Freedom

Anarchist Weekly @

JANUARY 8 1966 Vol 27 No 1

Making Life More

Difficult

THE SEASON of mass escapism now over, the emptiness and normality of the New Year brings us back to earth with a thud. Although our Government is not so cynical as to instruct a soldier to dress up as Santa Claus and distribute presents to peasant children he'd only too cheerfully burn with napalm any other day of the year, our leaders brand of cynicism, though milder, is rational in that they deduce that if they can get the masses to spend heavily at Christmas, then a society for whom affluence is the goal, will ignore a small rise in the cost of living.

On January 16 bus and rail fares in London will go up, while on the same date British Rail are also putting their increases into operation, though the announcements of these impending rises were not made concurrently, the London increases being announced in conjunction with the then Minister of Transport Tom Fraser's plans to tackle London's traffic problem.

The British Rail increases are only a weary repetition of what has gone before; people will continue to pay more and more for a service which grows worse and worse and which is already divorced from its function of serving a community's needs. Many people have learned by personal experience what buffet tea is like, and only the lazy and ignorant, and the unfortunately old for whom walking is difficult, need drink it.

What has angered many people and mystified them into the bargain is what possible connection fare increases have with bringing some sense of order to the traffic chaos. The obvious sensible arrangement would have been to have brought fares down to something like their 1950 level. (This of couse is only an arbitrary date but it goes without saying that many people would look back to that time quite wistfully now.) Motorists would be encouraged to travel to work by tube or bus and also, with cheaper fares, buses might well be full to capacity nearly all the time, and even with the cost of fuel, the LT could be making a profit after the first year of the plan, instead of having to make a timid approach to the Government for a subsidy some time next year.

Motorists would be kept off the city's main arteries and, as a 'Panorama' programme showed, 59 people on a bus travel on an uncongested road as compared with those same people driving their own cars, often only one person to each car. This indeed is another 'plan' that's planned against those who can't help using the facilities provided; in fact another example of phoney 'Socialism' after fifteen years of reactionary rule by the dear old Tories.

ANARCHY 59 The White Problem NOW ON SALE

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

The continual war against the motorist is to be kept up, so now it's an actual disadvantage to own a car, if one takes into consideration what one cannot, rather than can, do. At present everything is in the melting-pot of indecision. Fraser introduced more powerful parking restrictions and a tentative plan for an annual tax (£1 has been suggested as a fair sum) for cars entering congested cities. Though on the one hand a certain amount of business will have to be done in the city every day, while one hopes that invalids will be given free access and consideration because for most of them their carriages are their only means of getting further than the front door.

For years now the car has been one of the capitalist gods; the Government have never been slow to capitalize on this form of wish-fulfilment, so now the capitalist's biggest headache is caused by the very thing they've been urging us to acquire through unremitting advertising techniques, down all these years. The ludicrous catastrophe depicted in the cartoon film 'Automania 2000' even seems a real possibility. The build-up, as more and more people acquired cars could be seen clearly enough, but nothing of any significance was done by the Tories, while I shour's measures though more drastic solve only half the problem.

I agree something must be done to avoid the possibility of day-long jams and also getting people to and from work more quickly. The traffic problem is worse in America, the Long Island Express Motorway having become outdated as soon as it was completed. In this country the Victoria Line and a proposed express bus service from Victoria to Marble Arch will help relieve congestion, but what has been needed all these years was a plan to tackle motoring problems as they arose instead of waiting until chaos threatens.

What about the mono-rail idea which seems to have a lot to recommend it, or even the helicopter, which could surely play a more conspicuous part in everyday life? The Government's measures have a whiff of the police state about them, while there is a distinct possibility of London becoming a ghost city, or at least a very odd one.

Public Transport has been allowed to languish until the 'service' has become a disgrace. By motoring people could turn their backs on trains and buses and feel more independent. Now the intention is to switch back to the pre-car era. It would be nice to think that our public transport can rise to the occasion, but are London Transport the people to assume this extra burden? I think not. Public Transport would seem to be the easiest solution and the Number 1 priority, but London Transport's long record of flagrant disregard for both the travelling public and their own employees, will mean another tiresome journey back to square one.

But what makes me angry is why the people have to be subjected to blatant robbery every time a new move is made in this traffic problem. Fraser blamed wage costs, and added that even increased productivity could not counter the rise. I seem to have heard this many times before. Naturally fares have risen when a wage increase has been granted because the employees desire a standard living wage, and the State makes sure of passing the buck to those who have no alternative but to use the buses and trains. Fraser has since been relieved of his job, but his 'ideas' stay; his excuses are feeble, when one considers just what the Government are prepared to spend their money on. President Johnson sent some representative of his over here to try and persuade Wilson to buy a new missile project; my guess is that Wilson won't have the guts to turn them away, and will be conned into buying this junk

Continued on page 3

WRITING FOR a paper with limited space and unlimited ideas, one hesitates to plunge into the whirlpools of polemic especially so soon after mentioning this matter of the Radical Alliance and the Hull election. However, Mr. Peter Cadogan, the Secretary of the National Committee of 100, has really provoked this by his utterances in the current 'communications' sheet of the National Committee.

In the communication he writes under the heading 'Hull', 'If the point of a demonstration is to make case in the way that cannot be dismissed (as a meeting or a press statement can be dismissed) then if some other way of making the same case offers itself the opportunity is not to be missed. Seen in this way a certain kind of electoral activity is part of the vocabulary of direct action. It all depends on how it is done. Our business is to get at public opinion and build the independent peace movement at one and the same time. Richard Gott is campaigning on a straight peace in Vietnam platform as distinct from the compromising, vote-catching, image-worried party hacks he is up against.' Peter Cadogan then quotes a report from Keith Burdon (of Radical Alliance) on their prospects in Hull and concludes, 'Offers of help to the Agent, John Gittings, 106 Goldhurst Terrace, London, N.W.6. Tel.; MAI 2716.

Ironically enough this piece of confused thinking is accompanied in the same envelope as a policy statement of the Committee of 100, one item of which is 'WE HAVE BROKEN WITH PARTY POLITICS (caps in original). We believe in the day-to-day mutual accountability of individuals and groups. We have ceased to believe in dependence upon representatives and officials. We are, in consequence, opposed to the present trend towards the contralization of government.'

One may take the shifty but tenable position that the Radical Alliance is not a party, and one can assume that the artwer to When is a party not a party? is a statistical one like the answer to 'How many sheep make a flock?' One may also take the position that Radical Alliance is purely a political experi-ment and Mr. Richard Gott (DV) is quite unlikely to be elected, and moreover, in this unlikely event, he will be a good member in opposition to Mr. Wilson's 'baddies'; as my old mother used to say 'Opportunity is a fine thing'; furthermore, as Donald Rooum said once in a debate with, and upropos of, the SPGB 'Every whore was a virgin once'.

If the candidacy at Hull is purely symbolic, why not have a symbolic candidate? A crocodile or a horse, for example, but nothing can hide the impression that Richard Gott is

VOTING AS DIRECT ACTION?

a real Parliamentary candidate and the Radical Alliance (miniature though it is) is a real political party, if one may use the term.

