, justified its entrism by saying that anyone who was outside the Labour Party when it was defeated would be isolated and blamed by working class militants; and then swung over before the election to pointing a parallel to 1906 when the very victory of the Liberals killed them. We cannot afford to delude ourselves in this way.

SURPRISED

There are still signs that we may get a 1906 soon; the transfer of cash to the British market rejoicing at the Tory victory can well accentuate the Wall Street slide and remove the plug once and for all from the American market and another 1929, which would inevitably cause a recession here and bring down a government with a small majority and a basic device as to economic policy.

If the Tories really do start 'getting tough with the unions' they might well in present circumstances stir up an hornets' nest, as there would be an unusual coincidence of interest between trade union rank and file militants and top bureaucrats. The union leadership's power obviously depends on the independence of the unions; though a union leader may well have blacklegged on every strike he saw for years, he still has to maintain the right to strike in order to maintain his own value to the capitalists.

Rank and file militancy plus the highly developed instinct for self-preservation and survival found among bureaucrats will therefore propel a large movement into struggles against any attempt on the Tory part to incarnate their union policies in actual legislation.

Powell of course has shot his bolt, and knifing the leadership in the back being considered the one deadly sin in the Tory Party (a sin that might well have been forgiven had Heath lost, but which will not be now that every other right-wing Tory whose loyalties are not too openly pledged must be hastening to tell Heath that they are loyal and don't want to be kept outside his charmed circle of allies and potential ministers). But even so there will be enough open Powellites left in the Midlands and Paisleyites in Ulster to provide the Tories with a right-wing internal opposition which can hardly be as gutless as the *Tribune*ites were in '64-'66, even if they are as weak-kneed as *Tribune* has been since '66.

L.O.

Non-Violence

NON-VIOLENCE, as a large scale practical solution to the problems of America, was killed with Martin Luther King in Memphis, Tennessee. That night, those same politicians that were damning him while he lived, were now praising him for his 'non-violence'. With the fear of their own destruction apparent in their faces, they appeared on television to praise the way of peace. Black people were no longer listening, as they moved into the street. 'Violence is as American as Apple Pie', Rap Brown had said. That night 20 million black people learned he was right.

It took another year or two for white youth to learn the same lesson. Many of those who came to Chicago in 1968, came with a firm belief in non-violence. Mayor Daley again proved the words of Rap's statement. The 'Clean for Gene' supporters of Eugene McCarthy were mowed down in the streets along with the militants. The police invaded the McCarthy campaign headquarters, while the average Chicagoan cheered them on. A few of those people might have left that city showing the 'V' peace sign, but many more now held up the clenched fist.

Non-violence is a tactic which, if successfully used, can bring about important change. It fits in situations as in India. Like all tactics, however, there are some situations for which it is not suited. In order for non-violence to work, the 'opposing forces' must have a strong conscience or, at least, there must be enough people with strong consciences to force the hand of these forces. Also, those practising non-violence have to learn to take pain and perhaps death without defending themselves. They must have control over their instincts and conditioned

reflexes. If these conditions are not present, non-violence will not work. To use it would be to fight a bazooka with a bow and arrow.

It is obvious to anyone who reads the newspapers that the American Government has no conscience. The slaughters in Vietnam and Kent State could never have taken place if it had.

A peaceful demonstration on Lower Manhattan was smashed by hundreds of construction workers, swinging their steel hats. They truly demonstrated 'the conscience of the people'. With the heavy repression and unsympathetic ear of the average American, few people (especially blacks, Puerto Ricans, and young people) can be expected to allow themselves injury without defending themselves.

Before the slaughter at Kent State, a young woman there put a flower in the barrel of a National Guardsman's rifle in an attempt to show that flowers, i.e. love or non-violence, are more effective than guns. Later that same day, a bullet through her stomach made us wonder.

MIKE BOARD.

news programme it needs to be just that and nothing else. The PM programme on BBC is even worse with the scraping of the late afternoon barrel of news interspersed with ping-pong music and inane chit-chat. Then there is the seven o'clock news and the ten o'clock news as well. Not to mention the current affairs programmes in between.

