

# Freedom

Anarchist Weekly 4c

OCTOBER 16 1965 Vol. 26 No. 32

## Tories & Treason

THE SPECTACLE of police-loving, law abiding Tories like Lord Salisbury declaring their support for Ian Smith's illegal moves towards Rhodesian independence makes a false picture. These same people would have acts of rebellion and illegality severely punished if they were not committed by the white minority in Rhodesia. When the 'Spies for Peace' published the truth about the pathetic and secret plans for a post-nuclear war Britain, these same Tory voices cried 'Treason' in unison; when someone was heard booing the Queen at the time of the Greek royal visit a Tory minister nearly broke a blood vessel in anger. Yet, when the Rhodesian racists defy the Queen, they are called brave and honourable men.

We anarchists have no worry about words like treason, rebellion, illegality—the bourgeoisie use these words to defend their vested interests. When these interests are threatened then they—the bourgeoisie—will do anything to defend them. This is the case with Rhodesia—Smith and his henchmen wish to uphold white privilege and minority rule in Rhodesia (he calls it 'white civilization'). To do this he has now to act illegally but with 'a clear conscience' he assures one and all. The fact is that for him, and most white

Rhodesians, the moral law is that the white man shall be boss and the black man shall be his servant. This is how it should be. To defend this particular set-up, by whatever means, in the event of its being threatened, leaves a 'clear conscience', but it leaves inequality, racial discrimination and injustice as well.

The Africans of Rhodesia are already exploited, imprisoned and suppressed in order to maintain the status quo in that country. Smith and the white Rhodesians consider that only with independence can the Africans be kept in their place. Yet warnings—heeded it seems more by white South Africans and Portuguese than by white Rhodesians—of the likely results of UDI on the Africans in Southern and Central Africa, make no impression on the arrogant will of Smith and Co. to seek the imposition of white rule and privilege for all time.

Smith is forced by the greedy, small-minded white population of Rhodesia to risk a UDI in order to keep their privileges. One wonders whether at the crunch white Rhodesians will stick it. They are not used to hardship and those who will really oppose them know hardship as an every-day affair.

J.W.

## TRUE TO FORM

A FAMILIAR SCENE. A British Colony providing a military base, nationalism starting to ferment for independence encouraged by rag, tag and bobtail climbing on the bandwagon. A policy imposed by Britain which no one wanted, more talks, more trouble. Suspended Constitution, troops to restore law and order, situation rapidly deteriorating, nothing important really damaged, only people partially and permanently, and petrol continues to flow. This is Aden 1965.

In January, 1963, Aden was merged with the Federation of South Arabia. The merger was opposed by the activists in the colony, they had no desire to come under the thumb of the autocratic tribal Sultans of the interior. The Federal Government is made up of 17 small Sheikhdoms where freedom of any kind is unlawful. Sultans who opposed Federation are in exile. The idea of Federation was an abortion forced by Britain, under a Conservative Government. Along comes a Labour Govern-

ment with a 'do-it-yourself kit' and as was to be expected the situation has grown worse. If the Tories can't get their own policy to work, I'm sure Tony Greenwood, Labour's Secretary of State for the Colonies can't, he couldn't even get the parties to talk in London to work out the procedure for the transfer of power.

One fact that has emerged from the Aden situation is the strength of the Aden TUC. A 24-hour protest strike called by the Aden TUC brought all work to a standstill. As Clare Hollingworth reported in the *Guardian* (4.10.65), 'The efficiency of the strikers and demonstrators without a known local leader is disconcerting to the British authorities'. In other words, it's difficult to find 'heads to chop'.

One thing is certain, the days for Aden as a British military base are numbered. Mr. Wilson has said you can't have a base where there is local opposition but what he forgot to add was 'but you can have a bloody good try'. Aden's salvation can only be worked out by the Adenis themselves. When the base goes the economic gap for Aden will be considerable but not impossible, port facilities could be developed if the people themselves take charge, if they leave it to leaders they will wind up with the same masters in different uniforms.

B.C.

## Regina vs. Golden Convolvulus

AT 10.15 Friday morning, October 8, in the oppressive, sunless, airless atmosphere of Blackburn Magistrates' Court, Mr. Keith Lawrence, representing the Director of Public Prosecutions, opened up the preliminary hearing of the *Golden Convolvulus* case. His initial point was that 'young persons at school studying English literature, including what was currently being written, might be as likely as anybody to send for this magazine at its price of only two shillings'. He went on to read a brief extract from the editorial introduction of the book, and inferred that this extract proved a deliberate intention, on the part of editor and publisher, to flout the 1959 Obscene Publications Act. This particular quote reads, 'The mind, the pen and the paper must never accept any form of restraint or coercion for therein lies the evil, for who will educate

the educators and advise the censors'.

At this time, apart from a few bored-looking newshawks and faceless authorities, the courtroom was empty was it not for the presence of Tina and an unidentified witness perched stoically on the hard wooden seats. Before the first witness appeared the unidentified witness had disappeared from the room.

The first witness was a hesitant and nervous type from the GPO sorting office, who mumbled to order at the counsel's prompting that he had stumbled on a copy of the *Golden Convolvulus* in the course of his routine opening of printed paper mail, and as any good citizen would, had promptly informed his superior. His superior turned out to be an older version who verified the accuracy of the first witness's evidence and went on to say that he had ordered

Continued on page 3

WHAT man who was at all humane would not be moved by the sight of a tiny child in its father's arms, covered with burns that had been caused by a bomb, in fact, by war? What man would put petty interests and prestige before the lives of children? Well Lyndon Johnson would and so would Mao Tse Tung! Such humanity would not be in the interests of either of these men or of those who stand behind them. In fact it would be downright embarrassing if The National Liberation Front (Vietcong) decided that they had had enough and threw in the sponge by suing for peace (not that this is at all likely with the communists in control, ready to fight to the last peasant), after all the money that America has pumped in, and after the fiascos of Laos and Formosa!

Lyndon Johnson can't possibly afford to have his heart softened by seeing children suffer. He has the American electorate to think of. No going soft with the 'commies', because he must appear as a tough father figure who brooks no nonsense, or he'll be out. Mao on the other hand has no electorate to consider. He is so sure that his people are 100% for him that he can dispense with such formalities, but he is attempting to appear as the only strong man in Asia who stands up to the Americans, so 'face' is something he can't afford to lose.

### AND THE VIETNAMESE?

The poor long suffering Vietnamese people, what do they think? No one knows, no one cares, after all they are merely grist to the mill of power politics. They are only there to be bombed, machine-gunned and burned so that democracy or anti-revisionism might live. The people of Vietnam are utterly helpless.

Those who are anti-American fight for Vietcong, those who are Catholic, or forced, or just hungry, fight for America. Yes, America, make no mistake about that. There is not going to be any self-determination after this war, the winners will be either American or Chinese puppets, so if anybody is foolish enough to hope for a Vietcong victory because they believe in

# No Room for Humanity in Vietnam

the right of people to choose their own government, forget it. An American TV correspondent once said that left to their own devices the people of Vietnam would probably choose 'no government' for governments have come and gone and through all of them—Japanese, French and now Saigon—runs poverty, slavery and war. Their crops have been ruined (Americans get their food out of tins), they have been rendered homeless, limbless, lifeless and libertyless, and for what? So that the world can be made safe for two lies: (1) that America is democratic and freedom-loving, (2) that China is communist and is a peoples' republic.

