

# Freedom

## Anarchist Weekly 6d

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# MAY DAY IS MAY 1

THE LONDON May Day Committee is calling a May Day demonstration for Thursday, May 1, as it has done on May 1 in 1967 and 1968.

We understand that the Communist Party and the various left political groups are issuing a call for a march on Sunday, May 4. The London May Day Committee will not support this Sunday afternoon walkabout. **May Day is May 1 or it is nothing.**

We have been told that it is wrong to hold a demonstration on May 1 because 'the workers would not support it'. What a feeble argument. It may be true (though hardly likely) that not a single worker will stop work for May Day, but, as far as we know, nobody but the London May Day Committee has ever asked them. Incidentally, hundreds of workers stopped work last May Day (including a whole engineering factory in South London involving more than 400 workers).

But the logic of this kind of argument is that IF the workers spontaneously stop work for May Day then the political groups will stop in and phase themselves at the head of things. The Communist Party, of course, is notorious for this sort of tail-ending. But it is rather odd to find that groups which lay such vociferous claims to 'leadership of the masses' are in this instance so patently unwilling to lead.

I would say that if workers have got to the stage of stopping work for May Day then they have no need of 'leaders' and the political groups have no role to play. If, on the other hand, the class struggle is in such a lamentable state that we cannot get even a limited stoppage for one day—what on earth is the use of shouting (as these groups do) about revolution from one year's end to the next?

The only role for leadership is to set an example—and those who take a day off to demonstrate their disgust with the system on May 1 are real leaders, every bloody one of them. But those who marshal their troops for the Sunday walk through the West End are what old William Cobbett used to call 'shoy-hoys' scarecrows. Just as the birds get used to the scarecrows in the fields, so the exploiters are likewise not deceived by those who scream their 'revolutionary' slogans . . . on Sundays when it doesn't interfere with production! We are con-

fidant that whatever their leaders may say, the rank and file of these organisations will be with us on Thursday, May 1.

### AN ENJOYABLE REBELLION

Whether our call will be followed remains to be seen. But the fact that people believe in a course of action and are seen to be ready to follow it, can of itself generate support and raise the level of the struggle.

This May Day is going to be different. Not a dreary slog through the City and the West End, but a short march and then off to an open space (probably Hampstead Heath or Victoria Park in the East End) to enjoy ourselves with bands, groups (pop not political), dancing, sports, and anything else that the marchers themselves want to do. There will be speeches if anybody wants to make them, but it will be a free day in every sense of the word—free from work and free to do what you like.

We shall be issuing details later on—but meanwhile we appeal to all who think they can help in any way, musicians, actors, artists, to get in touch with us with their suggestions. So far our call has the full support of **Workers Mutual Aid, Essex University Socialists, and the London Federation of Anarchists**, but more will surely join in.

*Millions are fed up with this Government, millions are fed up with this system as a whole. What better way to express those feelings than to turn your back on the whole rotten business for at least one day. As one worker at our May Day Committee said: 'My gov'nor will be choked if I take the day off, and he'll be double choked if he knows that I'm enjoying myself as well.'*

It is, of course, a serious business to ask workers to stop work—even to celebrate May Day—Workers' Day. It is a challenge to the State and the employers, whose whole system is designed to keep our noses to the grindstone, only allowing us the occasional day off when THEY say so. There will be a loss of wages for many and there is always the danger of victimisation. We shall take steps to prevent it but the best safeguard against reprisals is to get a mass turnout. There is real safety in numbers. The more that take May Day off, the less likelihood is there is victimisation.

But if we are serious about the business of ending capitalism, actions like this are inevitable. Anyone wanting to help should contact **The London May Day Committee, 29 Love Walk, London, S.E.5.**

JOHN LAWRENCE,  
Chairman,  
May Day Committee.

# Derry's Five Days of Freedom

AT 2.30 A.M. on the morning of Sunday, January 6, the police, having led the People's Democracy into a vicious ambush of Bunting and his thugs at Burnpollet the day before, and having used their batons and water cannons on the peaceful crowd of Civil Rights supporters as they were dispersing for their meeting at Guildhall on the eve of the 4th, went down into the Bogside area, the predominantly Roman Catholic ghetto, and smashed up the houses in the Lecky Road and St. Columb's Wells. Many of them were drunk, having been given whiskey by some lovable publicans, and threatened the inhabitants with assault, rape and wanton violence. To many in England this may seem incredible, ridiculous lies by people with an insane hatred for the police. Regrettably, however, it's true.

Over 120 itemised and documented complaints have been made against the squad of riot police who did this. By that afternoon the people, of an area containing about 20,000 inhabitants, had had enough! They marched to police headquarters and gave formal notice that the police were to stay out of the Bogside if they valued their skins. Barricades were erected and armed vigilantes, for self-defence, were formed. They patrolled the streets all night, questioning anyone who came in, and preventing the police from committing further atrocities. Alarmed, the Minister for Home Affairs, Adolph Long, friend of the Bunting, announced that an enquiry into 'allegations' of police misbehaviour would be taken by a senior and impartial police officer. Another piece of comforting news to the people of Derry was that some of the 'B' Specials, the exclusively Protestant armed police auxiliaries, were to be called up. As one Derry man said, 'Not content with the Paisleyites having clubs, iron bars and petrol bombs as they did at Burnpollet they are now giving them uniforms and more guns.'

Throughout the week Free Derry continued. The vigilantes, for the most part hard-working and family men, took it in turns to patrol the streets and guard against the police. **The crime rate dropped and morale was fantastic!** They even began broadcasting to the world from Radio Free Derry, a pirate station

## DOCKERS STOP NIGERIAN ARMS

THE BLATANT HYPOCRISY of the British Government over the Nigerian Civil War was slammed with a vengeance by dockers at Tees Dock, Middlesbrough, Yorks. The Nigerian ship, the *Oba Oyomramwen* was being loaded with 600 tons of shells and bullets for the Federal Army when the dockers decided to walk off the ship and refused to handle the arms.

The dockers have acted, according to shop steward Harry Keighley, because they had seen the film of the war on BBC TV the previous night.

Said Harry Keighley, 'It is a matter of moral conscience in view of what the men saw on TV last night; it was a burning point. They are sending food parcels in one box and bullets to shoot them down in another.'

'The dockers have had a lot of doubts about this ever since the ship started loading.'

The ship's master Captain J. Hogg commented, 'I cannot say anything about it, it is normal stuff for Nigeria.'

COLIN BEADLE.

P.S.—Later the Army moved in and supervised the loading of the arms shipment.

set up inside the Bogside and run entirely by locals.

Meanwhile the politicians were moving in, the Citizens' Action Committee being led by Hume and Cooper and a select band of local bourgeois businessmen. Having come out against the People's Democracy's long march of the previous week, they had rallied round the bandwagon when the battered marchers had arrived at Guildhall. They now proceeded to 'run' Free Derry. By Friday, 10th, they had agreed on a sell-out!

Government pressure was building up and obviously the unionists could not allow Free Derry to continue, especially in view of the interest that foreign newsmen were paying to it. While many of the vigilantes were still manning the barricades the Committee held two short meetings, one on a street corner, the other in a small hall, announcing their decision to take down the barricades. They claimed that a lot of damage had been done to property (in direct contradiction to their previous statement that the crime rate had fallen), that several Protestants had been attacked in the city over the past few nights—though not, they hasten to add, by anyone from Bogside—so what was the relevance of this?

They went on to say that they had no confidence in the word of the police but that 'they wouldn't dare do it again'. If they did? 'Why, we'll have the barricades up again.' Several young people tried to speak out against the sell-out decision, pointing out that if Free Derry was as splendid an achievement for five days, what was wrong with the sixth?

One youngster tried to argue that the people should be allowed to weigh up the pros and cons of the situation for themselves without having to just rubber stamp the Committee's decision, but there didn't seem to be many Civil Rights about as far as the Committee

was concerned. He was denounced as a 'Communist' and quietly hauled off the platform.

Only the crap who hero-worshipped Hume and Cooper were allowed to speak, and amid emotional appeals to 'Trust John, trust Ivan' from camp-followers, Hume announced that it was quite evident that they had the support of the people. In the hall the same procedure was adopted.

Outside, many were arriving from the barricades to be confronted by the news of the sell-out. These were the men who had given up their beds or slept in their clothes all night in order to be ready to protect their homes, and many openly expressed their displeasure.

**Still the idea that people have a right to decide their own lives and that leaders are not necessarily to be trusted is gaining ground in Derry.**—Every sell-out has its advantages. Hume may have alienated more than he can afford by his authoritarian action and when the police reprisals occur, as inevitably they must, against the more militant vigilantes, Cooper and Hume of course being excluded, many more may regret the sell-out.

Meanwhile the 12 families still squat in Derry Guildhall!

The housing despots and bureaucrats have done it again. Magically they have suddenly found that accommodation is available for five of the families where hitherto none was evident. However, it has been rejected by them. 'We stay until we all have houses,' their spokesman announced. Three of the men are on hunger strike, as well, and the situation is becoming more embarrassing for the corporation every day. The success of the squatters of last month has obviously ensured that this type of activity will continue and the reports of the London Squatters were very well received by the fellow homeless of this city.

OUR DERRY CORRESPONDENT.

## BLACK AND WHITE UNITE AND FIGHT!

THE ZIMBABWE PEOPLE'S Action Committee and The Black People's Alliance called a demonstration for January 12, in solidarity with the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe at present fighting the combined forces of Rhodesia and South Africa, to march from Speakers Corner and to occupy Rhodesia House in the Strand. On route the Black People's Alliance handed in a letter of protest to No. 10 Downing Street concerning the racist activities of the British police. The march then swung round in Whitehall, taking up the entire width of the road, and set off in the direction of Rhodesia House.

They were heckled by spectators and members of the racist National Front, some of whom were then dragged from the pavement and set upon by the marchers. A group of about fifty National Front members could be seen opposite Rhodesia House chanting and waving banners. One was carrying a South African flag. They were protected from the march by two lines of police and a police bus.

The march carried on, led by the Zimbabwe flag, almost past Rhodesia House, then swung round, with its full impetus, straight into the police lines. The first charge came within five yards of the front door of Rhodesia House before it was forced back. The attack then found itself, along with bystanders, cut off by the west wing of the police echelon and was then crushed by the advancing police front against the windows of the shops lining the opposite side of the street to Rhodesia House. Small groups of police then broke away from their lines and started laying into people, more or less at random. Other police told the crowd to disperse, despite the fact that it was cut off on all sides by the police echelon. A man cried out that he had his child with him and would the police stop pushing. Eventually the window of South Australia House gave way under

the strain and the police pulled back.

There were several other attempts made to gain entry to Rhodesia House, but all were pushed back by the police lines, reinforced by police horses. Realising that they were getting nowhere the crowd suddenly turned and made for South Africa House at Trafalgar Square.

This manoeuvre caught the police completely unawares, and before they arrived on the scene a large number of windows on the ground floor of South Africa House had been smashed.

Ed Davoren, who was talking to his wife at the time, was suddenly set upon by a number of policemen, who had taken great pains to sneak up behind him. They then dragged him to a police coach that was parked nearby. By the time they got him inside the coach his face was covered with blood. This incident so enraged those who saw it that their fury was turned on the police. Firstly they tried to turn over the police bus and then to stop it being driven away but were fought off by police reinforcements some of whom were using their truncheons by this stage. Scuffles continued for some time and those singled out by the police stood little chance of escape.

A contingent of demonstrators then marched up through the West End to the South African Airways office at Oxford Circus, where they managed to break a plate glass window before being dispersed by the police driving motor bikes at them along the pavement.

31 people were arrested in all, during the course of the afternoon. Among those arrested was Paul Davies. A number of these arrests need never have taken place, had these people been given the full protection that was possible from a demonstration of this size.

This march showed how successful swift tactical moves from one object

Continued on page



ANARCHY 95

Yugoslavia: is it workers control?

TWO SHILLINGS OR THIRTY CENTS

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# Write or Come!

Editorial office open Friday, 6-8 p.m. and Monday, 2-8 p.m.  
Telephone: BISHOPSGATE 3015.

New temporary address:  
84a WHITECHAPEL HIGH STREET, c/o Express Printers, (entrance Angel Alley), WHITECHAPEL, E.1.  
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- All list on application.

# Burnt Outcoming

Issues, Roman Catholics and Protestant Catholics live in harmony side by side. There are no Catholic 'areas' and no Protestant 'areas'. It also has a nationalist-controlled council who discriminate against Protestants. Corporal Bunting and his Paisleyite followers, of Burnpollet fame, swore that the march would not go through what he called a 'Protestant' area, although all parties in the town stated that the march was welcome to pass through any part of their town.

After collusion between Bunting and the Unionist Government, Bunting called off his counter-demonstration and the Government re-routed the march to avoid the so-called Protestant stronghold of Sugar Island. This was a blatant attempt to try and turn the march into a Catholic-Protestant issue. All the time the demonstrators are trying to be forced by the police, the Government, the Paisleyites and the Buntings to make it look like a sectarian squabble, which it is not. The local bureaucratic committee of the People's Democracy who 'organised' the march issued instructions that on meeting the expected barricades the marchers were to sit down with their backs to the police, following the CRA line of non-violence.

The march started off halting every 50 yards for the TV cameras and photographers. All the self-styled leaders are very photogenic and press-conscious. The leaders of the march

went the first 400 yards to the first barricade. The people at the back hardly moved a step. The local PD had organised stewards for the march, these people did the fuzzi's job very officiously. No public address system had been organised. One small loud-hailer, borrowed from Queens University PD, was used to address the march. The stewards halted the march well before the barricades in fact, round the corner. They lined up four deep, arms linked, the self-elected local leaders, then called on the march to disperse while the students of Queens were to sit in front of the barricades until relieved! The only trouble being nobody had asked the students if they wanted to sit down! Apart from that, the people of Newry wanted to go through the barricades.

The more militant members of the march swept forward through the stewards and up to the barricade, which was made up of crash barriers and three police buses put up across the road. The police were behind these, wearing crash helmets, and with batons at the ready. The back end of the march, not knowing what was happening, or why nothing was, started

to disperse. The demonstrators at the front were attempting to smash the buses. The speakers then moved up on to the top of the buses and attempted to speak to the militants. The rest of the march were still being held up by some of the stewards, other stewards were trying to restrain (in the name of non-violence) those in the front who were bus-beating. The moderates appealed for calm and non-violent confrontation but as all their supporters had been dispersed by their stewards no one took much notice.

The loudhailer now announced that the 'real' PD was leaving the barricades to take the Unemployment Exchange—a non-happening. The militants, now left alone, attacked the police bus, moved it away, set it alight, and dumped it into the canal.

The police made no attempt to protect it. Emboldened by their success, the people ended up setting fire to six police buses. The majority of the 5,000 marchers had dispersed, cold and, we hope, a little wiser. One man who had exhorted the people to attempt to move through the police lines peacefully did it on his own. The stewards restrained the rest of the crowd from following. He appeared in court on Wednesday accused of assaulting a police baton with his face.

## News from the Barricades

### NANTERRE

**A** LIAISON CENTRE for workers and students of diverse revolutionary tendencies has been set up at Nanterre. Four basic political principles form the basis for liaison. They are: anti-capitalism, anti-revisionism, anti-imperialism, anti-bureaucracy. The aim is to create research and agitation groups in collaboration with the action committees from the districts, faculties and factories. The centre will make contact with young workers to effect propaganda in their places of work.

### TOURS

While the US ambassador in France was visiting Tours several people went around the town throwing plastic bags full of red paint at walls. Two students were arrested and later released.

### PARIS

The police arrested two people for fly-posting, then several militants who protested to them about the arrest and finally four others who were discussing the affair with passers-by.

### SARDINIA

Hundreds of schoolchildren gathered in front of Cagliari town hall to protest against the lack of school places. Four demonstrators were arrested. Then the crowd went to the police station and sat down in front of it as a protest against

the arrests. The four demonstrators were immediately released.

### TURIN

Ten thousand schoolchildren entered the faculty of architecture to hold a general assembly. In a clash with the police, a demonstrator and a policeman were wounded and 11 people arrested.

### MEXICO

The 58th anniversary of the Mexican Revolution passed off in an atmosphere of agitation, marked by fighting and several deaths. The Mexicans have not given up the struggle. The students at Mexico University have been on strike since July.

### ANDALUSIA

The peasants of Rinconada occupied a village for several hours as a protest against police searches during an assembly of the Workers Commission (legal associations of workers in Spain which are being infiltrated by militants, but to which the CNT is opposed owing to strong communist influence) and the arrest of a militant who was going to Madrid to spread the news of struggle.

### MADRID

Students have been interrupting university procedure, invading offices and burning portraits of General Franco.  
Translated from *Interlute*. B.B.

## Ken Weller

**S**INCE THE REPORT in our last issue, Ken Weller has improved so much that he has been discharged from hospital. He is still almost immobile, and will be having regular treatment in the hospital for several weeks, but he is learning to move around and is steadily getting better. He wishes to thank all those comrades who have sent him messages.

## Conference Week

**C**ONFERENCE WEEK at Reading University runs this year from January 20 to 26. Most of the events are free. Only the concerts and the film show will be charged for, and then very moderately. On Monday, the 20th, there is to be a discussion at 8 p.m. in the Faculty of Letters lecture theatre, on the question of the value of newspapers. The title is 'Justify the existence of your newspaper', and there will be present representatives from the *Express*, *Telegraph*, *Sketch*, *Peace News*, *FREEDOM* and *International Times* (see 'Contact Column' for debates). There will also be, on other days, discussions on education, in which people from the LSE, the Free Schools Campaign and

to try to occupy three buildings, only one was taken—the post office. This was then sat in till the police came and removed them. No violence was used. Those inside were charged with insulting behaviour and will appear in court on Thursday. The streets were then cleared of loiterers by baton-charges, many receiving bruises from the cops under cover of darkness and the fuzz had a little revenge for having to stand and watch all day, doing nothing.

The police buses were literally offered to the marchers in order to discredit them. It was all very pointless but when were police buses last set on fire at London demos?

THE BIKE.

## Northern Ireland Picket in London

**O**N SATURDAY, JANUARY 11, a picket was staged by the LFA outside the Northern Ireland Office in Berkeley Street, W.1. At about 11.30 a.m. with the arrival of the fifth picketer it was decided to start the demonstration.

400 leaflets had been prepared by the LFA supporting People's Democracy in Northern Ireland and calling for the abolition of the 'Special Powers' Act. Various informative and humorously stimulating posters had been brought along by a comrade—e.g. 'Protestants in Police Houses shouldn't throw Stones'. Despite the occasional shower (the police guarding the office had secured the shelter of the window recess by telling us we should be moving round at intervals of five yards, etc., etc.) our numbers had grown to almost twenty by the end of the picket, just after 1 p.m.

Although no English newspapers were represented, a reporter from the *Belfast Telegraph* spent a half-hour talking with one of our comrades. We also made contact with a number of passers-by, whom we engaged in lengthy discussion. H.D.T.

Hornsey College of Art will take part on advertising, on satire, in which the editor of *Private Eye* will participate, on religion and on drugs.

There will be poetry readings, exhibitions, a film show and two concerts, one of which will last eight hours, with four famous groups.

For information contact the organisers: Maureen Evans (Bridges), John Seargent (Sibley), Barbara Whittaker (Bridges), Kevin G. Jackson (St. Davids).

Tickets for the films and concerts are on sale at various places in the University, while those for the two concerts are also available from: Barnes & Avis, Friar Street, Reading; The Music Box, London Street, Reading.

# Anarchist Federation of Britain

Note to readers: Wherever address is not given letters should be sent to London Federation, c/o Freedom Press. The full list is printed once a month (next full list January 25, 1969). All groups that wish to be included in this shortened version (because of meetings, activity) should let us know at once. New groups (as Yorkshire Federation) stay in for eight weeks.

**LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS.** Sunday evening meetings at the Metropolitan (corner of Clerkenwell Road and Farringdon Road), 7.30 p.m. Next meeting Sunday, January 19, Jim Hugges: Songs of the Anarchist Movement.

**HARINGEY.** 'Siege of Sidney Street Appreciation Society'. Meet Wednesdays, 8 p.m., at A. Barlow's, 2a Fairfield Gardens, Crouch End, N.8.

**PORTOBELLO ROAD ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Andrew Dewar, 16 Kilburn House, Malvern Place, N.W.6. Meetings 8 p.m. every Tuesday.

**WEST HAM ANARCHISTS.** Regular meetings and activities contact Mr. T. Plantliff, 10 Thackeray Road, East Ham, E.6. Tel.: 552 4162.

There are also active groups in: **EALING** and **LEWISHAM.**

### OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

Every Wednesday at Jack Robinson's and Mary Canips's, 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m.

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

Every Monday at A. Barlow's, 2a Fairfield Gardens, Hornsey, N.8. (Siege of Sidney Street Appreciation Society).

### REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

**BEXLEY ANARCHIST MOVEMENT.** C/o John Bonner, 40 Lutlinton Crescent, St. Paul's Cray, Kent. Tel.: 01-300 8890. Meetings every Friday, 8 p.m. Lord Besley, Bexley Heath Broadway.

**BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP.** Secretary, c/o Birmingham Peace Action Centre, Factory Road, Birmingham 19. Libertarian discussion groups held 8 p.m. on each Tuesday at 'The Crown', Corporation Street (Opp. Law Courts), Birmingham City. S.a.e. to Secretary for details.

