

# The Future of the Chinese C.P.

ONLY A FOOL would make predictions about the present course of events in China. Here then are my predictions. They are not based on 'the facts'. Although I read Chinese and am just back from Hong Kong where it is possible to talk with travellers and refugees from China, I can't distinguish fact from faith or fear in today's turmoil. These 'predictions' then are mere extrapolations of past tendencies.

Mao and his colleagues took charge of the CP in China in the mid-1930's following six or more years of factional fighting in that Party which included turning factional enemies in to the secret police of Chiang Kai-shek and his white terror. Mao rose to power on a—to be anachronistic—Khrushchev line of permitting losers to live. This change was a matter of survival and security for all. For the next 30 years Party people whose policies were not adopted could even stay in the leadership and argue again—as long as they admitted error each time a line was adopted. Why the breakdown of this dissent and debate within unity today?

It didn't begin today. It began to reach significant size a decade ago when the inner Party apparatus which controlled the capital city branch, the secretariat, the propaganda bureaus, etc., undermined a liberalization effort called the hundred flowers policy. That policy permitted broadened areas of dissent, allowed for strikes, gave increased power to experts, took power from CP branches. The state apparatus under Chou En-lai was supplanting the Party apparatus of Liu Shao-ch'i. Key decisions came from Chou's State Council.

Chou's policy and people had lost by mid-1957. Liu's allies then launched the so-called great leap forward which reversed the previous 'un-communist' trend of higher wages, formal law, careful state planning, etc., and whipped up a mass frenzy putting 'politics in command'. Actually the power to command went to Party cadres. Liu's Stalinist-like control was strengthened. Schools and journals and provincial leaders were purged. The head of the secret police was given a key post in the military hierarchy.

The great leap forward failed. The economy failed. In some areas of China peasants took up arms against the demanded sacrifices and hardships. Troops had to be moved in. Militia were disarmed.

A partial return to liberalization, to the hundred flowers policies, followed at the start of the 1960's. But why? By whom? It is at this point that the picture at the apex of the power mountain is clouded over.

Perhaps the return to partial liberalization was a mere expedient by the

Stalinists to get over a crisis. Once over the hump, they would continue to entrench themselves and remove the liberalizers. As good Stalinists, they could find material benefits a way to win power today, as they a decade earlier regained power by advocating work without much in the way of wage increases, steal Trotsky's thunder today, but harm tomorrow's.

If this view reflects Chinese reality, then the so-called Cultural Revolution may mask a struggle for power between Liu's Stalinists and all the other Party forces who came to fear by late 1965 that Mao's death might be the death of them. They then have united using any and all forces to destroy the Stalinists. Mao's wife, red guards—Chou's people have been willing to call on anything in this fight to the finish. They have succeeded in getting rid of the secret police role in the military. Indeed the security forces have now been purged numerous times. Also the Peking Party branch has been purged, as has the head of literary control, Chou Yang—perhaps the man most hated by the liberalizers—and the propaganda bureau and its head. But that entrenched Stalinist Party apparatus lives and fights back.

This is all suppositional. Here is another supposition which explains most of the 'facts'. Perhaps that return to a partial liberalization a few years ago signified that the Stalinist and 'liberal' leaders had decided to join forces and follow a 'middle' course. The cultural revolution then would be the attack of Mao and others still committed to a revolution of pure values, sacrifice of self, mass energies, etc., against a massive political and state bureaucracy more concerned with getting on with economic development than in doing it in a moral messianic manner.

And there are other possibilities—and other complications. Till 1959 power in China was largely regional. Attempts at centralization were again abandoned a couple of years ago. Liu's allies (Teng Hsiao-p'ing, et. al) come largely from one of these regions. His enemies largely come from another. Elsewhere in China the geographical division—and military loyalty?—cuts across the power-policy division at the top.

So does the question of foreign policy. A decision on China's commitment to the Viet-minh has consequences for her relations with Russia. Can one be properly revolutionary in the first instance without compromising one's revolutionary faith on the second—for certainly the Viet-cong would benefit from 'international proletarian solidarity'. Decisions here have serious implications for investment and wage policy, on guns and butter within China, that is, for purists and pragmatists.

And the truth is we really don't know how all these things tie in. What is clear is that the prestige of the CP in China has suffered a tremendous blow. The aura of unity and all-knowing authority, which it had so assiduously cultivated, is lost. Scepticism spreads, as does economic chaos. In the future workers in city and country will find it less easy to merely accept orders. Not only will the life of the people probably decline materially in the immediate future, but more coercion will have to be used to replace the lost consensus and charisma.

I think that one can safely predict that no matter who or what wins the pot in China's power poker, the vast majority of the people are—in the near future—in for hard and harder times.

EDWARD FRIEDMAN.

# Children of Vietnam

*'A million children have been killed or wounded or burned in the war. . . . Not many of them even get to hospitals, which are few and far between, but when they do, they may lie three in a bed or on newspapers on the floor. Flies are in the wounds. Even such simple equipment as cups and plates are in short supply. Materials for the adequate treatment of burns—gauze, ointments, antibiotics and plasma—are usually non-existent. . . . When*

*'Terre des Hommes', a Swiss humanitarian organization, asked for American Government assistance in flying burned and wounded children to Europe for repair (American officials refused. With crocodile tears they explained children are unhappy when separated from their families'. (This is an excerpt from Dr. Benjamin Spock's preface to a pamphlet 'The Children of Vietnam' distributed by Housmans in this country.)*

We have all heard of war atrocities and we are becoming immune to human suffering. But the coloured photographs in this pamphlet shocked this writer. We have seen limbless children, hungry children in Oxfam advertisements, appealing children with large eyes and thin bodies—they no longer shock. Our contemporary 'satirists' even advertise their shoddy ware with such a child—'send your money to Oxfam'—a hilarious joke.

Perhaps this book is propaganda and all the photographs are fakes. But I cannot believe this. Independent witnesses visiting South and North Vietnam testify that napalm and fragmentation bombs that spit out hundreds of metal fragments kill and maim thousands of children.

The photographs bring home the reality of war because they are in colour and because they approximate to real flesh. 'Any visitor to a hospital, an orphanage, a refugee camp, can plainly see the evidence of reliance on amputation as a surgical short-cut,' says a caption. And there is the boy. His brown little body, noble face and wise eyes look at me. His right arm is cut off just below the elbow. Whose victim is he? And the little girl with her nose torn off and her left eye gouged out. Where is her mother, where her father? Who will love her? The

boy with pink blotches covering his body from napalm burns. I cannot be not affected by these photographs. And I cannot see how such a war can continue, how the people of the world allow this to continue.

The book itself puts the blame on the Americans. But in front of me there is another publication, the *Vietnam Courier*, published in Hanoi. It is a good corrective. It shows what suicidal lunatics the North Vietnam leaders are. Fanatics without a shred of humanity. They also print photographs of horribly mutilated children. But their headline is 'The Vietnamese people will fight till final victory'. Their crocodile tears are the same as the Americans!

No, comrades, there are no 'just wars'. This war must stop! To this writer it no longer matters which side 'wins' the war. There must be peace in Vietnam, humiliating as this must prove to one or another set of politicians and military madmen. The slaughter of children must stop.

I realise that this kind of talk, politically speaking, is defeatism. That negotiated peace in Vietnam now would mean a measure of capitulation to American might. But it is time we shed all vestiges of revolutionary romanticism. We must persuade the peoples of this world



that ideological conflict will never be settled by war. And war itself is only possible whilst we allow governments over us, because only governments can provide the machinery for the organisation and conduct of wars.

To stop a stupid and bestial war now is only defeatist if we leave it at that. If it is coupled with the realisation that governmental manipulation of people is a barbaric conception and what we need is merely the administration of things, without militarism, without exploitation, then it is no longer defeatist. I am aware that what I have written is confused, emotional and not practical. But this book on mutilated children completely demoralised me. If this book could get to every home in the country, just the photographs, without the text, it would have the effect of *Cathy Come Home* in spurring people to take action.

