

# Freedom

Anarchist Weekly **6d**

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## CND: The Impotent Ghost

ON AUGUST 6, 1945, the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. At the time the only protests came from a few anarchists, pacifists and revolutionary socialists. Since Russia and America were still in alliance, the *Daily Worker* wrote 'Valuable lives in the allied nations will have been saved by the new discovery' and called for its use on more Japanese cities (*Daily Worker*, 14.8.45).

However, soon Russia and America quelled and the party line changed. The Communist Party launched its miserable creature, the British Peace Committee, and began to call for peace. However, for these hacks peace was not something that could be brought about only by mass action of the people against the society which bred wars, but something which would come by conferences of Russian and American rulers.

Meanwhile, the Labour left was offering no resistance as the Labour Party was harnessed ever closer to the Warfare State. The 1945 Labour Government commenced work on a British atom bomb, reintroduced conscription and took Britain into NATO and the Korean War. When the Tories returned to power, developed H-bombs and backed German re-armament, they did so with Labour support.

But times were changing. In the second half of the 1950s the Hungarian Revolt, the opening of the Negro struggle in the US, the resistance to the Algerian War in France, and the mass anti-Suez demonstrations in this country, all showed that the strongholds of the military and political bosses were not impregnable and that ordinary people could fight back. It was in this climate in 1957 that the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War was formed and organised a march from London to Aldermaston in Easter 1958. The results are well known. Several thousand people took to the road. The wall of apathy had been breached. While the old left had talked, the people had acted.

At the time, needless to say the Communist Party was looking the other way. According to the Communist journal *Marxism Today* in May 1959, 'Unilateralism only divides the movement'.

However the anti-Bomb movement gathered momentum. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament was formed followed by the Committee of 100 which in September 1961 successfully organised the Trafalgar Square sit-down in which 10,000 people poured into the streets of London to defy the Government's ban on public assemblies.

But meanwhile the politicians were moving in. The Communists had changed their attitude when it was evident that there was a mass movement to be captured. Labour MPs were attempting to steer the anti-Bomb movement into the channels of the Parliamentarianism that it had originally been a revolt against. Soon the results were becoming evident. When the 1961 CND conference voted in favour of unilateral disarmament by all countries the executive ignored it and continued to put out statements calling for summit conferences between leaders. Eventually in 1962 the leadership produced its policy statement, 'Step Towards Peace'. The wheel had come full circle. CND was no longer in favour of mass action by the peoples of the world to force their governments to disarm but instead was advocating deals between the leaders of the systems that had created the Cold War. Similarly when the 1962 CND conference voted to encourage strike action against nuclear weapons the executive, in its new-found

respectability, ignored the resolution completely.

However the rank and file of the campaign fought back. In Easter 1963, campaigners ignored the marshals who told them to 'ignore the trouble-makers', demonstrated at RSG 6 and filled the streets of London from side to side behind anarchists and Committee of 100 banners.

But the results of the castration of CND by the politicians were not long in coming. In August 1963 Russia and America signed the nuclear test-ban treaty between Russia and America to limit the spread of nuclear weapons. Since this attempt by the nuclear giants to preserve their monopoly was exactly what CND had been advocating, it was in no position to oppose its fraudulent nature. And so after 1963 the impetus went from the movement that had seemed to present the most serious threat to Britain's rulers that had been seen since the war.

Today in Easter 1969 CND is an impotent ghost 'inspiring neither fear amongst governments nor hope amongst peoples'. However, while CND continues to act out its meaningless charades, a new force is arising. In May '68 the workers and students of Paris showed that it is possible today not merely to beg for reforms but to attack society that creates the warfare state, head on. Wherever we look—Mexico, Italy, Spain, Ireland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, etc.—similar movements are arising.

Here in England the workers are resisting the Government's wage freeze, squatters are fighting back against homelessness, and students are questioning the content and organisation of their studies. If we hope to end the war in Vietnam and the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction we will do it not by strolling through the streets of London two or three times, but by aiding these struggles against the state for whose protection these weapons are to exist.

ROGER SANDELL.