**CORNWALL ANARCHISTS.** Contact Arthur Jacobs, 76 East Hill, St. Austell. Discussion meetings on the second Friday of each month at Brian and Hazel McGee's, 42 Pendarves Street, Beacon, Camborne. 7.30 p.m. Visiting comrades very welcome.

**CROYDON LIBERTARIANS.** Meetings every 2nd Friday of each month, Laurens and Celia Otter, 35 Natal Road, Thornton Heath (LV 7546).

**LICESTER PROJECT.** Peace/libertarian action and debate. Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. at The Crescent, King Street, Leicester.

**NOTTING HILL.** Meetings at John Bennett's, Flat 4, 88 Clarendon Road, W.11. Every Monday evening, 8 p.m.

**ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP.** Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Green-

ways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.

There are also active groups in: **BOLTON**, **BOURNEMOUTH**, **EDGWARE**, **HERTS.**, **IPSWICH**, **NORTH SOMERSET**, **WEDDITCH** and **SELBY.**

### ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION

Three-monthly meetings. Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o Peter Newell (see N.E. Essex Group).

Group Addresses—**NORTH EAST ESSEX.** Peter Newell, 91 Brook Road, Tolleshunt Knights, Tiptree, Essex. Regular meetings.

There are also active groups in: **BASILDON**, **BISHOPS STORTFORD**, **CHELMSFORD**, **EPHING**, **HARLOW** and **LOUGHTON.** All correspondence to regional secretary: Peter Newell, c/o N.E. Essex Group.

### NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

**LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST PROPAGANDA GROUP AND 'HIPPI' MOVEMENT.** Gerry Bree, 16 Faulkner Square, Liverpool, 8. Meetings weekly. 'Freedom' sales—Pier Head, Saturdays, Sundays. Evenings.

**MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP.** Secretary: Sue Warnock, 9 Boland Street, Fallowfield, Manchester, 14. Regular weekly meetings. Contact Secretary for venue.

**MERSEYSIDE ANARCHISTS.** Meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. at 118 High Park Street, Liverpool 8. Contact: Chris Kneath, Basement, 52 Belvidere Road, Liverpool, 18 3TG.

**PRESTON ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact J. B. Cowburn, 140 Watling Street Road, Fulwood, Preston. Meetings: 'The Wellington Hotel', Grovers Court, Preston. Wednesdays, 8 p.m.

### SURREY FEDERATION

G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom, Surrey. Groups and individuals invited to associate.

### SUSSEX FEDERATION

Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o Eddie Poole, 5 Tilsbury, Fildon Road, Whitebank, Brighton.

**BRIGHTON & HOVE ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Nick Heath, Flat 3, 26 Chifton Road, Brighton, BN1 3HN. Regular fortnightly meetings. Contact Secretary.

Other groups in **CRAWLEY** and **SUSSEX UNIVERSITY.**

### YORKSHIRE FEDERATION

Meetings every 8 weeks. Next meeting February 2. Secretary: Colin Beadle, c/o Oakwood Farm, Lund, Selby, Yorks. Look out for 'Liberty'

—monthly 6d.—out in January.

**HALIFAX:** David Stringer, c/o Paul Simon, 91 Essex Street, Parkinson Lane, Halifax.

**HULL:** Jim Young, 3 Fredericks Crescent, Hawthorn Avenue, Hull.

**KEIGHLEY:** Steve Wood, 26B Cavendish Street, Keighley.

**LEEDS:** Direct Action Society. Contact John Buntwood, 142 Brudenell Road, Leeds, 6.

**SELBY:** D. Mackay, 247 Residential Site, Drax Power Station, Drax, Selby.

**SHEFFIELD:** Dave Jeffries, c/o Students Union, Western Bank, Sheffield, 10.

**YORK:** Nigel Wilson, Derwent College, University of York, Heslington, York.

### WELSH FEDERATION

**CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP.** All correspondence to: Pete Raymond, 18 Marion Street, Splott, Cardiff.

**SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Ian Bone, 3 Bay View Crescent, Brynmill, Swansea. Weekly meetings, 'Freedom' sales and action projects.

**LLANELLI:** Contact Dai Walker, 6 Llwynnendy Road, Llanelli, Carm. Tel: Llanelli 2548.

### EAST LONDON LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION

Support wanted for numerous activities in area. Secretary: Anthony Matthews, 35 Mayville Road, London, E.11. Meetings fortnightly on Sundays at Ron Bailey's, 128 Hainault Road, E.11 (LEY 8059). Ten minutes from Leytonstone Underground.

Active groups in: **LEYTONSTONE**, **STEPNEY**, **NEWHAM**, **HIFORD**, **DAGENHAM**, **WOODFORD** and **LIMEHOUSE.**

### STUDENT GROUPS

**ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY GROUP.** C/o Ian and Peggy Sutherland, 8 Easlemont Avenue, Aberdeen, AB2 4SL.

**CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Matthew Robertson, Trinity College, or John Fullerton, Jesus College.

**SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Francis Jarman, Red Brick Lodge, 49 Upper Rock Gardens, Brighton. Meetings every second Thursday jointly with Brighton Group; bookstall every Monday outside J.C.R., 12-2.30 p.m.

**YORK UNIVERSITY.** Contact Nigel Wilson, Derwent College, University of York, Heslington, York.

**EAST ANGLIA UNIVERSITY.** Contact Dave Lomax, E.A.S. II, U.E.A., Norwich, NR 88C.

**LIBERTARIAN STUDENTS FEDERATION.** Contact address: Keith Nathan, 138 Pennymead, Harlow.

**LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact us at the bookstall in the Students Union Foyer every Friday lunchtime.

**OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Francis Casling, Pembroke College, or Steve Watts, Trinity College.

**OXFORD ROAD, MANCHESTER, 13. SHEFFIELD UNIVERSITY.** Contact Robin Lovell at the Students' Union.

**LSE ANARCHIST GROUP.** C/o Students' Union, LSE, Houghton Street, W.C.2. Read and sell 'Beaver'.

**KINGSTON COLLEGE OF TECHNOLOGY.** Penhryn Road, Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey. Contact G. Wright.

### SCOTTISH FEDERATION

All correspondence to Dave Coull, secretary, 3 Eskview Terrace, Ferryden, Montrose, Angus. There are active groups in: **ABERDEEN**, **GLASGOW**, **EDINBURGH**, **HAMILTON**, **FIFE** and **MONROSE.**

### NORTHERN IRELAND

**BELFAST ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Robert Dunwoody, 10 Newry Street, Belfast, BT6 9BN. Meetings every Saturday, 2 p.m., 44a Upper Arthur Street (top floor). 'Freedom' sales.

### LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

Meetings—discussions—activities. Contact Peter Ford, 36 Devonshire Road, Mill Hill, London, N.W.7.

### ABROAD

**AUSTRALIA.** Federation of Australian Anarchists, P.O. Box A 389, Sydney South, NSW 2000. Phone No. 69-8095. Open discussion and literature sale in the Domain—Sunday, 2 p.m. Call at 52 Eveleigh Street, Redfern, NSW 2015 for personal discourse, tea and overnight accommodation.

**BELGIUM.** Groupe du journal Le Libertaire, 220 rue Vivignis, Liège.

**USA.** James W. Cain, secretary, the Anarchist Committee of Correspondence, 323 Fourth Street, Cloquet, Minnesota 55720, USA.

**VANCOUVER, B.C., CANADA.** Anyone interested in forming anarchist and/or direct action peace group contact Derek A. James, c/o 24-160 East 20th, N. Vancouver, B.C., Canada. Tel.: 985 7509 or 987 2693.

**USA: VERMONT.** New Hampshire Anarchist Group. Discussion meetings. Actions. Contact Ed. Strauss, RFD 2, Woodstock, Vermont 05091, USA.

**T O R O N T O LIBERTARIAN-ANARCHIST GROUP.** 217 Torkyork Drive, Weston, Ontario, Canada. Weekly meetings. Read the 'Libertarian'.

### PROPOSED GROUPS

**LANCASTER & MORECAMBE.** Contact Les Smith, 192 Euston Road, Morecambe, Lancs.

**WATFORD.** Anyone interested please contact Ronnie Anderson, 31 Marlborough Road, Watford, Herts.

**ROCHDALE, BURY & OLDHAM** areas. Those interested in libertarian activity contact David Purdy, c/o 35 Balmoral Drive, Darn Hill Estate, Heywood, Lancs.

**MALATESTA GROUP.** West Kensington Area. Contact Reg Sharpe, c/o Freedom Press. Initial meeting Tuesday, January 21.

# About Freedom and Anarchy

WE HAVE BEEN asked by several readers new to anarchism to say a few words about ourselves. Now that many comrades are engaged in battles with the authorities, whether outside Rhodesia House or in Northern Ireland, perhaps a brief summary (while we still have the time) is necessary as to our aims and origins.

FREEDOM was started in 1886 by Peter Kropotkin and Mrs. C. M. Wilson. It was a very carefully printed monthly on good quality paper which has scarcely faded and was probably handset. The first issue of the paper prophesied revolution in the United States of America by the turn of the century, an attack on individualism and a hopeful piece about the unrest of the Celtic population.

Later on Tom Keell was editing, setting and printing the paper and fought against the war hysteria as well as against Kropotkin's pro-Slav sentiments. He was imprisoned in 1916 together with his companion Lillian

Wolfe (who incidentally still works at Freedom Press at the age of 92) for issuing and distributing leaflets calling on the troops to desert.

In the thirties there were two FREEDOMS, one under Tom Keell's editorship and another by some remarkably illiterate anarchists.

Some people claim that FREEDOM truly folded up by 1936 (others say that occasional issues kept the title alive) and all that can be claimed is that Freedom Press itself weathered the storm.

Looking through old files of FREEDOM one can conclude that the ten years 1936-1946 were the most exciting in the publishing history of Freedom Press. This saw the publication of *Spain and the World* and the excellent but short-lived *Revolt* which gave way as the Second World War broke out to *War Commentary*, first a duplicated, then a small but by 1944 a vigorous large sheet paper that, some say, sold 40,000

copies an issue. The contributors included Vernon Richards, Herbert Read, Ken Hawks, Tom Brown, Alex Comfort, George Woodcock, and the paper's influence was tremendous amongst civilians and soldiers weary of war. Again editors of FREEDOM were sent to prison by the frightened authorities when they called on the returning soldiers to hold on to their weapons and form soldiers' soviets. One such soldier who received such a leaflet and was persuaded by it is now the editor of our sister magazine *Anarchy*.

After the war was 'over' *War Commentary* correctly forecast the continuing tension in an article 'The Phoney Peace' but not listening to their own advice as by the following issue they have changed the title to 'FREEDOM'—through anarchism.

The paper, first under the editorship of Vernon Richards and then by an editorial committee of varying numbers, continues.

## FIFTH COLUMN

### Remember Stalingrad

THERE IS A great moment in *Till Death Do Us Part* (the film) when Alf Garnett and his son-in-law are watching the final of the World Cup. England and West Germany are level. Suddenly an England player shoots and the ball hits the crossbar of the German goal, bounces down and then runs clear of the goal. The ref goes over to consult the Russian linesman to check whether the ball did in fact cross the line. The whole of Wembley is screaming. Alf shouts: 'Remember Stalingrad.' The Russian linesman nods to the ref and the goal is given.

The first part of the film describes the war experiences of Alf Garnett. Driven into an Underground shelter by German bombs Alf shouts abuse at the other people there for singing *Lily Marlene*. When his milk ration runs out he borrows his baby daughter's bottle and squeezes some milk into his tea. When his call-up papers arrive he goes white, then protests that he would dearly like to go but that he can't because of the importance of his work to the war effort (he is a time-keeper).

Later in the film Alf shouts at his son-in-law: 'I fought in the war for you'. So far as Alf is concerned he did. Like millions of others he suffered the misery of war as a civilian—and at the same time followed its military progress cheering his own side and hurling insults at the opposition.

Alf is an outrageous caricature but there is enough truth in him to give us an insight into the attitudes of many middle-aged people not only in the working class. In general they resent young people for having more money and leisure than they had. And having fought and suffered to save Britain from the Nazi hordes they particularly resent young people who either don't care what happened—or positively object to the way the war was won.

*The Soldiers*, which I have seen since I wrote about it last week, must shock most middle-aged audiences. There is the familiar yet revered figure of Churchill brilliantly brought to life. But instead of undiluted admiration for the heroic Winston, a clear argument is put forward to show that in winning the war Churchill used exactly those methods which led him to describe Hitler as a murderer and a gangster. Traumatic conclusion for the middle-aged: Churchill was a murderer and a gangster.

*The Soldiers* is not a crude work of propaganda: it is a play of subtlety and depth which throughout treats Churchill the man with compassion and warmth. It is precisely this quality which must make the play so disturbing to middle-aged audiences: familiar Winston who playfully refuses to get out of bed for an audience with the King becomes unfamiliar Churchill who discusses with Cherwell the precise effects of dropping thousands of bombs on a German city.

But the middle-aged—like everyone else except for us regular theatregoers—are less likely to see *The Soldiers* than *Till Death Do Us Part*. And while the play brutally punctures myths about the last war the film does nothing more than mock them gently.

### Less Productivity, Less Obedience

NO SURPRISES in the Wootton report on pot: we can't find a reason for saying that it's harmful but even so it would be dangerous to make it legal. Meanwhile we think that those people who insist on smoking should be treated less savagely than they are now.

The three main arguments for keeping pot illegal are:

- though pot smokers are a large and increasing minority of young people, with a few older ones thrown in, some of them would come up against the law in any case. It's very convenient to be able to arrest somebody on one charge while continuing to investigate something else;
- it is asserted that pot reduces ambition and the will to work: the more pot the less productivity;
- pot gives pleasure. More, it does so generally without causing the smoker pain afterwards. It therefore offends against the principle that you suffer for your sins.

The illegality of pot may be inconvenient: prices are higher and there is a risk that the law may drop round. But it also ensures that a number of otherwise docile and law-abiding people have to step outside the rules of bourgeois society. Particularly absurd laws have the habit of provoking disobedience. The more each individual law is disobeyed the less respect there is for the law in general.

WYNFORD HIGGS.

## FREE SCHOOLS CAMPAIGN

ABOUT 150 PEOPLE attended the initial meeting by the SSC on Saturday, January 4. Secondary school students and teachers from London, Bristol, Manchester, Swansea, Cardiff, Hertfordshire, Middlesex and Abingdon CAL, representing SSC, SSSU, LTA and STOPP, were present. A number of people from the RSSF and similar organisations also turned up. After introductions by the various groups it soon became clear in the discussion on aims and principles and on national organisation that there were two main views on these subjects—education with a bit of politics, or politics with a bit of education. The clash was between those who wanted to change their own environments in the schools, and those who were interested in using secondary school students and teachers for their own ends and under their own leadership.

Various amendments to the proposals of the SSSU and SSC members submitted by the latter were consistently defeated

by about 3 to 2. This was very encouraging in view of the fact that many of the students there had not experienced this sort of 'political' set-up before. There was in fact a considerable amount of resentment against the politicals (as far as is known, mainly they were Maoists) that sprang from a dislike of being lectured at a conference. They had come to the conference to find ways of getting rid of such goings on at their own schools! Plans are in hand to continue the dialogue between the groups.

The results of the conference? Many people expected all the questions to be answered in one day, and some were disappointed, but there is a growing

feeling that, given the autonomy of the local groups, such conferences would be best seen as exchanges of ideas and experiences, co-ordinating action on a national level where the groups themselves felt this to be desirable. The local groups themselves are still thin on the ground, and strengthening and expanding these will probably be our main work in the coming months.

If you know anyone who has started or can start something up, or if you can start something yourself, the Secretary of FSC, Roger Sadiev, 90 Ermine Road, S.E.13 (DUN 1572) would be very pleased to hear from you!

M.M.

## FRANCO PRISONERS ON HUNGER STRIKE

FROM SORIA, we political and social prisoners of the Central Prison, fraternally united in our struggle, appeal to public opinion to lend us its support.

In the state of Spain there are a considerable number of political and social prisoners, which means men who have been arrested (and sometimes ill-treated), judged, and condemned to long sentences, simply because they have expressed their political and social ideas; for which they would not be imprisoned in most so-called 'civilised' countries.

Since the end of the Civil War there have been political prisoners in Spain, and these have continually struggled for their liberty and for an amnesty (based on the principles contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights), and for recognition as political prisoners.

During this time, we political prisoners have attempted passively to put an end to the harassing which violates not only our own human dignity, but often that of our families also. We have tried and we are still trying to put an end to the systematic torture applied to political detainees, of which we have all been the moral or physical victims.

We are working for the end of the State of Emergency whose effects reach beyond the Basque country, and whose cruel imprint is imposed in spheres of popular demands.

Also we call for the suppression of the emergency tribunals, which are instruments of repression for the movements of the workers, peasants and students, and the oppressed populations of the Basque country, Catalonia and Galicia. We also call for the abolition of the special laws, particularly that one called the law against 'banditism and terrorism'.

These alone would amply justify our protest. But as well as this, the authorities systematically refuse us conditional liberty, in flagrant violation of the law; these refusals are not decided by tribunals, but by the caprice of the administration, against its own laws.

Here there is a comrade who has spent 20 years in prison (and is seriously ill) who would have been freed a long time ago, had he received conditional liberty as was his right.

As we have received no reply to our petitions we can think of no other option than to go on hunger strike. This has been freely and unanimously decided.

In the light of what we have said above, we think that the political and trade union movements and organisations that exist should be officially recognised.

In 1961 *Anarchy* was launched under the editorship of Colin Ward, each issue dealing at length with topics of interest to anarchists.

Freedom Press, in its long existence, has also published many hundreds of books and pamphlets, not many of them unfortunately still in print.

We are shortly to move into our new premises with ample space for a library, bookshop and editorial office and a meeting room.

One word about our finances and circulation. We are entirely dependent on sales and subscriptions and whatever deficit we make in the year readers have generously made up through our Press Fund and our Premises Fund. Through this we can maintain complete independence and are not reliant on the whims of advertisers. In our Contact Column we nevertheless publish urgent information whether paid for or not.

The circulation of our paper has not kept pace with the enormous public now interested in anarchism but we feel this is only a matter of unequal distribution and that as propaganda by the deed increases in this country our consistent propaganda by the written word is going to bear fruit. EDITORS.

## Trouble in German Army

RECORDED CASES of sabotage are becoming more and more frequent in the West German Army, according to the West German Ministry of Defence. A spokesman, who did not give any figures, said that they could only be interpreted as malevolent acts.

The Ministry of Defence and the Bundestag defence commission said that there was an alarming coincidence between the acts of sabotage and the continuing increase in the number of soldiers who were refusing to continue their military service. The defence department noted that in the first ten months of 1968, nearly three thousand soldiers suddenly declared themselves conscientious objectors. The concluded that a propaganda campaign was taking place in the army, and was not necessarily directed from the outside.

Trans. from *Espoir*, 29.12.68.

## Scottish Conference Proposal

To all Scottish groups and individuals: Dear Comrades,

A recent letter in FREEDOM by Comrade Lynn of Glasgow suggested the calling of a meeting somewhat on the lines of the Scottish Anarchist Conference last year.

Aberdeen Anarchists have, for some time, been pressing the idea of just such a meeting, but have met with little response—including silence from Glasgow.

It is our proposal that a meeting of Scottish groups and individuals be held in Aberdeen in late February. The proposal by Comrade Lynn that the meeting be held in the first week of January was quite impracticable—as anyone who has lived through a Scottish New Year would surely understand.

Would groups and individuals who wish to hold such a Conference in Aberdeen (we would not wish it in Glasgow, since we consider anarchist principle best served by rotation of meeting places) please get in touch with me with regarding to arranging accommodation, etc.

For Aberdeen Anarchists,  
IAN S. SUTHERLAND.

Trans B.B.

8 Eslemont Avenue, Aberdeen

P.S. Yet another recently arrested student group from Madrid University are reported to have joined the hunger strike.

## Important Announcement LONDON SQUATTERS

Public Meeting to instal Homeless Families in Empty Properties SUNDAY FEB. 9 2 pm MANOR PARK (British Railway Stat.)

## POSTERS

Holding back the Rent Rise? FIGHT ON!

Remember!

116 GLC Councillors cannot beat half a million united Tenants

issued by: London Federation of Anarchists 84b Whitechapel High Street, London, E.1.

The above text is printed as a poster (15" x 20") available NOW. 6d. each or 4d. each on dozen minimum. Postage extra.

LFA Mini Poster No. 1:

No Rent Rise — Unite and Fight.

For we are many and they are few. With excellent drawing of the Patch family dealing with the rent collector (by Arthur Moyses). Price 3d. each plus postage.

## Have you Signed the Pledge?

THE BILLS are coming in for the repairs and installations in our new premises at 84b. Last year the amount in the Premises Fund reached just over half of our target of £1,000 per year. May we ask those comrades who made their pledges last year to honour them as early as possible this year. And can we have some more pledges? Fewer than 500 readers pledging £1 per year would cover our outlay.

### PREMISES FUND

Target is £1,000 per year.  
1969 Pledges honoured and donations to date: £43 7s. 6d.

### MOVING FUND

Target is £500.  
Donations in 1968 reached £430 6s. 3d.  
1969: To date—Nil.