R.

## KOSYGIN WELCOMED!

RUSSIA's leading bureaucrat and fake socialist arrived in this country last Monday. On the preceding Saturday, about 40 supporters of the North London Anarchist Discussion Group gave him a pre-arrival 'welcome' in the West End. The demonstration began with a picket of Intourist's (the Soviet official—and only—tourist agency) London Office. Large numbers of leaflets were distributed to callers at the office and to passers-by. One of the Intourist officials accepted one

of the leaflets (reprints of the leading article in the recent 8-page issue of FREEDOM). We hope it gave him food for thought.

Accompanied by a police van the demonstration then moved off towards Fleet Street, leafletting and selling literature as it went. Placards calling attention to Soviet crimes, political prisoners in Russia and fundamental similarities between Kosygin and Wilson (our fake socialist) were carried.

## MR K JOINS THE CLUB

MOST spectacular of the many touching welcomes so far given to Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin is expected on Sunday from an obscure but powerful organisation known as 'The Sons and Daughters of the Russian Revolution'.

From its temporary headquarters deep in the heart of Highgate cemetery, principal co-ordinator of the group, one Comrade Nestor Makhno, yesterday issued the following press statement:—

'This year, comrades, as you all know, marks the Fiftieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution. What better place to celebrate this historic occasion, when the workers by their own strength finally threw out their Czarist oppressors, than the exclusive Carlton Club, 69 St. James's Street, S.W.1?

'What better time for such a celebration than midday on Sunday when the new Czar, Czar Kosygin himself, partakes of luncheon at that world-famed Tory stronghold with no less a personage than Mr. Edward Heath, leader of the Con-

servative Party?

'Karl Marx once said of the workers of France: "As far as they are concerned, Liberty means cavalry, Equality means infantry, Fraternity means artillery." . . . Sadly, 50 years after the revolution, how much more true is that statement of the still oppressed workers of the Soviet Union?

'The most recent, scandalous, but not entirely unexpected example of the Soviet state at its worst was the condemnation of the two writers, Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel, to seven and five years hard labour respectively, early last year.

'All those attending are invited to wear red shirts, coats, ties, hats, etc. Musical entertainment for the members of the Carlton Club and their illustrious guest will be provided on tin plates. Bring red balloons, inscribed "The People". When Kosygin makes his exit all the balloons will be burst simultaneously. 'Fluttering in the foreground will be a

### NOTE

At noon next Sunday (12) a non-meal to raise funds for Oxfam will be held at or outside (depending on the libertarianism or otherwise of the management) the Carlton Club where Kosygin will be stuffing himself with capitalist food with Ted Heath (not the bandleader). Please note that this is the Carlton Club in St. James's Street, S.W.1, and not the Carlton Club in Bowes Road, N.11. Bring your own crockery, tin plates, empty cooking pots and cutlery.

large flag bearing the hammer and sickle—a blue flag.

'We hope that the nostalgia and inherent symbolism of the situation will bring a tear to the Russian gentleman's eye.

'Karl Marx is dead! Assassins and vultures gather! The people may roast. The Russian Revolution ends in the Carlton Club!'

### TIME

Sunday, February 12. 12 noon.

### PLACE

69 St. James's Street, S.W.1.

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# INDIVIDUALISM—IS IT

## ANARCHISM?

JEFF ROBINSON has written a thoughtful pamphlet, the main purport of which is that anarchism has little to say that can expect a response from modern society. Another function he makes the pamphlet perform is to attack both the policies and personnel of this paper. This may perhaps be forgiven him on the grounds that the polemic innocent of personal nastiness has yet to be written by anyone, and, this being quickly cleared out of the way, one may give to his uncomfortable but often cogent argument the attention it merits.

He starts with a historical note that the optimism of nineteenth century anarchism with its belief in working-class self-liberating revolt was ill-founded; a hypothesis which, from where we stand today, is not very likely to be disputed.

Argument could well be raised—as indeed hackles may be—against some of his characterizations of the various traditional forms of anarchist thinking and theory: anarchist-communism, anarcho-syndicalism, utopian anarchism, which are drawn in simplified outline, but with the virtue of caricature in exposing clearly weaknesses which do call for examination if a solution is to be found in present-day circumstances. For example, in discussing the anarchist-communist requirement of unanimity of decision he concludes:

‘... syndicalists do not reject centralised administration but concern themselves with its control...’ and after a quick bat round the ascending spiral of committees and delegations from the bottom up it seems to him ‘People who... took its great network of interlocking committees at all seriously would be constantly shuffling to and fro between meetings. In fact, of course, at least the higher level committees would soon degenerate into mere bureaucracies issuing orders.’

Dismissal of the possibility of the disappearance of capitalism being occasioned by the abundance of automatic production, and likewise of the opposed positions of scepticism about the technological advent of anarchy or evolution through sociology, education, etc., and a consequent belief in the methods of violent or non-violent revolution being completed in the first half of the pamphlet, the second is devoted to the propagation of the individualist case. The foundation of this is the statement that the mass of men, whose whole-hearted co-operation is essential for the fulfilment of utopian plans (which is the author's phrase for the political and social content of anarchism) at best acquiesce in, at worst eagerly support, regimentation, war, capitalism and the state, but that there is a sprinkling of people potentially receptive to anarchist ideas, provided that ideas about mass

## ANARCHISM AND MODERN SOCIETY, pamphlet by Jeff Robinson, published by S. E. Parker, 2 Orsett Terrace, London, W.2. 1/-, post 5d.

revolution are excluded from the ‘lowered sights’ anarchism which the author proposes should put forward in order to swell their numbers.

The anarchic individualist finds himself, then, in a society which does not suit his personality and desires and which he is powerless to change. Such hope as Jeff Robinson has he pins to the beatnik and other rebels against conformity and paternalism who will ‘drop out of society’. However, he does not indicate that he envisages any possibility of individual withdrawal from support of the state and capitalist economy ever reaching large enough proportions to come within sight of undermining the structure—in fact he states that anarchism can only be a minority movement and that the anarchist of the future will spend a lot of time in trying to keep out of the way of the technocratic welfare state.

It is somewhat disappointing to find

## SPAIN

WHEN the people voted en masse for Franco in the recent referendum, it seemed certain that peace would return at last; no more strikes, no more student assemblies, no more anarchist plots to kidnap American military personnel in Madrid.

However, things don't seem to have changed much. There have been strikes and demonstrations in Seville, Bilbao, Barcelona and Madrid; a teacher has been arrested for taking part in the organization of an illegal demonstration; a woman arrested for being in possession of leaflets signed by the Workers' Committees; the Garcia Lorca play *Marina Pineda* is banned because one scene shows a young girl sewing a Republican flag; the number of political prisoners is just as significant as ever; and our five comrades recently arrested in Madrid are still being held on the false charge of having taken part in the kidnapping of Monsignor Vesia in Rome last year.

Are the people of Spain so fond of contradicting themselves? 95% for Franco means that only 5% of the population is behind all this agitation.

Or is it just possible that the elections were fiddled?

## RUSSIA

On November 19 last the following news was released from Moscow:

‘The Kremlin has proposed that the 2,400 Spanish Republicans living in exile in the USSR should accept the amnesty offered by General Franco and return to Spain.’

This proposition is part of a telegram from the central committee of the Soviet CP to the Spanish CP in exile. After describing the offered amnesty as ‘a new and important victory for the democratic and progressive movements in Spain’, the telegram adds: ‘We hope that this decision by the government will allow all Spanish democrats in exile to return to their homeland’.