In both countries to support the adversary is a crime, so liberty is non-existent. Membership of the communist party in America has been punished by imprisonment. And capitalism in China? Well they call it 'communism', but certainly criticism of the regime would be very unhealthy, perhaps fatal.

### OUR DILEMMA

We here in Britain, what can we do? I'm afraid that the answer to that must be very little. From the time of 'The Cuban Crisis' it has been obvious to anyone who stopped to think for a moment, that Her Majesty's Government has as much control over her allies across the water as she does over the movement of the planets. If they want to

drop the bomb, start wars, stop wars, or whatever, they will, without so much as a 'by your leave'.

We can protest, we must protest, at this government's connivance in this dreadful affair and we must bring to bear what pressure we can, but we must not kid ourselves (as we have so many times in the past) that we can really change the American government by putting pressure on our own.

That must be the job of the American people (and they don't seem very interested at the moment do they?). However, in the opinion of this writer, there is no possible chance of the war escalating into something that would engulf us all. The contestants are not going to let this happen. They are very much in control of the situation, it's made to measure for them, for they can strike belligerent poses and someone else gets the punch on the nose.

### AID

To be constructive the best thing that we could do would be to send aid (lots of it) to the long suffering people of Vietnam; food, medical supplies, etc. It's not as romantic—trying to change the hearts of the power-drunk bastards in the Pentagon and Peking, but it's a bloody sight more realistic. To talk of sending delegations to Vietnam or influencing the Labour Party is sheer nonsense. Who are the delegations going to see? It's no good their seeing the politicians; they are not interested. It's no good seeing the people; they are many but they have no power. Perhaps China would pack up if she were offered a seat in UNO. Perhaps America would if she won. Either way things look very black for the people of Vietnam.

JACK STEVENSON.

As a postscript we quote the last paragraph of an article written when the French were still in Power. (FREEDOM, 24.4.54):

The Indo-Chinese war like the Korean war cannot be stopped just by wishing for it. Nor is the problem solved when the theatre of war changes from Korea to Indo-China or wherever it moves to after that. The problem is the world-wide one, that the present organization of production and distribution cannot be maintained without the economic stimulus that war provides. Opposition to this war, as to any other, can only be securely founded on opposition to the system of market economy itself.

## ANARCHY 56 Woman

DORA RUSSELL  
HARRIET UNWIN  
EMMA GOLDMAN

### IN A MAN'S WORLD

ANARCHY is Published by Freedom Press at 2s. on the first Saturday of every month

G.H.



# books?

We can supply  
any book in print

## NEW BOOKS

**Crisis in the West** Drew Middleton 30/-  
**Friends in Low Places** Simon Raven 25/-  
**Problems of Soviet School Education**  
A. Makarenko 6/-

## SECONDHAND

**Pillars of Society**, A. G. Gardiner 3/6;  
**The Peckham Experiment**, Innes Pearce  
and Lucy H. Crocker 7/6; **Three Essays  
on Religion**, John Stuart Mill 4/-;  
**Economic Development in Europe** (1942),  
Clive Day 7/6; **Peacemaking 1919**, Harold  
Nicolson 4/-; **The Communist Technique  
in Britain**, Bob Darke 5/-; **The Petrov  
Story**, Michael Bialoguski 5/-; **The Way  
of all Women**, M. Esther Harding 6/-;  
**Adventures of a Young Man**, John Dos  
Passos 6/-; **Diagnosis of Man**, Kenneth  
Walker 4/6; **School for Barbarians**, Erika  
Mann 3/-; **Looking Backwards and For-  
wards**, George Lansbury 6/-; **Military  
Attaché in Moscow**, Maj.-Gen. Richard  
Hilton 4/-; **The Ivory Tower** (1st), Henry  
James 10/-; **The Memoirs of an Infantry  
Officer**, Siegfried Sassoon 4/-; **Persian  
Dawns**, Egyptian Nights, J. Leslie  
Mitchell 4/-; **The Outcast**, Henry James  
3/6; **Christmas Holiday**, W. Somerset  
Maugham 3/-; **My Disillusionment in  
Russia** (1923), Emma Goldman 15/-;  
**News from Nowhere**, William Morris  
6/-; **The Polish Gold**, Robert Westbery  
and R. M. Low 3/6; **A New Handbook  
on Hanging**, Charles Duff 8/6; **Liza of  
Lambeth**, W. Somerset Maugham 3/-;  
**The Shocking History of Advertising**,  
E. S. Turner 6/-.

## Freedom Bookshop

(Open 2 p.m.—5.30 p.m. daily;  
10 a.m.—1 p.m. Thursdays;  
10 a.m.—5 p.m. Saturdays).

17a MAXWELL ROAD

FULHAM SW6 Tel: REN 3736

## FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

### SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM'

Vol 2 1952: Postscript to Posterity  
Vol 3 1953: Colonialism on Trial  
Vol 4 1954: Living on a Volcano  
Vol 5 1955: The Immoral Moralists  
Vol 6 1956: Oil and Troubled Waters  
Vol 7 1957: Year One—Sputnik Era  
Vol 8 1958: Socialism in a Wheelchair  
Vol 9 1959: Print, Press & Public  
Vol 10 1960: The Tragedy of Africa  
Vol 11 1961: The People in the Street  
Vol 12 1962: Pilkington v. Beeching  
Vol 13 1963: Forces of Law and Order

Each volume: paper 7/6 cloth 10/6  
The paper edition of the Selections is  
available to readers of FREEDOM  
at 5/6 post free.

### VERNON RICHARDS

Malatesta: His Life and Ideas  
cloth 21/-; paper 10/6.

### E. MALATESTA

Anarchy Paper 1/-

### PROUDHON

What is Property? cloth 42/-

### ALEXANDER BERKMAN

ABC of Anarchism paper 2/6

### HERBERT READ

Poetry & Anarchism paper 2/6

### ALEX COMFORT

Delinquency 6d.

### PAUL ELTZBACHER

Anarchism (Seven Exponents of the  
Anarchist Philosophy) cloth 21/-

### RUDOLF ROCKER

Nationalism and Culture  
cloth 21/-

### CHARLES MARTIN

Towards a Free Society 2/6

### JOHN HEWETSON

Ill-Health, Poverty and the State  
cloth 2/6 paper 1/-

### VOLINE

Nineteen-Seventeen (The Russian  
Revolution Betrayed) cloth 12/6  
The Unknown Revolution  
(Kronstadt 1921, Ukraine 1918-21)  
cloth 12/6

### E. A. GUTKIND

The Expanding Environment  
(illustrated) boards 8/6

### GEORGE BARRETT

The First Person (Selections) 2/6

THE body of the march stopped,  
turned back, and started to walk  
towards the police van that was parked  
in the middle of the road in front of  
the Spanish embassy. I then noticed  
two policemen walking beside me and  
the one with some stripes on his  
sleeve gave an order to the other one:  
'Watch that one and get him'. He  
was pointing at a boy who was walking  
near the kerb.

So I turned my head to the policeman  
and said: 'Why do you want to arrest  
him? Why don't you arrest me instead?  
I hate the police state even more than  
he does'.

He then violently got hold of me and  
I went limp.

Two policemen dragged me to the van,  
Barbara Kirke and a boy were inside  
already. Moments later they carried  
Douglas Kepper inside, and the van  
moved off. At this moment John Clarke  
and Chris Broad threw themselves in  
the path of the moving van. The driver  
braked. The van stopped. Douglas asked:  
'Are they hurt?'