## GIVE!

### FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Estimated Expenses:	
2 weeks at £90:	£180
Income: Sales and Subs.:	£157
<b>DEFICIT:</b>	<b>£43</b>

### PRESS FUND

Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-;	
Bristol: Anon* 5/-; Sweden: H.P. 5/-;	
Ridgwood, N.Y.: L.G. 10/-; Brooklyn, N.Y.: O.A. £3; Grantham: G.I. 5/8; Wan- tage: D.G. 5/8; Brodieck: P. & D.G. 5/-;	
Edmonton, Alta.: S.P. £5; Iford: P.G. 10/10.	

TOTAL:	£10 12 2
Previously Acknowledged:	£30 18 3
1969 Total to Date:	£41 10 5
Deficit B/F:	£43 0 0
TOTAL DEFICIT:	£1 9 7

# One Step from Tyranny

LAST YEAR'S EBBING seconds were filled with the final preparations for the total subjugation of every man, woman and child in these islands to the aims and will of the modern industrial state.

The declared intention of the State to make strike action a criminal offence is the most monstrous political manoeuvre seen in this country since the beginning of the century. Complacent people have yet to realise the implications of this interference with the one great weapon of the individual, the only safeguard which the ordinary man and woman can erect in defence of whatever technocratic tyranny is employed to spirit away their hard-fought-for gains and improvements for themselves and their families.

That this State action, the like of which is unprecedented even in occupied Czechoslovakia, should stem from a so-called socialist government, is living proof that *The State* is the primeval enemy of mankind.

Our own particular brand of suppression is supplied by that little team of 'economic master baiters'—Harold Wilson, Barbara Castle,

Roy Jenkins, their sycophants, assorted hacks, and brilliant, scholarly intellectuals whose vision can only be equalled in its naive belief in utility and blind hope of success with the surreal parallel of a cat's arse in Piccadilly on a Saturday night.

Their baited hooks have finally accounted for the last vocal chord of the Trades Unions, as prophesied by J. K. Galbraith in his book *The Modern Industrial State* where he said:

*The trade union, militantly expressing the power of the worker, was to be the cutting edge of the revolution. But the industrial system mellows and even absorbs the union.*

Since the Second World War the acceptance of the union by the industrial firm, and the emergence thereafter of an era of comparatively peaceful industrial relations, has been hailed as the final triumph of trade unionism. On closer examination it is seen to reveal many of the features of Jonah's triumph over the whale.

John Torode writing in the *Guardian* on 2.1.69 concluded in much the same manner:

*It is easier for the State to bully big, tough union bosses than it is for them to take on an anonymous mass of disgruntled and unpredictable strikers.*

Perhaps for the first time since the Trades Union movement began all those years ago the entire population, people of many different trades, skills, colour, religion and ethnic groups can have no doubt where lies the focal point of repression and frustration; of the one power that knocks them down whenever they make a move to overcome some petty tyranny; one monolithic, impersonal structure that must be smashed if they are to live as men and women free from incessant industrial bondage.

All the words from all the humanitarians down the ages are never as effective as tacitly tyranny in pointing out the path to walk, in making hungry fighters of once-blind men, in advertising which forces have to be strangled in order that man may survive.

Exact details of the State proposals are taken as read. I concede that it is possible for someone with a belief in the inherent concern of the State for the individual to conclude that the mention of deals from 'delaying periods', 'arbitration' and 'talks' is sufficient to allow concurrence. Just to dispel this attitude I would like to list the demands made by the CBI to the State. *The Confederation of British Industry*—the employers' mouthpiece, that personification of paranoid economics, manned by and for four-eyed cash registers—have laid out the extent of State interference in industrial relations they require for the future: that a trade union registrar have powers of discipline in respect of trade unions, including the right to deprive them of immunities from legal action in respect of sympathetic strikes, inter-union disputes or strikes occurring in breach of agreed procedures; that fines should be imposed on individuals striking in breach of procedural agreements; plus rejecting the proposals suggested by the State as a sweetener to the Unions concerning worker-directors and a reversion to status quo pending arbitration over employer-union disputes.

This at present is the voice of the city. A swing Right in the next electoral farce will make it the voice of the State. And that will be the very end. Some right-wing voices have said that the proposals as they stand (apart from being 'too weak') are unworkable because the State would never jail and/or mete out heavy fines to large bodies of workers. This, as far as it goes, is unquestionably true. No body of men solely concerned with figures on a balance sheet is going to cut off its own

right arm, to use a bad pun. What will happen, is what other refractory forces like CND and Anarchists are already familiar with from past experience—that the leaders will be given heavy fines and long terms of imprisonment. This policy has worked in the past, and there is no new reason to suppose that it will not be tried again.

The great mistake that can be made from guessing the likely effects of this incursion into the only defence to exploitation left to machine-age man is to think that there will still be room for effective strike action.

Should this initial State sortie not be wholly repulsed, there will be absolutely nothing in the way of conditions and agreements that can be taken for granted, absolutely nothing that is beyond the bounds of possibility: wage cuts, unannounced redundancies, ruthless automation, deliberate incursions into private lives, compulsory savings... there is no end to it.

The most explosive proposal, the crucial manoeuvre in any political intrigue is always introduced unobtrusively, hidden behind matter-of-fact delivery and raucous diversionary tactics. Like this one.

There are two possible results from the State proposal. First, that the Trades Unions perform an extraordinary volte-face and become uncompromising. Second, that after chest-beating and ritualistic shrieks of anger, the Unions will accept some form of State interference in industrial relations. This is what I earnestly hope will happen. For then, for the first time since 1939, all the people of this country will have a common enemy. Such a force is necessary to unify all the multifarious factions who have been set against each other for too long.

With perverse fortune, this latest proposal of the State, completely disinterested in the plight of the people, is the very action that ANARCHY requires for the realisation of all its creative aims. I.D.

## Comment:

While agreeing with I.D.'s comments on the Government's proposal to legislate against strike action, we do not, unlike our correspondent, welcome this move. Such legislation will not necessarily produce the effect I.D. wants. The restriction of people's freedom does not necessarily make for a revolutionary situation.

Empty Bellies Do Not Make Socialists. EDITORS.

## BLACK & WHITE UNITE

Continued from page 1 to another can be. One can only achieve an objective on such a demonstration as this when one is not in direct confrontation with the police.

Perhaps the irony was in the fact that, although the march was aimed at Rhodesia House, many people see the assault on South Africa House as symbolic, in so far as South Africa is the guardian of racialism and the real power behind the repression of the African people in the Southern part of that continent. M.H.

## DOUBLE SEAMEN'S WAGES

IF THE WAGES of merchant seamen were doubled the extra cost would hardly be noticed by the shipowners. This is the implication from a recent statement made by Mr. Cameron Parker, managing director of marine engineers John G. Kincaid & Co. Ltd.

He said a completely unmanned ship could be commercially viable and technically feasible in the next 15 years. It was unlikely to be developed, however, he said, because the savings in cost 'would be marginal if measurable'.

Logically therefore if all the money spent in wages at present is hardly measurable it would mean that doubling wages would be equally marginal to the shipowner.

And for those who don't believe we live in a Warfare State, Mr. Jurgen Dipner of Germany said at the International Convention on Containerisation

# Freedom

## For Workers' Control

JANUARY 18 1969 Vol 30 No 2

## PLAYING TRUANT

ON JANUARY 2, 1969, all radio and television news bulletins had the same main item. It took precedence over the wars (always going on in some part of the globe), over famine and disasters of all kind—so the powers-that-be must have thought it mightily important.

What was this earth-shaking news? Simply that on New Year's Day some thousands of dockers in Liverpool and some Welsh miners had TAKEN THE DAY OFF!

They had thumbed their noses at 'productivity'—had a lie-in or enjoyed themselves in other ways—and generally asserted their dignity as human beings—men, not machines.

And didn't the Government set up a howl! The clever boys had calculated to a penny how much this disgraceful behaviour had cost the country. In real terms it was the men themselves who lost most—because a few pounds out of a worker's weekly wage means a lot. But this did not concern the commentators—what they wept over was the loss of PROFIT!

Incidentally the fuss about the Welsh miners is peculiarly ironic. Pits by the hundred have been closed. So much for productivity. But let a miner, of his own

free will, take a few hours off from digging for coal, and he is branded as worse than a criminal.

Meanwhile the posh Sunday newspapers are full of adverts, for winter cruises—'spend the winter in the sun'—'get away from it all'. These are presumably aimed at tired executives, shareholders and all the leisured layabouts in general.

This doesn't make the news bulletins—nobody in fact gives it a second thought. But if a worker takes an 'unauthorised' day off from some back-breaking job, you'd think the world was coming to an end. This is the morality of the system we live in.

We can understand why they scream. For once the idea gets abroad that WORKERS, not bosses, are the useful people in society; that we can live very well without them, but they cannot live without us—then the exploiters will have cause to tremble.

Even such a limited exercise of freedom as taking one day off is more than they can tolerate.

This little episode may add point to the call issued by the London May Day Committee for a stoppage on May 1. J.A.

## Contact Column

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

Liberty!—Vol. 1 No. 1 published by the Yorkshire Federation, 6d. from Beadle, c/o Oakwood Farm, Lund, Selby.

Confrontation. National Press v. Underground Press. (FREEDOM included.) Local comrades asked to attend. Monday, January 20, 8 p.m., Faculty of Letters lecture theatre, Whiteknights Park, Reading.

YCND requires an Organiser. Applications to YCND, 14 Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1.

Help wanted (girl, couple, anything considered) in isolated rural household, Colchester/Ipswich area. Working anarchist parents offer board, lodging, and pocket money for sharing care of children and chores. Time/responsibilities flexible. Children 4 and 1½. Driver preferred. Box No.

Brighton and Hove area. Anyone interested in group activities contact Nick Heath (address in groups list).

Typing jobs done at home. Reasonable rates. Douglas Kepper, 21 Vernon Road, Leytonstone, London, E.11.

Poster Workshop, 61 Camden Road, N.W.1. Free silk screen facilities at the service of the class struggle.

Free Schools Campaign. Support needed for anti-authoritarian Schools Campaign. Posters available 6d. each, 5/- per dozen. Duplicated leaflets 1/- per 100, postage extra. Any other leaflets or posters on schools needed. Contact Roger Sadiev, 90 Ermine Road, S.E.13, or phone Mike Rauley at DUN 1572.

Makhno Poster/Calendar. In aid of (Anarchist) Black Cross. Splendidly designed and printed. Poster 2/6d. Calendar 7/6d. from Freedom Press. Postage extra.

The Crypt, 242 Lancaster Road, W.11. Music, Poetry, Theatre every Wed. 2/6. Audience participation.

Birmingham Discussion Meetings. Tuesdays at 8 p.m. At The Crown, Corporation Street. Jan. 21: Graeme McIvor on 'Freud and Anarchism'. Jan. 28: Godfrey Webster on 'The Origins of the Hungarian Uprising'. Feb. 4: Geoff Charlton on 'Anarchism and the American Novel'. (Worth moving to Birmingham.—C.C. Compiler.)

Badges and Banners. Rectangular metal black/red badges 2/6 each post free or bulk rate (10 or more) 1/- each—resell at 2/- or 2/6. Also flags and banners to order, from 7/6. McGee, 42 Pendarves Street, Beacon, Carnborne, Cornwall.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

## Women out on their own

THE TUC AT their last conference accepted the principle of strike action to support equal pay demands. It is true to say that the platform was far from happy about the situation because they realised it could mean trouble. Getting resolutions passed at conferences is great fun, lobbying, scheming and con-ning, and when they finally forced through the movers and supporters come away with big smiles. On the question of implementation, that's a different matter. If it means 'talking', that's fine—'We are on record as supporting' is the often-quoted boast. But if it means action!—'Christ! we only support the principle'!

Obviously the girls at the Renold chain factory in Manchester had heard enough pious resolutions to last them a lifetime. They decided to take action. All they are demanding is equal production bonus. The men receive about 25/- a week and

the women 10/-. In other words the women are helping pay for the men's bonus.

The recent national agreement between the engineering unions and employers was only finally signed on the basis of further TALKS about equal pay.

Unfortunately the women return to work on Monday on the basis of an improved offer, a thousand pities they could not copy the formula of the women at Fords—offer and acceptance before returning to work!

The plain facts are, the women themselves have got to spark off the equal pay issue, the male species or the majority of them have a Victorian outlook on this question. In many cases the issue is so simple, 'Would you do a job exactly the same as the bloke next to you for LESS money?' The short answer is 'Not bloody likely!' So?

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

## LEFT IN THE LURCH

MANCHESTER'S 'International Socialists' seemed more than ready, last month, to drop one of their supporters in the shit after he'd been sacked.

Just before Christmas John Gaffney, well known and liked in anarchist circles up here, was given the boot at the local chemical factory at which he has long been actively fighting for better conditions. To his surprise his workmates offered to strike in sympathy. So it came as a sickener when his party, the international socialists, didn't back him.

Was it bone idleness? End of term? Or just politically inconvenient?

It's hard to say, but at least Manchester's anarchists, to their credit, offered to back him with a leaflet. Anyhow as luck would have it the firm gave

him his job back, before the strike came off.

But it just goes to show how some of these groups are when it comes to practical help, where there's not much political profit to be got. Though possibly on this score we might all be found wanting.

NORTH WEST WORKERS.

**BUILDING WORKERS!**  
**JOIN MASS LOBBY AND RALLY IN AID OF WAGE CLAIMS**

**CLAPHAM COMMON**  
(near Tube Station)  
**TUESDAY, JANUARY 28**  
**Assemble at 1.30 p.m.**

PORTWORKER.

# What is COMMON? Whose WEALTH?

**I**F THE COMMONWEALTH really had anything to do with brotherhood, then a Conference of the representatives of millions of people of differing colours, cultures, levels of technical development, coming together to pool experience and practise mutual aid, would indeed be an occasion for celebration.

All the Commonwealth citizens in London would have poured out on to the streets (though holding the Conference in January is a slight deterrent to this!) and the night air would have been throbbing with African rhythms, steel bands, bouzoukis and belly dancing.

Alas for the grey, sordid reality. The only Africans dancing were dancing with rage outside the Conference or Rhodesia House or South Africa House, or they were Biafrans and Nigerians expressing anything but brotherly love. No steel bands, no bouzoukis, no calypsos, no belly dancing, no nothing to indicate that this meeting of Prime Ministers had any happiness-content; for the millions back home, or cared about anything other than the little axes they had each come to grind.

### WHO CARES?

What has Canada to do with Sierra Leone, or Australia with the West Indies—except to say KEEP OUT! The white leaders of the white ex-Dominions care nothing for the Asians and their problems; the Asians care nothing for the Africans; the Africans resent the white leaders because Rhodesia is slipping through their fingers. They criticise the Labour Government's slimy immigrant policies, while practising discrimination against their own non-African minorities.

The Commonwealth Conference was a gathering of slick political operators and hatchet-men, ex-police or military men, party yes-men or bullies, one archbishop and a widow. It was not true to say, as the ever-more stupid Enoch Powell said, that all they had in common was the English language. What they had in common was that they were governors, and thus they had the common problems of those who set out to govern their fellow men.

The fact that a majority of the faces around the Conference table were black does not affect that situation one little bit. A governor is a governor is a governor and the pigmentation of his periphery is irrelevant to his function. This is something that our naive socialist friends choose to ignore—for all their 'class' analysis, and historical economic hoo-hah.

This is why the 'revolutionary' socialist students drop a clanger when one of the four points you have to accept to join them is 'support for nationalist movements fighting against imperialism'—or words to that effect.

### WINDOW-DRESSING

It was generally and openly admitted by most commentators on the Conference that the real business was carried on back-stage. It was in the smoke-filled hotel rooms of Belgravia that the real haggling went on. What was said in the open sessions of the Conference and in the carefully-prepared hand-outs for the Press was the window-dressing; and it is the window-dressing that the young (and old) socialists fall for, time and again.

Nkrumah is a dirty word now, a name you never hear at Commonwealth Conferences—but he was one of the great nationalist leaders fighting against imperialism; he was the darling of the 'Progressives' when he came to power—like Stalin was for so long. But when the

corruption of his pocket-lining Ministers was too blatant to hide any more, when his own power mania became intolerable even for his own patriots, when he was chased out to live it up on the money he'd fiddled away from the Exchequer—then the 'Progressives' were silent—except to start cheering his successor!

Another aspect of this year's gathering that did not escape unnoticed was the fact that the Prime Ministers have 'mellowed'. In a TV interview after the last session, Singapore's Premier, Lee Kuan Yew (a smooth and charming character) said how different he found his fellow Premiers this time as compared with 1966. Then, he said, they were a pretty rough bunch; now, he would trust himself with them anywhere! Odd commentary, you might think, but showing that the 'mellowing' process that gives us Harold Wilson today as the heir of Keir Hardie and Jimmie Maxton, operates on the African scene, too.

The anti-imperialist struggles of this century are really the equivalent in the colonies of the workers' struggles in this country in the last century. In both cases the strength and sacrifice of the ordinary people have been used to ease into power a managerial class. The difference has been the speed with which it has been accomplished in the colonial field—due in part to the ruling classes of the world no longer being afraid of change that they can control, and also—a more sinister difference—the new native Governments have stepped into power better primed for operating it than were our own early Labour leaders.

### THE POWER GAME

Mainly Western university-educated or Moscow-trained, with the vast experience of totalitarian methods of government in this century to draw upon; with modern methods of communication, crowd control, propaganda and massacre at their disposal, the new nationalist governments have been able to skip a lot of lib-lab nonsense and democratic flannel; they have been able to get down to the business of governing without any pretence about public opinion. With largely illiterate populations to deal with, the leap from imperial tyranny to one-party tyranny has been but a small hop.

But to imagine that there is anything 'progressive' about this is to live in the clouds. The bourgeois leaders of the new 'independent' states can play the power game as well as anybody—well, nearly. And one of their prime functions—like all governors—will be to prevent their own people getting too revolutionary.

The 'revolutionary' socialists who, in their time, would have had us support Nkrumah, Nasser, Makarios, Nehru, the Federal Nigerian Government—Christ! even America started as an anti-colonial state with one of the world's great statements for its revolutionary constitution!—these students of revolution must ask themselves if they can be satisfied with a revolutionary concept which means only a change of government. If our revolutionary tactics involve 'taking steps' at least let them be steps forward—not sideways or back!

The Commonwealth Conference, then, was not at all meaningless. It was telling us loud and clear that if we are interested in a revolutionary society emerging in the under-developed countries of Africa or Asia or the Caribbean—or anywhere—we do not support nationalist parties aiming at power. We support international movements aiming at destroying power!

JUSTIN.

# Squatters Win Victories

**S**INCE THE occupation of 'The Hollies' on December 1, the Squatters' Campaign has grown, spread and even won some important victories. The response from all sections of the public has been extremely favourable. In our visits to slums and hostels throughout the East End we received a very friendly and sympathetic reception. In addition to this there was a tremendous press and television interest in the campaign, again mostly favourable.

### SQUATTING, SQUATTING EVERYWHERE

Less than a week after 'The Hollies' demonstration, the Community Action Service, a group in West London started by Jon Steele, National President of the Young Liberals, carried out a one-day occupation of an empty house in Tavistock Square. This, and many others in the road like it, are owned by the London Borough of Westminster, which has refused to let them be used for the homeless.

The group stayed in for a day, and cleaned and decorated the house. After, Jon Steele said that they had made the rooms look very nice. 'It just shows how easy it would be to make these places habitable. We will be continuing our campaign to get these places used for the homeless.'

The London Squatters' Campaign, the group that organised 'The Hollies' demonstration, planned its follow-up for the weekend of December 21/22. The place chosen was All Saints Old Vicarage, in Capworth Street, Leyton, E.10. This twenty-roomed house has been empty for at least three years. At the time of the Abridge Hostel campaign in 1966, I, on behalf of the Friends of Abridge, had approached the Vicar about the place being used by the homeless. He had put the phone down in annoyance.

Three days before Christmas, this was too good a target to miss. At 1 p.m. on Saturday, December 21, about 15 people entered the building and started to erect barricades. Eventually the police arrived, but so did more supporters, including some homeless families from Council Buildings, a hostel in Poplar, ad-

ministered by the London Borough of Camden. Some of these supporters were able to climb in through a window before the police cordoned the place off.

The idea of the demonstration was to ASK the Church to hand over this empty house to the homeless. If they refused we said we would remain in for 24 hours—and then leave.

We achieved our objective, and left on Sunday at 2 p.m. Despite the fact that the police got into the house, our barricades upstairs held, and we remained in occupation. The women from Council Buildings spoke to both the Vicar and the Archdeacon. Both refused to allow the Vicarage to be used for homeless people, claiming it was used 'for meetings and sporting equipment'. So nice for brotherly love: no room at the Vicarage!

The spirit of the demonstration was excellent. At one point those in occupation were short of supplies. The supporters outside responded—and, over a period of about an hour or more, supplies were thrown up for us to catch at the upstairs windows of the Vicarage.

It was at this point that one unfortunate incident occurred. Most of the police, throughout the occupation, behaved reasonably, and some even helped us up with supplies. However, on this occasion the reasonable behaviour of the police was marred by the provocative behaviour of one or two of them. (This is a familiar story—we on the Left usually being the sufferers.) While Jim Radford was throwing up blanket rolls, one policeman deliberately tried repeatedly to get in the way of the rolls after they had left Jim's hand. He eventually succeeded (although this is doubtful), and as a blanket roll came up to the window a piece of string tied round it either brushed the officer's helmet or just missed it.

The officer stepped forward and arrested Jim for assault. A scuffle developed and Bryan Symons was also arrested. Both have to face charges of assault and obstruction at Stratford Magistrates' Court on February 3.