We can be pretty sure that the Russian government knows exactly the present degree of democratisation in Spain; and we recall that the ‘return from exile’ to

that the recognition and acceptance of his inability to change external circumstances and his total rejection of the attempt to persuade his fellows in sufficient numbers towards this end is the main article of the individualist's credo, or at least the main difference between ‘individualist anarchism’ (a term the author seems at pains to avoid, but he does refer to individualism as the form of anarchism of most interest to him) and other sorts. He defines the anarchic individual as one who rejects authority, who does not coerce or dominate others, and who tries to live his unfettered life. I never yet heard that the upholding of authority and the coercion of others could be reconciled to anarchism of any kind. The degree of unfetteredness might depend on personal ties and individually chosen responsibilities; and might certainly be greater for the unattached and particularly the childless individual.

Agreed, no present-day anarchists anywhere in the world look remotely like being able to dislodge any state, dictatorial or welfare-democratic, and exercise full and direct control over the means by which they live. But this, or something like it, is what anarchism means; remove this idea, and what remains of a body of thought or system of preferences to identify it as anarchism?

So all the individualist case means is

that in theory they isolate one essential of the anarchist philosophy and apply it to the maximum possible in present-day living.

The final words of the pamphlet give the key to the philosophy expressed in the second half. Jeff Robinson says that even if his pamphlet convinces nobody of anything, the exercise has done him good. These pages are a spiritual exercise, complete with moral code which might prove complicated for some of us, but permeated throughout by the dictum ‘Know thyself!’ My knowledge of the acceptance/rejection ethics of Zen Buddhism is nil, but I am struck by the strong similarity between Jeff's method of liberating himself from unpleasant facts (such as predominating repressive institutions and the man to whom he must sell his labour) by accepting them and thereby not letting them worry him, and the experience of freedom of the early Christian slave. Libertarian individualism may be a wise method of coping with present-day living, for the minority who cannot accept the ethics of the rat-race, and in practice it is the way of life most readily followed if possible by anarchists in our highly organised, industrial and materially abundant society. In other kinds, it would be either less useful or less possible. M. CANIPA.

# Through the Anarchist Press

Russia were a mere preface to the departure for correction camps. So the Russian initiative can be taken primarily as a friendly diplomatic gesture towards Franco the axeman, with the 2,400 Republicans involved being used as a partial bribe in the hope of establishing fresh economic relations between the two countries.

## JAPAN

A small group of Japanese anarchists recently staged a lightning demonstration in the Howa Kogyo armaments factory, 250 miles from Tokyo. Main aim was a protest against the Vietnam war and, in particular, against collaboration between Japanese and American capitalists, especially in the manufacturing of arms. The demonstrators destroyed a case of munitions samples and cut telephone wires while leaflets were being distributed to the factory workers. Four were arrested.

They succeeded in causing quite a stir throughout the country, with newspapers and television producing reports that were often favourable. It's worth recalling that the 1966 Congress of the Japanese Anarchist Federation had taken place on November 18 and 19 in the same town.

The first issue of *Black Book*, a new Japanese anarchist magazine, has just appeared.

## ARGENTINA

‘Get rid of the bureaucrats who control the central office of the CGT’ (General Workers' Federation).

This was the statement issued after 200 dockers had occupied the Federation's headquarters in protest against the arrest of a fellow-docker after 70 days on strike.

The CGT was forced to call in the authorities to dislodge the ‘intruders’, and later spoke of ‘a provocative gesture, a desperate move aimed at discrediting the entire trade union movement’. Union + Police v. Workers = Justice?

## CANADA

Things may warm up in Canada for the ‘100 years of Federation’ celebrations. Special car numberplates are being issued to mark the occasion, and already the Quebec separatists have decided to add to theirs the inscription ‘100 years of Injustice’. But never fear—the government is prepared.

## AUSTRALIA

The hanging on February 3 of Ronald Ryan, convicted of the killing of a warder in the course of an escape bid, displays to the full the trustworthiness of the authorities of the State of Victoria. In a number of Australian states the death penalty has long since been abolished; in Victoria, traditionally conservative in the protestant manner, the penalty was retained, although on the implicit understanding that there was virtually no likelihood of its use in the future.

A strong anti-hanging movement, stemming mainly from the University of Melbourne, has been instrumental in influencing and voicing public opinion, with the result that over the last ten years all death sentences pronounced have been commuted to life imprisonment, even in the case of O'Malley who shot and killed a young policeman. In this context the execution of Ryan appears as an arbitrary and retrograde step.

JOHN THURSTON.

(Sources: *Le Monde Liberaire*, *Espoir*, *Le Combat Syndicaliste*.)

## THE LEWISHAM LEAFLET

Lewisham Anarchists point out that their leaflet has only reached the typing stage. It is hoped that printed copies will be available by Easter. As soon as they are ready, those comrades who have sent in enquiries (with stamps) will be sent copies.

# Anarchist Federation of Britain

(As there is no national secretariat for enquiries, speakers, etc., please contact local groups.)

\*Except in London—see below.

**LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS.** Temporary address c/o Wooden Shoe, 42 New Compton Street, London, W.C.2.

**ANARCHIST MEETINGS AT HYDE PARK EVERY SUNDAY AT 2 P.M.** Sunday evening meetings started February 19. Location to be announced.

**HARLOW ANARCHIST GROUP.** Enquiries to Keith Nathan, 138 Pennymead, Harlow or John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping.

**LEWISHAM, LONDON, S.E.13.** 2nd and 4th Thursdays. Meetings at Mike Malet's, 61 Granville Park, Lewisham, S.E.13.

**NORTH LONDON ANARCHIST DISCUSSION GROUP.** ‘Dolphin’ (back of St Pancras Town Hall). Sunday, February 12. Subject ‘Stuart Christie’.

**NORTHOLT ANARCHISTS.** Contact: Jim Huggon, 173 Kingshill Avenue, Northolt, Middlesex. Meetings first and third Wednesday of the month at Jeannie's, 6 Epsom Close, Northolt Park, Middlesex, at 7.30 p.m.

**EALING ANARCHIST GROUP.** Get into touch with Adrian Derbyshire, 2 Oakley House, Oakley Avenue, London, W.5.

## ★ OFF-CENTRE LONDON

### DISCUSSION MEETINGS

3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Gann's, 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m.

3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald and Irene Roum's, now at 13 Savernake Road, London, N.W.3.

## REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

**ALTRINCHAM ANARCHIST YOUTH GROUP.** Get in touch with Stephen Richards, 25 North

Vale Road, Timperley, Cheshire.

**ABERDEEN GROUP.** Correspondence to M. Day, 29 Springfield Crescent, Aberdeen.

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

**BELFAST.** Contact: Roy McLoughlin, 46 Mooreland Park, Belfast 11, Ireland.

**BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Dave Massey, 138 Church Road, Erdington, Birmingham, 24.

**UNIVERSITY OF ASTON GROUP.** Contact: D. J. Austin, 5 Kingsbury Road, Erdington, Birmingham.

**BRIGHTON.** All those interested in activities and action should contact Richard Miller, 1/2 Percival Terrace, Brighton, 7.

**BRISTOL.** Contact: Dave Thorne, 49 Cotham Brook, Bristol, 6.

**CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Mike Gowley, 36 Whittaker Road, Tremorfa, Cardiff.

**DUNDEE GROUP.** Contact Bob and Una Turnbull, c/o Doctors' Residence, Stracathro Hospital, by Brechin, Angus.

**GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP ONE.** Correspondence to Robert Lynn, 2b Saracen Head Lane, Glasgow, C.1.

**HERTS GROUP.** Friday, February 10, 7 p.m. Jeff Cloves on ‘William Morris’ at South View, Potters Heath Road, Welwyn.

**HULL ANARCHIST GROUP.** J. Tepest, 89 Fountain Road, Hull. Tel. 212526. Meetings 8 p.m. 1st and 3rd Fridays of month at above address.