Two policemen jumped out and dragged  
John and Chris inside. The policeman  
started to hit and punch Chris with  
his fist. His (the policeman's) face was  
red, his mouth was foaming, his helmet  
lay on the floor. I said: 'Chris, you  
better check your pockets for half-bricks.  
He looks that way'.

The six of us sat on a wooden bench in  
the police station and a policeman, hold-  
ing a piece of paper in one hand and a

## Regina vs. The Golden Convolvulus

Continued from page 1

all further copies of the book to be  
detained.

Next forward, in the box, was a  
Detective-Constable to deliver the police  
version of the initial police enquiries.  
This character maintained that I had  
stated that Arthur Moysé 'does not  
exist' whereas the actual phrase used was  
'elusive character'. He also mentioned  
that I had stated there was no mailing  
list and went on to explain that, in fact,  
mailing lists had been discovered during  
the subsequent police raid. The truth  
is that no mailing list for the *Golden  
Convolvulus* exists; all such lists in police  
possession relate to our other publica-  
tions. Police evidence was concluded by  
Detective-Superintendent Alfred Southern  
who mainly concerned himself with rou-  
tine factual matters and whose evidence  
was reasonably accurate.

The star turn of the morning was a  
consultant psychiatrist whose presence  
had me worried for a moment, until I  
realised that the psychiatric plain-  
clothes branch wouldn't be likely to be  
running a case-book on us. From his  
drab pulpit platform he stated that, in  
his opinion, this book was certain to  
have a corrupting influence on children  
and young people because it was erotic  
and in parts concerned in describing  
sexual perversions and abnormal sexual  
practices. He went on to specify particu-  
lar poems and articles which he con-  
sidered sexually stimulating (and how  
randy can you get), sexually deviant  
and/or blasphemous.

I reserved my defence and elected to  
go for trial by jury at the next  
quarter-sessions.

DAVE CUNLIFFE.

## Anarchist Federation of Britain

Co-ordinating Secretary: Frank Hirshfield, 4 Albert St., London, N.W.1.

### London Anarchist Group 1&2

'Lamb and Flag', Rose Street, off Garrick  
Street, London, W.C.2. (Leicester Square  
tube) 7.45 p.m. All welcome,  
Sundays.

### OCT 17 Jack Stevenson

Anarchism-Communism

### OCT 24 LAG/2

Business Meeting

OCT 31 Social (in aid of Spanish and  
Portuguese Political Prisoners' Fund)

### NOV 7 George Melly

Censorship

### NOV 14 Philip Sansom

Just Talking

Public Meetings every Sunday Hyde Park

3 p.m. Correspondence to: D. Bell, 10  
Gilbert Place, W.C.1.

### OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack  
Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rum-  
bold Rd., S.W.6 (off King's Rd.), 8 p.m.  
Last Thursday in month: At George  
Hayes', 174 McLeod Road, S.E.2.  
2nd Friday at Brian Leslie's, 242 Ames-

pencil in the other, started to take our  
names and addresses. When he turned  
to me I said: 'I shall be happy to give  
you my name and address if you will  
give me your name and address'.

He said: 'I am not allowed to tell you  
my name'.

'Oh, well,' I said, 'if you won't tell  
me your name then I won't tell you  
mine'.

They had then locked me in a cell.  
Some time later a policeman came and  
said: 'My name is Johnson and I live  
at 19 King's Road. What's yours?'

'My name is Paul Pawlowski and I  
live at 9 Tavistock Road in Croydon.'  
He had a broad smile on his face when  
he was putting it down in his book, and  
I never felt better before.

The following day we appeared at  
Bow Street Magistrates' Court. Barbara  
pleaded guilty and she was fined 50  
shillings, the others pleaded not guilty  
and their case was adjourned, and I  
refused to co-operate with the court's  
proceedings.

The basis of justice, as I understand  
it, is that the judge should be impartial.  
But the magistrate is not impartial.  
He sides with the police. So I have  
shown my contempt for him and for  
his court by refusing to appear. I had  
co-operated with the police right up to  
the door of the courtroom, then I said:  
'Sir, I fear the magistrate is a violent  
man who will inflict injuries upon me  
and therefore I do not wish to go before  
him.'

They called my name. I did not move.  
They put their hands on me—and I went  
limp. They lifted me by my arms and  
legs and carried me inside, and as they  
were carrying me I kept singing freedom  
songs. The magistrate ordered that I  
should be remanded till the 29th for a  
mental report.

I was taken to Brixton Prison. In  
Brixton they asked me to undress and take  
a bath. I did that. When I got out of  
the bath they asked me to put on  
prison uniform. I told them that I am  
a pacifist, that I am pledged never to  
wear a uniform, and asked for my clothes  
because I was shivering. They locked me  
up in a cell naked.

A moment later someone pushed a  
note into my cell. It said:

Dear Friend,

I gather you are a nuclear disarmar—  
good luck in your stand. I am a CND  
supporter myself.

I gather that you are refusing to wear

### TONY SMYTHE FUND

Tony Smythe is now home, but he  
has still to pay hospital fees of over  
£300. A fund has been set up to help  
and donations should be made out to  
*Tony Smythe Fund* and sent to:

Howard Cheney,

Aylemore Farm,

Shipton-on-Stour,

Warwicks.

## GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP.

Correspondence to Robert Lynn, 2b  
Saracen Head Lane, Glasgow, C.1.

Freedom and Anarchy Distributor, Joe  
Embleton, 11 Balliol Street, Glasgow, C.3.

### MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP.

Contact: Graham Leigh (tel.: PYR 2433),  
5 Mere Close, Sale. Meetings: alternate  
Tuesdays, 8 p.m. at the Lord Nelson,  
Chapel Street, Manchester and socially:  
week-ends at the Rising Sun, Albert  
Square, Manchester.

### ILFORD LIBERTARIANS.

Regular  
meetings and direct action contact W. E.  
Rodgers, 4 Sheldon Road, Dagenham,  
Essex.

### MERSEYSIDE FEDERATION.

Enquiries: Barbara Renshaw, 4 Clarence  
Road, Devonshire Park, Birkenhead,  
Cheshire.

### ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP.

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

### OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP.

Contact H. G. Mellor, Merton College,  
Oxford.

### SURREY ANARCHISTS

are invited to  
meetings on the first Thursday of every  
month at Chris Torrance's (63 North  
Street, Carshalton, Surrey—please ring  
three times) and on the 3rd Thursday of  
every month at M. Dykes, 8 Court Drive,  
Sutton, Surrey. Both meetings 7.30 p.m.

### SOUTHALL ANARCHIST GROUP.

Get in touch with Roger Sandell, 58  
Burns Avenue, Southall, Middlesex.

### DUNDEE GROUP

contacts: (1) Bob  
and Una Turnbull, 44 Peddie Street,  
Dundee. Saturday meetings to continue  
at Peddie Street, 2.30 p.m. (2) Sheila  
Whittaker, 64 Polepark Road, Dundee.

### BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP.

Details of meetings from Peter Neville,  
12 South Grove, Erdington, B'ham, 23.

### BORDER FEDERATION OF ANAR- CHISTS.

Correspondence: John Stark,  
39 Scott Street, Galashiels.

### BRISTOL FEDERATION.

Enquiries to  
Ian Vine, 3 Freeland Place, Hotwells,  
Bristol, 8.

### CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP.

Contact Mike Crowley, 36 Whitaker Road,  
Tremorfa, Cardiff.

### REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

bury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill,  
Nr. Station).

3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at  
Donald & Irene Room's, 148a Fellows  
Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.