That weekend also saw two more

'squatting' demonstrations. The Notting Hill Squatters held their first 'squat' at Arundel Court—a luxury block of flats in their area. This was a protest against the Council's policy of allowing luxury flat building. They stayed for six hours and left without incident.

The same day, Saturday, December 21, Ilford YCL demonstrated outside a block of offices in Ilford—arguing that houses should be built instead of offices. This demonstration also passed without incident.

The last of the 'token' squats was on Saturday, January 10—again by the Notting Hill Squatters. This time they occupied a £17,500 empty 'town lane' for the day.

### VICTORY NUMBER ONE!

One member of the London Squatters, Alf Williams from Harlow, told the Harlow Press that the next squatters' demonstration was going to be in Harlow. This was two weeks ago. He also said that we would move homeless families into empty Council property in Harlow, and block the main London to Newmarket road, the A.11. The authorities in Harlow went berserk and really got the wind up. The result of a lot of fuss was that the Harlow Development Corporation agreed to allow three houses to be used for rehousing homeless families from hostels in Essex, if the demonstration was called off. With such an offer Alf had no hesitation in agreeing, and the demonstration has been changed to Manor Park, in London.

### THE SECOND VICTORY!

This is probably more important than the first. On Saturday, January 18, Notting Hill Squatters took over number 7 Camelford Road, W.11, and installed Mrs. Maggie O'Shannon and her two children, with intent to keep her there on a permanent basis. At the time of writing they are still in occupation. It looks as though they are going to succeed. The first real permanent 'squat' has so far resulted in the rehousing of a family. We hope this will encourage others to follow suit. That is the whole aim of the campaign—to encourage widespread direct action.

B.R.

# HOME OWNERSHIP FOR EVERY FAMILY

## IN IRELAND TOMORROW

**T**HE STRUGGLE for Civil Rights in Ulster, with its great excitement and much publicity on newspapers and TV, has obscured an equally important fight that is now going on in the capital city of Ireland, Dublin. This is the protest against the evils of landlordism and the demand for the right of the common people to the ownership of the homestead—however humble that may be.

The present agitation has its roots deep in Irish history. The Land War of the 1880's concerned chiefly the rural workers and small farmers, many thousands of whom were evicted from their homesteads so that the landlords could make more profit from cattle. In that war there were thousands of casualties; many of the oppressors were killed and maimed. Today the same strife engages the urban proletariat in the great cities of Dublin, Belfast and Derry.

About six or seven years ago, the old buildings of the city of Dublin, many of them several hundreds of years old, began to crumble and fall. One house at Dorset Street fell down in a cloud of bricks and dust, killing an elderly couple as they slept in their bed.

Another at Fenian Street fell and entombed two little girls in the rubble. The Public Health Inspectors condemned hundreds of old houses; and their dwellers were hastily evicted—into the street. The city was like a battlefield with the gaping walls of demolished houses. Hundreds of the dwellers stood staring at their former homes, or wandered to and fro in the rain. Old people on sticks, little children, mothers with babies at the breasts, sheltered in doorways or crouched in makeshift tents in the back streets and alleyways of the city. Many of them are now, several years later, still homeless, without place to sit or lie, without hearth to warm them or fire to cook their meals.

At the same time, get-rich-quick speculators hastily moved in to bargain for the title-deeds of the stricken homesteads. Many thousands of pounds were made by selling out the rights of the bewildered people to plutocratic interests. Even in the less-stricken areas of the city, many and many a dishonest pound was made by buying out the landlords'

interests and then evicting the tenants to make way for tall blocks of offices. By these tricks a whole generation of humble people were dispossessed of their homes; great areas of Dublin were depopulated; and many thousands of people were exiled to the ghettos of Birmingham and London.

In 1962 a slum landlord, Laurence Lane, was indicted in the Dublin Court on charges of unjust exploitation and criminal oppression; and of serfdom, contrary to the international law of slavery. He was accused of buying and owning houses as weapons of entrapment, with intent to force the dwellers into serfdom. The United Nations Slavery & Similar Institutions Act 1956 defines serfdom as the state or status of a tenant who is by law, custom or agreement bound to live and labour on the land owned by another and to render service (to pay him rent) to such other person and is not free to change his status; and the act further ordains that such oppressor is a criminal. However, the charges against Lane

Continued on page 7

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## Freedom Bookshop

## Write or Come!

Editorial office open Friday, January 31, 6-8 p.m. and Monday, February 3, 2-8 p.m.

Telephone: BISHOPSGATE 3015.

New temporary address: 84a WHITECHAPEL HIGH STREET, c/o Express Printers, (entrance Angel Alley), WHITECHAPEL, E.1. (Underground: Aldgate East. Exit: Whitechapel Art Gallery. Turn right on emerging from station.)

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- Full list on application.

AT THE LATTER end of the summer vacation, thirty-two part time teachers of the Guildford School of Art were summarily dismissed. Seven members of the full time staff were at the same time suspended by the Governors and have since been dismissed.

So begins the preamble to the sixty-page documentation of their case drawn up and publicly circulated by the forty discharged members of the teaching staff of the Guildford School of Art. The Great Debate for these men and women began in the high summer of that 5th of June and they examined and sat in judgement on all the faults and failings of their place of employment. They, and I quote, 'condemned substantially the whole system of teaching, curricula, the structure of courses, the School's facilities and the absence of genuine consultation and participation in policy-making and administration. They wrote lengthy documents on art education, etc.', and as always their employers replied that there is the proper channels for these matters to be discussed so that the staff and the students organised their sit-in and were evicted and finally sacked for their efforts.

It is a sad and miserable story that has been played out ten thousand times in the industrial field where it has only merited a column in the local press. But the dismissed teachers won the support of so many influential names from the pop world of the arts while the pictorial press had themselves a ball for the amusement of their 20,000,000 viewers and the Guildford Governors sat tight in their office and the School continues to function on a two-department level as a College of Design.

The Forty Teachers made their case and lost their jobs and let us be brutally honest when we ask if any outside the committed narrow limits of those involved really cares. The ATTI Executive has gone on record that the actions used by the Guildford Authorities were 'techniques that hark back to the 19th century industrial disputes'. What they mean is that for the first time teachers came into violent conflict with their employers and the police and from their sheltered position within our society they now felt that all established values were crumbling into irretrievable dust and that their situation was unique. Yet this was in a year that witnessed punch up after punch up, strike after strike and lockout after lockout from Forde's to the Barbican building sites in the City of London.

Sixty pages of reasoned analysis of the teachers' case can be reduced to the simple statements that these men and women RIGHTLY demanded workers' participation in the running of their industry, they tried to take over their place of employment and they were sacked. This is surely where their strike, and let us use this word, has failed, for they

# AROUND THE GALLERIES

operated in a vacuum of their own creation.

Throughout the whole of the industrial scene there was not one single section that they could turn to for support for they had never allied themselves with any industrial action. Like the police, they are regarded as part of the Establishment and, as with the police, when they came out on strike the whole mass of the industrial workers stood by and ignored them regarding the whole sorry affair as no more than an amusing squabble between coshersed white-collared members of the Establishment.

What the Guildford teachers have been forced to learn is that if you exist in social isolation as a pampered section of the Establishment then comes the crunch and you are forced to play out your hand in isolation.

The police accepted their role as the smiling boys paid to protect by authorised force their pay masters' interests, and found that when they dared to come out on strike the State struck back without hesitation or mercy. The State sacked

every policeman who dared to strike and the whole of the working class stood by and grinned and remained completely indifferent and the State and the police learned two vital lessons for their future wellbeing. For the police it was never to resort to strike action again and to let it be known that they would not; and for the State it was that it must always protect its human instruments with guarantees of permanent jobs, high wages, good pensions and decent living accommodation.

One feels that this is what will be the end-product resulting from the sacking of the Forty Teachers from the Guildford School of Art for, because of their un-sought sacrifice, the Government has now called upon the Coldstream and Summer-son Councils to re-examine the whole structure of art education while token staff- and student-participation has been agreed on by the Authorities and there will be the inevitable inquiries and the inevitable whitewashing reports and recommendations. The Forty Teachers of the Guildford School of Art were

forced by past history to act in industrial isolation and they had to pay the price. If there had been a solid and united front they could have turned the strike into a lockout but they were victims of events that they themselves set in motion and could no longer control, like actors in a Greek tragedy, and the world was content to sit back and watch as these men and women struggled to their pre-destined doom.

The lesson for them is to seek allies who share a common cause and to use methods that will force the Authorities to concede to their demands. To hell with the pictures in the national press and the sympathetic Big Names. One comes out on strike as the final act of an industrial struggle and not to amuse some passing student or grinning reporter for when the polemic dust has finally settled on the abandoned field of honour one is left with a tattered glory flag and the stark fact that these forty men and women were left out on a limb fighting to retain their weekly wage packet for the sweaty hand of the landlord is always waiting for the weekly rent while fine principles can invariably wait for next week's discussion group.

At the Royal Institute Gallery at 195 Piccadilly, W.1, these Forty Teachers are making their public appeal for support by showing their work and it is surely worthy of bitter and inward reflection that at the Private View the attendant press only became active when John Lennon of the Beatles performed a brief happening for the amusement of the Town and his wife, for the action lay with John and Yoko and not the Guildford—minus forty.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

## DEVELOPMENTS IN FRANCE

THE UNION OF Anarcho-Syndicalists have called for a meeting of all anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist groups, organisations and individuals in France (and presumably any others who have been active in France) to discuss ideas and co-ordinate activity.

The 2nd Regional Federation (Paris) of the French CNT have produced a new monthly magazine called *Direct Action*. The CNT produces two other papers, the weeklies *Combat Syndicalist* (Paris) and *Espoir* (Toulouse). The latter magazines are in French and Spanish and are read mainly by Spanish-speaking anarchists who fled from Spain after the Civil War. I have not seen a copy of the new magazine, but it is edited by a young Frenchman, Roger Veinante, and may show a growing interest in anarcho-syndicalism on the part of French people who have no memories of the Civil War in Spain.

Noir et Rouge Group complain that they are not 'Cohnbendists', as described by the bourgeois press and the bureaucratic French Anarchist Federation, because they do not believe in leaders; even Bakunin, Malatesta and Durutti made mistakes and had their faults. Nevertheless

Dany Cohn-Bendit is their comrade. They say that they are opposed to the personalisation of politics, that they are for an open anarchism that does not preclude dialogue and co-operation between anarchists and marxists; that the labels 'anarchist' and 'marxist' are not important; what matters is the maintenance of the libertarian, as opposed to the bureaucratic-leninist, concept of organisation. Thus they are opposed to 'national' anarchist federations of the kind represented at the International Congress at Carrara, and prefer to work with libertarian marxists rather than bureaucratic so-called anarchist organisations. B.B.

## LONDON SQUATTERS

- WE NEED
1. Money.
  2. Offers of food, water containers, and barricade materials.
  3. Car on the day.
  4. Meeting leaflets available 32/6d. per 1,000, 4/- per 100.
- Offers and further information from 128 Hainault Road, E.11. 01-539 8059.

## Anarchist Federation of Britain

**LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS.** Sunday evening meetings at the 'Metropolitan' (corner of Clerkenwell Road and Farringdon Road), 7.30 p.m. Next meeting Sunday, January 26, David Bell: 'First impressions of Anarchism'. February 2, Jim Huggon: 'Songs of the Anarchist Movement'.

**EALING ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Lindsay Withler, 19 Aylmer Road, Shepherds Bush, W.12.

**HARINGEY.** Siege of Sidney Street Appreciation Society. Meet Wednesdays, 8 p.m., at A. Barlow's, 2a Fairfield Gardens, Crouch End, N.8.

**LEWISHAM.** Contact Mike Malet, 61B Granville Park, Lewisham, London, S.E.13. Phone: 01-852 8879.

**PORTOBELLO ROAD ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Andrew Dewar, 16 Kiburn House, Malvern Place, N.W.6. Meetings 8 p.m. every Tuesday.

**WEST HAM ANARCHISTS.** Regular meetings and activities contact Mr. T. Plant/1, 10 Thackeray Road, East Ham, E.6. Tel.: 552 4162.

**OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS**

Every Wednesday at Jack Robinson's and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m.

Every Monday at A. Barlow's, 2a Fairfield Gardens, Hornsey, N.8. (Siege of Sidney Street Appreciation Society).

**REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS**

**BEXLEY ANARCHIST MOVEMENT.** C/o John Bonner, 40 Lullingstone Crescent, St. Paul's Cray, Kent. Tel.: 01-300 8890. Meetings every Friday, 8 p.m., Lord Bexley, Bexley Heath Broadway.

**BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP.** Secretary, c/o Birmingham Peace Action Centre, Factory Row, Birmingham 19. Libertarian discussion groups held 8 p.m. on each Tuesday at 'The Crown', Corporation Street (Opp. Lay Courts), Birmingham City, S.a.e. to Secretary for details.

**BOLTON.** Get in touch with John Hayes, 51 Rydal Road, Bolton.

**BOURNEMOUTH AREA.** Local anarchists can be contacted through Nigel Holt, Rosmore, Harvey Road, Canford, Wimborne, Dorset. (Wimborne 2991).

**NORTH SOMERSET ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Roy Emery, 3 Abbey Street, Bath, or Geoffrey Barfoot, 71 St. Thomas Street, Wells.

**NOTTING HILL.** Meetings at John Bennett's, Flat 4, 88 Clarendon Road, W.11. Every Monday evening, 8 p.m.

**ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP.** Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenway, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.

**REDDITCH ANARCHISTS AND LIBERTARIANS.** Contact Dave Lloyd, 37 Feckenham Road, Headless Cross, Redditch, Worcs.

**ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION**

Three-monthly meetings. Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o Peter Newell (see N.E. Essex Group).

Group Addresses:—

**NORTH EAST ESSEX.** Peter Newell, 91 Brook Road, Tolleshunt Knights, Tiptree, Essex. Regular meetings.

**NORTH-WEST FEDERATION**

**LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST PROPAGANDA GROUP AND 'HIPPY' MOVEMENT.** Gerry Bree, 16 Faulkner Square, Liverpool, 8. Meetings weekly. 'Freedom' Sales—Pier Head, Saturdays, Sundays, Evenings.

**MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP.** Secretary, Sue Warnock, 9 Boland Street, Fallowfield, Manchester, 14.

Regular weekly meetings. Contact Secretary for venue.

**MERSEYSIDE ANARCHISTS.** Meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. at 118 High Park Street, Liverpool 8. Contact: Chris Kneath, Basement, 52 Belvidere Road, Liverpool, L8 3TQ.

**PRESTON ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact J. B. Cowburn, 140 Watling Street Road, Fulwood, Preston. Meetings: 'The Wellington Hotel', Gowers Court, Preston. Wednesdays, 8 p.m.

Group Address:—

**BASILDON.** M. Powell, 7 Lingeroff, Basildon, Essex.

**BISHOPS STORTFORD.** Vic Mount, 'Eastview', Castle Street, Bishops Stortford, Herts.

**CHELMSFORD.** (Mrs.) Eva Archer, Mill House, Purleigh, Chelmsford, Essex.

**EPPING.** John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping, Essex.

**HARLOW.** Ian Dallas, 18 Brookline Field, Harlow and Annette Gunning, 37 Longbanks, Harlow.

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**SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP** (see details under Student Groups).

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**HULL:** Jim Young, 3 Fredericks Crescent, Hawthorn Avenue, Hull.

**KEIGHLEY:** Steve Wood, 26B Cavendish Street, Keighley.

**LEEDS:** Direct Action Society. Contact John Routwood, 142 Brudenell Road, Leeds, 6.

**SHEFFIELD:** Dave Jeffries, c/o Students Union, Western Bank, Sheffield, 10.

**YORK:** Nigel Wilson, Derwent College, University of York, Heslington, York.

**WELSH FEDERATION**

**CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP.** All correspondence to: Pete Raymond, 18 Marion Street, Splott, Cardiff.

**SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Ian Bone, 3 Bay View Crescent, Brynamill, Swansea. Weekly meetings, 'Freedom' sales and action projects.

**LLANELLI:** Contact Dai Walker, 6 Llwynanedy Road, Llanelli, Carm. Tel: Llanelli 2648.

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**CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Matthew Robertson, Trinity College, or John Fullerton, Jesus College.

**SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Francis Jarman, Red Brick Lodge, 49 Upper Rock Gardens, Brighton. Meetings every second Thursday jointly with Brighton Group; bookstall every Monday outside J.C.R., 12-2.30 p.m.

**YORK UNIVERSITY.** Contact Nigel Wilson, Derwent College, University of York, Heslington, York.

**EAST ANGLIA UNIVERSITY.** Contact Dave Lomax, E.A.S. II, U.E.A., Norwich, NOR 88C.

**LIBERTARIAN STUDENTS FEDERATION.** Contact address: Keith Nathan, 138 Pennymead, Harlow.

**MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY.** Contact Mike Don or Bill Jameson, c/o University Union, Oxford Road, Manchester, 13.

**SHEFFIELD UNIVERSITY.** Contact Robin Lovell at the Students' Union.

**LSE ANARCHIST GROUP.** C/o Students' Union, LSE, Houghton Street, W.C.2. Read and sell 'Beaver'.

**KINGSTON COLLEGE of Technology.** Penkryn Road, Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey. Contact G. Wright.

**SCOTTISH FEDERATION**

All correspondence to Dave Coull, secretary, 3 Eskview Terrace, Ferryden, Monroese, Angus.

**ABERDEEN ANARCHIST GROUP.** Bob Comrie, 288 Hargate or Ian Mitchell, 3 Sinclair Road.

**GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP.** Robert Lynn, 12 Ross Street, S.E. or Joe Embleton, 26 Kirkland Road, N.W.

**EDINBURGH.** Tony Hughes, Top Flat, 40 Angle Park Terrace, Edinburgh 11.

**HAMILTON AND DISTRICT ANARCHIST GROUP.** Robert Linton, 7a Station Road, New Stevenston, Motherwell.

**FIFE.** Bob and Una Turnbull, 39 Stratheden Park, Stratheden Hospital, By Cupar.

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**BELGIUM.** Groupe du journal Le Libertaire, 220 rue Vivegnis, Liège.

**USA:** James W. Cain, secretary, the Anarchist Committee of Correspondence, 323 Fourth Street, Cloquet, Minnesota 55720, USA.

**VANCOUVER, B.C., CANADA.** Anyone interested in forming anarchist and/or direct action peace group contact Derek A. James, c/o 24-160 East 20th, N. Vancouver, B.C., Canada. Tel.: 985 7509 or 987 2693.

**USA: VERMONT.** New Hampshire Anarchist Group. Discussion meetings. Actions. Contact Ed. Strauss, RFD 2, Woodstock, Vermont 05091, USA.

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# Marx and Bakunin

MARX AND BAKUNIN BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL.—Article translated by GEOFF CHARLTON. (Numbers in the text indicate footnotes.)\*

(This text is taken from the biography of Marx by Franz Mehring. Mehring was a German journalist who lived from 1846 to 1919; a member of the social-democratic party, he participated in the 'Spartacus League' with Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. His works, which are important, include *A History of German Social-Democracy*. The orthodox Marxists, whilst recognising that his biography of Marx is unrivalled, reproached him violently for 'errors of appreciation with regard to Lassalle and Bakunin', whom, they say, he tried to save and justify. Mehring would have committed the crime, for example, of being astonished at the verdict of Marx on the Paris Commune, a model of State suppression, when the orthodox consider it as a model of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Mehring's sources seem reliable, although he does not reveal them and the texts of Bakunin differ in small ways from those cited by Steklow, for example.)

\*Centre International de Recherches sur l'Anarchisme.

MICHAEL BAKUNIN had been present at the Congress of the League for Freedom and Peace at Geneva and had also joined the International some months before the Congress of Brussels (September 1868). After the rejection of alliance between the League and the International, he tried to bring the Congress of the League at Berne to a programme which projected the destruction of all States in order to build on their ruins a federation of free associations of productive workers from all countries. But he remained in a minority, as among others did Johann Philipp Becker,<sup>1</sup> with whom he founded The International Alliance for Social Democracy, which was certainly to absorb itself entirely into the International but assigned itself the task of studying in particular political and philosophical issues on a basis of the great principle of the equality of all men on earth.

Already, in the September number of the *Vorbote*, Becker was announcing this alliance, the goal of which was to create sections of the International in France, Italy, Spain and as far away as his influence reached. But only three months later, on December 15, 1869, Becker asked the General Council<sup>2</sup> to accept the Alliance in the International, having seen the same demand refused by the Federal Councils of Belgium and France. A week later, on December 22, Bakunin wrote to Marx: 'My old friend, I understand today better than ever how right you are in following the splendid path of economic revolution and in urging us to take it up, and to exclude those among us who are getting lost among the side-tracks of national enterprises or narrowly political ones. I am doing now what you have been doing for twenty years. Since the solemn adieux I made to the bourgeois of the Congress of Berne, I have known no other society or people than that of the workers. My homeland is now the International, of which you were one of the founders. You can see plainly, dear friend, that I am a follower of yours, and I am proud to be so. Those

are my situation and personal convictions.' There is no reason to doubt the truth of these affirmations.