I think the radio news fails to live up to 'The World at One' because the attitude is so non-partisan, so terribly fair. It was no accident that some Tory MPs protested about Hardcastle's half hour. Since the days of William Davis—whom I miss both on radio and in the *Guardian*—there's been a fair old bashing given to the right and if a news programme is going to have bite it needs to have a slant.

Anarchists shouldn't feel I'm carried away. I'm just about to launch into the expected annoyance which is due to the feeling that with all this news time it is amazing, diabolical, that the libertarian/anarchist case doesn't get an airing. Are they so afraid of the impact of the anarchist voice that they have to suppress it entirely on the mass media?

The television news programme that tries to be slanted like 'The World at One' is 'Twenty Four Hours'. I think the fact that we have four different faces, one per week, introducing the programme tells against its success. The days when one associated the programme with Cliff Michelmore are remembered with much more affection. Then again the trouble is that if the programme doesn't always clash with 'News at Ten', it is timed so that one has had enough news by then. For it is the professional, brisk news team of ITV who have been claiming one's eyes from 10 till 10.30. 'News at Ten' is not biased, it has its flippant pieces but unlike the BBC it is serious but not solemn and light-hearted but not silly.

J.W.

Last Exit to Brooklyn, Saved and the rest.

No one, after the ballyhoo, could stumble into *Oh! Calcutta!* imagining it to be a sort of *Passage to India*, and the box office prices are a sturdy disincentive to youth and the masses. If any spectator were to be deprived or corrupted he—or she—would be quite untrustworthy as a prosecutor or witness. If not deprived and corrupted, no spectator should have the impertinence to claim that other people will be so affected.

It is clear that, as the Arts Council report declared, laws against 'obscenity' in the arts are ridiculous, unworkable and oppressive and should at the earliest opportunity be repealed.

DAVID TRIBE,
President,
National Secular Society.



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 second Sunday in September. 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, Heslington, York. The Contact Column in *'Freedom'* is also available for urgent information.

There will be no August issue owing to holidays.

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, 'Aegcan', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester. (QM, FL.)
Surrey: G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom.
Yorkshire: Martin Watkins, 5 Marlborough 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 Morrison 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)

Organisation—The Way Forward

THE ESSENCE of the anarchist view of organisation is that organisation should be *ad hoc*. An organisation which ceases to serve any useful purpose (i.e. useful to the participants as living, feeling human beings—not to some mythical historic process) should be allowed to die and, indeed, will die very quickly if nature is allowed to take its course. Like the death of a man, the death of an organisation does not negate the vitality and achievements that have preceded it during its life but merely recognises the inevitable life-renewing laws of nature.

It is futile and dangerous to create an organisation NOW for some situation which is hoped to arise in the future. To do so is to attempt to chain the

future to the present. The real danger is that the organisation will harden into a bureaucracy even before it has a real *raison d'être*! It is relatively easy for an organisation to show little sign of authoritarianism when it is in a position of impotence but the relationship between the various members and the relationship between the organisation and society at large becomes menacingly clear when the organisation achieves a measure of power.

So what should be our attitude to the anarchist organisations which exist at present or which may be proposed in the future? It appears that the scope for useful anarchist organisation of a specifically anarchist nature is very limited. There are just too few of us in

Britain today to restrict our participation to purely anarchist-instigated activity (even if this was desirable). Anyway, to suggest that a free communist society will be created by anarchists acting exclusively through an anarchist organisation is to turn ourselves into elitists peddling a vanguard theory. A free society will be created by the self-organisation of the workers, not by the incorporation of them into OUR organisation. An anarchist organisation should exist to propagate and develop anarchism and not to organise society. As workers accept our ideas and begin to organise their own lives, then the need for a specifically anarchist organisation of any sort will decline and we should take our places in these work-place organisations, community organisations, etc. Indeed, there should be numerous different organisations to cover the various aspects of a full human life so that the tendency for a centralizing bureaucracy to arise can be more easily resisted.

Those comrades who believe that all we have to do to achieve anarchy is to form an anarchist organisation (i.e. a democratic organisation), produce a simple political programme and get

everybody to join the organisation are dangerously naive as well as ridiculously optimistic. This sort of approach is doomed to the bureaucratic and authoritarian dangers which I have outlined above and is a perfect example of 'dead' organisation.