# O'NEILL LIES EXPOSED



Duke Street, Derry, 5 October, 1968

### PEACEFULLY AND SLOWLY,

the 15,000 marchers made their way along the route that was banned on the bloody October 5 March. Only marred by a single scuffle—deliberately blown up and distorted by the TV, the march showed the deliberate ruthless policy of divide and rule of the O'Neills and Craigs for what it was. Maybe Captain O'Neill has a conscience; if he has he might reflect on the 50 people taken into hospital on October 5: a result of his sectarian politics.

The deliberate attempt of the 'moderate' O'Neill to stay the issues of human rights for all the people of Ulster has been completely exposed for the sickening game that it is, a game with human lives, jobs and housing.

The attempt of the Tory land-owners to reimpose their rule on the people of Northern Ireland is doomed to failure. The Green and Orange Tories have been driven into a hole, no one believes them any longer. Fifty years of misrule, police state and arbitrary arrest exercised

by the foolish in the interests of cunning will come to an end soon. The lessons of unity of the oppressed has been learned. There is no Cath/Prot division; there is only the haves and have-nots. The workers of Fountain Street and Bogside have nothing in common with Squire Terence and his noble henchmen. Even Paisley has realised that.

Bernadette Devlin in Derry's Guildhall Square on March 29 said that she hoped that the time would come when twice as many would be in the Guildhall Square because they would be joined by the people of Fountain Street, one of the Protestant areas of Derry, and then she said, 'We will not overcome but overthrow this Unionist government.' Mike Farrell pointed out the great lie of the elections and O'Neill's role in smashing demonstrations and quoted James Connolly: 'Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter will join hands to overthrow those who have exploited them.'

No amount of lies covering up the issues involved will satisfy the people

of Ulster. Eamonn McCann refuted Ivan Cooper's earlier attempt to blame everything on Paisley and call for repression against the Paisleyites by the police. McCann said, 'I believe Paisley is like a nail in a piece of wood; the harder you hammer it the further you drive it in and that would be a mistake. Our enemy is not Paisley but the system which forms Paisleys and Buntings. O'Neill is the father of Paisleyism and not Paisley himself. When we not only say non-sectarian slogans, but act and live in a non-sectarian way, will we have the right to say that we are a non-sectarian movement, and in all our demonstrations we should remember that the enemy is not the people who throw stones at you and wave Union Jacks but the system and those who control it.'

This march proved yet once more the vicious nature of those who devise the disgusting Special Powers Act and the Public Order Act. Justice will come to Ulster when the people act together against the Unionist Government.

## Punch-up between extremist groups

FOLLOWING REPORTS IN *Tribune* and the *Guardian* of the recent proliferation of racist groups, there has been a 'punch-up' disturbance of the peace, between two of these in the Borough of Walthamstow.

The two groups are the British Labour Party, and the British National Front; the former and larger—to which Oswald Mosley formerly belonged—has recently sent squads of armed thugs to attack a West Indian community, has been in the past responsible for the racist Commonwealth Immigrants' Act, and is now engaged in promoting a corporative state-type measure (in place of strife) designed to deprive all trade unionists of basic democratic rights, and reduce them like the coloured immigrants to third-class citizens.

The precise differences between the groups, and reason for their hostility is not known, but it is known that the BNF is a more recently formed group than the BLP.

It is believed that the smaller group

deliberately provoked the row, attempting to force the larger to evict it (the smaller) from the meeting. That when the eviction came an elderly leading member of the BLP was attacked, punched and kneed in the groin. It is believed that this leader had been a member of the party since the days of Oswald Mosley; and since the BNF shouted at him that he was a renegade, it has been suggested in some quarters that the reason for the hostility is some minor deviation from fascist orthodoxy on the part of the BLP.

Moderate opinion, while deploring these unseemly internecine battles of the extreme right, is probably not overly displeased to see the energies of the fascists dissipated in fratricidal struggles and not directed to damaging the trade union movement and to bullying the coloured population as is their normal wont.