A clear idea of the relationship between the two men is made in a comparison, which Bakunin himself made several years later when he was then in violent disagreement with Marx, and was speaking of Marx and Proudhon. He wrote: 'Marx is a very serious and profound thinker in economics. He has the immense advantage over Proudhon of being effectively a materialist. Proudhon, despite all the efforts he made to detach himself from the traditions of classical idealism, nevertheless remained all his life an incorrigible idealist, who allowed himself to be influenced now by the Bible, now by Roman Law, so that I said to him as much, two months before he died—and he was a metaphysician to the tips of his fingernails. His great drawback is that he never studied the natural sciences and never acquired their methods. He had certain intuitions which showed him furtively the right road, but he always fell back into his old errors, with his false or idealist mental habits. For this reason Proudhon has become a living contradiction, a genius, a revolutionary thinker who defended himself continually against idealism but never finally vanquished it.' That is what Bakunin wrote of Proudhon.

Immediately afterwards he described Marx's nature as it appeared to him: 'Marx as a thinker is on the right track. He has stated as a principle that all the religious, political and judicial developments of history are not the causes but the effects of economic evolution. This is a great and fertile thought which Marx did not discover all by himself: such an idea has been glimpsed and partly expressed by many others before him, but it is to him that finally the honour redounds for having developed scientifically and posed as a principle to all his economic system this basic idea. On the other hand, Proudhon understood much better the nature of freedom, and felt it too, than did Marx; Proudhon had the very instinct of a revolutionary even if he was scarcely that in doctrine and imagination; he venerated Satan and proclaimed anarchy. It is very possible that Marx might have reached a system of liberty more intelligent than that of Proudhon, but he lacked the instinct of Proudhon. A German and a Jew, he is authoritarian from top to toe.' So said Bakunin.

## WAY BEYOND PROUDHON

For himself, he drew from that comparison the conclusion that he had grasped the highpoint of agreement of the two systems. He would have developed the anarchist system of Proudhon and would have cleared it of all its encumbering accessories—doctrinaire, idealist, metaphysical—giving it for method materialism in science and economics in history. But this was an enormous illusion on Bakunin's part. He had gone way beyond Proudhon, upon whom he had the advantage of all his European development, and he understood Marx much better than Proudhon had ever understood him. But he had studied neither the German philosophical school nor the class-struggles among the peoples of the West as deeply as had Marx. And, above all, his lack of

acquaintance with political economy handicapped him more than ignorance of the natural sciences handicapped Proudhon. This gap in Bakunin's development persisted none the less for his having had it explained in a fashion that was very honourable for him, in that he had languished during a great part of his best years because of his revolutionary activities in the prisons of Saxony, Austria, Russia, and in the Siberian wastes.

His strength and his weakness were having 'the devil in his body'. What he meant by his favourite expression the famous Russian critic Bielinski described in words as beautiful as they are exact: 'Michael is guilty of many things, but there is something in him which exceeds all his deficiencies—it is this eternally active principle which is at the bottom of his nature'. Bakunin had a revolutionary nature through and through, and like Marx and Lassalle he had the gift of making himself heard. What an achievement for a poor refugee who possessed nothing besides his mind and will, to have woven the first threads of the international working-class movement in a series of European countries, in Spain, Italy, and in Russia! But it is enough merely to mention these countries to put one's finger on the profound difference between Bakunin and Marx. Both of them saw the revolution coming apace, but while Marx saw his avant-garde in the proletariat of heavy industry, as he had studied it in England, in France, and in Germany, Bakunin was counting on the army of unattached youth, on the mass of the peasants and even the lumpenproletariat.<sup>3</sup> As much as he recognised clearly the superiority of Marx as a scientific thinker, just as much he fell back into the errors belonging to the 'previous generation'. He himself adjusted to his lot, thinking that science was certainly the compass for life's navigation, but not life itself, and that only life itself created phenomena and living beings.

It is stupid, and more unjust towards Bakunin than towards Marx, to evaluate their relations solely upon the incurable schism which brought those relations to a close. It is much more interesting to follow their attraction and convergence during a span of thirty years. Both at first were young Hegelians; Bakunin sponsored the 'Franco-German Annals'. After the split between his former protector Ruge and Marx, he decided for the latter. Then, when he saw at Brussels what Marx understood by communist propaganda, he was frightened; some months later, he was enthusing over the adventurist column of freebooters whom Herwegh was leading towards Germany, only to realise shortly afterwards his madness and to confess his mistake publicly.

Shortly afterwards, in the summer of 1848, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*<sup>4</sup> accused him of being the toy of the Russian government, but it recognised its mistake in a manner in which Bakunin was completely satisfied. After a meeting in Berlin, Marx and Bakunin renewed their former friendship, and the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* energetically defended Bakunin at the time of his expulsion from Prussia. As a consequence, his panslavic agitation underwent a severe criticism, but with the introductory remark 'Bakunin is our friend', and under the expressed opinion that Bakunin agitated along democratic lines and that it was necessary to excuse him for his illusions on the Slav question. Nevertheless Engels, author of this article, was wrong also in the fundamental reproach he addressed to Bakunin: the Slavic people had the historic future which Engels denied them just the same. The participation of Bakunin in the uprising in May at Dresden was recognised by Marx and Engels more rapidly and vividly than by anyone else anywhere.

## NUMEROUS IMPRISONMENTS

On his return from Dresden, Bakunin was imprisoned and condemned to death first by a Saxon tribunal, then by the Austrians, and in both cases was 'pardoned', his sentence commuted to permanent imprisonment; then he was extradited to Russia, where he spent years of dreadful suffering in the fortress of 'Peter and Paul'. During this time an injured Urquhartist took up the accusation against Bakunin of being an agent of the Russian government, in the *Morning Advertiser*, and said he was not in prison at all. Against this, Marx protested in the same paper, along with Herzen, Mazzini and Ruge. But an unfortunate accident caused the name of Bakunin's detractor to be also Marx, which was known in the narrower circles although the fellow rejected the questioning of his

name in public. This sameness of names was made use of by the pseudo-revolutionary Herzen in a disgraceful intrigue. When Bakunin, who had been sent from the 'Peter and Paul' fortress in 1857 into Siberia, happily escaped from there and made it to London via Japan and America, Herzen pretended that Karl Marx had denounced him in the English press as an agent of Russia, to fool Bakunin. It was the first of the tales which were to cause disaster between Marx and Bakunin.<sup>5</sup>

Bakunin had been removed from European life for more than ten years, and we see how he allied himself with Russian refugees of the stamp of Herzen, with whom at bottom he had few things in common. Even in his Panslavism, of which so much had been spoken, Bakunin always remained a revolutionary, whilst Herzen did no more than meddle in the affairs of czarism with insults against the 'decadent West' and his mystic cult of the Russian village commune. The fact that Bakunin maintained up till the death of Herzen friendly relations with the latter, who indeed had helped him a great deal in the difficulties of his youth, does not speak in his disfavour; already in 1866 he wrote him a letter of political rupture in which he reproached him for wanting a social transformation without a political transformation and for forgiving all the crimes of the State, leaving intact the old Russian village commune from which Herzen was expecting the salvation not only of Russia and the Slavic countries but also of Europe and the entire world. Bakunin submitted this fantastic dream to a criticism which annihilated it.

But after his escape from Russia he lived with Herzen, and for this reason was held at a distance from Marx. This has far more importance in that he was in process of translating the *Communist Manifesto* into Russian and having it published in the *Bell* of Herzen.

## THE INTERNATIONAL

At the time of a second stay in London by Bakunin, at the time of the founding of the International, Marx broke the ice and tried to meet him. He was able to assure him in complete truthfulness that not only was he not responsible for the calumny against Bakunin, but that he had fought it, on the contrary, with all his might. Thus they separated: Bakunin was fired with the project of the International and Marx wrote to Engels on November 4, 'Bakunin greets you. He left today for Italy, where he is living (in Florence). . . I must say that he pleased me greatly, more than before. . . In all, he is one of those rare people whom I have seen progress and not regress during these last few years.'

However, the joy with which Bakunin had greeted the International did not last for long. His stay in Italy soon stirred 'the revolutionary of the previous generation'. He had chosen this country because of its gentle climate and agreeable life but also, since France and Germany were closed to him, for political reasons. He saw in the Italians the natural allies of the Slavs against the totalitarian state of Austria, and while he was still in Siberia the exploits of Garibaldi had excited his imagination. They made him recognise moreover that the tide of revolution was rising anew. In Italy he found a great host of political alliances; he found there was an unattached intelli-

gensia ready to enter into all the scheming, a peasant mass always on the edge of starvation and a lumpenproletariat without mobility, for example the Lazzaroni of Naples, where he established himself after Florence to live there for several years. These classes seemed to him to be the true forces to make revolution. But as he saw in Italy the country where social revolution was perhaps nearest, he soon had to recognise his error. The propaganda of Mazzini dominated the country still, and Mazzini was an enemy of socialism; with his calls to combat drowned in religiosity and his strongly centralising tendencies, he only fought for the unification of the bourgeois Republic.

During these Italian years, the revolutionary agitation of Bakunin took on more precise forms. Because of his lack of theoretical formation, allied to a bursting mental activity and an immense strength, he was always very much influenced by his surroundings. The politico-religious dogmatism of Mazzini increased his atheism and anarchism, his denial of all State authority. In return the revolutionary traditions of the classes which were for him the privileged combatants of total revolution declined more precipitately in his view into secret societies and local upheavals. Thus Bakunin founded his 'Secret Alliance for Social Revolution' which soon recruited among the Italians and was to combat above all the 'tiresome bourgeois rhetoric of Mazzini and Garibaldi', but which he widened soon onto an international level.

It was in the interest of this secret alliance that Bakunin, who established himself in Geneva, autumn 1867, tried at first to influence the League for Liberty and Peace and, when he had failed, forced himself to alliance with the International, with which he had not been preoccupied to any great extent for four years.

—Franz Mehring: *Karl Marx, Geschichte seines Lebens*, Leipzig 1918; quoted from Berlin edition, Dietz Verlag 1960, pp. 410-416.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Becker (1809-1886), German revolutionary, a refugee in Switzerland after 1847, supported in his writings the party of Lassalle, then participated in the founding of the International and founded the 'Vorbote'.  
<sup>2</sup>The General Council of the International, of which Marx was a member, and which had its base in London.  
<sup>3</sup>Marx says no less: 'Below the conservative popular classes, there is a substratum of pariahs and "outsiders", other races, other colours, exploited and persecuted classes, the unemployed and the unemployable. . . . Their opposition is revolutionary even if their consciousness is not! ("One Dimensional Man", Paris, 1968, p. 280). He elsewhere quotes students and the intelligentsia.  
<sup>4</sup>The 'Neue Rheinische Zeitung', a daily founded in Cologne in 1848 by Marx and other members of the League of Communists.  
<sup>5</sup>The campaign of calumnies had begun on August 23, 1853, in the 'Morning Advertiser', with an article signed F.M. According to Nettlau ('Michael Bakunin, eine Biographie', p. 128). It is in the 'New York Tribune' of December 2, that Marx protested against these accusations, declaring his intimate friendship with Bakunin. Marx could not be the one directly responsible for these libels. 'I really believe,' adds Nettlau, 'that it was Englisten, for the remarks against Bakunin showed a complete ignorance of the revolutionary events of the continent. But it is undeniable that Marx frequented the Urquhartist circle and found himself at home there.' Still in 1872, Bakunin held Marx responsible for this campaign (*ibid.*, p. 128). It reappeared also in 1862, on the arrival of Bakunin in London, who wrote: 'I replied in a newspaper, calling upon the anonymous culmineator to reveal his name and promising to reply to him not with my pen in my fist but with my fist alone. He took me at my word and I was left in peace' (*ibid.*, p. 147). (Translated and annotated in French by Marianne Enckell.)

## FUGS OFF

SINCE BY SOME WEIRD irony the true purpose of the Roundhouse is now being fulfilled, despite Arnold Wesker, it's time to call attention to the situation there. When Wesker and his merrie men (and women) failed to raise the necessary trillion pounds to collect little orchestras and ballet corps who would bring all that was good about culture to the masses the building fell into disuse. But lately under a new régime it has seen a series of astonishingly good pop concerts, featuring the most political of the groups and singers around. It is patronised by the young and the cognoscenti. And the message spreads and the numbers grow.

Around 2,000 attended a concert in October for the Fugs, perhaps the most outrageous of all the groups now singing and playing. New York in origin (though the immigrant strain is strong), the Fugs are refreshingly old. They sing like the Hell's Angels might about love and sex. Their stage show is blasphemous, powerfully provocative and musically striking. Censorship is a perennial headache. The night I saw them their first spot was delayed by two hours because, it was

rumoured, the police were going to close them down, boot them out, at the least sign of difficulty.

Their latest record shows only a few signs of similar difficulties. 'It Crawled Into My Hand, Honest' (Reprise 6305) has had to retitile their attack on America's foreign policy 'Wide, Wide River'—the stage name is 'River of Shit'—much enlivened by lead-singer Ed Sanders's desperate mimed attempts to swim ashore and his vivid asides on the news of the day. Otherwise it doesn't compromise. 'Johnny Pissoff meets the Red Angel' begins with, as 'Rolling Stone' pointed out, a Zappa-like song and then switches to a Country and Western like threnody; a style much loved by the Fugs.

It almost comes off, remains even so, damaging, horrific, incisive. The rest of the record is rapid interfire jokes, songs, chants (one a plainsong hymn to marijuana), obscenities and satirical moments of hysteria and affirmation. But why, when so tough with their material, are they pussy-footing around with their goddam name?

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# PICTURES OF REVOLUTION

'One did not have to look for who would work in the concentration camps and the liquidation centers—the garrison would be filled with applicants from the pages of a hundred American novels, from Day of the Locust and Naked Lunch and The Magic Christian, one could enlist half the Marshals outside this bus, simple, honest, hard-working government law-enforcement agents, yeah! There was something at loose now in American life, the poet's beast slinking to the market-place. The country had always been wild. It had always been harsh and hard, it had always had a fever—when life in one American town grew insupportable, one could travel, the fever to travel was in the American blood, so said all, but now the fever had left the blood, it was in the cells, the cells traveled, and the cells were as insane as Grandma with orange hair. The small towns were disappearing in the bypasses and the supermarkets and the shopping centers, the small town in America was losing its sense of the knuckle, the herb, and the root, the walking sticks were no longer cut from trees, nor were they cured, the schools did not have crazy old teachers now but teaching aids, and in the libraries, National Geographic gave way to TV Guide. Enough of the old walled town had once remained in the American small town for gnomes and dwarfs and knaves and churls (yes, and owls and elves and crickets) to live in the constellated cities of the spiders below the eaves in the old leaning barn which—for all one knew—had been a secret ear to the fevers of the small town, message center for the inhuman dreams which passed through the town at night in sleep and came to tell their insane tale of the old barbarian lust to slaughter villages and drink their blood, yes who knew which ghosts, and which crickets, with which spider would commune—which prayers and whose witch's curses would travel those subterranean trails of the natural kingdom about the town, who knows which fevers were forged in such communion and returned on the blood to the seed, it was an era when the message came by wind and not by the wire (for the town gossip began to go mad when the telephone tuned its buds to the tip of her tongue), the American small town grew out of itself again and again, harmony between communication and the wind, between lives and ghosts, insanity, the solemn reaches of nature where insanity could learn melancholy (and madness some measure of modesty) had all been lost now, lost to the American small town. It had grown out of itself again and again, its cells traveled, worked for government, found security through wars in foreign lands, and the nightmares which passed on the winds in the old small towns now traveled on the nozzle tip of the flame thrower, no dreams now of barbarian lusts, slaughtered villages, battles of blood, no, nor any need for them—technology had driven insanity out of the wind and out of the attic, and out of all the lost primitive places: one had to find it now wherever fever, force, and machines could come together, in Vegas, at the race track, in pro football, race riots for the Negro, suburban orgies—none of it was enough—one had to find it in Vietnam; that was where the small town had gone to get its kicks.' (Norman Mailer, *The Armies of the Night*, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1968, 45s., pp. 152-153.)

IT IS PROBABLY no longer necessary to recommend to readers of FREEDOM Norman Mailer's magnificent account of the peace march on the Pentagon in the autumn of 1967. All that needs to be said is that it has all the qualities of an honest, a supremely intelligent and acute, getting hold of one average sensual man's experience of his crisis of identity in the shape of his confrontation with the idea and the practice of world revolution: the writing is confident, even arrogant, but within the mannered and egocentric construction of an image of Mailer there is a wild and gentle irony transmuted the dross of self-obsession into the gold of sympathy with the human condition: here I am, a tawdry half-cock show; and yet I am, a brilliant coruscation of comedy and a glimmer and to see with a whole eye the irrepressible, irreparable, unbearable mock-tragedy of being human—the last and most rigidly particular of created things cast out upon the boundless ocean of thought and feeling! I have quoted one of the more ambitiously tendentious passages in the book because I think this is the heart of the matter of the book. It is this sort of impressionistic analysis which at last justifies and makes sense of the brilliant introduction which sets Mailer and his compatriots—fellow star performers and notables (who on the march 'kept being crowded into the second rank by notables less notable than themselves') like Dr. Spock and Dave Dellinger and above all Dwight MacDonal and Robert Lowell—absolutely right in their place. Even the most puritanical of anarchists (which I class myself as near to being) must be impressed with the delicate mixture of mockery, criticism and some honest admiration which Mailer puts into his description of his encounter with Paul Goodman. 'Paul Goodman has been the first to talk of the absurd and empty nature of work and education in America, and a generation of college students had formed around the core of his militancy. But, oh, the style! It set Mailer's teeth on edge to read it; he was inclined to think that the body of students who followed Goodman must have something de-animalized to put up with the style or at least such was Mailer's bigoted view. His fundamental animus to Goodman was still, unhappily, on sex. Goodman's ideas tended to declare in rough that heterosexuality, homosexuality, and onanism were equal valid forms of activity, best denuded of guilt. Mailer, with his neo-Victorianism, thought that if there was anything worse than homosexuality and masturbation, it was putting the two together. The super-hygiene of all this

mental prophylaxis offended him, profoundly. . . . There was always Goodman's damnable tolerance for all the varieties of sex. Did he know nothing of evil or entropy? Sex was the super-highway to your own soul's entropy if it was used without a constant sharpening of the taste. And orgies? What did Goodman know of orgies, real ones, not lib-lab college orgies to carry out the higher program of the Great Society, but real ones with murder in the air, and witches on the shoulder. The collected Tory in Mailer came roaring to the surface like a cocked hat in a royal coach.' (pp. 24-35.)

## THE MODERN REVOLUTION

But eventually Mailer's picture of revolution is not a humorous and rather cosy parlour-dialogue with the spirits of the dear departed (Goodman, Lowell and MacDonald are of course all still alive—at least they were when Mailer wrote—but in the same arch way that he writes of himself in the caesarist third person singular, so he writes of his friends like a benign nostalgically reminiscing old auntie): this is—as it was also in the strategy of the march—the scene-setting for the great collective event, and also (though this is an interpretation perhaps reading too much into Mailer's intention) an epitome faintly awry of the kind of social relationship, as richly frustrating as rewarding, that revolutionaries must make the most of. The kaleidoscope of Mailer's deeply impressionable imagination is as is the kaleidoscope in the end ruthlessly coherent, imposing upon the whole a magnificently textured pattern or theme assuming all discordant phenomena into itself: not denying their discordance so much as it denies the incompatibility of discordance and unity. At the heart of the revolution lies the recognition that discordance does not rule out relationship, but its affirmation is the actual form of the real relationships of our human life. Reading *Armies of the Night*, rereading and reflecting on it, it seems there is in this march a paradigm (it is one of Mailer's favourite words as well as one of mine: it is a concept without which we cannot breathe) of the modern revolution—of what is in process right now, of what it is trying to go on to, and of how it is going to get there: it seems also that in Mailer's kaleidoscopic, macrocosmic-microcosmic sensibility—contracting and expanding with the assured violence and abandonment of an unabashed would-be prophet—we have the ideal register of this revolution.

Listening to the complete Leninist Walter Teague (whose 'philosophy prob-

ably began with Lenin's remark that the revolution needed people who would work, sleep, think, and eat revolution twenty-four hours a day') conduct an impromptu seminar in the prison cell in which he finds himself with other demonstrators after his epic trot across the grass in front of the Pentagon parking lot: Mailer reflects with his typical mildly malicious irony on his own attitude to the Marxist method: 'he had heard Communists and Trotskyists expatiating on social problems and social actions for years with just this same militant, precise, executive command in analyzing the situation, the same compelling sense of structure, same satisfying almost happy dissection and mastication of the bones and tendons of the problem before them, and Mailer had in fact decided years ago, repelled by some bright implacable certainty in the voices of such full-time Marxists, that Leninism finally was good for Leninists about the way psychoanalysis was good for psychoanalysts. It was a superb mental equivalent to weight-lifting—the brain worked, perspired, flushed itself, and came back with hard tangible increments in mental tone and vigor, but it had nothing to do with the real problem which was: how do you develop enough grace to capture a thief more graceful than yourself? Leninism was built to analyze a world in which all the structures were made of steel—now the sinews of society were founded on transistors so small Dragon

for American aid against another Communist nation. Certainly Russia and China would be engaged in a cold war with each other for decades. Therefore, to leave Asia would be precisely to gain the balance of power. The answer then was to get out, to get out any way one could. Get out. There was nothing to fear—perhaps there never had been. For the more Communism expanded, the more monumental would become its problems, the more flaccid its preoccupations with world conquest. In the expansion of Communism, was its own containment. The only force which could ever defeat Communism, was Communism itself.' (p. 187.)