First and third Tuesday of every month  
at 8 p.m. Arthur Uloth's, 30 Arundel  
Gardens, W.11. (Top bell.)

# THE NAKED PRISONER

This is an abridged report by Paul  
Pawlowski of what happened to him  
after his arrest at the Spanish Em-  
bassy, September 19, 1965. He pre-  
faces it with the words: 'This is a  
story of a conflict in which everybody  
was the loser. The police lost some  
of their image, the magistrate lost  
some of his authority, and I lost some  
of my freedom.'

a uniform—I respect your decision, but  
bear in mind that it is in no way a  
military uniform, and partly for the con-  
venience of prisoners themselves, many  
of whom come into prison in rags, with  
vermin, etc., etc. Personally I feel that  
it is no shame to wear prison uniform  
in the way it is to wear a military uni-  
form. Anyway good luck whatever your  
decision.

It was signed with the ban-the-bomb  
symbol.

I was kept in the cell naked for ten  
days, from the 20th till the 29th of  
September.

A doctor came into my cell and said:  
'Why don't you put your clothes on?'

I said: 'Doctor. I am very cold, I am  
shivering, and I want to put my clothes  
on. Please give me my clothes'.

He pointed to the uniform that was  
lying on the table.

I told him I will not wear a uniform.

He said: 'Why not?'

'Well, why don't you put it on?' I  
replied.

'Because I am not a criminal,' he  
answered, and left the cell.

I remained naked.

On Wednesday, September 29, they  
gave me back my clothes. I immediately  
put them on, and was warm and comfort-  
able again. They took me to Bow Street  
Magistrates' Court, and I was locked in  
the cell there.

Then a lady came in, said she is a  
social worker. She said to me: 'Mr.  
Pawlowski, you know that two doctors  
have seen you while you were in  
Brixton?' I said: 'Yes'.

She continued: 'And they came to  
the conclusion that what you need is a  
little stay in a mental hospital.'

Shortly after she left the cell a  
policeman came and asked me to follow  
him. I did—right up to the door of  
the courtroom. Then I told the police-  
man that I do not wish to go into court  
before the magistrate because I fear he  
will inflict injuries upon me. They called  
my name. I did not move. They laid  
their hands on me and I went limp.

They lifted me up by my arms and  
legs and carried me into court (legs first)  
and I was singing 'We shall overcome'.  
I did not hear what the magistrate said  
because I was singing, but when he said  
what he wanted to say and the policemen  
touched my legs and arms, I quickly got  
up and walked out of court.

Outside the door I was greeted by a  
man with a happy smile on his face and  
another man in uniform with AMBU-  
LANCE written on his sleeve. He also  
smiled. They always do these people.  
So I smiled too!

The man, still smiling, showed me the  
way, so I followed him.

We got into a taxi.

'No, no. You move to the other  
side,' said the man with the broad smile.

I did move to the other side. I noticed  
that the door on my side had its handle  
removed. It was a taxi with a difference!

The taxi stopped at Horton Mental  
Hospital.

Day after admission I was asked to  
attend a conference at which three doc-  
tors were present, one of them the  
eminent Dr. Rowlings (I was told by  
Staff that he is a famous psychiatrist),  
and two beautiful girls. They were  
students—occupational therapists from  
Liverpool.

Dr. Rowlings opened up. He said:  
'Mr. Pawlowski, could you please tell  
us why are you in this hospital?'

It took me about one hour and a  
half to explain myself. He asked few  
questions, but not many. The con-  
ference lasted from about 10.30 a.m. till  
noon. I was then asked to leave the  
room.

At about 4 p.m. that day Dr. Holbeer  
called me in and said that I hold  
opinions which are not the opinions of  
the majority of the people, but people  
are not put to mental hospitals for their  
opinions. He added: 'They do those sort  
of things in Russia—but I don't want to  
have anything to do with it'. And he  
asked me how would I feel if he dis-  
charged me.

I told him I would be very happy  
about it. And he did discharge me—48  
hours after admission I was discharged  
and returned home as a free man, without  
any worries, or regrets, or fears.

PAUL PAWLOWSKI.

## But some were fined . . .

Dear Comrade Editors,

As your readers may be aware, five  
people have been fined a total of  
£22 10s., following their arrest, in  
London, two weeks ago, at the demon-  
stration calling for the release of Spanish  
and Portuguese political prisoners.

May I through your columns appeal  
for money to pay their fines. All monies  
will be acknowledged, and any money  
left over will be sent to the relief of  
the families of political prisoners. Please  
send donations to me, Vincent Johnson,  
at the address below.

106 Vassall Road, VINCENT JOHNSON,  
Brixton, S.W.9

## VIETNAM Concerted Action

October 14, 7.30 p.m. Mahatma  
Gandhi Hall.

Speakers: Bertrand Russell, Wil-  
liam Warbey, Olive Gibbs.

October 15, 7.30 p.m. Camden Town  
Hall.

Speakers: Fenner Brockway,  
Joseph Needham, Iris Murdoch,  
Verdun Perl, Malcolm Caldwell.

October 16, 4.30 p.m.

Trafalgar Square Rally followed  
by procession to Vigil at US  
Embassy.

October 17, 6 p.m.

Public Assembly in Grosvenor  
Square.

## PROPOSED GROUPS

CORNWALL ANARCHIST GROUP.

Interested? Please write Derek Toman,  
46 Weeth Lane, Camborne, Cornwall.

WEST KENT LIBERTARIAN ALLI-  
ANCE. Anybody interested contact Peter  
J. Clarke, The George, Frant, Sussex.

NORTHOLT ANARCHISTS. Projected  
formation of group contact Jim Huggon,  
173 Kingshill Avenue, Northolt, Middle-  
sex or Miss Jean McLean, 6 Epsom Close,  
Northolt Park, Middlesex.

SUNDERLAND (Co. Durham). Pro-  
posed Anarchist Discussion Group. (Syn-  
dicalists welcome) at Geoff. Edwards,  
'Side House', St. George's Terrace, Roker,  
Sunderland, Co. Durham.

LEEDS LIBERTARIAN ALLIANCE.

Anybody interested please contact Roy  
and Frankie Todd at 15 Clarendon Place,  
Leeds, 2. Telephone 24282.

## ABROAD

NEW ZEALAND. Auckland Anarchist  
Group. Public Meetings every Sunday  
in Myers Park at 2 p.m.

## UNCLASSIFIED

THE LONDON INDIVIDUALIST  
ANARCHIST GROUP meets the second  
Sunday of each month at 10 Churton  
Street, Victoria, S.W.1 (off Vauxhall  
Bridge Road) at 8 p.m.



## 'Girls lured to Britain by White Slavers'

— News of the World

MENTION 'SIMPLE-LIVING' and people visualise one of two things. They either think you mean living like a greasy savage with matted hair, peering from a dung-smeared, bone-littered cave, or else they envisage a group of spindly, earnest vegetarians, with bottoms swaying as they self-consciously do Morris dances at some very expensive nudist colony near Welwyn Garden City.

While simple-living can mean either of the above, in this article it means deliberately standing aside from the great avalanche of goods and services that modern technology can produce and, after due deliberation, either selecting those goods and services which fit in with one's conception of the good life or else ignoring the flood altogether. It will be objected that this is all that people are going to do anyway. Such, unfortunately, is not the case. Many, indeed most, people are mere uncontrolled appetites and when the powers that be tell them to wade neck deep in a torrent of plastic tablecloths, pop records, bubble cars and tranquillisers, then they will do so, in the same way as they tightened their belts when told to do so in the past.