However there is a disturbing distinctive feature about this particular battle for a notably moderate rightist group, called International Socialism,

which, it appears, has the ability to discern some faint peripheral differences between the neo-Nazi factions, has announced its intention to supply a 'Workers' Guard' for the BLP in a future meeting.

What their motive is in this intervention, no reputable correspondent is willing to say for sure, though off the record, and not committing the authority of their reputations, some knowledgeable writers suggest that the International Socialism reformists have heard of a rift within the ranks of the BLP.

It is pointed out that at the meeting the particular speaker to be protected is the party official nominally responsible for the party's strong-arm squads, the ill-famed 'boys in blue'; and it is rumoured that Wilson, the party leader, when planning and executing the infamous attack on the West Indians last week, did not consult the official concerned (known within the party, it is said, as the 'home secretary', presumably after the habit of the 'boys in blue', of breaking and entering law-abiding

squatters' homes, and evicting them therefrom).

It is also believed that the 'home secretary's' power within the party rests, at least in large part, on the consent of that faction of the party with the particular task of putting over the party's programme to industrial workers; and that this section of the party resents the crudity of the party's attack on wage-earners' pay which is losing support for the party fast among those workers previously misled by the so-called British Labour Party.

If in truth this does explain the actions of the International Socialism group, and it is difficult to believe that anyone not a fascist would wish to intervene in the internal disputes of fascist groups on such flimsy pretexts, then they should be warned that they are playing with fire, and are far more likely to become contaminated in decent people's eyes with the racist brush, than they are to make any significant gains. Such is often the reward of such opportunism.



# BOOKS ON ANARCHISM and kindred subjects

We can get books to order (school and technical books included). Please supply name of publishers.

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- Fear of Freedom** Erich Fromm (paperback) 10/-
- The Art of Loving** Erich Fromm (paperback) 5/-
- The Student Revolt** Sauvageot, Geismar, Cohn-Bendit, etc. (paperback) 6/-
- The Beginning of the End** Angelo Quattrocchi and Tom Nairn (paperback) 5/-

## Freedom Bookshop

## Write or Come!

Editorial office open Friday, April 11, 6-8 p.m. and Monday, April 14, 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.)

Temporary opening times:  
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- Berkman's ABC of ANARCHISM 2/6 (+5d)
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- and
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THE ART of caricature is but a subterranean gutter graffiti raised to a higher aesthetic level. It commands a wider audience, not by virtue of a finer wit or a blacker anger, but that its art content makes it more acceptable to a paying audience. It is malevolent and vicious, dishonest in its treatment of the truths, and completely immoral in its jeering exploitation of its victim's physical or mental infirmities. It spares neither woman nor child. It spits on Holy Church, pisses in the faces of the martyrs, derides virtue and applauds vice, and all in all it is fun for the caricaturist and his partisan audience.

We love to have our manufacture enemies held up to public ridicule but kindly for within the Left there is always that screaming voice of conscience ready to raise a pious whine and hand and eyebrow when the artist's pen breaks the bonds of good taste. Only the strawmen of the Heads of State are safe from the anguish heart-flutters of protests when the pen reveals and enlarges another wart, for the men behind the printed masks bear little relationship to their created images for who could claim to recognise Nixon, Wilson, Mao, de Gaulle, Powell or the late Uncle Joe in the Friendly High Street from the hate symbols that pockmark the pulp readings of the world?

It was Low who won the admiration of all the progressive faction of the 'thirties but that brilliant draftsman turned the murderous political gangsters of that age into amusing puppet Puffs but no one laughed on their way to the gas chambers.

For the caricaturist there can only be one creative emotion and that is black unreasoning hatred for in the committed space provided for his burning pen there is little room for the humanities and if the spectator draws back with shocked disgust at the crawling evil upon the page then let the spectator question his own areas of commitment.

### ACID BILE

Of all the mighty black company Gillray has, for two hundred years, commanded the field for his bile is as acid-fresh as the day he directed it at the Town and his wife. Not for Gillray the gentle English pastorate world of Rowlandson or the dogged moralising of Hogarth's prints. In a world of social, economic, religious and political compromises, Gillray was a good hater and for that I love the man, for when the beautiful tinted washes of Rowlandson are sought by all the art-loving scum who have floated to the top of the economic sewer and the Hogarth prints are bought to decorate the walls of newly-festering boardrooms, Gillray is still the master of bad taste in that he still hurts the living spawn of his long-dead victims.