## THE VULNERABLE CLASS

But this, though acute, is in the margin. The main substance of the Mailer analysis of the revolution which has come home to roost in the precious body and blood of all of us, is a picture of a class: disorientated, fragmented, apprehensive and vulnerable, yet this very vulnerability the instrument of its vision and its fearlessness, in its total irresponsibility, in its exile to the extreme edge of existential being—the sons and daughters of the American middle class are the image and the reality of the revolution in process:

'They came walking up in all sizes, a citizen's army not ranked yet by height, citizens' army not ranked yet by height, an army of both sexes in numbers almost equal, and of all ages, although most

and Moon-men and a knight unhorsed who stalked about in the weight of real armor. There were to be seen a hundred soldiers in Confederate gray, and maybe there were two or three hundred hippies in officers' coats of Union dark-blue. They had picked up their costumes where they could, in surplus stores, and Blow-your-mind shops, Digger free emporiums, and psychedellic caches of Hindu junk. There were soldiers in Foreign Legion uniforms, and tropical bush-jackets, San Quentin and Chino, California striped shirt and pants, British copies of Eisenhower jackets, hippies dressed like Turkish shepherds and Roman senators, gurus, and samurai in dirty smocks. They were close to being assembled from all the intersections between history and the comic books, between legend and television, the Biblical archetypes and the movies. . . . The aesthetic at last was in the politics—the dress ball was going into battle. Still, there were nightmares beneath the gaiety of these middle-class runaways, these Crusaders, going out to attack the hard core of technology land with less training than armies were once offered by a medieval assembly ground. The nightmare was in the echo of those trips which had fractured their sense of past and present. If nature was a veil whose tissue had been ripped by static, screams of jet motors, the highway grid of the suburbs, smog, defoliation, pollution of streams, over-fertilization of earth, anti-fertilization of women, and the radiation of two decades of near blind atom busting, then perhaps the history of the past was another tissue, spiritual, no doubt, without physical embodiment, unless its embodiment was in the cuneiform hieroglyphics of the chromosome (so much like primitive writing!) but that tissue of past history, whether traceable in the flesh, or merely palpable in the collective underworld of the dream, was nonetheless being bombed by the use of LSD as outrageously as the atoll of Eniwetok, Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and the scorched foliage of Vietnam. . . . The same villains who, promiscuously, wantonly, heedlessly, had gorged on LSD and consumed God knows what essential marrows of history, wearing indeed the history of all eras on their backs as trophies of this gluttony, were now going forth (conscience-struck!) to make war on those other villains, corporation-land villains, who were destroying the promise of the present in their self-righteousness and greed and secret lust (often unknown to themselves) for some sextotechnological variety of neo-fascism.' (pp. 91-93.)

## THE ENEMY

The enemy: the blockade in the mind which seeks to stem the movement of revolution: is not the fighting of a war in Vietnam—it is not the fighting of any way—it is the stupid, lazy unimaginativeness (shades of Nietzsche—'Be what thou art!—not what you have lazily and thoughtlessly accepted yourself to be, secondhand in thought and feeling and action!') which can find no apotheosis, no god nor demon, except in the violence of physical destruction—and of course cannot find it there, and so seeks the more desperately to find it there: escalation is the logic of war: as Norman Brown might say—perhaps already has said—it is the psychosocial corollary of that genital fixation of the libido which can find orgasm only in that act which has had assumed for it that exclusive uniqueness. Magnificently Mailer captures the symbolism and the reality of the Pentagon:

'The Pentagon rose like an anomaly  
Continued on page 5



Lady could hide them beneath her nail.' (p. 179.) And yet there is more to both Marx and Mailer: whether we like it or not, revolutionaries or counter-revolutionaries, we are all beneficiaries and victims of that cave-illuminating device which Marx was the first to examine, whose examination is still the most exciting and the immeasurable foundation of all others—the dialectical progress of both thought and action in history is an illumination blowing the minds of all of us. Mailer at his most artfully simplistic—as in his chapter 'Why are we in Vietnam?'—cannot evade the picturing of contrary, symbiotic development. 'A submersion of Asia in Communism was going to explode a shock into Marxism which might take a half century to digest. Between Poland and India, Prague and Bangkok, was a diversity of primitive lore which would jam every fine gear of the Marxist. There were no quick meals in Asia. Only indigestion. The real difficulty might be then to decide who would do more harm to Asia, Capitalism or Communism. In either case, the conquest would be technological, and so primitive Asian societies would be uprooted. Probably, the uprooting would be savage, the psychic carnage unspeakable. He did not like to contemplate the compensating damage to America if it chose to dominate a dozen Asian nations with its technologies and its armies while having to face their guerilla wars. No, Asia was best left to the Asians. If the Communists absorbed those countries, and succeeded in building splendid nations who made the transition to technological culture without undue agony, one would be forced to applaud; it seemed evident on the face of the evidence in Vietnam, that America could not bring technology land to Asia without bankrupting itself in operations ill-conceived, poorly comprehended, and executed in waste. But the greater likelihood was that if the Communists prevailed in Asia they would suffer in much the same fashion. Divisions, schisms, and sects would appear. An endless number of collisions between primitive custom and Marxist dogma, a thousand daily pullulations of intrigue, a heritage of cruelty, atrocity, and betrayal would fall upon the Communists. It was not difficult to envision a time when one Communist nation in Asia might look

were young. Some were well-dressed, some were poor, many were conventional in appearance, as often were not. The hippies were there in great number, perambulating down the hill, many dressed like the legions of Sgt. Pepper's Band, some were gotten up like Arab sheikhs, or in Park Avenue doormen's greatcoats, others like Rogers and Clark of the West, Wyatt Earp, Kit Carson, Daniel Boone in buckskin, some had grown mustaches to look like 'Have Gun, Will Travel'—Paladin's surrogate was here!—and wild Indians with feathers, a hippie gotten up like Batman, another like Claude Rains in 'The Invisible Man'—his face wrapped in a turban of bandages and he wore a black satin top hat. A host of these troops wore capes, bear-up khaki capes, slept on, used as blankets, towels, improvised duffel bags; or fine capes, orange linings, or luminous rose linings, the edges ragged, near a tatter, the threads ready to feather, but a musketeer's hat on their head. One hippie may have been dressed like Charles Chaplin; Buster Keaton and W. C. Fields could have come to the ball; there were Martians





# PICTURES OF REVOLUTION

Continued from page 4

of the sea from the soft Virginia fields (they were crossing a park), its pale yellow walls reminiscent of some plastic plug coming out of the hole made in flesh by an unmentionable operation. There, it sat, geometrical aura complete, isolated from anything in nature surrounding it. Eras ago had corporation land begun by putting billboards on the old post roads?—now they worked to clean them up—just as the populace had finally succeeded in depositing comfortable amounts of libido on highway signs, gasoline exhaust, and oil-stained Jersey macadam—now corporation land, here named Government, took over state preserves, straightened crooked roads, put up government buildings, removed unwelcome signs till the young Pop eye of Art wept for unwelcome signs—where are our old friends?—and corporation land would succeed, if it hadn't yet, in making nature look like an outdoor hospital, and the streets of U.S. cities, grace of Urban Renewal, would be difficult to distinguish when drunk from pyramids of packaged foods in the aisles of a supermarket. For years he had been writing about the nature of totalitarianism, its need to render populations apathetic, its instrument—the destruction of mood. Mood was forever being sliced, cut, stamped, ground, excised, or obliterated; mood was a scent which rose from the acts and calms of nature, and totalitarianism was a deodorant to nature. Yes, and by the logic of this metaphor, the Pentagon looked like the five-sided tip on the spout of a spray can to be used under the arm, yes, the Pentagon was spraying the deodorant of its presence all over the fields of Virginia." (pp. 116-117.)

"It was an historic moment when the reconnoitering vanguards of the Mobilization Committee went into the Pentagon to study its vulnerability to attack, historic not for the magnitude of the events which were to derive from this visit, but historic as a paradigm of the disproportions and contradictions of the twentieth century itself. Nineteenth-century generals would not have been permitted to explore the fortress they would attack, but they would have known its storehouse when they took it. Now recapitulate the problem at the Pentagon: an enormous office building in the shape of a fortress housed the military center of the most powerful nation on earth, yet there was no need for guards—the proliferation of the building itself was its own defense: assassination of any high official in the edifice could serve only to augment the power of the Pentagon; vulnerable to sabotage, that also could work only for the fortification of its interest. High church of the corporation, the Pentagon spoke exclusively of mass man and his civilization; every aspect of the building was anonymous, monotonous, massive, interchangeable. For this committee of revolutionary explorers, the strangeness of their situation must have been comparable to a reconnaissance of the moon. They could enter the Pentagon without difficulty, walk wherever they pleased—although not without attracting attention quite soon, for if most of them looked like responsible executives and experts, Rubin's hair was brushed out like a Black Militant's in five inches every direction from his head; they could nonetheless explore their target, debate their approach (even debate aloud if need be in these corridors filled as much with moving people as a busy subway station), they could even if they had wished probably have paid a call on the Secretary of Defense to inform him of their project, yet it was impossible to locate the symbolic loins of the building—paradigm of the modern world indeed, they could explore every inch of their foe and known nothing about him; the twentieth century was in the process of removing the last of man's power from his senses in order to store power in piled banks of coded knowledge. The essence of coded knowledge was that it could be made available to all because only a few had the code to comprehend it." (pp. 228-229.)

## SOCIETY IS A PRISON

In the gloom of his prison Mailer is not happy. 'Floods of totalitarian architecture, totalitarian superhighways, totalitarian smog, totalitarian food (yes, frozen), totalitarian communications—the terror to a man so conservative as Mailer, was that nihilism might be the only answer to totalitarianism.' (p. 176.) But in the final confrontation mass man, 'anonymous, monotonous, massive, interchangeable', becomes individual, tangible, susceptible; he is a soldier in the US army barring the way across the asphalt plaza in front of the Administration Entrance to the Pentagon, and six inches away is the nihilist: and totalitarianism is not so totalitarian as Mailer had imagined, and the nihilist possesses the grace of renewal and rebirth in the midst of

terror and confusion:

"If the troops were relieved that a pullulating unwashed orgiastic Communist-inspired wave of flesh did not roll right over them, and that in fact the majority of demonstrators right there before them were not unlike in appearance the few quiet long-haired cool odd kids they had never quite gotten to know in high school, the demonstrators in their turn were relieved in profounder fashion that their rank of eyes had met the soldiers, and it was the soldiers who had looked away. They looked across the gulf of the classes, the middle classes and the working classes. It would take the rebirth of Marx for Marxism to explain definitively this middle class condemnation of an imperialist war in the last Capitalist nation, this working class affirmation. But it is the urban middle class in America who always feel most uprooted, most alienated from America itself, and so instinctively most critical of America, for neither do they work with their hands, nor wield real power, so it is never their lathe nor their sixty acres, and certainly never is it their command which is accepted because they are simply American and there, no, the urban middle class was the last class to arrive at respectable status, and it has been the most overprotected (for its dollars are the great nourishing mother of all consumer goods) yet the most spiritually undefended since even the concept of a crisis in identity seems most exclusively their own. The sons and daughters of that urban middle class, forever alienated in childhood from all the good simple funky nitty-gritty American joys of the

working class like winning a truly dangerous fist fight at the age of eight or getting sex before fourteen, dead drunk by sixteen, whipped half to death by your father, making it in rumbles with a proud street gang, living at war with the educational system, knowing how to snicker at the employer from one side of the mouth, riding a bike with no hands, entering the Golden Gloves, doing a hitch in the Navy, or a stretch in the stockade, and with it all, their sense of elan, of morale, for buddies are the manna of the working class: there is a God-given cynical indifference to school, morality, and job. The working class is loyal to friends, not ideas. No wonder the Army bothered them not a bit. But the working class bothered the sons of the middle class with their easy confident virility and that physical courage with which they seemed to be born—there was a fear and a profound respect in every middle class son for his idea of that most virile ruthless indifferent working class which would eventually exterminate them as easily as they exterminated goats. And this is not even to mention the sense of muted awe which lived in every son of the urban middle class before the true American son of the small town and the farm, that blank-eyed snub-nosed innocent, bewildered, stubborn crew-cut protagonist of all conventional American life; the combination of his symbolic force with the working class was now in focus here.

'Standing against them, the demonstrators were not only sons of the middle class of course, but sons who had departed the middle class, they were rebels and radicals and young revolutionaries; yet they were unbloody; they felt secretly weak, they did not know if they

were the simple equal, man for man, of these soldiers, and so when this vanguard confronted soldiers now, and were able to stare them in the eye, they were, in effect, saying silently, "I will steal your elan, and your brawn, and the very animal of your charm because I am morally right and you are wrong and the balance of your life is now attached to my spirit, I am stealing your balls!" (pp. 257-259.)

## THE RITE OF PASSAGE

For the last few hundred demonstrators who sit out this night in the plaza before the Pentagon it is a rite of passage: "... this passage through the night was a rite of passage, and these disenchanted heirs of the Old Left, this rabble of American Vietcong, and hippies, and pacifists, and whoever else was left were afloat on a voyage whose first note had been struck with the first sound of the trumpet Mailer had heard crossing Washington Monument in the morning. "Come here, come here, come here," the trumpet had said, and now eighteen hours later, in the false dawn, the echo of far greater rites of passage in American history, the light reflected from the radiance of greater more heroic hours may have come nonetheless to shine along the inner space and caverns of the freaks, some hint of a glorious future may have hung in the air, some refrain from all the great American rites of passage when men and women manacled themselves to a lost and painful principle and survived a day, a night, a week, a month, a year, a celebration of Thanksgiving—the country had been founded on a rite of passage. Very few had not emigrated here without the echo of that rite, even if it were no more (and

no less!) than eight days in the stink, bustle, fear, and propinquity of steerage on an ocean crossing (or the eighty days of dying on a slave ship), each generation of Americans had forged their own rite, in the forest of the Alleghenies, and the Adirondacks, at Valley Forge, at New Orleans in 1812, with Rogers and Clark or at Sutter's Mill, at Gettysburg, the Alamo, the Klondike, the Argonne, Normandy, Pusan—the engagement at the Pentagon was a pale rite of passage next to these, and yet it was probably a true one, for it came to the spoiled children of a dead de-animalized middle class who had chosen most freely, out of the incomprehensible mysteries of moral choice, to make an attack and then hold a testament before the most authoritative embodiment of the principle that America was right, America was might, America was the true religious war of Christ against the Communist. So it became a rite of passage for these tender drug-vitiating jargon-mired children, they endured through a night, a black dark night which began in joy, near fundered in terror, and dragged on through empty apathetic hours while glints of light came to each alone. (pp. 279-280.)

## THE EXORCISM

It is at this point that Mailer begins to fumble, at least I begin to sense a mere attitudinizing, an attempt to force a climax which perhaps does not exist: another climax, a more outrageous and yet perhaps more significant, rite of passage is recorded earlier and more vividly in perhaps the best chapter in the book: 'The Witches and the Fugs': it is the performance of the Fugs on the eve of the March which for Mailer most truly represents and penetrates the reason or rather the non-reason of an operation which at last did not know what it was at. "The new generation believed in technology more than any before it, but the generation also believed in LSD, in witches, in tribal knowledge, in orgy, and revolution. It had no respect whatsoever for the unassailable logic of the next step: belief was reserved for the revelatory mystery of the happening where you did not know what was going to happen next; that was what was good about it." (p. 86.) The exposure—the demystification—of the great American pragmatic: its very competence and technological expertise at least humanly shoddy and inadequate: is the rediscovery of the mysterious of the politic. The rite of passage is an exorcism:

'October 21, 1967, Washington, D.C., U.S.A., Planet Earth.

'We Freemen, of all colors of the spectrum, in the name of God, Ra, Jehovah, Anubis, Osiris, Taloc, Quetzalcoatl, Thoth, Ptah, Allah, Krishna, Chango, Chimeke, Chukwu, Olisa-Bulu-Uwa, Imales, Orisasa, Odudua, Kali, Shiva-Shakra, Great Spirit, Dionysus, Yahweh, Thor, Bacchus, Isis, Jesus Christ, Maitreya, Buddha, Rama do exorcise and cast out the EVIL which has walled and captured the pentacle of power and perverted its use to the need of the total machine and its child the hydrogen bomb and has suffered the people of the planet earth, the American people and creatures of the mountains, woods, streams, and oceans grievous mental and physical torture and the constant torment of the imminent threat of utter destruction.

'We are demanding that the pentacle of power once again be used to serve the interests of GOD manifest in the world as man. We are embarking on a motion which is millennial in scope. Let this day, October 21, 1967, mark the beginning of suprapolitics.

'By the act of reading this paper you are engaged in the Holy Ritual of Exorcism. To further participate focus your thought on the casting out of evil through the grace of GOD which is all (ours). A billion stars in a billion galaxies of space and time is the form of your power, and limitless is your name.' (pp. 120-121.)

And at last Mailer feels at home: this is the lonely journey he has made and now he finds it shared with other loneliness. "Now, here, after several years of the blandest reports from the religious explorers of LSD, vague Tibetan lama goody-goodness, auras of religiosity being the only publicly announced or even rumored fruit from all trips back from the buried Atlantis of LSD, now suddenly an entire generation of acid-heads seemed to have said good-bye to easy visions of heaven, no, now the witches were here, and rites of exorcism, and black terrors of the night—hippies being murdered. Yes, the hippies had gone from Tibet to Christ to the Middle Ages, now they were Revolutionary Alchemists. Well, thought Mailer, that was all right, he was a Left Conservative himself. "Out, demons, out! Out, demons, out!" (p. 124.) I have given long extracts from the book, to try and show its importance, so that you can keep some of the best passages without spending 45s.; but the whole book must be read so that Mailer's achievement may be fully appreciated and enjoyed.

MARTIN SMALL.

(To be continued in February Supplement)

# Friday Night Out

THE ARTS LAB founded by Jim Haynes has been open to experiments in music, theatre and poetry; film, sculpture and painting for well over a year. But recently the Drury Lane laboratory lost half the team of organizers over a difference of policy. Jim Haynes wishes it to be open for people not art. Meaning, as far as I know, the enjoyment, entertainment and awareness of people and their participation (whoops) I mean their activity, not simply that of paid artists. So, as Jim Haynes puts it, there should be two arts labs in the near future. (I don't know the policy of the second Arts Lab.)

At the Arts Lab, Drury Lane, last week, Essex University students put on 'X', written and directed by Pam Aubrey also at Essex. This is a play of immense power and commitment as acted by this group of white, liberal students in portraying black negro history, seen through the founder of Black Muslims, Elijah Muhammad. The play is suitable for almost any large open room or outdoors and the only props are lights and music.

With Elijah Muhammad as narrator, negro history is shown in a series of sketches with statements and speeches of people like slave traders; slaves; individuals like Dubois; Martin Luther King; Ku Klux Klan; the negro girl refused entry into the Little Rock School, Arkansas.

But the strength of this production lies in the movement and mime supported by good jazz music. Dress is black from head to toe. White bibs denote 'Whites'.

I remember particularly the scenes of a negro woman raped; lynchings of rebellious plantation workers; jazz club sounds and scenes; the 'black and white together' changing into 'Black Power forever' and 'We Shall Overcome' into 'We Shall Overrun'; the storming of city buildings climaxed by machine-gunning of the demonstrators; the massing of more and more demonstrators, linked-arms facing the powers of government and army. Defiant and prepared for future battles.

Of course this is a hymn to Black Power. An attempt to forge negro dignity and identity through an understanding of their own history.

There is no criticism of power politicians. There is no comment on conscription and high Vietnam losses among negro soldiers! There is no alternative to the streets or to violence!

But this is a serious and sober production which should equal any other student play put on at the Exeter student finals. (Any reader wishing to book this Essex University Group with 'X' should get in touch with Pam Aubrey, 35 Halstead Road, Kirby Cross, Essex. Tel.: Frinton 3139.)

After midnight and the emotionally stunning play, 'X', Godard's film *One Plus One* seemed boring, tedious and the Rolling Stones apart, uninteresting. The Black Power sequences were simply trivial though they revealed the emptiness of political sloganeering and the ease of

destroying human beings—white women killed by bullets. However it is funny and does cut-up the dear images of religions. Religions of politics, sex and money. Religions of nationhood, novel writers and film-makers. I enjoyed the shots of recording studios. The Rolling Stones making their new LP. A long-



playing record called *Beggars Bouquet* (Decca). Mick Jagger singing a song so obviously influenced by the haunting imagery of Bob Dylan (on *John Wesley Harding*, etc.). Singing it again and again in an effort to record as they wanted it recording/sounding: the song — *SYMPATHY FOR THE DEVIL*.

So to the final and as yet hardly released film over here in England, *DON'T LOOK BACK*. This is a portrait of Bob Dylan as up to and about 1964/65. The camera simply follows Dylan everywhere. Here is a young professional singer and songwriter—storyteller as he used to call himself—standing in the street flipping the words of *SUBTERRANEAN HOME-SICK BLUES* onto the ground as they boom out at you. ...

"John is in the basement Mixing up the medicine I'm on the pavement Thinking about the government. ... Don't follow leaders or watch the parking meters. ... Twenty years of schooling and they put you the dayshift Look out kid is there something you did Better jump down a manhole light yourself a candle Don't wear sandals you can't afford the scandle. ..."