Peter Cadogan appears to take up the position that the Hull election is an opportunity of putting forward the propaganda views shared both by the Radical Alliance and the Committee of 100. Incidentally the final line of the 'communication' about offers of help contradicts the policy idea of 'decentralization' for apparently the Hull electorate is being wooed from N.W.6.

It is quite true that the Hull byeelection highlights the issue of Viernam and Richard Gott's intervention makes possible a defeat for the Labour candidate, and following on this the possibility of Harold Wilson's reconsideration of his position with a smaller majority or no majority at all.

But all this has no relevance to the issues to which the Committee of 100 was dedicated. As Thorean said, 'All voting is a sort of gaming, like chequers or back-gammon, with a slight moral tinge to it, a playing with right and wrong, with moral questions; and betting naturally accompanies it.' Obviously Peter Cadogan is willing to put the Committee of 100's shirt on an outsider, but the left-at-the-post bookies of Tribune and The Week have backed the TU horse (which is of quite another colour).

The performance of the Tribune and The Week in the equine field remind one more of the circus (in the words of James Maxton) than of the racecourse, for they appear not only to be riding two horses at once, but two going in different directions. Does Peter Cadogan seek to emulate their feat on two horses—Election and Direct Action?

Peter Cadogan's claim 'that a certain kind of electoral activity is part of the vocabulary of direct action' is correct if it refers to 'voting with your feet' and in a limited kind of way is correct if it means making that hallmark of illiteracy, a cross, on your ballot paper but after that direct action your candidate is on his own; either into the obscurity of a failed candidate or into the obscurity of our successful member who goes on his own sweet way or the way laid out for him by his party.

The only word in anarchist vocabulary for the procedure at Hull is a four-letter one. The is a surrender of the ability to rect action. It may be that Vietnam is not a situation where we (the people of Britain) can take direct action but all one can do at Hull is to get in on the act. Without minimizing the issues of the Vietnam war what has Hull to do with Vietnam? The lack of interest of the British population in the Vietnam war is painfully obvious, otherwise why does Harold Wilson get away with it?

It is quite true that Richard Gott is in a strong position to blackmail Mr. Wilson on the Vietnam issue but the Opposition and the Liberals have a sinister loyalty to this Government especially when it is, as it so often is, in favour of the status

It is to be hoped that Peter Cadogan is thinking aloud for himself only and that these 'communications' do not represent the policy of the Committee of 100. If they do represent the policy of the Committee of 100, it is to be hoped that they will think again, even if they only revise their policy statement which now stands contradicted by

their secretary.

To conclude with a better writer and thinker on voting-H. D. Thoreau in Resistance to Civil Government, 'The characters of the voters (in an election) is not staked. I cast my vote, perchance, as I think right; but I am not vitally concerned that right should prevail. I am willing to leave it to the majority. Its obligation, therefore, never exceeds that of expediency. Even voting for the right is doing nothing for it. It is only expressing to men feebly your desire that it should prevail. A wise man will not leave the right to the mercy of chance, nor wish it to prevail through the power of the majority. There is but little virtue in the action of masses of men. When the majority shall at length vote for the abolition of slavery, it will be because they are indifferent to slavery, or because there is but little slavery left to be abolished by their vote. They will then be the only slaves. Only his vote can hasten the abolition of slavery who asserts his own freedom by his vote.'

JACK ROBINSON.

Down with 'The People'

THE PEOPLE NEWSPAPER is published in London every Sunday and has a circulation of several millions. It has a mainly working class readership and therefore must concern itself with the problems of the working class. It makes an effort to be a 'crusading' paper and has learnt that as long as its 'tone' is righteous, the meaning and the purpose can safely be authoritarian and spiteful. Last Sunday's issue contained a scurrilous attack in typical fashion on Roy Mills, one of the husbands, who cannot stay with his family at King Hill Hostel. (See attached statement by the Friends of King Hill.)

If you wish to stroll down the sewers, the contents of the *People* of this Sunday may interest you. On the front page there is a touching concern for the privacy (or private parts) of Prince Charles. 'Why don't they lay off him?' asks the righteous headline. The story contains all the dirt, of course, that is safe for the *People* to print. No such caution governed Mr. Hugh Farmer whose filthy attack on the privacy of a working class woman appears next to it. This woman escaped from a prison hospital so that her child may be born free. This was four years ago and since then she managed to bring up her son until dear Mr. Farmer, carning a crust, tracked her down. Said this jubilant journalist: 'For nearly five years Jessie Brown has been on the run from gaol . . .

bringing up a son who has learned to fear a knock at the door. Yesterday I found her.' And he informed the local CID without payment. Said the local CID man: 'As far as we are concerned Mrs. Brown is still wanted. Our men will be going to the house to interview her. If she is fit she will certainly be taken into custody.' From the reluctant tone of this man, he would rather not be involved, unless his hand is forced by this nasty article.

Back to the Crusades! On an inside page there is an article and photograph

which could easily be of the King Hill Hostel. It is in fact the story of another concentration camp. Next to the heading '1966-But we let our own human outcasts live like this' there is a caption: 'Britain 1966 . . . as washing drips overhead in the bare depressing living room of Barnsley's Model Lodging-house, Mrs. Elisabeth Palmer sits stirring a favourite mixture of the inmates, Dead Man's Dumplings'. Good thing she did not live in the equally depressing King Hill Hostel, because to correct the balance that was chosen for an attack by the slimy-sweet schizophrenic editor of the People. This article by Pat Elston is an example of suggesting falsehoods by the omission of truths.

Inaccuracies & Distortions

MR. ROY MILLS, the 34-year-old father of six who spent 11 days for contempt of court last November for defying a Kent County Council rule at the hostel for homeless families at West Malling, announced that he would be taking legal action for defamation of character against the Sunday newspaper The People, which has published an article purporting to show that his present difficulties were the result of his own irresponsibility.

A spokesman for the Friends of King Hill, the organisation campaigning on behalf of the hostel's residents, announced their full support for Mr. Mills in his action. The article contains serious inaccuracies and distortions. We regard it as a vicious attempt to discredit the struggle of the homeless families against inhuman regulations by smearing one individual,' said Jim Radford chairman of the group.

books?