It was left to Gerald Scarfe, after the failure of the gentle Ronald Searle, to rekindle the black flame, and his exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery at 30 Davies Street, W.1, must surely be one of the most exciting exhibitions that this supermarket of the creative

# AROUND THE GALLERIES

mind has chosen to mount for many a long year. For too long they have chosen to hawk the work of the Russian academics and the frailties of the illustrious dead from the charnel house of the Tate Gallery but for this exhibition I condescend to forgive them. Gerald Scarfe made his reputation with a pen line that flowed with a controlled frenzy across the page. From one tiny area of human recognition his pen would savage out every human imperfection and these physical blemishes would be dragged into the foreground in all their elephantine obscenity that the audience could shudder in joyful disgust.

### BLOATED RAT AND SKINNED LIPS

The bloated lips of Mick Jagger were never made in the Kiss of Life while the portrait of Sir Douglas Hume hanging in space like a skinned rat was never meant for the family portrait gallery. But, and this must be said, the lithographs on display within the gallery is Scarfe at his weakest for their bright colours kill the stark hatred of his black and white work. Like sugar after a

purge, they kill the taste, and at £25 each they should decorate many a St. John's Wood hotel.

What is worthy of the Town's time, however, is the Scarfe group of life-size sculptures. At an average price of £500 each, their possession does not concern us but one wonders, in an idle moment, who will buy these figures. Life-size and made of cloth and paper, Scarfe has dressed them in the humanities of the day's wearing apparel but that is their only contact with the world of fashion and the counting house. While his lithographs might disappoint, these grotesques are brilliantly successful in that Scarfe has managed to capture and to realize his gifted penmanship into a third dimension.

Here stands a pregnant Pope with the head of a flayed and barmy hen holding in his claw hand a pack of Lyndiol 25 birth pills. Here is Ian Smith as one huge nose and a mouth as a raw and scabrous arse. General Montgomery like a featherless turkey uniformed and beribboned as he stands at a chess board with toy soldiers for his pawns. Onassis laying on the gallery floor as a green

octopus dining off a broken record of Callas and the wraith figure of the late Mrs. Kennedy.

### WELSH DRAG

Prince Charles in Welsh drag and everybody's love-hate figure Enoch Powell as a crawling black insect giving a fascist salute while at his arse a quartet of microphones are simply labelled Ted Heath while in the front of the gallery Ian Paisley slobbers to the mob from the cross bar of a huge and silvered cross. One neatly shod shoe hangs down while the huge and slobbering mouth roars out its silent message as the head carries at a jaunty angle a crown of barbed wire.

Scarfe's work has always had a reluctant fascination for many, and I speak of his minority work and not his weekly stints, but one is always meeting those who openly show their disgust at his drawings for they love to hurt but with a gentle touch. Here within the Grosvenor Gallery is that point of departure that the Black Power people flung at the white American liberals and that many were forced to make on that 27th at Grosvenor Square for when the debated ends reach their logical conclusion there is no place for old world charm for nobody laughed on their way to the gas chambers.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

**ACTION, MAY 4, the Save Biafra Campaign, 13 Goodwin Street, London, N.4.**

**A CALL FOR THE RELEASE OF MEN CHARGED WITH MUTINY IN CALIFORNIA, WRI, 3 Caledonian Road, London, N.1, also a Statement on the Invasion of Anguilla.**

**GIS ACT, bulletin of the Resisters inside the Army, 10 Passage du Chantier, Paris 12, FRANCE.**

**NCCL News Release, 4 Camden High Street, N.W.1, and Civil Liberties and Service Recruitment.**

**FRIENDS OF RELEASE, 50a Princesdale Road, London, W.11.**

**GUERRILLA, the illusion of freedom, 20 College Lane, Dublin, Eire.**

**OUTLAW, organ of the Irish working class, radical students and intellectuals, no. 2, Clo-bhuailte i mBaile Atha Cliath 10.**

WE HAVE RECEIVED the above leaflets and bulletins, which show that the social struggle is proceeding on a wide front. The Biafran leaflets and newsletter concern the sending of food supplies by ship to that beleaguered country, at the moment only 5 or 6 tons have been collected. 'We have only another 3 weeks to collect another 480 tons!' the leaflet says.