Of course, there is a need for anarchist organisation (i.e. co-operation) here and now to satisfy real needs. We need a paper (many papers!) to spread our ideas, to explore the controversial uncharted regions of anarchism, and to let each other know what we are doing and what we can do to help. FREEDOM is a start and it is imperative that it is kept alive for that reason.

British anarchists should not withdraw into sectarian organisation-building but rather we should go out into the world subverting authority and capitalist values wherever and whenever we can. This means being prepared to work with anybody to achieve a particular, practical objective if we can do so without losing our individual freedom of action or being used as fodder for THEIR political ambitions.

TERRY PHILLIPS.

EXPLOSIONS IN IRELAND

THERE CAN HARDLY be a person in all 32 counties who has not been horrified by the booby trap in Co. Armagh which resulted in the death of two policemen. That the murderers were police is largely a matter of chance. The victim could quite as easily have been a local farmer wondering what on earth a strange car was doing parked just there for days, or even a group of local children, full of the curiosity of childhood. Hardly less shocking, however, was the way Mr. Faulkner immediately cashed in and blamed the IRA without one shred of evidence. This was a despicable political manoeuvre. One remembers how, before the fall of Terence O'Neill, there was explosion after explosion and Stormont thundered about the IRA then until an unfortunate threw himself out with the bath water and it was proved to be a Protestant Extremist. As the people most likely to benefit by atrocities are the 'Law-and-Order' boys, one may be forgiven for regarding the matter with a very open mind. Mr. Lynch too did not distinguish himself by adding a political slant to his condolences. Was it not enough for everyone, of whatever political persuasion, that two men died most horribly in agony?

The extradition of Frank Keane is a matter of much concern in the twenty-six counties and several pickets protesting have been mounted. It is crystal clear he is innocent of the murder of which he is accused and is wanted for other political reasons, and no assurances of the Attorney General satisfy us.

On Monday a picket and meeting arranged by Sinn Fein, The Citizens'

Advice Bureau and The Dublin Housing Action Committee was held outside the City Hall to protest at one faceless man having absolute power over 700,000 citizens of Dublin and to demand the return of our Mayor and Councillors, who were dismissed over a year ago by the then Minister for Local Government, Mr. Kevin Boland, in a temper tantrum as they refused to strike a very unjust rate.

Mr. Garvin is busy now reversing all the decisions the Council made, such as retaining certain areas as residential, and he gives free permission for the hated and ubiquitous office block.

The Minister for Justice had to withdraw the remark he ordered to be published in an interview with him for the *Irish Times*, that the only time CS gas had been used in the Republic was by the DHAC when they were defending 148 Pembroke Road, against the gardai. The *Irish Times*, in a leader, remarked that they, at any rate, would filter any further statements of his very carefully before publishing the same and that he had made a consummate ass of himself.

To return to the six counties. Mr. Craig is making wild bids for the Premiership, and gets applause from his own bigots who think law and order consists of keeping their own privileged positions and suppressing Catholics to the point of genocide. Mr. Maundling said firmly enough the reforms (too few and of course too slow) MUST be carried through. One can only pray Britain will have enough guts to insist, and not, as so often in the past when dealing with Ireland, do everything too late and too little. I am afraid I still think a blood bath inevitable. Would it were not so.

Fires continue in Dublin. Some are indubitably merely accident and coincidence BUT the UVF swore Dublin should burn and it is an indisputable fact we have more constant fires than I ever before remember.

Will man's inhumanity to man ever stop?

The Apprentice Boys' Parades in Derry on the twelfth passed off more peaceably than many of us dared hope for. True a few stones were thrown, and a few grenades of CS gas. The chief breakers of the law were inevitably the 'Law-and-Order' boys themselves who insisted on parading against the Government Ban. As Craig says, HE was right to ban the Civil Rights march on the fatal October 5, but to ban Orange Parades is wicked and a horse of a different colour. A little gas was actually USED AGAINST THE PRODS on Craigavon Bridge!!!! Horror upon horror! Does not the British Army understand gas is only for use against Teagues? A few halfhearted arrests of Apprentice Boys were made, but you can bet they will all get off or at very most a tiny finy fine.