We can supply any book in print

NEW BOOKS

Alfie

Bill Naughton 25/-

CHEAP EDITIONS

Love Without Fear Eustace Chesser 5/-Boys and Girls Together

William Saroyan 3/6 Up the Junction Nell Dunn 2/6

SECONDHAND

The New Social Democracy, J. H. Harley (damaged) 5/6; The Problem of Leisure, Henry Durant 4/6; Scottsboro Boy, Haywood Patterson and Earl Conrad 5/6; Roads to Freedom, (worn) Bertrand Russell 5/-; The Modern Movement in Art, R. H. Wilenski 4/-; An Epic of the Gestapo, Sir Paul Dukes 6/6; Stalin, (faded) Henri Barbusse 3/6; The Greek Way, (ed.) Kathleen Freeman 3/-; The Emperor's Clothes, Kathleen Nott 5/-; Fall Out, (ed.) Antoinette Pirie 5/-; Saving Children from Delinquency, D. H. Stott 6/-; The Odds Against Us, Hans Werner Richter 3/6; The Bulwarks of Peace, Heber Hart 3/-; Population, Harold Wright 4/-; Talks on Town Planning, H. V. Lanchester 2/6: The Ethics of Socialism, Ernest Belfort Bax 3/6; Voltaire: the Incomparable Infidel, Joseph Lewis 4/-; Race and Racism, Ruth Benedict 3/6; The Land our Larder, George Godwin 3/6; The Sea Lady, (damaged) H. G. Wells 3/-; Before the Deluge, Mark Aldema 3/6; Forward from Liberalism, Stephen Spender 5/-; Mr. Dooley's Opinions, Peter Finley Dunne 4/-: Fontamara, Ignazio Silone 3/6: Sunset Song, Lewis Grassic Gibbon 3/6.

Freedom Bookshop

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

17a MAXWELL ROAD FULHAM SW6 Tel: REN 3736

FREEDOM PRESS *Publications*

SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM'

1952: Postscript to Posterity 1953: Colonialism on Trial 1954: Living on a Volcano The Immoral Moralists Oil and Troubled Waters Year One-Sputnik Era

8 1958: Socialism in a Wheelchair 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. Malatosta: 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 & Anarchiam 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 wards a Free Society 2/6

20HN 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
fillustrated) beards 8/6

CEORGE BARRETT
The First Person (Selections) 2/6

SHORT WHILE ago a letter appeared in FREEDOM, signed by members of the CNT in exile, protesting against the tendency by members of the CNT in resistance, to collaborate with others in building up a labour movement that would be recognised by the Franco regime. The signatories rightly pointed out that those who collaborated with the Franco regime would only be involved in its downfall. But they gave no real practical lead to the Spanish workers other than exhortations which, in many cases, are older than the people who hear them. It does not really matter if one is accused of giving 'utopian' and unrealistic solutions to world problems: what is terrible is when no solutions can be given at all. (In the Arab-Israeli conflict, for instance, not only can radical thinkers be found on either side but nobody even thinks of a 'utopian' solution, so that even professed pacifists can only recommend war.) It seems that in Spain the most advanced revolutionaries can do no better than to utter such slogans as 'Boycott Spanish Produce'this appeared in a supplement to FREEDOM (as a protest against the murder of Ferrer, 60 years ago) and would not pass amiss amongst self-styled revolu-

A RETHINK

tionaries if reprinted today.

There is an urgent need for the CNT as a whole to rethink its whole policy and approach. It has now spent longer in exile than it spent in Spain! In 1936 we were told it was not the time to criticise certain trends. It is at least about time. After over a quarter of a century of continuous totalitarian government, the Spanish situation is a matter of concern to all revolutionaries. It is no more a purely national concern than a stinking cesspool is a purely local concern. Nor is the mere fact of having spent one's early life in Spain an essential qualification for understanding it.

If, now, many Spanish Resistance workers are inclined to accept concessions by the regime, this is not enough to damn them completely. In agreeing to collaboration, they no doubt have in mind collaboration with other workers, and the shifting of the trade union or syndical struggle into legally recognised channels. They have not necessarily agreed to collaboration with the regime, notwithstanding the Press reports. It is however said that no totalitarian regime would allow legal existence to a labour movement if it did not feel that it could obtain its collaboration. But it should be borne in mind that if this is the idea of the CNT in Spain-namely, that it might be able to collaborate with other sections of the working-class if it allows some concessions to the bourgeoisie—this is no more than has long been the policy of the CNT in exile or for that matter during the civil war. It has been taken for granted, ever since 1936, that it is a desirable thing to obtain maximum unity of the workers (hence the pacts with the UGT, the socialist trade union-even in Catalonia, where it represented only the lower middle class) and collaboration with the 'democratic' parties. If one can unite with Republicans and Socialists outside Spain-representative as they are of 'old order' capitalism-why not with

Whither the CNT?

'new order' capitalism inside Spain? So the CNT in Spain might argue.

Can it not now be recognised that a great deal of action that has been taken since 1936 was completely mistaken? Too often Spanish revolutionaries in exile are like the Bourbons who 'learned nothing and forgot nothing' during their emigration. The constant Communist Party accusation against Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalism was that it was 'irrespons-We can now see from a dispassionate view of the Spanish war that the whole trouble was that they were not irresponsible enough. Precisely by accepting the whole responsibility for the war against fascism, they had to bear the brunt of sacrifice. Because they did their best for unity, they compromised and lost ground-only to be vilified in the history textbooks as the 'fomentors of an uprising behind the lines!' They withdrew from Catalonia to defend Madrid-had they gone on to take Saragossa, the two great cities of Saragossa and Barcelona, with their overwhelming anarchistic sympathies, would have been able to resist the Stalinist pressures and betrayals. As a result, Saragossa remained in the hands of the Army garrison and Madrid was lost anyway, and the textbooks still follow Communist Party dicta that the 'Anarchists wished to stay in Catalonia . . . they would not help defend the Republic'. The Communist Party, which betrayed the struggle throughout (and it is significant that even while the struggle was going on, plans for the Hitler-Stalin Pact were afootthere was only a period of a few months between the defeat and the Pact), receives all the credit in the textbooks. The Anarchists made all the compromises. Why? And need they do so any longer? Who are the allies they can rely on now? One by one the ortics whose support was considered essential to the defeat of Franco have capitulated or disappeared. The eminent liberals in exile have long since become assimilated, or have returned to Spain.

Many Spaniards were quick to seize another illusion as soon as it presented itself. 'Churchill will liberate Spain!' So said a newspaper Cronica Obrera, published in London in 1940. (I showed it to someone in the Foreign Office then and asked him for his comment. 'But Franco has already liberated Spain,' he said naïvely.) The war over, 'the Allies have betrayed Spain!' The only part of Spain that Great Britain was interested in preserving was Gibraltar! It may well have been difficult to face that Spain could not be liberated from without, and that fascist tyranny was ensuring that it could not be liberated from within. 'March to the Spanish Embassy!' I have never understood what the faceless imbeciles inside the Spanish Embassy were expected to do when an indignant crowd was outsidewire Franco to resign at once? Report that his regime was unpopular? Go home? Without wishing to oppose those who with good motives and willing hearts demonstrated against Spanish Embassies, power does not reside in the Embassies. What resides in them is the pomp that hangs on to the coat-tails of power. It would be at least more significant to march on the Banco Español or Westminster Cathedral.

Franco to feudalism.

a feudal society were not merely rhetorical, they were right. It is because Franco reduced Spain to feudalism in the midst of the 20th century-and he could never have done this without the aid of both the nobility and the Churchthat the workers have no power. Power rests in their hands in a capitalist society, but the capitalist revolution in Spain is only beginning to break through.

The 'old order' of Spanish capitalismone means or another.