It is certainly not my purpose to set up ideals and recommend exact standards of simple-living for people to adopt. What people do in practice depends, apart from the effects of advertising, on taste and temperament and, for the time being, means. It may be that an individual, although fully aware that his 'wanting' things is the result of clever advertising, will still choose to wallow. Every man to his own taste. But let it be his own taste and not just the unconscious effects of advertising. And let it be remembered that freedom (which is, presumably, what anarchists want) is best served when free choice (which means liberty) is coupled with forethought and that the quality of life does not automatically rise in line with the increases in the quantity of goods consumed and that the opposite is often the case.

The quality of life, that is what matters. A wise man knows that the good life is centred round heart and mind and not just the physical appetites. Any mode of living which promotes the good life is best pursued and any that is to the detriment of the good life abandoned. Let every man find his good life. Thoreau, poet, writer, conscientious objector to slavery and arch-individualist, surveyed his woebegone, materially-minded neighbours and wrote, 'The cost of a thing is the amount of what I will call life that requires to be exchanged for it.'

### POSSIBILITIES

It is easy to visualise a society in which technology is used for human good and not the greater glory of capitalism. Can't you hear the voices from the past saying the same thing? 'Now that the railway has been invented, the resulting better communications make Utopia imminent', says some optimist of 1840. 'Now that the telegraph', 'Now that the aeroplane', 'The car', 'Television', 'Space-travel'. And while the dreamers were imagining their just and free societies based on the latest inventions, other scientists were complicating things by making further discoveries and inventions and the politicians, generals and business men were busily abusing those already in existence. Since when has a just and free society depended on technological change and not change in the hearts of men? And why, as Arthur Uloth has asked, did not free societies arise in those societies of antiquity where abundance was possible, such as Ancient Egypt? The Nile Valley, then, had one of the most fertile soils in the world, was rich in game, was protected by the desert from outside invasions and sheltered a people who had inherited a generally tolerant and energetic disposi-

tion. Yet, in its 2,500 years of history, Ancient Egypt did not become a free society but remained one of the strictest theocracies in history. While its long, secure history permitted a society to evolve where slaves were treated humanely, where art flourished and life was in many ways pleasant, the value of Ancient Egypt in libertarian terms is nil.

### AN OBJECTION

One objection to simple-living is that it means becoming docile, abandoning the struggle for yet higher standards of consumption and leaving all the wealth in the hands of the bosses. The assumption behind this objection is that the bosses want to see everyone poor while they hog all the wealth. While this was certainly the case up to the 1930's, since then, due to the higher productive capacity of modern industry coupled with the thought of economists like Lord Keynes, the bosses have realised that to keep the economy booming the working class must be drawn into the consumption scramble. After all, if British industry is capable of turning out, say, 2,000,000 cars each year, the bosses can hardly use them all themselves. So, rather than let the production facilities stand idle, they raise wages so that the workers can afford cars and through advertising and the mass media they make them want cars—and plastic tablecloths, pop records and all the rest of it. Anyone with even an elementary knowledge of modern economics knows that this is the case. Wage freezes are only temporary adjustments to this trend. Britain is ruled not with the machine gun but with the washing machine, but it is still very much ruled and still bloody awful in many other ways. And in such a state of affairs, whose job is it to see to the needs of those who are far from prosperous—workers in decaying industries, pensioners, unemployed, the hungry millions throughout the world whose whimpers of need are drowned by the shrieks of greed from the over-prosperous sections of the over-prosperous nations? Whose responsibility is it, the State's?!!

Thus it will be seen that simple-living, far from playing into the bosses hands, means, in fact, doing the exact opposite of what the bosses want you to do. They want to see everyone frantically scrambling for more. Refuse. They want to see everyone obsessed with status. Show you don't care. They want you to be a moronic pig. Beat them by being an intelligent human being.

### THE OUTLOOK

In Britain and other developed countries (and the undeveloped countries are rushing to get in on the act), economic growth has become an end in itself. It is futile to believe that one day the clouds will clear of their own accord and something worthwhile will emerge from the present mess. If roaring 'progress' and economic growth have produced the modern malaise, obviously further 'progress' and growth will make things worse, not better. And any chance of minorities toppling or directing into other channels the industrial colossus seem slim indeed.

Caught in the chains of its own pride, greed, ignorance and short-sightedness, the human race, led by bustling teams of physicists, engineers, economists, sociologists, planners, psychologists, etc., and deafened by the roar of a million journalists, television men, pop singers and political parasites, is rushing towards—what? Physical destruction?—possibly. But, more likely, 'only' the destruction of all taste, quietness, natural beauty, privacy, individuality, culture, personality and simplicity before vast waves of mass produced trash and even vaster waves of clamouring conforming 'humanity'.

Stand aside if you can! R.J.

CASTRO ANNOUNCED THAT 'Che' Guevara his former associate had left Cuba for 'a new field of battle in the struggle against imperialism'. He had renounced his Cuban citizenship and all posts he held in the country and 'freed Cuba of all responsibility'. A letter was read which had been given to Castro on April 1, it said, 'I feel I have completed the duty which the Cuban revolution gave me. My only fault has been that I did not understand more fully your great qualities'.

FOUR ENGLISH STUDENTS wrote to the Kremlin that an interpreter, Zhenya Belov, they met on a student holiday had been committed to a lunatic asylum. They had discussed by correspondence the theory and practice of communism. He eventually told them he had realised that the party had become a bureaucratic organisation representing only the interests of the ruling group. The party was supposed to be based on the principle of democratic centralism, but it was far too centralistic and not democratic enough. The party's policies, he believed, should come from below, instead of being imposed from above. He told them that the system of proletarian dictatorship had been officially declared dead, and replaced by 'The State of the whole people'. However, in his view, these were empty words, for the people as a whole did not exercise power any more than in the past. Moreover the machinery of the dictatorship was still being maintained and used to keep down those with dissenting views. He believed that the party should be organized in such a way as to give expression to the true feelings and views of the people. He now thought that the press and radio were the creatures of a power clique instead of being the free instruments of popular opinion. He wanted the trade unions to have real power to act on behalf of the workers. But he wanted all these changes to be accomplished constitutionally and legally by the Communist Party itself and believed that it was the duty of every true Communist to open the eyes of his comrades to the

need for change.

Belov put these ideas forward at a meeting of his party organization to be placed before the 23rd Congress. However the party organization suspended him from membership and ordered him to go before the Moscow City party committee for disciplining. He refused to go and wrote letters to Breshnev, Kosygin. Next thing that Belov's friends heard of him was that under the pretext of a medical examination for a job transfer he was certified insane and committed to an asylum.

ON MONDAY the *Daily Worker* published two letters attacking Dutt's review of Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution*. On Wednesday the *Worker* published by its Moscow correspondent an account of the 'new look' in Soviet industry headed 'Profits for the people in this Soviet "New Look"'. Mr. Peter Tempest says, 'in future only the size of the wages fund will be stipulated [by Government bodies]. This is a necessary safeguard to ensure on a national scale a proper balance between the people's purchasing power and the production of consumer goods. Factories will now only be told what goods they must produce, and what targets they must reach in sales and profits. Their contribution to and allocations from the State Budget, will also be stipulated.' *The American Economic Report* issued by the US Information Service (which is no place to go for a laugh), carries an article headed 'Profit—an instrument of social progress'. Having achieved this the editors announce 'that because of budget reductions this will be the last issue'.