He is shown singing the *Ballad of Medgor Evers* to a negro work-team on some typical farm; outdoors dressed in overalls, with short hair and grim expression of belief. The camera switches to the Albert Hall—with bank on bank of people hidden behind tiny lights in a pitch-black stage waiting for this poet-with-guitar to appear in the spotlight. He is wearing black leather jacket and carrying harmonica and a wry defensive look as he sings the *Ballad of Medgor Evers* to a paying audience of nice whites in cosy marketable comfort.

There is a scene of great interest to me where he is pounding away on a typewriter, it is early hours of the morning. Joan Baez sits in an easy chair singing a

worksong-cum-blues. A woman sits in the corner by Dylan (his wife?). He carries on typing his work and Joan Baez, now married to David Harris, an organizer for *The Resistance* (Anti-Military Revolution), sings some sad love song, her eyes tired and sad as if already very far from Dylan's love. The typewriter continues to pound... working on new songs—Poems with Music.

Another scene shows his manager, Al Grossman, bargaining for £2,000 as fee for a half-hour show on television, Granada, or BBC, it doesn't matter which. He plays one company off against the other and gets his money (two shows, I think).

But those scenes I remember best were between Dylan, Alan Price and the lonely student interviewer; and the one in which Dylan grills the journalist from *Time* magazine. In the former an earnest and tiresome student persists in asking questions—unable to listen to Dylan and Alan Price in a warming-up session before appearing on stage. The student has been educated by the head method. That is, he has no warmth of personality for he has been emotionally deadened by environment and education. He cannot remain silent and still learn, or even understand, so he worries Bob Dylan into answering. He has no 'heart' or 'soul'.

*Time* magazine is publicly annihilated by devastating analysis of its 'real' news or its 'real' importance. The journalist, discomfited but tough, learns that Dylan will not be reading any *Time* article anyway for he never buys *Time* magazine.

Dylan is shown travelling through England on tour. Meeting Liverpool girls and putting up with official praise from a patronizing Lady Mayoress. He ends his tour, after that Albert Hall concert, after singing *It's All Over Now Baby Blue* and *Gates of Eden*; *Talkin' World War Three Blues* and *It's Alright Ma, I'm Only Bleeding*; sitting in a taxi, murmuring about the deadened English communists saying that word 'anarchist'—'Now that would really worry me to be called anarchist.' 'Anarchist?'

Yes, he is very very wealthy now. He has four children and a wife hidden away. He writes, mostly, since he is still under contract to write/record. He recently released LP *John Wesley Harding* has been described as 'a load of rubbishy lyrics' but I would not describe it like that. For if what he writes is complex it is meaningful and beautiful poetry. Not poetry for birthdays or deathdays but for every day; and if we cannot understand it perhaps that is our problem not Dylan's. Songs like *Dear Landlord*; *Lonesome Hobo*; *All Along The Watchtower*; *Drifters Escape and I Dreamed I Saw St. Augustine* seem fairly direct! See *SINGOUT* magazine, Oct./Nov. '68, for his current thoughtlines.\*

*DON'T LOOK BACK* is showing indefinitely at the Arts Lab; telephone for details: 01-242 3407.

DENNIS GOULD.

\**SINGOUT* (8s. 6d.) from Dobell's Record Shop, Charing Cross Road.

# Towards Workers' Control

## WHY WAS WORKERS' CONTROL DISCUSSED? [in France]

THE IDEA OF WORKERS' CONTROL has appeared on different historical occasions: during the Spanish Civil War by the anarchists; in Yugoslavia after the rupture with the Comintern; and in the formation of certain countries such as Israel and Algeria.

However, the idea was not immediately involved in the May and June movement in France: it is not mentioned in the agreement of the 'Workers and Students' Struggle' Commission (see bulletin of the 22nd March Movement for 26.4.68).

Only after May 10 was the idea brought up publicly, when the Sud-Aviation factory at Nantes was occupied and workers' control was discussed after May 13. *Humanité* (the French Communist daily) of May 22 said that it was a hollow formula. The CFDT (a trade union federation with Catholic tendencies), however, adopted the concept ('of which the first preliminary is trade union rights within the factory'). The idea was discussed by *Syndicalisme* on May 25 and *Combat* on May 30. (The latter had previously described Cohn-Bendit as 'a wandering puff of smoke'.)

It appeared, therefore, that in a few weeks an ideology almost unknown to the masses had been considered by them, and that all the proposals of the great central trade unions had been powerless to destroy it, since, being forced to attack it, they had given the idea more publicity.

The means of communication were consequently of the utmost importance, but they were not able to dominate the situation. The bureaucrats were forced to denounce what they would have preferred to ignore.

Because an ideology is talked about, it does not mean that it is accepted. Let's look at the concrete cases of application.

## WHERE WERE THERE GROPINGS TOWARDS WORKERS' CONTROL?

One hears of factories at Brest, of certain large stores in some towns. . . . About twenty examples are cited. One hears of the strike committees in Savoy who issued coupons for goods.

A certain consciousness was shown in the form of the strikes, the feebleness of the demands of the trade union bureaucrats, and the fact that a respect for human dignity often appeared on lists of demands made by the workers. What was lacking was lots of propaganda beforehand, and militants ready to act, not as leaders, but as militants.

An example: when some students brought some chickens to be sold to the strikers on the cheap, the workers at first regarded this solely as an act of kindness, but it took on another meaning when the workers started doing this themselves, entering into direct contact with the peasants and students, not through the trade unions, as before, nor on an individual basis, but on a living solidaric basis.

This happened in several areas where it was least expected. There were important demonstrations in Bordeaux and Lyon where groups were interested in workers' control, but we do not know of any cases of application in those

cities. However in Brittany [an extremely conservative area] and Savoy there were attempts at application. In Paris and Nantes, workers' control was proposed and attempted.

There were, therefore, three levels: propaganda without results, propaganda with results, and, apparently, results without preliminary propaganda.

## TO WHAT END WERE THE ATTEMPTS AT WORKERS' CONTROL?

'In practically all the factories where active occupation had followed the strike, the problems of the running and administration of the enterprise had been more or less taken into account by the strikers. This corresponded to the tendency of the young workers and militants, who generally refuted a system of industrial relations that no longer corresponded to their culture and their personalities.'

We do not know if a factory has ever corresponded to the personalities of its personnel; but it is evident that what had to be done to find rapid solutions to urgent problems, led to a heightened consciousness; the opening and running by strikers of canteens and funds to give credit and coupons for petrol, etc.

At the same time the division of

labour was questioned, and hence the organisation of work itself.

As well as this there was an increased consciousness acquired partly from action: 'At the Renault factory at Cléon were some young workers who, at the time when the occupation of Sud-Aviation was announced, spontaneously stopped work in certain shops and decided to occupy the factory. It was then proposed and adopted that the managers be locked in their offices as at Bouguenais.' Also contacts were made with other factories and workers made contact with students and peasants. At Nantes the distribution of food was organised. It was self-defence:

working below capacity. They wanted to organise things in a better way and participate in the running of the enterprises and avoid the divisions between different enterprises in the same branch of industry. It is from here that their attitude to and their interest in workers' control arose, in so far as it is a system which is concerned with the organisation of work, and requires the co-operation of all. But it is almost certain that they disliked the revolutionary implications of workers' control.

As for the trade unionists who are, let us not forget, a minority among the workers [in France], there was a clear

even though things may appear otherwise. Thus 'participation' has appeared, being founded on the demand for information and a certain amount of control, that the bosses are ready and willing to give in order to deceive the workers. But nothing within the framework of capitalism is changed.

Besides workers' control is control of all the aspects of the economy, whereas the different concepts proposed by the government (autonomy, participation, etc.) only came to a particle of power within a limited sector.

If there is no theoretical clarification of workers' control, the slogan will be accepted in some reformist sense, to the benefit of some centralist formula which is directly recuperable by the communist movement.

## BRIEF CONCLUSIONS

There was no workers' control. Workers' control became a miraculous word which would devour the snake of reformism. It is up to us militants to explain and spread the idea of workers' control, wherever we may be.

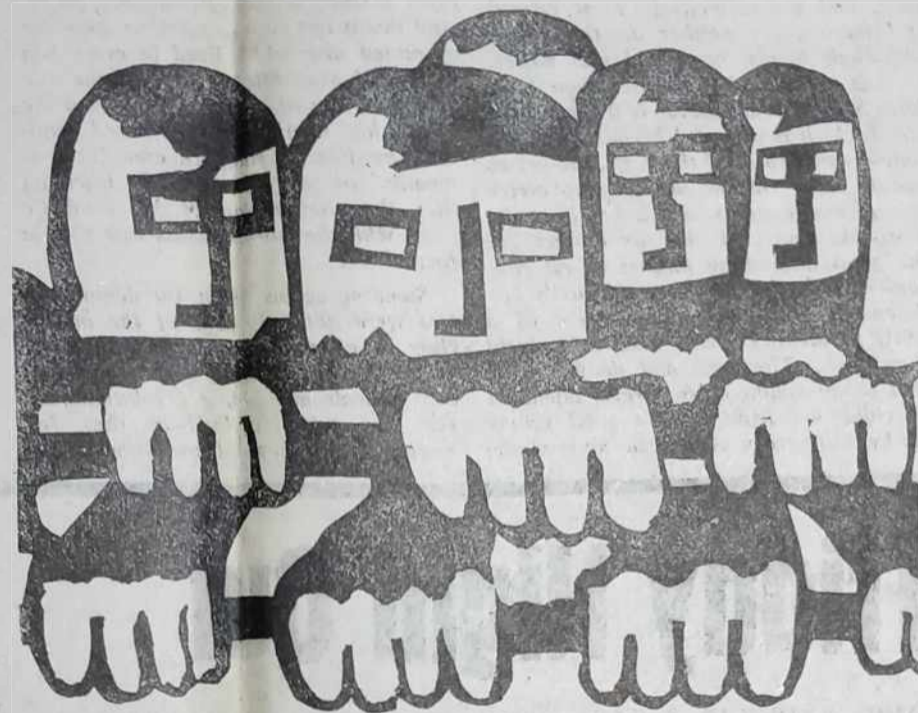
The essential criticism that one can give to centralism, even if it is democratic, even if the proposals from the centre are discussed and amended by the base, is that such an organisation really reserves the initiative for the elite, which results in passivity on the part of militants at the base and maintains them in a state of submission, which they often readily accept, because they are the victims of capitalist alienation.

The power of decision-making and the elaboration of the political line should belong to all the militants of the revolutionary organisation. This federalism, this running of an organisation in its totality by all the militants is also 'workers' control' (autogestion).

The bureaucrats always oppose this with 'efficiency'; everyone cannot decide the political line, this is an affair for specialists; one must guide the masses on the road of increasing consciousness. . . . federalism will enfeeble the workers and therefore would be the objective ally of capitalism. However this is a false problem, a false dilemma; the real problem is to give the revolutionary organisation a federalist structure, which will allow the revolutionary line to be expressed and therefore be effective.

—From *Noir et Rouge*, No. 42.

Trans.: B.B.



the formation of a revolutionary power.

There appeared therefore, two reactions concerning the practicalities of workers' control: one attitude slow-moving, progressively arriving at a consciousness and another more forceful and determined.

## ATTITUDES TO WORKERS' CONTROL

The workers generally received the idea favourably. The new element was the role of the technocrats. In spite of the presence of certain of these who were militant revolutionaries, a great ambiguity existed. The technocrats, engineers and technicians felt that things were

division on the subject of workers' control within the left. Since May there have been fluctuations in membership depending upon the positions taken. At Flins radical workers left the CGT (Communist) for the CFDT, whereas moderate and passive elements have joined the unions which took a 'reasonable attitude'.

## THE REACTIONS OF CAPITALISM

'Everything will be as it was before,' explained M. Lip in *Le Monde* (15.8.68). 'Let us not be mistaken, there exist and there will exist for a long time people who have an inadequate level of pay.' This corresponds to the needs of capitalism, which cannot modify exploitation,

# Inside the French Army

IN ANY REVOLUTIONARY situation the role played by the army is crucial. The following, which is an extract from a letter by a French soldier which was sent to comrades of the 'Noir et Rouge' group, describes the reactions of the soldiers in one camp to the May revolt.

'We will now see what effects the May events had on the camp at Frileuse; first the measures taken by the government, then the reactions among the men.

The measures taken were of two kinds:

1. The 5th Infantry Regiment were confined to the camp and put in a state of alert; their only contact with the outside world was by means of transistor radios; one company, commando company No. 2 (the toughest, which contained all the juvenile delinquents), was prepared to go into action at any given moment. During the night lorry-loads of armed men drove around. One section (of trainee sergeants) was designated to maintain order in the camp if necessary.

2. The camp itself was transformed into a re-grouping base. Three huge tent towns were built and the best company from each of the following regiments arrived [here there followed a list of the regiments].

What were the reactions to the revolt? First, the officers. . . . The officers (who sometimes show an amazing incompetence in the performance of their duties) looked on the students as a nuisance that had disrupted the regular flow of their lives. Among the lower ranks of officers were a certain number of ex-parachutists, who had been sent as instructors to improve the regiment, after their own regiments had been dissolved or transformed after the de Chalé rebellion. These were often the most competent officers in the camp. They had a mixture of egalitarian, republican and anti-democratic tendencies. They weren't mad about defending de Gaulle, but they

were ready to at the time, to make the rebels respect law and order, and also because they were a little jealous of the "Sorbonne beardies" ("Those students talk too much; they ought to let the CRS at them") (sic.) Some of them were admirers of Mao.

When the parachutists, the marines and the hussars arrived at Frileuse, the ex-paras of the 5th Infantry, meeting many old friends, summed up their reaction with the oft-repeated phrase, "It's always the same blokes who have to do the dirty work."

The other officers were a bit thick and didn't realise what it was all about. However one of them said about some new recruits, "This will stir things up a bit; there must be some workers' sons amongst this lot." The reactions of the conscripts were expressed by words and actions.

## ARMS THEFT

One night there was a big arms theft from the general armoury (the sergeant who commanded the guard was a conscript). The military police could prove nothing against him, but he was dismissed and sent elsewhere. Rumour had it that the arms were found dumped in the Seine, but I'm not sure whether this was true or not.

A captain was to leave for Paris by jeep. His deserted vehicle was parked ready for his departure. Several unknown conscripts surrounded it; looked as though they were giving it a check-up, then quickly disappeared leaving the jeep with four punctured tyres and a leaking petrol tank. The incident seemed to have shaken certain officers.

There were several attempts to distribute leaflets in the recreation rooms and around the camp; some of these were published by Action Committees outside the camp.

Finally certain soldiers would have liked to leave the camp and join the rebels (I say would have liked).

So much for the acts; the mental attitude of the soldiers was more difficult to estimate. For example during a conversation held by eight conscripts in the guard-room one said he would have fired on the demonstrators (he wanted to join the paras, but didn't come up to the standard), six would not have fired (one of these was the corporal who said, "Just because I'm in uniform, that doesn't mean I'm a soldier; I would never fire on civilians; that would be like shooting my mates"), and the last of the eight said, "I would have fired, but not on the demonstrators. . . ."

## NEW RECRUITS

Now for those who were called up in July, just after the revolt. There was some tendency on the part of the regulars to consider all the new recruits as ex-demonstrators. The recruits themselves, however, only spoke of barricades when they were fed up, but they said hardly anything else (apart from the thug who was passing through, under arrest for attacking a gendarme, who declared that he was a member of the "Anarchist Party" (sic), or the young man who replied to the question: "Have you ever been a member of any youth organisation?"—"Yes: the JCR"). However, one gained an idea from several conversations.

For example, on the theme "If it starts again in October, and we are sent to deal with it. . ." (among a dozen men) one said, "Once one is there, one would be obliged to fire if one received the order, and if at the same time one is on the receiving end of flying stones, one is liable to get angry. . ." One said, "It would be better to refuse to go", and another, "On the contrary, one would have to go in

order to do something. . . ."

On the theme "Were the students right?" (among half a dozen men) one said, "As far as I'm concerned I've got the tricolour on my arse and the red flag at my head. . . ." Another said, "We've already been defeated" but admitted "The tricolour will always be necessary" (he was a member of the CGT\*). The Others agreed with him. Finally in one section of about forty men, about half a dozen hummed or sang the "Internationale".

## THE QUESTION THE MEN

### WERE ASKING

In conclusion, we will ask the question that the men themselves were asking: "Suppose it begins again. . . ."

If it starts all over again, it is most probable that there will be at Frileuse some conscripts ready to fight the demonstrators. All the officers would not be available as some would have to look after the conscripts. However the support of the conscripts for a revolutionary movement remains uncertain, apart from the isolated actions of certain individuals, at great personal risk.

It is more difficult for revolutionary spontaneity to show itself in the army than in other occupations. To do something here means risking a lot. It is understandable that there is a lot of mistrust; each man knows his own section inside-out, but there is little contact with other companies and among the different sections of each company. This isolation is a great obstacle and is aggravated by the artificial rivalries encouraged by the officers. Also there is no work done in common nor meetings in which different companies take part. On the other side, the repression is united. Some sort of embryonic secret liaison would be necessary to pass on information and let sec-

tions know what was being thought in the other sections. In order to do this, there must be more anti-militarists in the army, and friendly contacts with people outside. To wait till the last moment, then suddenly think of the army, and dish out a leaflet to friends here and there, means risking a lot for a little (especially for the soldiers); it would be dangerously childish. Undoubtedly there are some places in the army where one can do almost anything without being discovered, but as far as the situation as I know it is concerned this sort of thing should be avoided.'

Trans. B.B.

## Important Announcement LONDON SQUATTERS

Public Meeting to instal Homeless Families in Empty Properties SUNDAY FEB. 9 2 pm MANOR PARK (British Railway Stat.)

\*A Trotskyist group, now illegal.

\*A Communist trade union organisation.

# News from Northern Ireland

ON FRIDAY, January 17, 60 pupils from six different schools picketed St. Dominics, Belfast, in support of a 16-year-old girl who was expelled the previous week for distributing the 'Who the hell do you think you are' leaflet. The picket was well covered in the North Irish Press, the Newsletter (Belfast) reproduced the leaflet. One quote from the headmistress, Sister Virgilius: 'This is ridiculous. You must have authority. This sort of thing will be stamped out.' More action and fuller report follows.—(Phone.)

FREEDOM has reported in depth the battle for basic Human Rights in N. Ireland, a revolutionary situation is developing. Various steps have yet to be taken.

The campaign in Eire must catch up. It has started but it has a long way to go. 'Protestant' workers must march with the already marching 'Catholics'.

It must be made clear that the struggle is only sectarian in the sense that NI politics is based on the Catholic/Protestant struggle, and it is the politicians who keep this alive. It is the Government and their forces who try and make every march look like a sectarian fight, for as soon as the Protestant and Catholic workers unite, the Government and the whole one-party system will collapse. It is for these reasons that Bunting and Paisley have the connivance of the Unionist Government, for they, by all they do, keep the religious issue alive. They are the sectarians. It is the old

policy of divide and misrule. The battle at the moment is one of propaganda by deed. The People's Democracy of Queens University, Belfast, won a major victory at Burntollet, the forces of the Government took the gloss off it at Newry. This week has been a breathing space, but the battle must continue all over Ireland.

We of the militant left must bury our differences and give our active support, remember Britain pays £70 million to keep the Unionists in power. The ultimate responsibility lies here. Biafra, Malaya, Mexico, Japan and Italy, missing from our list of struggles supported, let not Ireland become another.

REG. B.

## WHAT THE COMMONWEALTH IS ALL ABOUT

BRITAIN MAY SELL a squadron of supersonic Lightning fighters worth a total of about £12m. to Malaysia if talks due to begin in London recently are successful.

Tunku Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister of Malaysia, is cutting short a visit to Paris where he was about to negotiate the purchase of 16 French Dassault Mirage jets to fly to London for discussions with the Government and the Lightning's manufacturers, the British Aircraft Corporation.

The Tunku had been offered the much older Hawker Hunter while he was in London for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. He said in Paris: 'Only when they knew I was going to Paris to buy Mirages did the British wake up and offer to provide Malaysia with Lightnings.'

Malaysia could need 15 or 16 Lightnings, 12 for a squadron and three or four back-up or trainer machines. No objection exists on security grounds to the sale to Malaysia of the aircraft which is the RAF's front-line fighter.

Powered by two Rolls-Royce Avon

### PREMISES FUND

Target is £1,000 per year.  
1969 pledges honoured and donations to date: £52 4s. 6d.

### MOVING FUND

Target is £500.  
Donations in 1968 reached £430 0s. 3d.  
1969: To date—Nil.

## SKINT!

### FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Estimated Expenses:  
3 weeks at £90: £270  
Income: Sales and Subs.: £217  
DEFICIT: £53

### PRESS FUND

W'minster Coll. Gp.: 2/6; Glasgow: T.D. 8/1; Ilford: C.S. 5/8; Mansfield: C.S. 5/-; Aberdeen: I.M. 2/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.\* 2/-; J.L.\* 3/-; Manchester: M.D. 2/-; Falmouth: R.W. 1/8; London, N.W.3: K.L. 5/-; Neath: N.B. 4/6; London: J.B. 3/-; London: G.H. 2/-.

TOTAL: £2 6 5  
Previously Acknowledged: £41 10 5  
1969 Total to Date: £43 16 10  
DEFICIT B/F: £53 0 0  
TOTAL DEFICIT: £9 3 2

SKINT!  
Please Renew Subs!  
\*Denotes Regular Subscriber.

## MASS MEETING

of Building Workers

### at DENNISON HOUSE

Vauxhall Bridge Road, Victoria, S.W.1

TUESDAY, 11th FEBRUARY

at 7.30 p.m.