The War Resisters' International calls for the release of men charged with mutiny in the Californian army base military prison, the Presidio. This mutiny follows the shooting of a psychologically-disturbed prisoner. Twenty-seven prisoners sat down in protest. One has received four years for this, some of the

# ON A WIDE FRONT

**THE AMERICAN EXILE IN BRITAIN, no. 1, UAEB, c/o WRI, 3 Caledonian Road, N.1.**

**POVERTY IS VIOLENCE, Haslemere Group, poster advertising conference at the Roundhouse, April 13, 1969, admission 10/- (15/- at door), apply to 515 Liverpool Road, N.7.**

**A NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE LEFT, to further unity of the independent Left, in ideas, programmes and action, at St. Pancras Town Hall, Euston Road, N.W.1, Friday, Saturday and Sunday, April 25, 26 and 27, 1969. Preparatory Commission, 11 Fitzroy Square, W.1.**

### MEETING WITH MADAME BINH

others 14, 15 and 16 years at hard labour! Other trials are coming up. With this pamphlet comes a statement on the Anguilla invasion.

ACT says, 'We don't urge you to desert. That's a totally personal decision. Whatever your decision you should know about the legal and political situation in the various countries of Europe.'

'Although the National Council for Civil Liberties' campaign has brought minor concessions from the Ministry of Defence, the basic problem of long-term contracts for 15- or 16-year-olds remains as intractable as ever.' With good reason. Officials have said that, quite frankly, were it not for the recruitment of teenage boys it would be impossible to get enough

(NLF), arranged by CND, Caxton Hall, 7.30 p.m., Tuesday, April 8, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 14 Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1.

**AGIT-PROP, information bulletin no. 3, 61 Camden Road, N.W.1.**

**ANGRY ARTS FILM SOCIETY, a programme of films during the coming months, Angry Arts Film Society, S. Crockford, 6 Branshill Gardens, London, N.W.5.**

**SYNDIKALISTSTISKA GRUPP-RELSSEN, Federation of Free Syndicalist Groups, c/o Frihetliga Arbetargruppen, Nordenskioldsgatan 23, 413 09 GOTE-BORG, Sweden.**

In other words the present system is the modern equivalent of the old pressgang. People are kidnapped and held by force. The NCCL is trying to expose the recruiting propaganda for what it is, and is even 'approaching the publishers of children's comics to ask for their co-operation in preventing misleading advertising by the Ministry of Defence and in drawing the attention of young people to the disadvantages of service life under present conditions.'

'Release has been in operation with a 24-hour emergency telephone service for nearly two years... is handling about 60 busts a month, and over the last eighteen months must have dealt with

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# Anarchist Federation of Britain

**LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS.** All correspondence to LFA, c/o Freedom Press, Sunday evening meetings at the 'Metropolitan' (corner of Clerkenwell Road and Farringdon Road), 7.30 p.m.

**LAVENDER HILL MOB.** Contact C. Broad, 116 Tyneham Road, S.W.11 (228 4086).

**LEWISHAM.** Mike Malet, 61B Granville Park, S.E.13. (852 8879).

**MALATESTA GROUP.** Contact Reg Broad, 5 Welbeck Court, Addison Bridge Place, W.14. 603 0550. Next meeting, Thursday, April 10, 8 p.m.

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

**FORWARD WITH FINCH'S ANARCHISTS.** Regular meetings, Contact P.P., 246 Portobello Road, W.11.

**BEXLEY ANARCHIST MOVEMENT.** Steve Leman, 28 New Road, Abbey Wood, S.E.2. Tel: ET 35377. Meetings every Friday, 8 p.m., Lord Bexley, Bexleyheath Broadway.