A BACKWARD COUNTRY

But the hard fact is that if no moves have been made that have seriously jeopardised Franco in the last couple of decades, one primary reason is that it has almost been impossible to shake the regime. Not merely because it is founded upon military terror, which in itself has not saved many other regimes, but because of the fact that Spain is a backward country, and was reduced by

Those who foresaw that Franco would push Spain back in the scale of nations to

represented by the liberals, Freemasons and Socialists of the Negrin and Prieto schools-was rudely shaken and smashed. The 'new order' of Spanish capitalism is growing up despite the essential feudalism of the regime. Thus the transformation which is taking place within the regime is both concerned with the preservation of 'law and order'-albeit feudal law and fascist order-and ultimately with the ending of feudal-fascism. The capitalist forces inside Spain today are not the idealistic modernists of yesterday, but the hard-faced men of business who are determined to make the country pay. The Army, the nobility, the Church, are all blocks to progress and every capitalist country has had to subordinate them by

they have given to Republicans and Constitutionalists. The Spanish capitalist has a hard task in the transformation of a feudal economy, but he at least is no nationalist, and it is the international consortium of finance that wants to develop and exploit Spain and is frustrated by the present persistence of feudalism. In this struggle the workerswho originally bore the brunt of the revolution, and lost against international intervention or they might have skipped the capitalist phase in Spain's historyhave no realistic part to play. The industrial struggle is not directed primarily against Franco, but against the capitalists. It is true that no totalitarian regime can

do anything but suppress the workers in

such a situation. But it may possibly

recognise the Disraelian doctrine of en-

couraging the working-class to organise

The factor that counts in Spain today,

in short, has nothing to do with the old

party groupings. Royalists and Carlists

have a curious museum quality which

AGAINST THE CAPITALISTS

against the capitalists provided that they leave alone the party of feudal land-No feudal regime can however stand forever against the encroachments of capitalism. The capitalist forces are bound eventually by sheer economic power to dominate the country. It is not for a revolutionary body to choose allies between one and the other. The downfall of Franco will mean that there will be pressure to grant 'democratic government' in which capitalism can best function. The sheer wealth of the nobility has enabled them to avoid assimilation with the capitalist class by marriage, as was done in England, but it has involved them in a common interest with that class since only the parliamentary bourgeoisie of the 'new

order' will stand between them and social

Surely therefore the role of the CNT and one that is still possible for it to play, is in its traditional role of organiser of the workers' economic interests? It becomes an anachronism as a paramilitary organisation when the war is long since over and there is no great likelihood of its renewal. That in parts of Spain it must continue a semibrigandical nature (because that is the only way in which peasants can resist) is inevitable: but unless it could undertake to invade Spain in a Garibaldian fashion, it can have no stake in a sort of cold war from abroad, with occasional forays and consistent appeals for economic sanctions. On the contrary, if it could become, inside Spain, the fighting anarchosyndicalist organisation it once was, which could call strikes and win them, it would not matter whether the regime recognised it legally or not (provided that it did not become an integral part of the State, as the TUC is of the British

A MOVEMENT OF THE MASSES

So long have many of its militants considered it time to 'revise traditional thinking' about a-political action, that it may come to them rather as a shock to be told to revise their thinking in a more revolutionary direction. It is time to

Continued on page 3

Anarchist Federation of Britain

Co-ordinating Secretary: Frank Hirsh field, 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

JAN. 9 Robert Barltrop The Blackboard Jungle

JAN. 16 Sid Parker Anarchism versus Socialism

JAN. 23 'Freedom' Readers, Writers and Sellers meeting

Public Meetings every Sunday Hyde Park 3 p.m. Correspondence to David Boughton, 10 Gilbert Place, W.C.I.

OFF-GENTRE LONDON DISGUSSION MEETINGS

3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rumbold 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 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill,

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

WANDSWORTH LIBERTARIANS. Correspondence to Tony Cadman, 116 Tilehurst Road, Earlsfield, London, S.W.19.

4th Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at David Bell's, 19 Aberdeen Road, Highbury, N.5.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

ABERDEEN GROUP. Meets at the Adelphi 2.30 every Sunday. Correspondence to I. R. Mitchell, 137 Faulds Gate,

ARLESEY GROUP (N. Herts., S. Beds.). Meetings on first Friday of month. Correspondence to Peter and Maureen Ford, 102 Stotfold Road, Arlesey, Beds.

BEXLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence to Paul Wildish, 2 Cumbrian Avenue, Barnehurst, Kent.

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

BRISTOL FEDERATION. Enquiries to Ian Vine, 3 Freeland Place, Hotwells,

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP, Contact Mike Crowley, 36 Whitaker Road, Tremorfa, Cardiff.

DUNDEE GROUP contacts: (1) Bob and Una Turnbull, 44 Peddie Street. Dundee. Meetings at 44 Peddie Street, Dundee, every Saturday at 3 p.m. (2) Sheila Whittaker, 64 Polepark Road, Dundee.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP UNE. Correspondence to Robert Lynn, 2b Saracen Head Lane, Glasgow, C.1. MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact: Mike Mitchell, 3 Bakewell Road, Droylsden. Meetings alternate Tuesdays, 8 p.m. at the Lord Nelson, Chapel Street, Manchester.

ILFORD LIBERTARIANS. Regular meetings and direct action contact 212 Vicarage Road, Leyton, E.10.

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

NORTH-WEST ESSEX. Meetings on the first Saturday of each month at 7.30 p.m. at Robert Barltrop's, The Old Vicarage, Radwinter, near Saffron Waldron. January meeting on the 8th.

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.

READING ANARCHIST GROUP. Meets second Tuesday of month at Friends' Meeting House, Church Street (off London Street) 8 p.m. Correspondence: Phillip Lord, 160 Castle Hill,

SOUTHALL ANARCHIST GROUP. Get in touch with Roger Sandell, 58 Burns Avenue, Southall, Middlesex. WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Contact Mr. Karl Taylor, 98 Clova Road, Forest Gate, London, E.7. Meetings on Wednes-

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). Meetings 7.30 p.m.

PROPOSED GROUPS

EDINBURGH (Revival). Get into touch with Ian Healey, 47 York Place, Edinburgh, 1, if interested.

LEICESTER TOWN & GOWN. Get into touch with P. Gibbon, c/o Students' Union, Leicester University.

LEWISHAM, LONDON, S.E. Have baby. Can't travel. Seek sympathisers/comrades in area. Mike and Alison Malet, 61 Granville Park, S.E.13.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE. Anyone interested get in touch with Bob Yorke, 69 Grumbold Avenue, Raunds, Wellingborough, Northants.

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

SCARBOROUGH. Any anarchist-minded persons please contact John B. Feetenby, 29 Cambridge Street, Scarborough, Yorks.

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

LETTERS

& Controversy

Masochists, Please Note!

Dear Comrades.

Any masochist, fanatic or similar character prepared to come to the frozen North and organise, co-ordinate and write letters like this, for Scotland's (if not Britain's) biggest, most active YCND group? We offer the following attractions: bed, food, fags and the almost certain prospect of early arrest.

Comrades interested in the organising of major demonstrations (legal or illegal), who can use a typewriter, duplicator or a printing press, and preferably good public speakers, please apply as soon as possible to Ian S. Sutherland, Jnr., 576 Holbourne Street, Aberdeen. It may be possible for us to pay a small wage-we

Whither CNT?