Conor Cruise-O'Brien was beaten up by ununiformed Apprentice Boys on the field and rescued by others in full regalia and made magnanimous self-advertising speeches on the radio. I like the gentleman in person very much but he is a show-off with an eye on the limelight.

Comrades, give me advice. I HATE the deeds that certain people do and I (pacifically) fight them in public from platforms, in the press and so on. Then I come into personal contact with them and while disagreeing utterly become matey in spite of myself and even drink with some of them. This is some queer trait in myself. I CAN'T hate, not real alive humans whatever they do. I make excuses for them. How does one overcome this weakness?

G.M.

H.

BAD START FOR GLASS UNION

LAST WEEK was a bad one for those who want industrial freedom; when the recently-formed Glass & General Workers' Union at Pilkingtons seemed to suffer a serious setback.

Sandwiched between the management and the General & Municipal Workers' Union, which is keen to crush its militant rival, the Glass & Gen. is having a hard time of it.

When the firm refused to negotiate with the G&G at the Cowley Hill plant, the union called a three-day token strike; this developed into a kind of lockout when the company sacked 400-odd of the strikers.

BOSSSES RECRUIT CLOSED SHOP

Workers have been invited to apply for their jobs back on condition they rejoin the bum union of General & Municipal Workers. 'Pilks' report production to be normal, though they have admitted that dockers at Liverpool are blacking its goods against the advice of their union—the Transport & General. Further blacking is expected, and some drivers supplying Pilkingtons have refused to cross picket lines.

Last week also saw the decision by British Leyland to cut down on buying Pilkington glass, and shift business to some foreign glass suppliers. With 'Pilks' ready to go public, it's more than likely they welcome this strike showdown as a way of showing they have the upper hand.

The General & Municipal is also anxious to bring all the Pilkington wor-

kers back under its monopoly control. Many workers are only too glad to dodge paying their union dues and it's more than likely that this useless union has been badly hit; certainly its frequent claims that workers are 'returning to the fold' seem a bit unconvincing.

As it is, the Glass & Gen. are planning to sue Pilkingtons for 'wrongful dismissal' of three of the sacked workers as part of a test case. John Potter, the G&G union treasurer, has said, these workers have been sacked for taking part in an official strike, and the fact that the union isn't registered doesn't matter, because the union doesn't pay a political levy.

ON PRINCIPLE

Previously the G&G has resisted the temptation to strike before it built up its strength for a major onslaught. As an outsider it seems they have picked a bad time to take on the firm, but as syndicalists we must always remember that more often than not the bloke on the job knows best. We simply don't know enough to judge the wisdom of the brave stand of the Pilkington militants.

Perhaps the problem is that it is hard to get men to strike over a principle like union negotiating rights. It is a fact that though most workers don't have a good word to say for unions like the Gen. & Municipal, usually only a few are ready to do much, or risk much, in order to put things right.

NORTH WEST WORKERS.

THIS WEEK IN IRELAND

SIX COUNTIES

RIOTING AND BRUTALITY and screams for 'Law and Order' with Paisley stirring up trouble, then at the eleventh hour saying 'Don't march' and bunking for America so as to be out of it. Have you noticed how, having put the cat amongst the pigeons, that man always bolts for his funk hole when there is the slightest chance of himself being hurt physically?

One of the nastiest cases that has come to my notice is that of an ex-Fusilier, John McIntyre, aged 50, of Derry. He went out to try and stop youths from throwing stones when the troops charged. As he was an adult and trying to keep the peace he stood his ground. The troops' snatch squad got him, dragged him into a laneway between Pilot's Row and Eden Place and beat him up with their batons screaming 'Irish Bastard' and worse. One of the soldiers tried to push a baton up Mr. McIntyre's rectum. He passed out and woke in a Landrover. He was taken to Victoria Barracks and accused of stone-throwing. After a while he was taken to Altnagelvin Hospital and detained until Friday. He is now in bed at home under the care of a Doctor Cannon who has said, if any attempt to move him is made, to send for him immediately. Mr.