Make sure your Branch and Job are represented

Issued by West London Branches of Building Trades' Workers

## LETTERS

### FIFTH COLUMN

### North-west Federation

Dear Comrades,

A conference will be held in Preston on February 1 on the question of reviving N.W. Federation to improve liaison/conference in the North-West. Any group or individual not previously contacted and who are interested in this, would they please contact Preston Anarchist Group at the following address, giving numbers and if accommodation is required.

Yours fraternally,  
IAN COWBURN.

Preston Anarchist Group,  
c/o Ian Cowburn,  
140 Watling Street Road,  
Fulwood, Preston,  
Lancs.

### London May Day Committee

Dear Friend,

Preparations for this year's May Day (May 1) demonstration are now under way. At our meeting on January 10 the following decisions were made:

1. To organise the biggest possible demonstration on Thursday, May 1.
2. To hold a Rally and Meeting at Tower Hill (as last year) and then to march with banners and slogans to some large open space (probably Victoria Park in the East End).
3. To provide there the possibility for the demonstrators to enjoy themselves for the rest of the day with music, dancing, sports, acting, artists—anything, in fact, that the marchers themselves want to do. It will be a really free day—free from work and free for everyone to enjoy themselves.

May 1 is already recognised as a workers' holiday in most countries. We want to see it recognised in Britain also—a day when we turn our backs on the State, the profit-makers and exploiters and assert our dignity as human beings, men and women not work machines.

So, if you are fed up with unemployment, homelessness, bad housing, high rents, rising living costs and endless Government direction of our lives, then show your disgust by taking the day off to demonstrate on Thursday, May 1.

Our aim is enjoyment not violence. We simply intend on one day of the year to ignore the whole money-grubbing system and thus demonstrate the real power of the working class, that society can't live without us.

There is a tremendous amount of work to be done and all who want to help to make May 1 a success are cordially invited to meet at 29 Love Walk, S.E.5 (701 0817).

Yours fraternally,  
JOHN LAWRENCE,  
Chairman,  
London May Day Committee.

## FREEDOM IN THE PROVINCES

Outside London FREEDOM and Anarchy now available from the following news-agents and booksellers:

NEWSAGENT  
outside Ilford Station.  
THE HYPERION,  
Waterloo Street,  
Birmingham, 3.  
CASTLE STREET BOOKSHOP,  
1 Castle Street, Edgeley,  
Stockport, Cheshire.  
BUX for PAPERBACKS,  
16 Drury Hill,  
Nottingham.  
TOWER BOOKS,  
86 South Main Street,  
Cork, Ireland.  
MR. G. M. BREMMER,  
Newsagent,  
Bigg Market,  
Newcastle upon Tyne, 1.  
THE CURIOSITY SHOP,  
150-154 London Road,  
Kingston upon Thames, Surrey.  
CLYDE BOOKSHOP,  
292 High Street,  
Glasgow.

Further help is needed to find new outlets for FREEDOM and Anarchy (see Contact Column).

Often lacking in practical knowledge, though capable of blinding us with science, these managers blunder on threatening workers and causing strikes, but are basically clueless when it comes to providing any real practical solutions.

MUNICIPAL & GENERAL WORKERS.

side of the city, a bomb was fastened to the underneath of the landlord's car outside his own luxurious villa in suburban Dalkey. It failed to explode; but there were more arrests.

There were High Court proceedings against one of the squatters, Denis Dennehy; and he has now been on hunger strike in Mountjoy Jail for over a week. Demonstrations in his support have been held. On Saturday, January 18, 1969, a mass meeting was held by the Dublin Housing Action Committee at the centre of the city; and prominent speakers demanded his release.

At the end of the meeting, the demonstrators marched down O'Connell Street (the main highway of the Irish Republic), and held a sit-down protest on the bridge. Traffic in the great city was completely immobilised for several hours. The police attacked with drawn batons and the demonstrators defended themselves with fists, placards and poles. It was, I am told, one of the biggest meetings ever held in the city since the 1913 Lockout and the great days of Big Jim Larkin.

The demonstrators' demand is a simple one. Homes. Homes at a price the people can afford to pay. Ownership, not perpetual rent or any form of serfdom. No more landlordism. Home ownership for every family in Ireland tomorrow.

This is a just and lawful demand; and it must be honoured.

GERARD GRIMLEY.  
Gerard Grimley is the editor of *The Agitator*, Voice of the Unemployed and Exploited. This paper is a cyclostyled, four-page publication, dealing with the problems of those on the dole in Ireland. Although Ulster is a police state, the Republic of Eire is not paradise either. A couple with three kids in Dublin receive £8 10s., in Belfast £14 12s. There are warnings about police spies, and articles dealing with the various tricks played upon the unemployed, how they are used to frighten into submission those who still have jobs. Also there is an article on mental illness and unemployment. It is a pity there does not seem to be any address on it, where one may send for a copy. Perhaps this is dictated by prudence!

### DIE YOUNG AT DUNLOP

Continued from page 8  
a pep talk calling for our co-operation. Alas, our old gaffer got out when he found the job bad for his nerves.

Marsden said he wanted 'fair do's' for the new bloke, and warned us that if need be he could be 'a bastard'; Harry, himself about the size of two-penn'orth of copper, has also threatened privately to shake us up. On us asking about our rise (see FREEDOM, 11.1.69) he admitted it was all but in the bag.

Co-operation OK, but blind obedience, subservience, and sheer slavery are not on. And if that's what he wants he's got another think coming.

Marsden, Brown & Co. please note: we will co-operate best with a management which takes notice of us, the workers. We will work best when we know we work for ourselves and not for the few who control and pocket the profits of these giant combines, such as Dunlop.

### A MANAGEMENT OF WORKERS

A management of workers would have no need to get out the big whip, to threaten and sweat workers into producing. Higher production comes from increased mechanisation, improved organisation of the job, and the incentive to work. Does anyone doubt that this could best be done by the workers themselves?

At Dunlop, a conveyor belt and masks could probably reduce the menace of dust. But we have neither.

Industry today is full of heartless, spend nowt—do nowt managements.

### Gold as Safe as ever

MOST OF THE leading gold mining groups in this country are very highly valued in the stock exchange. . . . Largely, it would appear, because it has been concluded that political risk is relatively unimportant. The gold price crisis, with the resultant strain on currencies, has made investors aware of the importance of commodities as a sound and continuing investment. The chance of the mines themselves being snatched away by intransigent or left-wing governments has ceased to be a major risk.

—The Times, 20.1.69.

### Ireland Tomorrow

Continued from page 1

were not adjudged in any way, but were evaded—for a well-known reason.

The courts have at all times defaulted in their duty to protect the common people from oppression; but exhibited a conspicuous favouritism to this most noxious form of economic crime.

There is no law nor statute in Ireland or in Great Britain to confer upon the landlord the right to buy or to own the dwelling-place of any other man; but the title-deeds of criminal landlordism rest solely and specifically upon the personal corruption of many generations of court personnel—many of the judges and court lackeys are themselves landlords, and sons of landlords.

As the tenement houses stood empty, many of the former dwellers, who had nowhere to sleep, returned by night to their former abodes and forced entrance—in defiance of the landlords and their legal accomplices—and squatted there.

All over Dublin there were many evictions and angry scenes as the dwellers were forced by police batons away from their shelters. There were protests and marches and demonstrations in nearly every area in the city; and many of the protesters were jailed. But the police persisted in protecting the landlords from the anger of their victims.

Following an eviction in the north

WYNFORD HICKS.

# The Black 'White Paper'

**T**HE PRE-ELECTION tactics of the Labour Government are working out very well. By presenting the White Paper *In Place of Strife* they are drawing the Tory Party further into the open in declaring their policy on industrial affairs.

Two Tory Party spokesmen have seized the bait. In the *Evening News* dated 17.1.69, Charles Curran, former Tory MP for Uxbridge, in writing about Barbara Castle's proposals stated: 'But she will also make a permanent name for herself in British history.'

Her proposals are the thin end of a very thick wedge. It is far easier for a Labour Government to drive in that wedge than it would be for the Tories.

No doubt the Tories will seek to drive it in a good deal further when they return to power.

But where wedges are concerned it is the first blow that counts.

## Contact Column

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

**Help!** John Bonner and Steve Leman, after refusing to accept the authority of the courts, were fined £5 each for fly posting Elliot Automation demo sticker. Donations (loans) gratefully received. Contact Bexley group please.

**Help Increase 'Freedom's' Circulation.** Are you willing to take 'Freedom' and 'Anarchy' regularly to local newspapers and collect returns and cash? If so we'd like to hear from you. — CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT.

**Chicago Gallery and Bookshop** in the service of SURREALISM AND REVOLUTION, desires contacts in UK. Interested in stocking all revolutionary publications, avant-garde poetry journals, 'little mags', etc. Gallery Bugs Bunny, 524 Eugenie, Chicago, Illinois 60614, USA.

**Scottish Anarchist Conference** in Aberdeen March 1 and 2. Details from Dave Coull, 3 Eskview Terrace, Ferryden.

**International Summer Camp.** This year it is going to be held in Cornwall. Committee meeting at Freedom Press, Tuesday, January 28, 8 p.m. Help wanted in organisation.

**Help wanted** (girl, couple, anything considered) in isolated rural household, Colchester/Ipswich area. Working anarchist parents offer board, lodging, and pocket money for sharing care of children and chores. Time/responsibilities flexible. Children 4 and 1½. Driver preferred. Box No. 30.

**Poster Workshop,** 61 Camden Road, N.W.1. Free silk screen facilities at the service of the class struggle.

**Free Schools Campaign.** Support needed for anti-authoritarian Schools Campaignation Street. Jan 28: Godfrey Webster on 'The Origins of the Hungarian Uprising'. Feb. 4: Geoff Charlton on 'Anarchism and the American Novel'. (Worth moving to Birmingham—C.C. Compiler.)

**The Crypt,** 242 Lancaster Road, W.11. Music, Poetry, Theatre every Wed. 2/6. Audience participation.

**Birmingham Discussion Meetings,** Tuesdays at 8 p.m. At The Crown, Corporation Street. Jan. 21: Graeme Melvor on 'Freud and Anarchism'. Jan. 28: Godfrey Webster on 'The Origins of the Hungarian Uprising'. Feb. 4: Geoff Charlton on 'Anarchism and the American Novel'. (Worth moving to Birmingham—C.C. Compiler.)

**Badges and Banners.** Rectangular metal black/red badges 2/6 each post free or bulk rate (10 or more) 1/- each—resell at 2/- or 2/6. Also flags and banners to order, from 7/6. McGee, 42 Pendarves Street, Beacon, Cambridge, Cornwall.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

The need to strike that blow is plain. I applaud Barbara for recognising it.

Mr. Macleod, 'Shadow Chancellor', has stated, 'We shall urge adoption of this in the committee stage of the legislation in the House (he was talking about contracts being enforceable in the Courts) and if the Government do not accept our views then we shall strengthen the legislation when we come to office.'

One can imagine the use of these two quotes in Labour Party election material, making the point that Tory policy will be far tougher, and therefore the Labour Party proposals are the lesser of two evils. By this method the Labour Party hope to frighten the industrial worker into supporting them, and at the same time hoping to retain the middle class vote who want the unions 'brought to order'.

The Government White Paper *In Place of Strife* certainly waffles on through its 40 pages. It could have stopped after the first sentence on page 5, 'There are necessarily conflicts of interest in industry.' What the White Paper failed to say was that there always will and must be under the capitalist system. The other thirty-odd pages consist of blarney leading eventually to industrial shackles.

Under the paragraph 'The Role of the Government in Industrial Relations', the Paper states: 'The State should recognise the right to strike and the right to bargain collectively to improve wages and conditions. But so long as the "rules of the game" were roughly fair to both sides, the State should not be concerned with its consequences.' One wonders where the 'Prices and Incomes Board' fit in to that statement. The State make the rules for their game, anyone thinking to the contrary must be living on another planet.

When discussing the present state of industrial relations the 'Paper' attempts to encourage the popular concept that one section of workers in struggle is not the concern of other sections of workers. The report prattles on about the right of an employee to withdraw his labour being one of the essential freedoms in a democracy, but then goes on to say that strikes in key positions can damage the interests of other people so seriously—including the interests of other trade unionists—that they should only be resorted to when all other alternatives have failed. The purpose of the Industrial Bill is to ensure that such workers will only ever be able to strike in theory.

The Report criticises the weaknesses in collective bargaining and the outdated distinctions between hourly-paid workers and staff and then goes on to state that 'The combined effect of such defects is to increase the feeling of many employees that they have no real stake in the enterprise for which they work.'

The difficulty these days is not only not having a stake in one's place of work, but not being sure of whom one really works for. Two directors have a chat over lunch, decide to merge and 'pop!' some workers are out on the 'stones'.

The final paragraph in the 'Reform of Collective Bargaining' section attempts to butter up those in opposition to industrial reform by suggesting that managements should make available to employees' representatives the information necessary for them to do their work. This is a real load of 'old cobbler's'. Managements kid their own shareholders therefore the possibility of them opening their hearts to the workers' negotiators with worthwhile information is a bit far-fetched.

A 'mother hen' is to be established called a Commission on Industrial Relations (CIR). Its job will be to see that the 'game is played fairly'. Development of acceptable rules governing disciplinary practices and dismissals. Bring shop stewards within a proper framework of agreed rules in the firm. I suppose one should not quibble; it provides employment, and it's nice to increase one's earnings just before retirement—better than a State pension.

The section on 'Collective Agreements and the Law' is one of the sections most heavily criticised. Barbara Castle makes

the point that it is up to the employers to convince unions that legal enforceability of contracts is in their own interests. The Tories and the CBI want contracts enforceable by law. Such a policy would strangle rank and file action and at the same time strengthen the hand of the union bureaucrats.

No Government White Paper on industrial affairs would be complete without reference being made to Restrictive Labour Practices. They go on to talk about overmanning or unnecessary overtime operated by groups of employees who see it as a way of protecting their jobs or of maintaining earnings. No mention is made of 'employers' restrictive practices'. Mergers followed by closure of plants and consequent sackings. So-called labour restrictive practices are essential outside a system of Workers' Control.

The creation of a new 'Industrial Board' puts the bite into the White Paper. Within the twenty lines describing the Board's function are hidden the penalties, to cover inter-union disputes (i.e., steel industry) and the ignoring of the 'cooling off period' for unconstitutional strikes. The penalties are fines by attachment of earnings.

The CIR will be asked to assist in problems of trade union structure and organisation, the idea being to draw the official trade union closer to the Establishment if that's possible. The training of full-time trade union officials and shop stewards is emphasised. It is far easier for the shop stewards to 'con' the rank and file into labour rationalization schemes and productivity deals than it is for management.

The policy of balloting the membership before taking strike action is a sop to the middle-class vote. The amount of official strikes called in the last ten years can be counted on one hand. Nevertheless it is another example of Government interference into trade union affairs.

The whole purpose of the Industrial Bill outlined in *In Place of Strife* is to screw down the rank and file. Control from above will be strengthened, encouragement will be given to the official trade union leadership to crack down on the rebels. Industrial militants could be in for a rough time.

If you believe in the Ballot Box you have a choice of two evils. If you do not, then organised rank and file action is the only alternative. If the opposition to the Prices and Incomes is any criteria, then Corporate State here it comes.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

## DIE YOUNG AT DUNLOP

*'How managers cause strikes.'*

*'Workers are remarkably tolerant of conditions of heat, noise, stench, and sheer physical pace which would make nervous and physical wrecks of most of those who comment on strikes—so long as these conditions are clearly an inevitable part of the job. But the strain comes out in their angry intolerance of avoidable frustrations. Look into a strike-prone enterprise, and you are quite likely to find sheer muddle.'*

—Guardian, Economic Editor.

**T**HEY CALL IT the Dunlop Dust-Bowl! With the air thick with dust, the Regent Rubber tyre men are getting choked-off with the bad working conditions at Dunlop, Rochdale, and a few of us are looking for fresh jobs.

Due to this irritating dust from dirty tyres one lad is having to have his tonsils out, bad chests and sore throats abound, and all of us discharge large quantities of black slime from our mouths and nostrils.

On top of this there are the lorries which are allowed to run inside the works for unloading, so pouring out deadly diesel fumes into an enclosed area where we are working.

### ABSENTEE MANAGEMENT

This kind of factory conditions could easily explain why Rochdale is near top of the charts when it comes to reckoning up how many of its inhabitants have bronchitis, TB, and other industrial diseases. It could also ex-

# Freedom For Workers' Control

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## ONE AGAINST THE OTHER

**T**HE SITUATION at present existing in the steel industry is a classic example of the trade union's role as the middle man in the labour market. It is ironic that, with the change from 'competitive private enterprise' to monopoly State ownership, the competition as to who can recruit the most members is now between the manual and white-collar unions. The British Steel Corporation (BSC) now finds itself in the middle of competing unions and faces a threat of a national stoppage by the 16 manual unions, starting from January 26.

The strike decision was taken after the BSC has finally decided to recognise two white-collar unions, the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs (ASTMS) and the Clerical and Administrative Workers Union (CAWU), at plants where they had a 'substantial membership'. Following this, manual union members have been instructed to refuse to follow instructions from anyone who is not a member of their own unions.

Before gaining recognition, the white-collar unions have had to put up a considerable fight. After nationalisation of the industry, the newly-appointed head of personnel, Mr. Ron Smith, formerly of the Union of Post Office Workers, refused to recognise both white-collar unions. This was despite the fact that both unions had recruited a considerable percentage at both the clerical and foreman levels. The case for recognition was put before the TUC who said that the two white-collar unions should have only local recognition.

### COURT OF INQUIRY

The CAWU thought otherwise and carried out a very successful campaign whereby their members at the plants of the former Colvilles and Stewarts and Lloyds in Scotland went slow. Later their members at Pressed Steel refused to handle anything from BSC and so threatened a hold up in car production. It was this action that really did the trick because following a Court of Inquiry set up by Barbara Castle and headed by Lord Pearson, it was recommended that both the CAWU and ASTMS should be recognised.

The BSC were now faced with a dilemma and one that could only bring them up against the 16 recognised manual unions, headed by the 105,400-strong Iron and Steel Confederation. Out of these 16 manual unions, 11 form a consortium of small craft unions totalling 22,300 members, of which 400 are white-collar workers. The ISTC has 11,750 white-collar members.

In the past there has been considerable reluctance on the part of foremen and clerical workers to join the manual workers' unions. This reluctance is based on two counts; one, that no doubt they thought they did not need a union and that certain staff associations would look after their interests and two, that the manual unions were ineffectual anyway against the management and that they did not cater for their interests. The two white-collar unions, on the other hand, had shown considerably more militancy and were recruiting members fast

plain our absentee management!

The only boss who ever comes regularly to Dunlop, Rochdale, is Harry Marsden, and then only once a week. He doesn't like it, but no doubt he likes the expenses for coming.

### CO-OPERATION

It was Marsden who, last Friday, introduced us to our new foreman with

in their own industry, as well as in many others. The CAWU has 3,500 members and the ASTMS has 4,100. This constitutes substantial inroads into the labour market of the industry, which until recently had been practically an exclusive for the manual unions and particularly the ISTC.

These inroads, followed by the recognition of the white-collar unions, are not just an accident, but are part of the change in the make-up of the industry.

It has been pointed out in *FREEDOM* before that the main reason why the steel industry was nationalised was so that, with centralisation, it could serve capitalism far better. It is a 'commanding height' and as such it has to be efficient on capitalist terms, but a major part of the industry was nowhere near this mark. Already a programme of modernisation and rationalisation has started and new processes are being introduced. Soon the different jobs of blasting and refining will be a continuous process.

### SACKINGS FORECAST

These new methods are already in operation, but are not yet widespread. When they are, what is now described as a 'labour intensive' industry will be cut down and it will be the skills and know-how of the manual workers that will not be needed in such quantity. Instead, it will be the white-collar worker who will be running the machines and it is this long-term prospect that is frightening the manual unions, especially the ISTC.

It is a frightening prospect, because something like a quarter of the present labour force of well over 200,000 will be made redundant by 1975. BSC hope to do this painlessly by natural wastage, but the unions say this is 'too optimistic'. The axing will not mean that less steel will be produced, but the 'modern methods' will in fact turn out more with less men.

With this sort of threat to jobs, the unions in the industry, obviously, should not be fighting one another. But being what they are, the middle men in the labour market, the white-collar workers in the industry represent a large prize and the entrance of the CAWU and the ASTMS is considered to be an intrusion into the domain of the other unions. (Before the white-collar unions became a threat, the other 16 unions fought amongst themselves.) But what remains at the basis of this dispute is the matter of choice, that workers, no matter what the colour of their collars, should be able to join the union of their own choosing and once having gained a following, that union should bargain on their behalf. It is as simple as that.

However, the tragic thing is that the union leaders are more militant over an inter-union dispute than they are over one with the management. While this is the case, men's jobs will be lost. Instead of fighting one another, they should be doing something about the forthcoming sackings.

I do not, however, anticipate any such fight from the leadership of any of the unions, whether it is Dai Davis, General Secretary of the ISTC or Clive Jenkins of the ASTMS. While saying it is up to workers to choose what union to join, the present dispute can only divide them. The rank and file of both manual and white-collar unions should realise this and act upon it. A divided house will not prevent the wholesale axing of jobs between now and 1975, but unity of common interest could demand that re-training takes place where necessary and that hours are cut instead of jobs.

Continued on page 7

P.T.