Continued from page 2

'revise' the whole concept of political action-collaboration with the State, collaboration with other political parties, formation of rival governments that do not even get recognised by the exiles themselves, manifestos that are not read in Spain, manifestos that are read in Spain precisely because the shrewd Spanish police know they will help to scare the middle-classes. . There is no room for an Anarchist Party, in Spain or anywhere else! If one is going to sell out, one can have a more reasonable and compromising name! - the name 'Socialism' has sufficed for a variety of sinners! And indeed, why even a Libertarian Socialist Party when one can have a Democratic Socialist Party and get the support of so-and-so. . . . The reason the CNT won a place in the hearts of the Spanish workers between 1911 and 1936 was because it was a movement of the masses, that grew up out of their economic struggles. To that position it

POSTSCRIPT:

How can the Spaniard in exile contribute to such a movement? I repeat a contention I argued in these columns once before: that the main contribution he could make would be one that would mitigate the police terror, namely, the publication of a 'Black Book' of the terror, giving specific names and crimes. (It has been pointed out to me that this could be prosecuted in England as criminal libel; but it would in fact be quite legal in Mexico and several other countries.) Its existence would be a salutary reminder to Spanish officials that they might one day have to account for crimes committed against prisoners. The experience of German Nazism shows that the reaction by hordes of minor officials would be to 'cultivate a friend' who would testify for them; few State officials, other than those of considerable importance, would be prepared, certainly at this late stage, to defy it by continued criminal conduct. It is partly with something like this in mind that the Franco regime uses courts-martial, rather than judicial procedure to deal with political trials, but not all Army officers are heroes-least of all in Spain where 'in war-time they run; in peace-time they shoot the people' (Baroja).

INTERNATIONALIST.

MAKE SURE OF YOUR ANARCHIST JOURNALS BY SUBSCRIBING!

FREEDOM by AIR MAIL, ANARCHY by SURFACE: 1 year 65s. (\$9.50)

Not radical enough

Will you leave us looking for a bureaucrat? Potential leaders step forward!

IAN S. SUTHERLAND, JNR.

Flattered as I am about Ron Pearl's high opinion of my article in Anarchy 57 (Freedom 11.12.65), I'm afraid he'll be a bit disappointed to find that on the 'Love Thy Policeman' issue I'm more with Art Juntunen (30.10.65) than with him. So as he may just as well recommend me as Art Juntunen to my article I should think that he's failed to get a central

A real change in our relationships with people around us, and so-if it ever spreads far enough-a real change in society, will come when we don't respect someone only when he does something we approve of. (By 'respect' I don't mean 'love', because to try to love everyone in a real sense is like trying to spread half pound of butter over five thousand loaves. And I don't necessarily mean 'have a high regard for', because for most people there are some people whom they can't. What I mean is to have sufficient concern for them as people to have no wish to harm them.) The real change will come only when people don't put the label 'anarchist' or 'policeman' or 'whathaveyou' on someone as a licence to hate. Any radicals who aren't radical enough to make that fundamental change in themselves which leads them to have concern for people (not because they're good, or party, members or anarchists), but because they're people, may, if they're very lucky, effect a change in society's institutions, but not the basic change in society that Art Juntunen, Ron Pearl and I would all welcome.

Moral: There's no virtue in exclusive brotherhood: even the Devil cares for

Yours sincerely,

Stanmore, Middx. MARSHALL COLMAN.

Nothing in Common

Dear Comrades,

I find myself in the rare but pleasant position of being in agreement with an article by Jack Robinson. His article in FREEDOM of December 18, was very good indeed, this 'Voice' group are a very great threat. They speak of Nationalisation under worker control, yet this is a contradiction in terms.

For all their anti-Wilson talk, they have not got the guts to vote against him. According to what they say the present Labour Party is the cause of all evil, why then don't they get it out, was it so much worse under the Tories?

Libertarians must always attack and expose this cancer of Parliamentary activity. When I had the misfortune to be a Trot, this shower were around, they drove me to anti-parliamentary methods.

The whole concept of leader must also be attacked, a left-wing leader is no better than a fascist one. We have nothing in common with these people. Some comrades may be taken in by them, I can only plead, please be careful. Don't burn your fingers, remember the lesson of working with the CP in Spain.

Fraternally,

Liverpool 13

VINCENT JOHNSON.

'Theft on a Commercial Scale, Man is Told'

most revolting picture to come out of Vietnam, of two American soldiers decorating a Christmas tree in no-man'sland. The Christmas truce thawed but the peace game was being played, with considerable publicity by President Johnson. Nevertheless the Americans released an atrocity story (of mutilation of American wounded) that was date-lined December 20. Two Germans were shot whilst escaping from East Berlin to West. The Daily Worker reports GDR newspapers as saying, 'The people responsible for this provocation would soon have to answer before a court. World opinion will be fully informed on the background of these provocations. It was revealed (in the Worker) that two East Germans who escaped earlier in December used stolen American army car number-plates and uniforms. It was further revealed (not in the Worker) that other escapees had used stolen Russian uniforms. Two American negro soldiers were sentenced to imprisonment in Pol-dam, E. Germany for assisting escapes. The two American soldiers released by the NLF are under arrest at Okinawa on charges of 'having aided the enemy'. 'Vietnam uncertainties,' says the Guardian's market report, 'have been blamed for the late arrival of the seasonal upswing." Dow Jones industrial average had fallen 6.57 to 959.79. On recovery, Bethlehem Steel increased prices for their product, their shares increased by \$1.13 in the first half-hour of trading after the news. Workers at a US gunpowder factory went on strike for more pay, . . .

THE BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY, according to the South London Press, is aiming to improve its image. With methodical campaigning,' John Bean, National Organiser, told the SLP, we are now concentrating on showing the people of Deptford that the BNP man has not got two horns and a tail. The Daily Worker is, it is reported, seeking to change its title. . . .

THE NORTH-WEST SURREY Consumer Group in a survey of Santa Clauses at big stores found that many were bad-tempered and fretful. One spent half his time shouting 'hurry up' to the man at the upstairs gift-chute, another had no time for the children, a third, although he was kind to the children looked as though his robes 'could stand a good wash'. The Daily Express revealed that the Queen has a new 'ghost' writer for her Christmas Day broadcast. . .

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL for Civil Liberties has protested about the Government's failure to announce the names of members of the Race Relations Board without whom the Race Relations Act cannot be put into effect. Five hundred Indian workers continued their strike for the fourth week at Hayes, Middlesex, they are asking for a closed shop.

SIR BERNARD AND LADY DOCKER announced that they were not sending presents at Christmas. 'We both feel that Christmas has become far too commercialised and time has come to draw a halt. We shall make an exception for the family cin te and for those people who look after us.' Lt.-Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu, head of South Vietnam's government, handed out Christmas presents to US troops at La Nang and inspected a new machine-gurthat can kill a man at 2,000 yards. .

Two south VIETNAMESE mountain tribesmen were publicly executed in Pleiku for their part in a rebellion against the Saigon Government on December 17. (This was not mentioned in the Daily Worker.) . . .