McIntyre intends protesting to General Freeland, and is having his case taken up by Eamonn McCann.

In Dublin gross libels are being printed in the Dublin papers about the Dublin Housing Action Committee. Libels which are difficult to answer as we are told 'It is *sub judice*'. You must not say anything', while the Minister for Justice can give an interview to our leading daily and accuse us of having thrown CS gas at the police during the Pembroke Road affair. However, I think we SHALL take action over that untruth and completely unfounded remark against both the Minister and the paper. The writer had a letter from the secretary of the Landlords Association saying exactly the same. However since private letters in sealed envelopes are free as long as one does not threaten, use obscene language or indulge in blasphemy, she was able to make mincemeat of him.

Quite apart from any other consideration where could the DHAC HAVE GOT CS GAS FROM? It is not stuff one can manufacture in a little saucepan in the kitchen. As the writer did all the shopping for those inside 148 Pembroke Road and the gardai know everything that went into the house was handed in by her, she presumes she must have made it. In a trance no doubt!



Secondhand

We have a large stock of second-hand books. Please let us know what you want. This week's selection.

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That civil war is inevitable in Ireland's all 32 counties is the writer's opinion. The hard-liners in the six counties are taking over and the weaklings in the 32 only waffle. If you do not hear from me next week you will know I have stopped a bullet in Derry.
H.



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Our income is about a third of what it needs to be. We know everyone tries to take a holiday in the summer: but could you try and sell some of our propaganda too? Someone took some copies of FREEDOM into Eastern Europe last summer, with good results. What about this year?

And to the comrade (how lightly one uses that word!) who took a copy of *Conquest of Bread* from the bookshop last Wednesday evening—Don't you think there are better people to appropriate things from? If not, then please take your revolution elsewhere, as I can see no reason why the Press Fund should have to cover such things. It's hard enough fighting without having to take on 'comrades' as well.

Man—the Creator & Destroyer

POLLUTION IS IN THE AIR. It is also very much in the soil, in the rivers and in the sea. In this World Conservation Year, the world has suddenly become aware of the extent to which Man, the greedy predator, is fouling his own environment.

No other species on earth betrays such sustained determination to wreck its environment as does Homo Sapiens. Compared with him, the Gadarene swine and the lemmings are far-sighted visionaries, leaving the environment for future generations rather than destroy it. But not Man, made in the image of God, Lord of Creation and possessed of a soul and a higher intelligence. The trouble with Man—well, one trouble with Man—is that he has developed his intelligence at the expense of his soul. He has left his soul to God and concentrated on the business of using his intelligence for his own self-betterment. Unfortunately he did not listen to those who told him that God does not exist and so the soul became nobody's responsibility and the organisations which clever Man set up to liaise with the non-existent God became power institutions for the stamping out of natural love, the inculcation of guilt and the disintegration of human society.

They succeeded admirably. What we have today is a world full of hate, riddled with guilt and morality, where human society cannot really be said to exist. A plundered world dominated by the greedy and the clever. A soulless world.

TOO MANY OF US!

But not an antiseptic, soulless world. Although the hospitals in which most of us in the 'developed' countries are born are no doubt as clean as human agency can make them, once we are outside in the 'real' world, we are on our own, breathing air poisoned by the petrol engine, eating food poisoned by pesticides, at the mercy of machines and useful only as long as we do as we are told.

And on top of that—there are too damn many of us. Of all the agents of pollution that threaten our environment—carbon monoxide from cars, chemical waste from factories, radioactive fallout from bombs, the filth disposed of by the military and its poison factories and just plain garbage—over and above all these, Man himself is the greatest pollutant of all.

For modern man sets out to be a consumer, not a producer. Especially in the industrialised countries, a higher and higher proportion of people find occupations which pay well but are completely non-productive, enabling them to

buy and consume the products of poorer people. Mechanisation in the basic production and distribution industries mean that fewer workers produce more ('productivity deals', making redundancy acceptable if coupled with higher pay for those who remain, help this tendency) so that the ambitious workers find themselves moving towards 'white collar' jobs which make them consumers but not producers.