THE US MAGAZINE *US News and World Report* estimates that there are about 90,000 millionaires in the US, seven times the number there were in 1948. About one family in every 625 in the US is a millionaire family. Princess Margaret addressing the tenth congress of the International Union of Building Societies and Savings Associations said, 'Everyone wants a safe place for his or her savings. Everyone wants somewhere

to live. Home ownership is not possible for every person everywhere—but it is surely right that those who want to and can afford it should be given every possible help to buy their own homes. Home takes on an added value when it belongs to the family and not to someone else; it contributes greatly to family contentment and on a larger scale brings stability to a nation.' A High Court ordered husbands who have been staying with their wives at a Council home for homeless at West Malling, Kent, to leave before next Friday. In Latin America every second death is that of a child under five, victim of starvation, malnutrition or lack of sanitation. According to the *Daily Express* Prince William of Gloucester, Margaret's nephew, is bidding for a £51,500 house in Kensington. It has four floors, three to four reception rooms (says William Hickey vaguely), two bathrooms, and an indoor heated swimming pool. This comes on the eve of the Prince's departure to take up a two-year posting as third secretary at the British Embassy in Lagos.

THE POPE MET PRESIDENT JOHNSON and, according to the US Information (without whom this column would be incomplete), 'the two leaders exchanged gifts during their meeting. The President presented the Pope with a small gold globe encased in leather. Engraved inside were the seals of the Presidency and the Papacy. The base of the globe was engraved [sic] with this message: "To his Holiness, Pope Paul VI. From Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States, October 4, 1965." Mr. Johnson also presented the Pope with an autographed photograph in a sterling silver frame. The Pope's gift to the President was a large painting *The Resurrection of Christ* by Filocamo, a contemporary Italian artist'.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON underwent an operation for gallstones later in the week. On the first day he rose at 6 a.m.

JON QUIXOTE.

### LETTER

polluting his bloodstream with noxious chemicals and doing untold harm to his brain?

At best he ends up by doing himself in. At second best he graduates to dear old Golders Green. At worst, as frequently happens, he flips his lid and they send the van round for him, in which case somebody has to work to keep him—namely Muggins here! The only 'kick' on J.R.'s sample list that this anarchist indulges in is jazz. The others either followed God and government out through the window or never gained admission in the first place.

It grieves me to observe that many of the working anarchists in whose company I am not ashamed to be seen, are willing to tolerate the 'bums'. It would seem, then, that of the two views of the anarchist movement I itemised at the beginning most 'comrades' adopt the first, and would be utterly lost if an anarchist society actually came about! The Bristol Federation, for example, had existed for two years when I came on the scene 18 months ago. In all that time it had not moved outside the Clifton-Redland area of the city, where, to be precise, it was confined to three or four houses — one public, the others private—and this is still the case in spite of the efforts of myself and a couple of other individuals who want to achieve something. The federation was part of the social scene and one's face had to fit. At my place of work, I actually managed to generate an understanding of anarchism in a few people, who were interested enough to come along to meetings. These young workers came, took one look, and didn't come back a second time. And the 'comrades' who keep on and on about the workers, recoiled almost visibly on being confronted with some real live ones. The reality was evidently too much for their cosy illusions, apart from threatening to break up the happy circle.

If this is the case with most of the regional groups, and I hear from pretty reliable sources that it is, no wonder the organisation has been eaten through by this ragged, hairy cancer. The movement is to be congratulated on the impeccable efficiency with which it is carrying out its policy of maintaining minority status!

Which of the two attitudes does Jack Robinson himself take? He'll have to make up his mind as I found I had to do. Nor did I waste much time deciding what sort of an anarchist movement I wanted to be in. My decision has now led me to break away altogether from the 'anarchist' scene in Britain. I regard it as more of a bugbear than a help to the true libertarian cause. Bristol 24.9.65

## The Case Against Bums

WHETHER one agrees or disagrees with Jack Robinson's *In Defence of Bums* (FREEDOM, Sept. 18) depends entirely on which of two ways one looks at the anarchist movement.

If you see it as a select group of exhibitionists using 'rebellion against injustice' as an excuse for existence as a group, an organisation to be deliberately restricted to minority status so that bored and frustrated people can find cheap notoriety in belonging to it, a snug social clique just pretending to itself that it is going to change the course of human history, then it is just the place for those who of their own choosing go about looking like extras for a film about a concentration camp, and arousing only the contempt of the average person.

If on the other hand your idea of an anarchist movement is my idea—that of a WORKER'S organisation which aims to win the respect and membership of millions of ordinary down-to-earth people, and actually succeed in ridding the world of that arch-scourge, the authoritarian State and all that goes with it—then obviously the movement is not the right milieu for these types and J.R.'s moralistic arguments immediately become irrelevant. Let them shove off and call themselves something else.

A workers' organisation is for workers. Most of the anarchist international accepts this. Why not the British contingent? I use the word *worker* in the broadest sense to mean anyone who is usefully occupied, productively or distributively. So these bums do not work because they feel they don't want to be exploited? Can't they see that they are being exploited all the more: not only by not getting properly fed or housed, but by providing the powers that be with anti-protest, anti-individualist propaganda with which to bombard right-thinking suburbanities.

In most cases too they become exploiters themselves. The State contributions snatched without my consent from my hard-earned weekly wage are helping to keep a lot of them on the NAB! The others who live by 'conning' money off people naturally rely on their victims having money to part with, and the victim, in order to have enough money to be worth touching, has to earn it. Therefore these beatniks and general layabouts still rely on the capitalist system in the end—and without even bearing their share of the burden. So I must 'prepare to be used' by them,

must I? Why the hell should I! I get used enough as it is by the capitalists, but at least they feed me in return.

The analogy the writer uses, the fable of the Greek bowman with the gangrenous wound, falls flat in this case. The hero of the story, though personally objectionable, had at least a talent to offer, which could be of use in achieving the object in hand. Not so the weirdies and slags. Far from helping to achieve whatever the given goal may be, their presence is a positive hindrance. The very public we wish to communicate with take one look at them and say: 'So these are the anarchists. Puke!' whereupon I have to laboriously explain to onlookers that I am not to be associated with 'that bloody mob', but, for all my explaining leave behind me a trail of unconvinced workmates. I'm by no means the only one.

A case in point: When we in Bristol held a demo, outside the Spanish Vice-Consulate at the time of Stuart Christie's arrest, a whole swarm of them arrived to join us. They made hundreds of eyes pop out, and of course the local press had their cameras poised for the one photograph which would have given our dear friends the publicity they craved, at the expense of our cause. They never got it. I and another comrade took the initiative and sent them packing. The result — no photograph, but a report which showed us up in a favourable light to the average Labour-voting Bristolian, since the report stated that we, the demonstrators, had shooed the beatniks out of it. Our public meeting about Stuart was well attended the next day and the crowd were sympathetic, financially as well as emotionally.

Comrade Robinson himself gives an accurate analysis of these types in his last paragraph but three, the one beginning: 'The fact is, bums are rarely politically conscious', etc. He's saved me the trouble of saying it all. Would the CNT/FAI have tolerated this sort of thing?

I'm glad J.R. doesn't try to minimise the drug-taking, alcoholic and sexual excesses of this class. It is an unmeasurably worse image of the anarchist movement than the old bomb thrower tag, and it must go. But to state that 'one merely envies such versatility and prowess' (!)—what does he mean and who is he speaking for? This 'one' does not envy them. Quite the reverse. How can a man call himself an anarchist, or even a man, if he allows himself to be ruled by his sensation-craving nerves;

### MAKE SURE OF YOUR ANARCHIST JOURNALS BY SUBSCRIBING!

#### Freedom WEEKLY

Price 4d. Every Saturday except the first in each month. (40 issues per year.)