TROFIN LYSENKO, formerly head of the Agricultural Academy and Genetic Institute in Stalin's regime, was found to be virtually a charlatan by the highest scientific authorities of the Soviet Union. . .

Two FAMILIES in Stourbridge, Worcester, and Warrington, Lancs., exchanged the same Christmas card for the last twenty years. They rub out the name of the sender each year and insert their name in pencil. . .

IN A CABINET RE-SHUFFLE the Minister of Aviation became Home Secretary; the Home Secretary became Lord Privy Seal; the Minister of Overseas Development became Minister of Transport; the Lord Privy Seal became Colonial Secretary; the Colonial Secretary became the

-Fulham Chronicle

Minister of Overseas Development; the Deputy Defence Secretary has become the Minister of Aviation and the Minister of Transport has left the Government.

RUSSIA HAS SET UP a Research Institute of Cosmetics and has started fushion notes in its newspapers. In New Delhi police rounded up hundreds of homeless vagrants and took them to communal shelters. Many protested at this since the shelters cost 2d. and are allegedly verminous. The Home Minister answering this criticism said to one vagrant, You may have bed bugs even here in your blanket.' 'Yes,' said the man, 'but at least they are my own bed bugs.' . . .

AN RAF STAGING POST at Salalah on the South Arabian coast sent a package of frankincense for the Christmas Crib at St. Clement Dane's, the RAF church. . . .

THE DAILY MIRROR headlined Harold Wilson as 'The Man of the Year' and Cassandra' (Mr. William Connor) the Mirror's columnist was knighted.

A LIEUTENANT IN the United States Army was sentenced to two years' hard labour, a dishonourable discharge and forfeiture of all pay and allowances for disrespect and conduct unbecoming an officer for taking part in a demonstration in November against the Vietnam war. A US jet pilot in Vietnam according to Look said, 'Bombing's a job. We've had the best training in the world, we've got the best equipment and we're good. I've dropped over forty tons of bombs on North Vietnam because it's what I've been training to do for the last twenty years. Results? We never see them. They're someone else's job.' . . .

IT IS POSSIBLE, says the Guardian science correspondent that an anti-world exists made up of atoms and anti-matter, being a mirror image form of the universe, populated by anti-stars and antiplanets. . . .

FOUR AUSTRALIAN boys claimed the world record of 23½ hours on a seesaw. They beat the record held by a Yorkshire club JON QUIXOTE. by 81 hours.

Other People's Prejudices

WE HOLD OPINIONS, other people have prejudices,' said Tony Gibson during his talk to the London Anarchist Group last Sunday. He said he enjoyed his own prejudices. He would mention two of them. His greatest prejudice was against Christians. His favourite quote was from Shylock's: 'I hate him for a Christian'. If he met a 'decent' Christian he would be agreeably surprised, but he would still hold on to his prejudice. He noticed the same attitude by antisemites who would usually have a Jewish friend who was different. He was also prejudiced against the military, though less prejudiced against the professional

soldier, more against the Territorial Army who were the scum of the earth. He could go on, but feared that his own particular prejudices would prove boring to an audience that held plenty of their own. He would endeavour to examine how prejudice comes about. He thought prejudice meant its dictionary definition, to pre-judge, to judge behorehand.

There were three main categories: (a) prejudice based on own experience; (b) second-hand prejudice, being influenced by other people's prejudices; (c) prejudice that was a real function for a person who must hate someone.

A group of social workers attempted to evaluate people's prejudices in California. They prepared a questionnaire on the principle of the 'social distance scale'. A list of ethnic groups were given and people were asked would they admit members of such groups by marriage/as a friend/as a neighbour/to country and finally should they be excluded altogether. Just for fun bogus ethnic groups were also included in the questionnaire. These made-up nationalities were rejected by the 'real haters' whose English equivalent would say Wogs begin at Calais'.

Anarchists have always tried to combat the worst type of prejudices. Some prejudices were immune to reason. That does not mean that we should not keep up a continuous barrage of reason. We also had our own prejudices. The back page of FREEDOM contained prejudice against the boss class. We should beware all dealers in prejudice and must realise that we are also an 'in-group'. We also have an emotional need to say: 'They are all a lot of bastards'. This is no justification for our rostrums and papers to become a platform of emotional orgy for people who share our prejudices.

You are the Enemy

OUR biggest enemy in a nuclear war would not be the enemy force, but the civilian population. Our biggest need would be for an armed force to put down anarchy'-so said Mr. Andrew Fountaine at a meeting of Swaffham RDC (vide Eastern Daily Press, 21.12.65). His speech drew applause from other members, states the report. Mr. Fountaine, arguing the case for a Territorial Army, stressed that the only force between the public and anarchy in a situation like this would be a very thinly scattered police force. Every day the powers of the police were more emaciated . . . the only other force in peace and war capable of carrying out law and order was the TA'.

Making it quite clear that the enemy was the civilian population, Mr. Fountaine stressed that after a nuclear explosion 'the civil population would go mad with fear and desire, and the police force would not be able to cope. The only other organisation which would be accepted would be the TA-without the TA we would be at the mercy of the

The newspaper report concludes, 'the majority of members supported Mr.

Bitter Victory

THE GREEKS had a word for it. A Pyrrhic victory. Dave Cunliffe in Blackburn is now reflecting that 'another victory like that would do us in'. Tina has been 'laid off' again and there is not enough money to re-print The Golden Convolvulus, or the charges of Wells Fargo or Carter-Paterson to transport it.

Then there is also the matter of legal costs. £500 it was, so donations are urgently needed to Dave Cunliffe at 11 Clematis Street, Blackburn, Lancs. By the way for those interested there is a good article on the case in New Society (January 1 issue) by Ray Gosling.

Subscribe to Anarchist Journals. boost our circulation in 1966 and please keep us out of the red!

Making Life More Difficult

Continued from page I sent, are nonsensical, when the first bus

by Uncle Sam's spivs.

about 'free' transport, the 'free' part being a catch, since taxpayers fork out enough already. Transport must be made to pay its own way, though not repeatedly at Joe Soap's expense, but by encouraging him to travel. If people were made to feel that public travelling was a comfort and not a burden, things like wage costs would be kept more within limits. The LT would have to wake up with their 'planning' of time-tables which, at pre-

on a route finishes fourth by the time the Tentative ideas have been mooted destination is reached, or perhaps the LT play a kind of game modelled on the 'Ben-Hur' chariot race, and which the public don't know about. And if changes are to be made, how about sacking that useless party of semi-redundant 'inspectors' who are the dead-wood of the com-

This is a very clear case where people positively need to act for themselves. Anarchy, too, will mean responsibilitythe responsibility of bringing continuous and concentrated notice of society's irresponsible actions on a problem which is decidedly difficult, but by no means impossible. Peace News have already highlighted this matter, and I think if on the day in question (January 16) we should influence people to stage strikes, or at the very least make them think about the situation. This is something we can do in conjunction with Peace News since it would seem that we are on mutual ground for a start, and although I haven't an exact idea what form the campaign should take, some hard thinking between now and January 16 will surely provide a solution towards putting effective propaganda around.