The vicious circle starts to rotate and the contradictions of 'Progress' multiply. As the 'standard of living' goes up, the 'quality of life' goes down. The more car-owners there are, the less space there is for each car; the more motorways are built, the more houses are pulled down to make room for them and the more land goes out of production for food. So more food has to be produced by factory methods that everybody says they don't like, and the greater the shortage of houses. So more tower blocks are built concentrating more people in a smaller area, putting a greater strain on public transport so that more people buy their own cars. The compensations for living in tower blocks lie only in the convenience offered by electrical gadgets, so the demand goes up for more refrigerators, electric fires, television sets, washing machines, telephones, record-players, air-conditioners, etc., etc., backed up by detergents and convenience foods packed in indestructible (and damn nearly unopenable) plastic containers bringing their own disposal problems.

IT CAN'T BE CONTAINED

As life in the cities becomes more and more unsatisfying and unreal and intolerable, more people try to move out—thereby creating another demand for better communications leading to the building of more motorways, knocking down more houses and putting more land out of agricultural production.

This process, born out of demands for more of everything, could perhaps—perhaps—be contained if population were static. But it isn't. The population of the world will double itself in the next forty years. Look out of your window and try to visualise everything doubled up. Twice the people means twice the number of houses, twice the schools, twice the hospitals, twice the prisons and borstals, twice the motorways, twice the cars on them, twice the power stations and pylons, twice the aeroplanes in the sky stacking up to come into twice the airports. . . . in fact all this is underestimating the situation grossly, since in forty years' time, the expectations of everyone born will be much higher than now, so that twice the number of people will mean much more than twice the demand for goods

and services.

In Britain alone, today, there is a daily surplus of births over deaths of 800. Even allowing for the fact that 50,000 more people emigrate from Britain than immigrate into it, every year there are about 250,000 more trying to find living space in this little island. This means that we have to provide facilities equal to a new city the size of Bristol every year, over and above improvements in housing, roads, schools, etc., etc., for the existing population.

PROGRESS WILL GET THEM!

In the poorer countries, plagued by Catholicism or other religious ignorance, the rate of growth is higher and the consequent problem more menacing—except for the fact that their expectations are so much lower that their demands are not nearly so high. But progress will get them too, and peasant economies will grow into industrial economies and then more and more of what are now primary producers will become consumers just like us. And in capitalist terms—why shouldn't they?

There is only one way in which capitalism can get humanity out of this mess and that is by war. By so reducing populations, by so poisoning the planet, by so destroying property, that what is laughingly called 'civilisation' must start all over again—this is the way the power game will go. It will even leave the opportunity for authority, in some form or another, to continue. There is certainly no other way out for capitalism, since capitalism depends upon continual growth and expansion. The continual development of markets; the continual stimulation of demand; the continual growth of population as both consumer market and work-force. Behind capitalism, in any form, lies the

State, equally interested in the maintenance of populations which serve it. The authoritarian path, therefore, leads to the virtual extinction of the human race.

What is the anarchist answer to this? Social revolution, as ever? Oh yes! Destruction of the State and abolition of the money and profit systems? Certainly, and the sooner the better! Distribution of the world's wealth on equalitarian lines, so that the gap between the poor and rich nations no longer exists? By all means!

In the past, anarchists were in the forefront of the birth control movement for reasons of personal liberty and women's emancipation. (Women's Lib movements of today—please note!) Among others, Emma Goldman in America, and many comrades in Italy and other Catholic countries, have suffered prosecution and persecution for demanding contraceptive knowledge to be made freely available. Then, it was for personal freedom. Now, it seems, it must be for the very survival of the human race. Ironically, for the human race to survive, it must cut down its own fertility.

This may not seem a very exciting campaign to launch nowadays, but a little thought of what is implied in an all-out campaign for sexual freedom, with free contraception on the National Health (!), abortion on demand (which would fall away with adequate contraception knowledge, anyway), leading inevitably to the end of the authoritarian family and marriage and in fact the complete breakdown of the moralistic nuclear family, with women achieving equality with men. Then, when they get it, they will discover that equality as wage-slaves is not good enough and the real economic revolution will be on! In the meantime, anarchists have got

to do a lot of homework. While it is true that smashing the bourgeoisie will help to end the pollution of our planet, simply shouting 'Smash the Bourgeoisie' in an empty city street on a Sunday afternoon doesn't add much to our chances. How are we going to end the stranglehold the bourgeoisie have upon us? How are we going to stop the State making nerve gas and then dumping it in the ocean? How are we going to defeat the military-industrial complex? How are we going to make the revolution? How are we going to save the world?