#### BY POST:

1 year (40 issues) 22s. 6d. (U.S. \$3)  
6 months (20 issues) 11s. 6d. (\$1.50)  
3 months (10 issues) 6s. (75c.)

#### SPECIAL RATE FOR 2 COPIES:

1 year (40 issues) 30s. (U.S. \$4.50)  
6 months (20 issues) 15s. (\$2.25)

#### BY AIR MAIL:

1 year (40 issues) 45s. (U.S. \$7)

FREEDOM by AIR MAIL, ANARCHY

#### Anarchy MONTHLY

Price 2s. (2s. 3d. or 30c. by post)  
Appears first Saturday of each month.

#### BY POST:

1 year (12 issues) 26s. (U.S. \$3.50)

BY AIR MAIL: 1 year 47s. (\$7)

#### JOINT SUB. FREEDOM/ANARCHY:

1 year 42s. (\$6), 6 months 22s. (\$3)  
3 months 11s. 6d. (\$1.50)

#### 2 COPIES OF EACH:

1 year 63s. (\$9), 6 months 31s. 6d. (\$4.50)

by SURFACE: 1 year 65s. (\$9.50)

Cheques, P.O.'s and Money Orders should be made out to FREEDOM PRESS, crossed A/c Payee and addressed to the publishers:

### Freedom Press

17a MAXWELL ROAD,  
LONDON, S.W.6 Phone: RENown 3736



## BRISTOL DOCKS

BRISTOL DOCKERS have been out for 11 days and are as strong as ever in their demand for the reopening of discussions on the disputed cargo.

The dispute started over the rate to be paid to unload a cargo of timber. Evidently at the local joint council meeting, the unions and the employers agreed on an interim increase in the rate.

The employers and the T & GWU are making great play of this 'freely agreed by both sides, with a promise of further negotiations' type settlement. And the T & GWU attitude is the same as the employers, 'No further action can be taken until the men resume work'.

The employers claim that dockers can earn £4 a day on this cargo and have spent £270 on a full page advertisement in the *Bristol Evening Post* to publicly state their claim. The dockers deny that £4 a day is possible on these cargoes, but in any case unloading timber is bloody hard graft so even at £4 a day the port employers would be giving nothing away.

Obviously the men on the job know what it is worth, and union officials or no union officials, they are not prepared to work for less. It's all very fine making agreements in an office somewhere, but totally different if you are the poor bastard who has to do the humping.

On August 19 about 500 Tilbury dockers heard the 'liaison committee' attack Devlin's proposals on decasualisation. At the same meeting leaflets were distributed in support of the rebel National Union of Portworkers which has 3,500 members in Tilbury, London, Liverpool, Manchester and Hull.

The National Union of Portworkers was founded in November, 1962 and was registered in February, 1963 (Reg. No. 2270).

The founders have been amazed at the tremendous response that has been forthcoming from portworkers in all ports in Great Britain to the idea of a union which has as its objectives:

One big industrial union for all portworkers.

## Contact Column

**Speaking.** Effective speaking and self-expression Study Group starting regular meetings as from November. No fees. If interested please send s.a.c. Box 15.

**Meetings.** 13 Prince of Wales Terrace, Kensington, W.8, 7-9 p.m. Thursday, October 14: 'Sexual Freedom for the Young'. Thursday, October 21: 'Community Living in London'. Friday, October 29: 'Forming "intentional" families'.

**Harlow Demo.** For Peace and Disarmament. YCND Assemble 10.30 a.m. Epping Church. 11 a.m. March to Harlow. Re-assemble 2 p.m. Town Hall Square for Public Meeting. Date: Saturday, October 23.

**FML Spanish Lessons** commence Wednesday, October 13 at 6.30 p.m. till 8 p.m. at 159 Ledbury Road, W.11

**Chris Holmes, London.** Birmingham Group would like to hear from you. Write Geoff Charlton, 9 Pembroke Road, Birmingham, 12.

**To Aid Dave Cunliffe.** Poetry Reading Saturday, October 16. Live poets. Free admission. Collection. 7 till 10.30 p.m. Basement of 75A Ladbroke Grove, W.11.

**Cuddon's Cosmopolitan Review.** September issue now out, 9d. The least-read literary review — stories, satire, poetry, etc. (Writers and artists might like to look at it and possibly contribute to making it less read).

**New Poster**  
War Want  
Waste Why?  
Politics!

34d. each plus postage. Orders to Bill Sticker, c/o 17a Maxwell Road, London, S.W.6.

**Youth Against War in Vietnam.** Glasgow YCND March, Saturday, October 16. Contact Alan Sinclair, Flat 3a, 39 Mallaig Road, Glasgow, S.W.1. GOV 3995.

**New Zealand Federation of Anarchists.** First Annual Congress. December 26 to January 6. Enquiries Box 5455, Auckland CI, NZ.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

# Rank & File in Charge

An industrial union which is thoroughly democratic in its constitution and day to day working.

A union whose officials are democratically elected and subject to recall by the membership if they fail to carry out the wishes of the members.

The industrial union is not to be affiliated to any political party.

The unity of all portworkers in all struggles.

The union is now no longer just an idea. It is in being, is registered as a bona fide union, with a rapidly growing membership.

They invite all portworkers, no matter what section of the industry they may work in, to unite in one big powerful industrial union which will, by its militancy and unity, fight for and protect the interests of all portworkers. A union whose policy on all major questions facing portworkers will be decided by the full membership and not by a coterie of full-time or lay officials.

Sid Senior,  
General Secretary,  
National Union of Portworkers,  
10 Chelmer House,  
Chadwell St. Mary,  
Grays, Essex.

On October 7, the Australian Senate passed the Stevedoring In-

dustry Bill after applying the guillotine to prevent filibustering by the Opposition Labour Party.

Under the Bill the Australian dockers union, the Waterside Workers' Federation, will lose the right to recruit men for work on the waterfront and power to recruit dockers will be vested instead wholly in the Australian Stevedoring Authority.

William McMahon (Labour Minister), explained that the Bill provided for the deregistration of the Federation if it is found guilty of offences under the Arbitration Act or interference with overseas or interstate trade. It will be remembered that the Aussie dockers forced stoppages on the issues of S. African goods, and arms to the Dutch in Indonesia, and were heavily fined for their trouble.

On the question of deregistration, the Government under the slightest pretext could deregister and encourage the formation of a new hand-picked union which to all intents and purposes would be as good as a 'company union'. Such a situation would not be impossible in Britain with the proposals of 'legalised trade union membership' in the offing.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

## TURRIFF'S: 'A VICTORY FOR TRADE UNIONISTS'

I EXPECT THAT by the time this article appears in print, the Turriff lock-out on the Barbican scheme will have been settled. At the present time, the management are right down on their knees and there seems nothing to bar the way to a complete victory for these 380 men. Let us hope this is how it works out, for it has been a hard struggle, but they are not home and dry yet, for the dispute is still on. Nothing is a foregone conclusion.

During the past week, this dispute has at long last been made official. I do not say this with any pleasure or satisfaction, because considering the nature of the thing, the unions did not really have any other choice. The Transport and General Workers Union, which has the most members involved, was the first to give its sanction, followed by the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives, who then turned down the National Commission arranged for Tuesday. Soon after the blessing of the Federation, came the support of the other two unions involved, the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers and the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers.