As I write this article, I notice the corned-beef, previously stated as being unfit for sale, is to be re-marketed. Firstly we're robbed, then poisoned it seems. It won't only be a difficult world in 1966, but a dangerous one as well.

RON PEARL.

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

Freedom WEEKLY

1 year (40 issues) 22s. 6d. (U.S. \$3)

6 months (20 issues) 11s. 6d. (\$1.50)

SPECIAL RATE FOR 2 COPIES: 1 year (40 issues) 30s. (U.S. \$4.50)

6 months (20 issues) 15s. (\$2.25)

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

3 months (10 issues) 6s. (75c.)

BY AIR MAIL:

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

Freedom Press

2 COPIES OF EACH:

Anarchy MONTHLY

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

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

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

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

JOINT SUB. FREEDOM/ANARCHY:

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

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

Printed by Express Printers, London, E.1. Published by Freedom Press, 17s Maxwell Road, London, S.W.6.

On Strike at Woolf's

R. Woolf & Co. rubber factory at Southall, have now been on strike for five weeks. They are mostly Indian and Pakistani immigrants who stopped work following the suspension of a worker by the management with no prior consultation with the shop stewards. Other issues, such as a closed shop and increases for lower paid workers, are also involved.

Their union, the Transport and General Workers' Union, has made the dispute official, but so far has not paid out any strike pay. A union official has said that only those whose dues were fully paid up at the start of the strike will be given benefit while the rest, probably the majority of those involved, will get nothing. It seems that many of the workers at Woolfs have been dissatisfied with the TGWU and have let their contributions lapse. This dissatisfaction stems from an earlier dispute, when militants were sacked and the union gave no support, so it is no wonder that these workers have become disillusioned. These immigrant workers have done a terrific job of union organisation at Woolfs. It has taken them two years to achieve it and before this, there has been no effective organisation there for nearly 30 years.

BREAKING JOB **ORGANISATION**

We know that the unions are part and parcel of the capitalist system

Contact Column

The Secular League. Britain's only secular/freethought society, wants association with all progressives. Aims: Equality for all, internationalism-united from the bottom-no pontiffs or political careerists welcome. S.A.E. for principles and objects: J. A. Millar, 139 Elm Road, Section 4. New Malden, Surrey.

Hurry! Hurry! Hurry!

'Festival of Fools' closes January 9 at New Merlin's Cave, Margery Street, W.C.1. LCS Singers' Club. Club members admission 5/-. Nonmembers 7/6. - January 8 and 9. 7.30 p.m.

Badges. CND symbol in red and black with inscription 'Make Love not War'. For sale at 5/- a dozen or £1 for 50 post free (or 10d, each ree) in aid of 'Resistance' Orders to 'Badges', 3a Highgate Road, London, N.W.5.

Children's Party. For the children at King Hill Hostel. January 8 (provisional). Toys, gifts and lots of help needed. Peggy Denny, 27 Fairfield Road, S.E.7 (GRE 2669).

Contacts Needed. Long Beach, California, USA area. Get in touch with Charles Levy, P.O. Box 743, Long Beach, California, USA.

Accommodation. Couple wishing to 'legalise' quite soon; must find accommodation before doing so for selves and 21-year-old daughter as soon as possible. Cheap rent perhaps in return for some work in house, garden, etc. Town or country; anything, anywhere considered. Please contact Stella A. Fauser, 242 Amesbury Avenue, London, S.W.2.

New Poster

War Want Waste

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

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.

NEARLY 600 WORKERS, at the and that they are a means of disciplining the rank and file. There are, nevertheless, many employers who will do their utmost to prevent any union organisation or recognition in their factories. Woolfs are one of these and they seem determined to break up the job organisation and to try to force the men back on their terms by making the dispute a long one.

So far, the strikers have stuck it out. They have been given credit at shops and cafés owned by Indians and Pakistanis and their landlords have forgone the rent. What other support has been forthcoming? A 'round-the-clock' picket line has

been fairly successful in persuading lorry drivers not to enter the works, but members of other unions are still working and are said to be doing the work of the men in dispute. This is a fine state of affairs, about which the TGWU is doing nothing, not that they would achieve very much, for the obvious way to win this strike is by the efforts of the men themselves. They have achieved much in the past by these means and can do the same now.

Regardless of what the union officials are doing, all work at Woolfs must stop and financial support must be got from other factories, building sites, etc., in the area. These strikers cannot stay out for ever and they must have support from other workers. So far, this has come mainly from the immigrant population of Southall, but now it must be extended. Those on strike have done a marvellous job of union organisation, where others, in the past, have failed. If these gains are not to be lost, support will be needed from other workers, no matter what the colour of their skin may be or from what country they originate.

BARRETT, NO MORE MEMBERS, PLEASE!

THE DEVLIN REPORT on the Docks recommended that the 'blue union', the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers, be given a place on the Docks Modernisation Committee, with other unions. In accepting this proposal, the leadership of the 'blue union' agreed to stop the recruiting of workers at ports outside London. The Transport and General Workers' Union stipulated this as a condition of allowing the NASD on to the Modernisation Committee.

While Mr. Barrett, the General Secretary of NASD, was willing to pay this price in return for 'respectability', members in the northern ports did not like it at all. Union branches in Hull, Liverpool and Manchester have, in fact, increased their number of members, no doubt gaining some from the TGWU who were dissatisfied. The subscriptions of these new members have been sent back by the union officials at the London headquarters, over 100 to Hull and 200 to NASD Manchester branches.

branches in the North are taking legal action against their National Executive Committee. They say that not only is this ban on recruiting contrary to their union rule book, but also that they fear that it will lead to eventual control by the TGWU in these ports.

TOP LEVEL DEAL Those parties who are interested in implementing the report of the Devlin Committee see the NASD union as an obstacle to this and the place on the modernisation committee was granted in order to placate the union's executive committee. If the northern members of the NASD continue recruiting, it could hinder the introduction of the measures

proposed in the report of the Devlin Committee.

Of course this whole deal has been done at top level without consulting those it really concerns. These dockers are being denied the right to choose to which union they wish to belong. Even the Devlin Report admitted that the TGWU did not represent the dockers and that the rank and file thought that the union leadership sided with the employers. If the TGWU were not militant enough, the NASD were too militant for Devlin's liking. Now that they are achieving recognition, the executive committee of the NASD is rapidly changing its tune and consultation of its members, which might have been all right prior to the Devlin Report, has now gone by the

Workers, obviously, want to join the union which they think will offer the better deal, even to the extent of leaving one to join another. Many dockers are fed up with both the NASD and the TGWU and are joining the small industrial National Union of Portworkers. They are entitled to their right of choice and nothing should interfere with this.

Whatever union the dockers may belong to, they now face a critical period. There is no doubt that both the Government and the employers, including those outside the actual industry, see the dockers as the party whose interests are to be sacrificed for an 'efficient modernised' industry. What they mean, in fact, is that the dockers must work harder in order to serve the employers, who need this industry to import and export their goods.