**IPSWICH ANARCHISTS.** Contact Neil Dean, 74 Cemetery Road, Ipswich, Suffolk.

**NEW HAM LIBERTARIANS.** Contact Mick Shenker, 122 Hampton Road, Forest Gate.

**NOTTING HILL ANARCHIST GROUP.** Correspondence to Brian Joseph, 1st floor, 27 Arundel Gardens, London, W.11. Meeting every first Thursday of the month at 8 p.m., Flat 3, 8 Colville Houses, W.11.

**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 Walden.

**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.

**PLYMOUTH ANARCHIST FEDERATION.** Contact J. Hill, 79 Underlane, Plymstock, Plymouth, Devon.

**READING ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Alan Ross, 116 Belmont Road, Reading, Berks.

**SHEFFIELD.** Contact Robin Lovell, c/o Students' Union, University, Sheffield. Tel. 24076.

**SWANSEA.** Please get in touch with Julian Ross, 28 Uplands Crescent, Uplands, Swansea.

## NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

**NORTH WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION.** Regional Secretary: J. Bromley, 8 Warwick Road, Chorlton, Manchester, 21. Meeting: Feb. 25, 12 noon at The Salutation, Cavendish Street, near All Saints, Manchester. Buxton: Chris Berrisford, 10 Byron Street, Buxton. Chorley: Alistair Rattray, 35a Devonshire Road, Chorley. Manchester: Mike Mitchell, 3 Bakewell Road, Droylesden, Manchester. Brenda Mercer, 6 Breckside Park, Liverpool, 6. Rochdale: Ian Haywood, 16 Mansfield Road, Bamford, Rochdale. Stoke-on-Trent: Bob Blakeman, 52 Weldon Avenue, Weston Coyney, Stoke-on-Trent.

## NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

**NORTH WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION.** Regional Secretary: J. Bromley, 8 Warwick Road, Chorlton, Manchester, 21. Meeting: Feb. 25, 12 noon at The Salutation, Cavendish Street, near All Saints, Manchester. Buxton: Chris Berrisford, 10 Byron Street, Buxton. Chorley: Alistair Rattray, 35a Devonshire Road, Chorley. Manchester: Mike Mitchell, 3 Bakewell Road, Droylesden, Manchester. Brenda Mercer, 6 Breckside Park, Liverpool, 6. Rochdale: Ian Haywood, 16 Mansfield Road, Bamford, Rochdale. Stoke-on-Trent: Bob Blakeman, 52 Weldon Avenue, Weston Coyney, Stoke-on-Trent.

## EAST LONDON FEDERATION

**WALTHAM FOREST ANARCHISTS.** Contact Lionel Donnelly, 322a Hoe Street, Walthamstow, E.17. Regular meetings.

**WEST HAM ANARCHISTS.** Contact Stephen Higgs, 8 Westbury Road, Forest Gate, E.7.

**LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION.** Meetings—discussions—activities. Contact Peter Ford, 82 North Road, Highgate, N.6. (Tel.: MOU 5702.)

## PROPOSED GROUPS

**MEDWAY TOWNS AREA.** Proposed Group. Erroll Davies, 22 St. Margaret's Street, Rochester, Kent.

**WISBECH.** Anyone interested write Albert Community, Chaptor House, Leverington,

Wisbech, Cambridgeshire.

**CAMDEN (LONDON).** Provos. Anarchist/Provo/C.100/Action group—anyone interested please contact Chris Davis at 56 Chalk Farm Road, N.W.1.

**WEST SUFFOLK.** Please write to Carl Pinel, c/o West Suffolk General Hospital, Hospital Road, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk.

**S.W. MIDLANDS.** Kate, Bill and baby Jane Beveridge wish to contact libertarians in S.W. Midlands. Phone Mickleton 275 or write to Myrtle House, Mickleton, Chipping Camden, Gloucestershire.

**COLETS GREEN, LONDON, N.W.11.** Proposed Group. Get in touch with Jane Wilson, 77 Erskine Hill, N.W.11 or David McLellan, 54 Litchfield Way, N.W.11. (Tel.: SPE 1783.)

**MIDLAND YOUTH AGAINST AUTHORITY AND BUREAUCRACY.** Proposed Group. Contact N. Jackson, 8 Leighs Close, High Heath, Pelsall, Walsall.

**SOUTHWARK.** Proposed group meeting first and third Thursday of each month. Dave Burden, 45b Barry Road, East Dulwich, S.E.22.

## ABROAD

**U.S.A. NEW YORK CITY.** N.Y. Federation of Anarchists, c/o Torch Bookshop, 641 East 9th Street, N.Y., 10009. Meets every Thursday evening.

**AUSTRALIA.** Anarchist Group, PO Box A 389, Sydney South. Public meetings every Sunday in the Domain, 2 p.m. and Mondays, 72 Oxford Street, Paddington, Sydney, 8 p.m.

**DANISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION.** 52 Mindevej, Soborg-Copenhagen, Denmark.

**VANCOUVER, B.C., CANADA.** Anyone interested in forming anarchist and/or direct action peace group contact Derek A. James, 184 Grand Boulevard, North Vancouver, B.C., Canada. Tel.: 987-2693.

**U.S.A. VERMONT/NEW HAMPSHIRE.** Discussion group meets weekly. Contact Ed Strauss at RFD 2, Woodstock, Vermont 05091, USA.

**SWEDEN.** Stockholm Anarchist Federation. Contact Nadir, Box 19104, Stockholm 19, Sweden.

**CANADA: Winnipeg.** Anybody interested in Direct action/anarchy contact G. J. Nasir, 606 Matheson Avenue, Winnipeg, 17, Manitoba.

**BELGIUM: LIEGE.** Provos, c/o Jacques Charlier, 11 Avenue de la Laiterie, Sclésing-Liege, Belgium.

**EAST AFRICA.** George Matthews would like to make contact. Secondary school teacher from UK. PO Box 90, Kakamega, Kenya.



# Some Clarifications

THOUGHT barriers in human minds are a bigger obstacle to the attainment of freedom than external coercion and domination. As we travel along the political spectrum, leftwards from liberalism, we find that at each successive stage a new thought barrier is broken. (Please note that I am referring to liberalism and democratic socialism in their old, pure forms which were undoubtedly concerned with freedom.) Thus liberalism believed in men of goodwill legislating through existing political institutions for human freedom and betterment. Democratic socialism saw the impossibility of capitalism (which liberals never attacked) ever being anything but an oppressive system and advocated the taking over of industry and commerce by the state, the necessary legislation being made through existing political institutions. One step further leftwards and we find a new barrier broken by the revolutionary Marxists who realised that not only must capitalism go but that existing political institutions could not be used for the state take-over of industry and commerce. Unfortunately we find that this far leftwards, a note of fanaticism has crept in, for revolutionary Marxists believed (and still do) in minority seizures of power to overthrow existing political institutions and create the dictatorial new one they consider necessary to smash capitalism and create the classless (and eventually stateless) society they regard as the ultimate in human freedom.

Anarchism breaks through a further and fundamental thought barrier in that not only does it see both capitalism and existing political institutions as barriers to freedom, but it also avoids the fatal error of believing that freedom can be attained through new power institutions such as the Marxist state. However, anarchism is not normally regarded as lying to the left of revolutionary Marxism on the political spectrum but rather as being on a tangent running out from liberalism, the broadmindedness and tolerance of which creed it shares. But when we look at anarchism what do we find? We should find a philosophy advocating and promoting freedom and exposing and attacking those things (capitalism, power institutions and the fear, greed and hate that exist in our own minds) that inhibit the attainment of freedom. But often we find people advocating and endeavouring to promote, not

freedom, but (a) certain forms of libertarian economic organisation, e.g. anarchist communism and mutualism and (b) certain forms of human relationship or factors governing it, e.g. responsibility, co-operation and mutual aid. I believe that the things listed in (a) would be a great improvement on contemporary archism and that the things listed in (b) are all excellent and highly desirable. But these things, either singly or together, do not constitute anarchism. Take (a) first. We do not know whether anarchy would bring anarchist communism, mutualism, pluralism or whatever; why then advocate any of them? Free men will create the form of economic organisation that suits them. And the danger of being pedantic regarding the economic organisation of free men is that it gives rise to a tendency to try to mould others, through sheer weight of propaganda if nothing worse, into the kind of person that would make the desired economic organisation work.