JUSTIN.

Contact

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

Community Liberation Front. Notting Hill, Islington, Brixton, Piccadilly, East End. Lash-back against the Backlash. Celebrate the Power of the People, Trafalgar Square, Saturday, August 22, 2 p.m.

Rural libertarian community, French Alps, welcomes visitors willing to live and work in a pioneering style. No drugs please. Accommodation after August. Write, enclosing international postal coupon to E. Petrakis, Cite S.N.C.F. No. 7, St. Marcellin par VEYNES, -05- FRANCE. Sexually liberated persons aged 18-36 welcome, also people interested in horses (we breed and train them).

Typewriter wanted for five or six weeks only to finish book. George Foulser, c/o Freedom Press.

Any comrades willing to pay about £1 for a lift from just outside London to Southampton for the Isle of Wight Festival next Friday, please send an S.A.E. to Freedom Bookshop immediately.

Somethings Magazine. No. 13. Poetry and prose. 1/- plus 4d. post from G. Charlton, 14 Willow Avenue, Birmingham 17.

Chemical and Biological Warfare Action Group. Meeting to discuss action at Schermuly, Dorking, on Wednesday, August 26, at 7.30 p.m., at the Roebuck (Public House), Tottenham Court Road, London, W.1.

Drug Dependents Care Group. Meetings on Thursdays, August 20 and September 3, at Housmans Bookshop (Basement), 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1, at 7.30 p.m.

Proposed Bristol Group. Alex Bird, 23 Rosewell Court, Kingsmead, Bath.

Dave Coull is in Edinburgh, correspondence c/o Hughes, Top Flat, 40 Angle Park Terrace.

Frank Roach Personal Appeal. Frank Roach at present will be held in Brixton it seems until September. Comrades need not be reminded of the stirring deeds of this gentleman, but money for cigarettes, etc., would be very much appreciated. c/o Freedom Press, Box No. 02.

Free Citizen. Newspaper of People's Democracy. Available to FREEDOM subscribers for 1/- or 1/4 by separate post. Write to P.G. at Freedom Bookshop.

Anarchists in Enfield area please contact Leroy Evans 01-360 4324.

Please help. Union of American Exiles in Britain: c/o WRI, 3 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

Proposed Group. Alex Bird, 23 Rosewell Court, Kingsmead, Bath.

Lowestoft Libertarians contact Ann & Gordon Collins, 9 Ontario Road, Lowestoft, Suffolk, Tuesday evenings. Comrades welcome for short stay by the sea.

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.

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

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

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

Pisa—The Hot City

PISA IS A 'HOT CITY.' Extremely political. A polemical city of the avant-garde.

It is also a society subjected to unemployment and underemployment. It is a city that lives practically on the margin of depression and in which the university represents the most vital nerve. It is the city where first arose 'workers' power', becoming 'continuous struggle', where flourishes the circle 'Karl Marx'. It is the seat of the communist league and also of the Pisan anarchist federation which after the Milanese is the most active in Italy.

Hence the repression in this city. Scene of very hard battles with the police at the central station in March 1968 and of violent battles between police and people on the night of October 27-28, 1969. Pisa has always been considered a tough city, difficult to tame.

Recently the repression has been showing its tough and spiteful face.

It all began a month ago when practically for no reason the police created an atmosphere of siege to punish an isolated protest by workers guilty only of proclaiming their right to houses.

In this case (three arrests among whom comrade anarchist Michele Olivari and 10 arrest warrants with another 30 sworn complaints) the police repression has been helped by the shameful inaction and provocation of the Pisan federation of the PCI.

A TOUGH TIME

Continued from page 1
wage exploitation and their privileged position in society.