Communication from National Committee of the CNT

BY MEANS OF THE Commission of Relations of the CNT in Great Britain a note has been published about which we feel obliged to explain, without the least desire to carry on a controversy. but merely to put facts and people in the right perspective.

It is no secret to anyone that the National Committee of the CNT in Spain maintains neither official nor officious relations with the exiled confedera-

Now then, the National Committee neither had, nor has any intention of keeping itself confined within any frontiers, because it is under an obligation to diffuse its messages, communications and appeals throughout the earth in order to establish lines of communication with all the militants of the CNT whether or not they are in agreement with the judgement of the organization in Spain.

In fulfilment of this duty it calls to the struggle as many militants who wish

to take part, nominates delegations in all countries where it finds comrades prepared to be in direct contact with the National Committee in a task in conjunction with the CNT in Spain. To this effect it has established its overseas delegations and sub-delegations which support the agreement of the interior and who act under the direction of the National Committee.

If from England, reproductions of circulars, documents and communications have been sent out it is clear that this is not done on a single personal responsibility, nor will it in future, for those who work in this way do it with the support of the CNT of the interior through the functions of the National Committee.

Once more we should like to make clear that in Spain there is no 'Pro-ASO' National Committeee, but only a National Committee quite simply, which fulfils the agreements of the Organization. NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

End of November, 1965

reedom

For Workers' Control

JANUARY 8 1966 Vel 27 No 1

Hobson's Choice

T DOES APPEAR that Fairfields Shipyard has been saved from 'Carey Street' at a price. Industrialists outside the industry are jubilant, 'selling the trade union rule book' is something they have always wanted. The reason (for public consumption) is the elimination of so-called restrictive practices, higher productivity, higher profits, higher wages, all for the good of the country. Cutting through all this drooling sentiment, it means tearing down the workers' defences, offering peanuts in terms of higher wages, rationalisation of labour force, forcing a labour surplus,

Industrialists inside the shipbuilding industry would prefer to see Fairfields die as one more competitor out of the way. Plus the fact they could plunder the surplus skilled labour leaving the rest to go to the wall.

The choice facing Fairfield workers is limited to say the least. Living in the capitalist jungle, as we do, it's the sack or forcing the best out of a bad deal, added to which, Scottish workers have to contend with England's favourite

export to Scotland-'unemployment'. Who are the sugar daddies putting up the cash? The Government, private enterprise and trade unions. If all goes well, Fairfields could prove to be a very profitable plum. With the unions having money invested, they will more than play ball. Lord Thompson is no slouch, his eve is always to the main chance, and his attitude to trade unions is well known. He is the man who advocated a British version of the infamous American Taft Hartley Act. The proposed set up is his cup of tea.

And if the worst comes to the worst, the workers can always take the can back, the excuse is ready made, 'They refused to sell their souls'.

UNEMPLOYMENT MUST NOT DECREASE

AN INTERESTING PIECE of information has come from the Mecca of capitalism. One of Johnson's economic advisers is concerned about the unemployment figures in the States. Eight per cent of Negroes out of work and one per cent of all Americans unemployed for four months or more. To show concern at these figures is out of order. according to the chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. He stated that any further Government steps to bring fuller employment contain inflationary risks for the economy. Now you know, the land of plenty is not for all, least o all for those on Skid road.

GEORGE BROWN GIVEN THUMBS DOWN

THE NATIONAL UNION of Bank Employees is going ahead with its pay claim and to hell with the Prices and Incomes Board. This heavenly body recommended that banks staffs should receive no further salary increases until early 1967. The union is demanding £1,250 to £1,750 a year for the cashiers. Also bank workers should reach the top of the basic scale by the age of 25 instead as now at 31. We realise, of course, that Bankers are doing rough that's why the NUBE wage demand is so modest, we can settle in our sleep, the demand will not send the Bankers skint even if they pay out in full.

WOT! NO BREAD?

THE BAKERS' UNION are waiting not too optimistically for the findings of the PIB on their claim for an interim rise of £1 a week.

Bakery workers were literally stabbed in the back by the Government through George Brown and the PIB. It is fairly obvious that bakery workers would have forced the increase from the employers but the Government came to the rescue (of the employers).

The wage they are demanding is £15 a week minimum - big deal - especially when you think of the money the Government pours down the drain every day. There is no doubt about it this

present Government is the finest Tory Government ever to hold office.

If the PIB do not come across with the £1 Lent will start early this year.

DEFEAT FOR 'LABOUR ONLY'

A HIGH COURT judge refused to stop industrial action being taken by three officials of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers.

The NUBTW officials were trying to outlaw a 'Labour only' contractor, by forcing the main contractor on the site to terminate its contract with the 'labour only' outfit. NUBTW wants all its bricklayers to be employed directly by the main contractor.

This is an important struggle to win, it is the Barbican dispute over again. Building workers have been fighting 'labour only' contractors for years, and will continue to fight until they are run off the sites. This struggle will not be won in a court of law, only by direct action on the site, and it is heartening to note action is increasing.

PAPER TIGER CRUMBLES

THE TUC HAS accepted the idea of compulsory notification of wage claims and price increases.

Suggested penalties for failing to notify, £50. Five hundred pounds for deliberately supplying false information with fines for men who go on strike while their claim is being considered by the PIB. The idea is for the Government to get an enabling Bill through Parliament, so that, if the voluntary system proves a complete failure, compulsory notification can be enforced.

During the TUC debate, George Woodcock found himself with unusual bedfellows, the left wing unions who urged the TUC to repudiate compulsory notification. The General Council voted 23 to 12 supporting George Brown. George Woodcock argued that legislation to enforce an incomes policy should be rejected now and for ever. He would prefer the TUC to wield the big stick.

Lambeth Trades Council has been suspended by the TUC for organising a mass demonstration and lobby to protest against compulsory wage vetting. Brother, if the TUC says black is white, then black is white, but thank goodness the rank and file disagree, let's hope this type of disagreement becomes stronger, we have nothing left to lose but our bloody wages.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

PRESS FUND

We Made It!

WEEK 52, DECEMBER 31, 1965: Expenses: 26 weeks at £70:

26 weeks at £80: Income: Sales and Subs.:

DEFICIT

£2918

£982

Roehampton: J.P. 4/-: Portsmouth: E.M. 18/-: London, W.10: M.M. 14/-: London: L.A.G. 2 £8 0s. 6d.; Northern Ireland: J.T. £2; Reading: Anarchist Group 3/-; Northolt: Anarchist Group* 2/6; Minnesota: M.A. 10/6; Nottingham: R.G. 17/-; Alberta: N.M. 12/6; Wellington, New Zealand: J.M. 5/-; London, W.C.1: M.G. 10/-; California: E.V. 16/-; Hendon: M.G. 4/-; Glasgow: A.J. 3/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* £1; Birmingham: A.L. 18/-; Scarborough: J.F. 3/6; Harlow:

TOTAL Previously Acknowledged:

K.N. 1/6.

£18 15 6 £972 17 7

1965 Total £991 13 1

*Denotes Regular Contributor.

Many Thanks!