There is danger too in advocating the things listed under (b) instead of advocating freedom. Mutual aid exists in ant-hills, co-operation in a bomber crew, and responsibility in any troop of Boy Scouts. Surely we can just take it for granted that free men, wholly rid of external domination and largely free of the internal coercion in their own minds, will practise a good deal of mutual aid and co-operation and be reasonably responsible in their behaviour. That is unless they should all turn out to be hermits which is hardly likely. Talking of responsibility, etc., to a free man is unnecessary while it is a waste of time to mention the subject to an unfree man, i.e. one who oppresses or is apathetic when oppressed. The thing to do is to show the unfree man the desirability of being like the free man, of ridding himself of external oppression and endeavouring to cast out his own fear, greed and hate which, together with ignorance, are a bigger obstacle to the attainment of freedom than external coercion and domination. Whether the unfree man will listen I don't know, but if we are to talk to him let us talk about the desirability and practical attainment of freedom and not of hypotheses like anarchist communism or of things like responsibility and mutual aid which we can take for granted.

JEFF ROBINSON.

# Mongolian Czar Leads Troops Against the Chinese

—Daily Express

COMMUNIST PRIME MINISTER KOSYGIN is to dine at the Carlton (Conservative) Club. According to the *Guardian*, the new issue of *London Tory*, London University Conservative Association's magazine, was successfully taken over by a Marxist editor who succeeded in infiltrating the organization and succeeded in filling a large part of the magazine with Marxist propaganda on paper supplied by the Tory Central Office.

THE EAST ANGLIAN DAILY TIMES carried a picture of American soldiers in Russian uniform at Lakenheath. These are 'specialists' in a Soviet orientation team which is to familiarise American troops with the sight of Russian uniforms and equipment.

THE FIRST large public exhibition of *avant garde* art in Russia since Mr. Krushchev's action against an exhibition in 1962, was closed after one hour. A demonstration at the Pushkin statue demanded the repeal of laws on anti-Soviet propaganda under which Sinyavsky and Daniel and also Gerald Brooke were imprisoned. It was quickly broken up by the police.

PROTESTS WERE MADE in Melbourne against the visit of Air Vice-Marshal Ky and the execution of an escaping convict who, it is alleged, shot a warder. It was claimed that the warder was killed by a shot fired by another warder. It was the first execution in Victoria State for sixteen years. Judges of Canada's Supreme Court are hearing the case of Steven Truscott who was convicted at 14 of rape and murder. He was originally sentenced to death but this was commuted to life imprisonment and he has served six years; a Toronto woman wrote a book on the case casting doubt on his guilt and the case has been re-opened.

A WEST END PHOTOGRAPHER claimed to have reconstructed the profile of Jesus Christ (complete with bruised nose) from the shroud of Turin which bears an imprint which has been identified as a full-face portrait of Jesus Christ.

A YOUTH was fined £1 for unlawfully wearing a Service uniform in a manner likely to bring it into disrepute. He was wearing a Royal Marine bandsman's jacket with a pink shirt, orange belt and blue jeans, with casual shoes and long hair. He said he bought it from 'I Was Lord Kitchener's Valet' boutique. The police have asked dealers to stop selling police capes.

THE FLAT-FOOTED *German Democratic Report* reprints a delightfully satirical article from the West German magazine *Konkret* speculating what the papers would say if Adolf Hitler returned. A footnote to the article headed 'Important Note to Dimmer Readers' says: 'The news items reproduced on this page are inventions. Adolf Hitler has not turned up in West Germany; he is dead.' On the back page in the 'Berlin Notebook' appears the following item: 'Good jokes seem to be thin on the ground these days, so all I can offer is this medium grade one. "Why is there a shortage of pork in the GDR?" "Because we are making such great strides towards socialism that the pigs, with their short little legs, can't keep up." The story,' *D.G. Report* goes on relentlessly, 'has one particularly weak point; there is no shortage of pork in the GDR.'

THE SWINGING *Chelsea Post* sadly chronicles the decline of literature in Chelsea; it announces the production by a Kensington resident, Mr. John Schlesinger, of a film of Thomas Hardy's *Far from the Maddening Crowd*.

JON QUIXOTE.

# Letters

## PPU'S Pageant

Dear Friends,  
The Peace Pledge Union's pageant 'Tools for Life or Weapons for Death', which has already been put on in London and Birmingham, is due to take place in Hanley and Newcastle, Staffs, on February 25, and I'd like to appeal for support in the columns of FREEDOM.

This pageant is more of a walking theatre than another poster parade; through mask and costume, picture and banner it tells the story of the folly and devastation that all wars involve.

For it to be its most effective we need about 300 people to take part. This means that all sympathetic individuals should make this their first priority on the afternoon of February 25. Those who are taking part in the anti-Polaris demonstration at Birkenhead in the morning should be able to make it to Hanley by 2 p.m. when the parade starts. For those who come from a long way off, a limited amount of overnight accommodation will be available, but we must know immediately how many people will need it.

To make a long journey worthwhile and to round off the day, we will be holding an informal supper party and concert of songs and readings on war and peace at Keele University in the evening. It should be loosely organised enough for anyone to join in if he wants to. Keele is about five miles from Hanley and half a mile from the M6.

Would anyone interested write to me immediately saying whether they will: (a) take part in the pageant; (b) come to/contribute to the concert; (c) need/supply a lift and for how many; (d) require overnight accommodation. Further details will be sent later to those who commit themselves now to taking part.  
Students Union, MARSHALL COLMAN,  
Univ. of Keele,  
Newcastle, Staffs.

## Introverted Folk

WITH reference to the article on 'fake folk' by Iain MacDonald and Ian S. Sutherland, I agree with their point that what is called 'Pop-folk' is mainly a commercial interest, but I think this has a significance of its own. The mere fact that people like Dylan (who, I agree, has now 'gone rotten') were stirred to write such powerful songs of social criticism shows that our age has taken on at least a semblance of libertarian ideas, that at least some are now protesting through the public media. The authors mention IRA songs, some extremely moving in their emotional content, which in the age of their conception,

excuses for arrest by the British authorities we all know, were frequently used as ties. The fact that, nowadays, songs such as those of Dylan can be blasted out as a matter of course, with no ensuing arrests, means something. Many of Dylan's songs have far-reaching consequences, such as 'Hattie Carroll' where it is more than suggested that the courts of justice are crooked (as we all know!). The fact that Dylan himself has now 'got hooked' by the capitalist society in which he lives should not lead us to condemn him, let alone his songs, but should provide us with an immediate example of the enormous corrupting power of that society against which he wrote his songs.

That many folk groups today are socially introverted is an example of the use of this medium for escape from the world. They are not to be condemned either, for the germ of social protest is evidently there. Let us do what the authors of the article suggest and use this 'weapon', which is evidently the only one which they will accept, the introverted folk-lovers that is, and see if we cannot open up our libertarian vistas before them. Folk music has been, and always will be, an indispensable ally to the cause for freedom.  
Bristol 7 R. J. BATER.

## Drug Addiction

To the Editor,  
Re the paragraph in 'Out of This World' (FREEDOM, 21.1.67) on the proposed clinics for drug addicts. I should like to bring to your attention the fact that there is a very good Clinic and Addiction Unit at Birmingham (All Saints Hospital).