### JOB AT STANDSTILL

The vast majority of those in dispute wanted official backing from the start. It has now been given, but is acting mainly as a rubber stamp on what has been achieved by unofficial means. I say mainly, because Turriff had managed to get some work done on their site. Lorries bringing in materials were certainly turned away by the unofficial pickets, but the scabs still did something. Following recognition, union officials went onto the site and after two attempts brought out the scabs, so that Turriff came to a complete standstill. When the scabs walked out, the police rushed in reinforcements to clear the picket. Perhaps the police thought this action might provoke an incident, but they were unlucky, for the locked-out men only cheered and were glad to see the scabs off the job without seeking any revenge.

Turriff had managed to recruit other labour to make up their work force. Men came down from Scotland, being told that carpenters would get £6 per day and bricklayers 14/6 per hour with free dinners, but on finding a picket line, they told Turriff where to put their job and refused to cross it. With no scabs, the management decided to seek a meeting with the unions and this news greeted the workers from the main

London sites when they packed the Conway Hall for the Joint Sites Committee meeting last Friday. In fact the atmosphere was one of a noisy celebration.

Union officials had been invited but only Jack Orwell came along. He took the full brunt of the criticism of the unions and their failure to act earlier. He took great pains to point out that these things have to go through the procedure machinery which all takes time, but this sort of answer did not cut much ice and there were a number of catcalls and jeers. One speaker from the floor pointed out that the unions had no other choice but to make it official, for they were forced by the fact that 1,500 men had come out on strike for one day in support of their locked-out brothers.

### AN ATTACK ON THE RIGHT TO STRIKE

The Contract of Employment Act was also criticised very strongly. It was agreed that every effort should be made to repeal that section which makes strikes a breach of contract for it is an outright attack on the workers' right to strike. The 'Labour-only' sub-contractors also came in for some criticism for they were one of the reasons for the dispute. These



Coach to take out scabs turned away by pickets.

# Freedom

## For Workers' Control

OCTOBER 16 1965 Vol. 26 No. 32

# All Printworkers must unite!

THE NATIONAL UNION of Printing Bookbinders and Paperworkers have handed in a formal strike notice to take effect from October 24. The National Society of Operatives, Printers and Assistants fully supports the paperworkers in their claim for '25% night over day' and has instructed its members to terminate their engagements on October 29.

'Twenty five per cent night over day' is a hardy annual and has been listed in printworkers demands for many years. The mere mention of this demand to the employers, the Newspaper Proprietors' Association (NPA) was, and still is, like holding a red rag to a bull.

The NPA claim that newspaper production is basically a night-work industry and therefore special compensation for night-work would be out of order. Their main argument in opposing the demand is that night-workers already earn between 18% and 20% more than day-shift printworkers because night-workers are on a 35 hour basic week as opposed to 40

hour basic for day workers.

This argument is completely false, and apart from anything else is used in the hope of dividing night and day workers. The times for printing at night suit the employers, they don't want to start printing too early in the evening, because the news has been covered by the *Evening News* and the *Evening Standard* and on the other hand they don't want to finish printing too late in the morning otherwise they miss the public travelling to work in the morning.

From a social point of view night-work is not natural, life is geared so that the majority of people sleep at night and therefore night-workers social life is completely disrupted. One is forced to accept the fact that night-work is a necessary evil in which case night-workers should be amply compensated.

Printworkers should ignore the '35 hour as opposed to 40 hour' dividing tactic and support 100% the '25% night over day' claim.

sub-contractors sign an agreement with the main contractor to provide and pay men. They do not supply plant or equipment and are not parties to trade union agreements. In fact some of them do not even pay holiday credits or buy insurance stamps. They often offer big bonuses while the main contractors pay their workers less bonus for doing the same work. This brings about a lot of bad feeling from which only the employers benefit. Many speakers felt that firms like this, such as Peter Craven, shuttering sub-contractors, and Ivor Dowty, civil engineering and demolition sub-contractors, should be closed up.

The meeting ended with a very good collection for the men, which added more to the £300 that had already been received from the sites that day, for although these locked out men will get money from their unions, it will not be very much. The ASW pays £3 per week and that will be difficult to live on unless supplemented.

On last Friday, a curious article appeared in the *Financial Times* on this dispute, which started, 'It is difficult to discuss the strike of building workers at London's £31m. Barbican project without being accused of national and racial prejudice. The majority of the workers involved are either Irish or West Indian. . . . For the most part, the Irish do the talking and the West Indians the listening. It seemed quite in character when two men began their speeches to an afternoon strike meeting by apologising for having drunk too much at lunch-time.'

The reporter tells how he was talking to the coppers who have been on duty at the site, 'with two white horses and two Black Marias—a poetic touch'. These coppers said 'four of the seven arrested and fined after last Friday's Battle of the Barbican between strikers and non-strikers (meaning scabs) had Irish names.' Well here is a bit more information for this reporter to add to his story, two of the other three arrested were Scotsmen.

Perhaps if the dispute had been going well for Turriff this rubbish would not have appeared in the *Financial Times*, but it seems that this paper has gone down to the level of the *Daily Mirror*. As for the bit about the copper being 'indignant' about hearing from one of the men on the picket line 'that a building worker can earn as much in one week as a policeman earns in three', it just is not true and if the copper thinks he will be better off in the building industry, the answer is, have a go, it's a far more useful job. As for

there being any 'national and racial prejudice' during the dispute, I for one didn't see or hear of any. It would be a nice weapon to use against these workers but it won't work. All colours and nationalities have stood together united against the Turriff management. A NFBTO PURGE?

Even if the dispute is won, it seems as if a further struggle will have to take place, this time against our own officials of the NFBTO. Although Mr. Weaver, the General Secretary, has said, 'There is no question of the unions agreeing to wrap up the dispute by leaving the stewards outside', Turriff's are expected to try to get some disciplining of them and it is also on the cards that Weaver will try to do this anyway. He didn't like the sympathy action taken by other sites in London. What has got to be recognised is that work would have still been going on at the Turriff site if it had not been for the stewards on other sites and the rank and file support. A speaker at Conway Hall summed it up when he said, 'This will be a victory for trade unionists and not for the trade unions'.

Any attempts by the NFBTO or the union executives to discipline or remove stewards, Federation or otherwise, from their elected positions must be resisted and defeated by the rank and file who elected them. We owe this to ourselves and our steward P.T.

## PRESS FUND

WEEK 40, OCTOBER 16, 1965:  
Expenses: 26 weeks at £70: £2940  
14 weeks at £80: £2191  
Income: Sales and Subs.: £2191

DEFICIT £749

Walton on Thames: D.F. 1/6; Hastings: C.P. 4/-; Donaghdee: J.T. £3; London, S.E.17: D.S. 4/-; Oxford: Anon\* 5/-; Ilford: J.W. 4/-; Sheffield: P.L. 10/-; Lower Hutt, N.Z.: C.R. 5/-; Swansea: R.R. £18; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.\* 2/-; J.L.\* 3/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.\* 10/-; Potters Heath: S.M. 3/-; Leeds: R.C. 8/-; Cardiff: C.L. 1/6; Bristol: R.C. 4/-; Melton Mowbray: M.S. £1 4s.; Hayes: J.M. 3/6.

TOTAL £25 12 6  
Previously Acknowledged: £680 8 9  
1965 Total to Date £706 1 3

\*Denotes Regular Contributors.  
Gift of Books: Derham: T.B.