It also lacks an understanding of the very nature of capitalism, which is that the ruling classes are not going to put the profit into extra production unless they are going to get an adequate return for such investment. The employers of this country are determined that their profit margins will rise and are therefore against any substantial increase in wages. Due to our present state of economic development, these increases cannot be absorbed without putting up the price of the goods that are being manufactured and this in turn will make them uncompetitive on the world's markets.

EXTENDED DEMANDS

In all countries the profit motive

But this was only the beginning of the spiral of repression.

Recently some youths of the Student Movement initiated a debate at the faculty of letters whose objective was the abolition of written exams. An abolition that has already been conceded at other Italian universities.

An objective, it would seem, limited enough, rendered necessary by the absolute lack of means of the students in preparing for exams. In fact the problem has a class character; the sons of the bourgeoisie can attend classes abroad; others have at their disposal only the inadequate lessons provided by the university.

First in support of the professors appeared the fascists with a display of helmets and iron bars. Then called by the usual professors the police arrived, with an impressive display of force and the exams will be held practically in a state of siege.

All this has resulted in the issuance of 23 arrest-warrants, 5 of which have been served.

These are the facts. The conclusions are bitter.

In face of repression the PCI, PSI, and PSUP have demonstrated their indifference and ineptitude. Repression can take place with the more or less tacit consent of the traditional left.

Trans. S.M. from *L'Internazionale*.

reigns supreme and is maintained at the cost of increasing exploitation, which is an attack on human dignity. People must realise that they are exploited in both material and human terms and that the natural response of demands for higher wages must be extended to include the control of production. Unlike the trade union leaders, we do not offer solutions for the economy. We can only suggest ideas for the destruction of capitalism and the State and their replacement by a stateless society, with control of industry and the land in the hands of the workers. Until people, by free association, create such a society where production for needs rather than for profit is the motivating belief, we will be continually used and exploited to maintain capitalism. P.T.

The Worker & Anarchism

THE WEDNESDAY NIGHT meetings in Freedom Press Hall came to life with unexpected vigour on August 12 when George Cummings, accompanied by a contingent of Leeds anarchists, put the case for anarchist activity in industry.

He stressed the point repeatedly made by the tireless anarchist battler, George Frost, that propaganda must be relevant to the workers' experience. Too often the material put before the workers was unintelligible to them. Yet they were highly receptive to that which they understood.

After becoming a shop steward, George Cummings initiated tactics of continuing confrontation in dialogue with the employers, gaining victories which were in themselves a source of future hope for the men quite apart from the immediate concessions won. On one occasion, when the employer had offered an increase of a penny per hour, he produced a lollipop asking if that was what was offered. Ridicule of this sort forced the boss to appreciate the true position, brought about a far greater increase in wages, and consolidated the men's confidence in themselves and their shop steward.

It was stressed that many of the activities pursued were necessarily pragmatic. There was no other way to progress. Often, in negotiations with the employer or management, the workers advanced ideas which were to the benefit of the industry—this initiative caused great surprise, yet could only win the men respect.

To tell the workers what to do was merely to get their backs up. Trade union officials and other politicians alienated themselves by this tactic. The

anarchist must offer his ideas as guidance and not ask what the men were not ready for. On Merseyside direct workers' control was optimistically advocated but this action, unfortunately, was premature and resulted in a defeat largely because the shop stewards were not sufficiently in contact with the real thinking of the mass of the men.

The growth of large monopolies as a result of mergers now made it increasingly difficult for negotiations to take place. Previously, the employer was on the job but now mere representatives were apparently unable to make decisions in negotiation with the men. This presented a new challenge. In his industry George pointed out the willingness of the men to force this issue to the extent of having actually gone on strike shortly before Christmas—a measure which brought management to its senses. Another development in strike action has been the growth of confrontation with the State, action tailor-made for anarchists and the enunciation of anarchist ideas.

The lecture concluded with the speaker stressing the comradeship of anarchists in his experience and the consequent enrichment of their lives. A vigorous discussion ensued which disclosed the relative paucity of anarchist activity in London apart from the publishing work of Freedom Press. As this was the first of the Wednesday night meetings—held at 8 p.m. every week—to prove successful the idea was expressed that future meetings would be utilised to formulate improved activities for the London area and to act as a centre for anarchists with ideas to advance the cause generally.

B.D.