In-patients are being withdrawn from the drugs at Dudley Road Hospital (this scheme has only just started up; it was found that addicts could not be cured in the wards attached to the Clinic, due to the general psychological atmosphere and the fact that drugs were freely available, to in-patients, from their friends attending the Clinic as out-patients).

The system of the addict not being given his own script, but having to collect from the chemist regularly has worked with great success at Birmingham. The prescriptions are sent to the chemist every week, and the addict collects the drug daily or every two days. This system has a very stabilizing effect on the addict. There is no temptation to alter a script; there is no terrifying fear of losing a script; there is absolute certainty that one's supply will be at the chemist every day at a stated time.

The Birmingham Clinic involves an unbelievable amount of work, patience, and understanding by the staff; the main burden being on the shoulders of three men of outstanding personal quality. I do feel that clinics, country houses for chronic addicts, etc., are secondary to the quality of the staff dealing with the addict.

I was myself a heroin addict for nearly two years, and in fact have just successfully (after four previous attempts) been

cured by the Birmingham team. Dr. Chapple and Dr. Gray may be sick of 'waiting for Government action'; Dr. Owens of the Birmingham Clinic has been almost wearing himself into a breakdown, by his unremitting pleading to the Ministry of Health for a proper centre; he has for months given talks, interviews, had documentary films made, appealed to the Ministry, etc. All to no avail yet. But the team at the Clinic at Birmingham keep doggedly on, patiently steady, reclaiming, and curing the desperate addicts whose only hope they are.

Cheers Comrades,  
Yorks. BARBARA KIRKE.

## QUEEN DROPS KNICKERS CHARGE

The Glasgow Procurator Fiscal has informed Solidarity-Scotland that the charges regarding the 'Irish Republican and Anti-Royalty' Song Book have been dropped.

Yours,  
Glasgow SOLIDARITY-SCOTLAND.  
2.2.67

# Slipping!

PRESS FUND  
WEEKS 4 & 5, FEBRUARY 4, 1967:  
Expenses: 5 weeks at £90: £450  
Income: Sales and Subs.: £312  
DEFICIT: £138

Northolt: Anarchist Group\* 4/-; Oxford: Anon\* 5/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.\* 2/-; J.L.\* 3/-; London: N.L.A.D.G. 1/6; Edinburgh: R.G. £7/10/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.\* 10/-; Auckland: B.S. £2/13/-; Berkhamsted: W.Q. 10/-; Utopia: M.W.K. £1; Harlow: K.N. 5/-; London: Anon 10/6; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.\* 2/-; J.L.\* 3/-; London, S.E.17: D.S. 2/6; Miami: Proceeds of Picnic £17/10/-; Leeds: D.S. 1/3; Grantham: G.I. 2/-; Newcastle upon Tyne: B.P. 10/-; Northolt: Anarchist Group\* 4/-; Melbourne: G.G. £12; London, N.1: S.B. 10/-; Melbourne: M. 3/6; Cardiff: Anarchist Group 5/6; Oxford: Anon\* 5/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.\* 10/-; London: Hyde Park Sympathiser 1/-; Kew: P.O. 5/-; Penzance: J.G. 4/-; Belfast: W.G. 5/-.

TOTAL: £46 17 9  
Previously Acknowledged: £59 3 8  
1967 Total to Date: £106 1 5

\*Denotes Regular Contributor.  
Gifts of Books—Putney: Anon; London: G.M.; London: B.R.M.; London, S.W.4: A.S.  
CORRECTION TO PRESS FUND OF WEEK 1.  
Ontario: A.B. 7/-; Toronto: E.A. £3/5/-.  
However the total remains at £106/19/6.

## LONDON FEDERATION

A MEETING CONVENED by five London comrades and to which all London listed groups and a number of individual comrades had been invited, met on Sunday, February 5, to consider the need for an organization to replace the defunct London Anarchist Federation. Groups represented were Ealing, Freedom Press group, Harlow, Lewisham, NLADG, and Northolt, as well as a number of individuals, numbering about 40 in all.

The meeting decided to constitute itself into an organization with monthly full business meetings which all interested groups and individuals could attend, and to appoint a secretariat of five members who would meet weekly. Further details will be given later.

Any other groups or individuals who wish to work within the London Federation should communicate with the Secretariat, c/o The Wooden Shoe, 42 New Compton Street, W.C.2 (tel.: 01-240-0062).

## GERMAN 'DIRECT ACTION'

BECAUSE of limited funds at our disposal, it is no longer possible to produce the periodical for an increasing number of subscribers on time. The growing office work makes it more and more difficult to find time for creative action, which we regard as the basis and purpose of a newspaper such as ours. We cannot produce a good article, therefore the experiment 'Direct Action' is broken off.

The newspaper lasted for 16 numbers, Easter 1965 to Autumn 1966. As regards the very limited technical and financial resources, it had a good run; as regards depth, enquiry and the unavoidable errors and omissions, now left to stand, its life

has been much too short. A Symposium Anarchism = Non-Violence is left as hardly begun.

Readers will have noticed a certain development within the paper, which was definite and reflected in the changes in the sub-title (For Non-Violence in Society, Libertarian-Pacifist News-Sheet, News-Sheet for Anarchism and Non-Violence). This came about through editorial discussion and exposition, and a few withdrew from the work. But we wish to record our appreciation of their contributions. All helped in leaving an image of significance in our readers' minds.

To speak of positive results: new contacts both in our own country and abroad, friendships and personal contacts which remain. We would like to thank all subscribers and readers for their financial and ideological contributions.

### NOTE:

Hamburg friends, and former editors of 'Direct Action'—Peter Lerch and Joachim Dunz—are preparing a new anarchist monthly to appear in the new year under the title 'Direct Action' (spring or summer 1967) in printed format. When preparations are concluded, we will inform former readers, subscribers, friends. In comradeship,  
BOTHO PRIEBE,  
PETER LERCH,  
JOACHIM DUNZ.  
(Trans. by GEOFF CHARLTON.)

## New Sub Rates

The new rates are:—  
FREEDOM only (per year)  
£1 10s. (\$4.50) surface mail  
£2 16s. (\$8.00) airmail  
ANARCHY only (unchanged) (per year)  
£1 6s. (\$3.50) surface mail  
£2 7s. (\$7.00) airmail  
COMBINED SUBSCRIPTION  
FREEDOM & ANARCHY (per year)  
£2 10s. (\$7.50) surface mail both  
£4 15s. (\$12.50) airmail both  
FREEDOM (airmail) &  
ANARCHY (seamail)  
£3 17s. (\$10.50) (per year)



# Sunley's: The Right to Picket

FOR over three months now workers on Sunley's £5m Government contract in Westminster have been on strike. They took this action over the company's insistence that the men had to change into their working clothes before clocking-in and the introduction of a gang system of bonus, which replaced the negotiated collective scheme. Two weeks later, Sunley's sacked 350 men and closed the site. Although most of these have found other jobs, 18 men have been maintaining the picket line.

Official union recognition was given by the Transport and General Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers. The Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers gave their support only in the early part of the strike. The fact that a picket line has been maintained all this time and the two unions have given their backing, has prevented Sunley's from re-starting the job. Only about 30 men working for sub-contractors have continued to work.

The contract should have been finished last October, but the Government has given them a six months extension. This

has let them off the hook with regard to the penalty clause in the original contract, which stipulated a fine of £900 for each day's work over the completion date. It has been estimated that Sunley's will need another year to complete the contract. Therefore, unless they were willing to reinstate Jack Henry, the ASW Federation Steward, and the other 17 men, they had to do something about these pickets.

The answer they came up with was the serving of writs on these men, restraining them from carrying on with their picketing. It took two attempts to serve the writs. On the first occasion, the men insisted that they be served on them at their homes and refused to accept them. The following day, a solicitor's clerk managed to serve the writs at the picket line. Although the men were, at first, quite angry at this resort to the law, the final scene, with the clerk sprinting up and down the road was a more lighthearted affair.

## 'WATCHING' AND 'BESETTING'

However, this action can have serious implications, not only to those on strike at Sunley's, but also to the whole of the trade union movement. The wording of the injunction includes 'restrain the defendants from watching and or besetting the works and from intimidating persons employed by Sunley's or their sub-contractors'. It also claims damages against the pickets for unlawful conspiracy to injure Sunley's.

The injunction, granted by Mr. Justice James, is couched in terms which make picketing unlawful. However, this point was clarified and the company's solicitors said 'They (the men) are not in breach of the injunction by picketing.' This statement was confirmed by the police, who said that they would allow two pickets at each gate. These statements were issued the following day, when the picketing continued as usual, so the writs might just have been issued in an attempt to frighten the men off.

The wording of the injunction totally ignores the 1906 Trades Disputes Act, which clearly legalised picketing, but the exact wording should be noted. 'It shall be lawful for one or more persons acting on their own behalf, or on behalf of a Trade Union or of an individual employer or firm in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute, to attend at or near a house or place where a person resides or works or carries on business or happens to be, if they so attend merely for the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information or peacefully persuading any person to work or abstain from working.'

It is important to remember that the law that trade unionists often ran foul of before the 1906 Act is still on the Statute Book. This is the 1875 Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act. This made picketing a hazardous job, for it included the following: (1) Intimidation of any person; (2) Persistently following a person from place to place; (3) 'Watching or besetting' a person's home or place of work. As the Civil Liberties Handbook of Citizens' Rights points out, the emphasis in the 1906 Act is on the word 'peacefully', and Sunley's have said that some fighting broke out when drivers took their lorries through the pickets.

Some recent interpretations of this Law cast strong doubts on the protection it affords to pickets. For instance, both the *Emerald v. Lowthian* and the *Square Grip v. MacDonald* cases were upheld because the judges said that 'irreparable damage might be done' to companies and that the 'defendants would suffer little



or no damage'. The *Rookes v. Barnard* judgement upheld a breach of contract and so gives weight to the conspiracy charge in the injunction. It must also be remembered that Sunley's have said that the whole dispute was the work of London Joint Sites Committee and might have something up their sleeve in this direction.

At the time of writing, the High Court hearing of last Friday had been adjourned until Monday. However, this whole affair just illustrates the flimsiness of the protection the law gives. It is always open to interpretations of various natures. Even the use of lorries for bringing in 'scabs' could be interpreted as being outside the 1906 Act.

## SOLIDARITY FROM OTHER SITES

The leaders of the TUC might have reached the 'corridors of power', but the rank and file remain outside the law. They will still have to continue relying on their own strength. This has been shown in the Sunley's dispute, for since the writs were issued, workers from other sites in London have been taking the day off and doing their bit on the picket line. Their banners have publicised from which job they have come and this action shows that the lads realise they are involved as well.

On Friday, when 16 men were at the High Court, workers from a number of jobs were at Sunley's manning the picket lines. This is the way to show the employers and judges that trade unionists are not going to be intimidated by injunctions and the best way to defeat them is to maintain pickets at Sunleys. Workers in all industries should show their support for these men, for they are defending the rights of all trade unionists.

WHETHER LAST WEEK'S play on BBC television, *The Lump*, will focus the same amount of attention on the building industry as the *Cathy Come Home* play has on the homeless remains to be seen, but certainly an attack on the labour-only sub-contracting is long overdue.

The play, written by Jim Allen, himself a building worker, was produced by Tony Garnett, who also produced *Cathy Come Home*. The main part, taken by Leslie Sands, was Yorky, a bricklayer Federation Steward who is sacked after the men have called a strike over safety conditions.

The union organiser, as usual, tells the men to go back to work, but they refuse to unless Yorky is reinstated. The management refuse to do this and they also reject the suggestion of the union official that if they take back Yorky, the union will withdraw his steward's credentials, leaving the way clear for his transfer and later sacking.

Let us have your orders now  
for the 8-page FREEDOM

# FREEDOM

## For Workers' Control

FEBRUARY 11 1967 Vol 28 No 4

# Where Do We Go from Here?

## WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Everyone is waiting for the flood gates to open in July, but this certainly is not going to happen. Whilst the Government cannot hope to continue with Part 4, the TUC will attempt to fill the breach. The plan is for the TUC to work out a norm each year, and endeavour to pressurise individual unions to moderate their demands.

The TUC and the CBI have held the first of their monthly tête-à-tête. According to George Woodcock it was a friendly meeting and very promising. The director general of CBI said that the only point that was agreed was 'not to paper over the cracks'. The two sides will endeavour to present a joint viewpoint on the proper growth of income. There is not complete harmony in the joint camp, the TUC accuse the CBI of not being able to hold their prices as well as the workers have held back on wages.

On March 2, union executives met at Central Hall, Westminster, to discuss what policy to adopt after July. George Woodcock is in favour of the TUC taking over from the Government in terms of wage regulation. The only question he can't answer is how to enforce it; whilst some unions may acquiesce there are always the rebels.

The Government post-freeze policy is based on Part 2 of the Prices and Incomes Bill; at the moment Part 2 has a delaying power of three months, the Government is considering extending this period to twelve months. Whilst this is not palatable to the TUC, the chances are that there could be a compromise on the length of the delaying power. There is, in fact, no actual opposition to a Prices and Incomes policy, the difference of opinion between the Government and the TUC is purely one of method and application.

Wilson, in his Swansea speech, has given fair warning—either the TUC and CBI get together and work out a plan for wage regulation or the Government will do it for them. There is more than a strong possibility that Wilson has been

under strong pressure from some members of his Cabinet to extend Part 4 beyond August. The PM is nobody's fool—why stick his neck out, if he can get his industrial hatchet men to achieve the same result in a different way? Michael Stewart, on the other hand, is a realist—if you want to play the state capitalist game, then play it properly—rule and control.

The time has got to come for statutory control of wages, this is the logical outcome of Labour Party policy. The conditioning of public opinion has been going on over the past few years; I believe the majority of workers are prepared to accept this position. The *Morning Star* may scream its head off, but if the Communist Party formed the Government they would adopt similar policies.

Paternalism is not something new, as time goes on the workers will get their wage increases within the framework of Government or TUC control. Collective bargaining will be a sham, one will go through the motions knowing full well the maximum norm has been set.

For the moment, anyway, providing the worker can see the possibility of getting one, he is reasonably content, social consciousness in the old-fashioned sense is out. 'Solidarity' is a luxury 'few' will endeavour to afford.

What's to be done? All this may sound like heresy but, facing facts, the lower-paid workers are getting by, either by excessive overtime, two jobs, or wives going out to work, full-time, part-time or home jobs. If this is not the case then where is, or was, the reaction against the wage freeze? If any group of workers had a legitimate case it was the railwaymen and local government industrial workers—their reaction was one of 'mild' rumbling.

If we do not wake up, this nightmare we live in will indeed be reality, with our aspirations and dreams for freedom as active as that of a doctored tom cat.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

# The Lump

With the assistance of a Roman Catholic priest and the police escorting in the 'scabs', the strike collapses. Yorky is blacklisted and so, with a young university student as his labourer, forced to go on the 'Lump'.

Although the play had a documentary approach, the death of Yorky, when a trench caves in on him during a fight with the 'Lump' man was, I felt, an overdramatic way of ending the play but nevertheless highlighted the tragic effects of labour-only sub-contracting. Jim Allen caught the atmosphere of the building site, the workers' attitudes, language and the approach of the union organiser just right. These were really true to life.

The play upset a great number of apple-carts in its attack, not only the trade union officials and the employers, but also the Communist Party. Although Yorky describes himself as a communist, he had given up the Party after the South Bank, London, strike. The CP, he said, was only out to organise lobbies and petitions, and were only after official positions of power.

A discussion of the play followed in *Late Night Line Up* with Mr. Holloway.

once the president of the employers' federation. The way Jim Allen kept referring to the anarchy in the industry, when he obviously meant chaos, showed that he obviously was not an anarchist. However, he said he was a revolutionary and that he wanted the building industry nationalised, but with the workers running it themselves. He was against the profit motive altogether and said homes, hospitals, etc., should be a social service.

Mr. Holloway agreed with him about the 'Lump', but defended the labour-only scheme whereby a firm hires out men to the main contractors. He did not mention that these firms guarantee no strikes, unlimited hours with overtime rates, and that many have no protection for the men if they are involved in an accident. Whether it is the 'Lump' system shown in the play, where the man who hires out the men is also their landlord and ganger-man, or the system defended by Mr. Holloway, they are both being used increasingly by the employers. The Selective Employment Tax has further accelerated the use, as it is classified as self-employment.

This system is a menace to trade union organisation, but union executives have done very little so far to combat it.

About the only thing that Jim Allen and Mr. Holloway agreed on was one union for the industry, but for different reasons, no doubt.

P.T.

## Contact Column

This column exists for mutual aid. Donations towards cost of typesetting will be welcome.

**Work Wanted in France.** Long shot. Can anyone help married couple (30's) find permanent work—France/Switz. Box 47.

**Dialectics of Liberation.** International Congress sponsored by Institute of Phenomenological Studies. London, July 15-30. Registration Fee 15 gns. Allen Ginsberg, Paul Goodman, Herbert Marcuse, Ronald Laing, etc. Enrolments to IPS, 65a Belsize Park Gardens, N.W.3.

**Accommodation Wanted.** Girl wants flat in London sharing with 2/3 others. Lesley Owen, 24 Crawshaw Drive, Emmer Green, Reading.

**Work.** Urgent; young couple, both graduates, seek any work in which they can be together (for personal reasons this is more important than the money). John Tittensor, 103a Camden Road, London, N.W.1.

**Accommodation.** Young couple (with two small sons) urgently need 3-room s.c. flat at reasonable rent. Willing to decorate, baby mind, help in house, garden, etc. Box 42.

**Speakers.** Harlow Anarchists intend to run a series of public meetings and indoor forums. Comrades willing to speak on anarchistic topics will be paid expenses if necessary. Please contact the Harlow Group (see groups column) with offers or suggestions.

**Conference on 'Race Toward Tolerance'.** Islington International Friendship Council. Speakers: David Pitt; Eric Silver of the *Guardian*; Mrs. Shirley Williams. Chairman: James Cameron. 2.30 p.m. Saturday, February 25, 1967. Islington Town Hall, Upper Street, London, N.1. Refreshments and collection.

**Voluntary Editorial Secretary.** Wanted for FREEDOM editors. Two evenings a week. Fridays and Mondays. Shorthand not essential but own typewriter desirable. Write Freedom Press.

**Badges.** Harlow Anarchists. Badges of any slogan, any colour, 1/- each, 10/- per dozen, £1 for 30. 1 in. diameter. Enquiries: 138 Penny Mead, Harlow, Essex. Proceeds to duplicator fund.

If you wish to make contact let us know.



## HOLIDAY CAMP

Dear Comrades,

As per my letter in FREEDOM (and despite the fatuous write-up about it in the "People" 5/2/67), I have now arranged a block booking at a small camp on the Isle of Sheppey in Kent. It is very inexpensive, not too organised and right on the sea with a sandy safe beach and no cliffs. You can book for one or two weeks holiday by filling in the booking form overleaf and sending it to me together with your deposit. Receipts and confirmation will come to you direct from the camp, together with a Brochure.

Will those comrades who wrote in reply to my first letter also fill in this form if they are still interested.

### PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION BEFORE FILLING IN BOOKING FORM

AMENITIES: 12 acres of ground, 250 yards sea frontage, gardens, tennis courts, putting green, heated swimming pool, plenty of space for sunbathing & lazing, dance hall, bar separate from it, lounge, separate lounge where we can hold discussions etc. Chalets have H & C, most have own toilet; baths; cafeteria open early morning to late night; 2 shops.

#### CHARGE

<u>Week commencing</u>	<u>Adults</u>	<u>Under 12</u>	<u>Children</u> <u>under 6</u>	<u>under 1</u>
September 2nd	£9. 0. 0.	£6. 3. 0.	£4. 13. 0.	£3. 0. 0.
September 9th	£8.10. 0.	£5.13. 0.	£4. 5. 6.	£3. 0. 0.

DEPOSIT: £2 per adult or child per week of stay. Not refundable if holiday is cancelled, except if notice is given within 21 days of arrival or medical certif. produced, then 50% refunded.

PAYMENT: On arrival in full.

PRIVATE CHALET: If you come alone you are expected to share with up to three persons but for £1 extra a week you can have a private chalet - see booking form.

MEALS: Three per day served at table.

ARRIVAL: Chalets ready at 4.30 on Saturday, must be vacated 10.30 on departure.

SOAP & TOWELS: Please bring your own.

AGE & RELATIONSHIP: Please fill in this question; apparently they aren't just being nosy, they want to house you comfortably in three different kinds of accom. and beds; however, discretion is advised!

ROOM CLEANING SERVICE: Costs 10/- or 7/6 per room per week according to size of chalet. Or you can do it yourself with tools provided. See booking form.

GARAGE: No undercover accom. but must reserve standing space on booking form.

TRAVEL: Special coach leaves Victoria Coach Station Saturdays 1.45 pm, returning end of holiday Saturday 10 am. FARE 20/- return, 10/- children under 14, free to kids under 3 travelling on knee (1966 prices). Coach stops at Kennington Oval, New Cross, Lewisham & Eltham. Do not send money for this but indicate on booking form and camp will contact you direct. Similar services run by bus companies if these not convenient, contact London Coastal Services Agents for bookings.

TRAINS: Victoria to Sheerness, short bus journey to camp.

SAVINGS CLUB: Run by camp. If you want information indicate on booking form.

NOTE: I was unable to obtain a reduction for a party because this is already one of the cheapest camps in England. The camp was chosen because it seemed the most suitable for us from the tone of other brochures, also the response to my first letter was mostly from London and southern England. September was chosen because they had vacancies then, it was cheapest and to give us all time to save! More information can be obtained from me, address overleaf, but if you need to contact camp please refer to: "Mrs. McDonald's party".

BOOKING FORM

NAME & ADDRESS (CAPITALS) Please put Mr, Mrs, or Miss	RELATIONSHIP	Under 6	6 & over but under 12	12 to 18	over 18	over 50
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(Bracket party or family above; state below beds required, double, single(s) and/or cot, etc.  
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PERIOD OF STAY      Week beginning 2nd September . . . . .  
(either or both)      Week beginning 9th September . . . . .

FILL IN OR LEAVE BLANK:

I require private chalet for .....single person(s) at £1 extra per week  
Please reserve open standing space for .....cars free  
We wish to pay extra for room service .....

We wish to join your Holiday Savings Club.....

Please send booking form for Coach Service.....

I enclose £..... which comprises £2 deposit for each person mentioned above  
(including children).                      SIGNED.....

Please send this form and deposit to:- Mrs. McDonald, 80 Marten Road, London, E.17.,  
with TWO fourpenny stamps. The camp wants one stamp and I need the other for future  
communication which is bound to be necessary before holiday starts.

Any suggestions for our entertainment and diversion during the holiday will be most welcome.  
I suggest we invite a good speaker once each week and will arrange this on hearing that you  
like the idea.

We all hate form filling but this one is really necessary - have you filled in EVERYTHING ?

YOUR COMMENTS