### 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 (LEF 8059). Ten minutes from Leytonstone Underground.

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

### 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.

**SIEGE OF NELSON STREET APPRECIATION SOCIETY.** 5 Nelson Road, Hornsey, N.8. Mondays and Wednesdays, 7 p.m.

### REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

**BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP.** Secretary, Peter Le Mare, 22 Hallowell Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham, 16. 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.

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

**BROMLEY BLACK FLAG.** John and Maggie, 2 The Mount, Susan Wood, Chislehurst, Kent. Meetings as above Fridays, 8 p.m. 'Freedom' sales.

**CORNWALL ANARCHISTS.** Contact Arthur Jacobs, 13 Ledrah Road, St. Austell, Cornwall. 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 Ouer, 35 Natal Road, Thornton Heath (LIV 7546).

**EDGWARE PEACE ACTION GROUP.** Contact Melvyn Estrin, 84 Edgwarebury Lane, Edgware, Middx.

**HERTS.** Contact Val and John Funnell, 10 Fry Road, Chells, Stevenage.

**LEICESTER PROJECT.** Peace/Libertarian action and debate. Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. at The Green, King Street, Leicester.

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

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

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

### ESSEX & EAST HERTS FEDERATION

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

Group Addresses: **BASILDON & WICKFORD.** Steve Grant, 'Piccola Casa', London Road, Wickford, Essex.

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

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

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

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

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

**LOUGHTON.** Group c/o Students' Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Borders Lane, Loughton, Essex.

**NORTH-WEST FEDERATION**  
Secretary: Rob Wilkinson, 73 Trafford Street, Preston. Next federation meeting March 29/30.  
**BLACKPOOL.** Contact Christine Seddon, 111 Harcourt Road, Blackpool.  
**BOLTON.** Contact John Hayes, 51 Rydal Road,

Bolton.  
**CHORLEY.** Contact Kevin Lynch, 6 Garfield Terrace, Chorley.

**LANCASTER AND MORECAMBE.** Contact Les Smith, 192 Euston Road, Morecambe, Lancs. Meetings Mondays at 8 p.m., Phil Woodhead's, 30 Dunkeld Street, Lancaster. Regular literature sales.

**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.** 'The Secretary', Felix Phillips, 6 Draycott Street, Manchester, 10. Regular weekly meetings. Contact Secretary for venue.

**MERSEYSIDE ANARCHISTS.** Meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. at 118 High Park Street, Liverpool 8. Contact: Jenny Rathbone, 20 Sefton Park Road, Liverpool, 8.

**PRESTON ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact J. B. Cowburn, 140 Watling Street Road, Fulwood, Preston. Meetings: 'The Wellington Hotel', Glovers 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 Beagle, 5 Tilsbury, Findon Road, Whitehawk, Brighton.

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

**CRAWLEY ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Richard Ashwell, 87 Buckswood Drive, Gossops Green, Crawley, Sussex.

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

**YORKSHIRE FEDERATION**  
Meetings every 8 weeks. Next meeting in Hull, May 4. Secretary: Colin Beadle, c/o Oakwood Farm, Cliffe-cum-Lund, Selby, Yorkshire.

**HARROGATE.** Contact David Howes, 16 Park Parade, Harrogate.

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

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

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

**PONTEFRACT.** Contact Mike Stroud, 144 Southgate, Pontefract.

**SELBY.** Contact Colin Beadle (address above). Regular activities, 'Freedom' sales.

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

**YORK:** C/o Students' Representative Council, Goodricke College, University of York, Heslington, York.

**WELSH FEDERATION**  
**ABERYSTWYTH ANARCHISTS.** Contact Steve Mills, 4 St. Michael's Place, Aberystwyth, Cardiganshire, Wales.

**CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP.** All correspondence to—Pete Raymond, 18 Marion Street, Terrace, Cardiff.

**SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Ian Bone, 22 Glanmor Road, Uplands, Swansea. Weekly meetings, 'Freedom' sales and action projects.

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

**SCOTTISH FEDERATION**  
All correspondence to Bobby Lynn, Secretary, 12 Ross Street, Glasgow, S.E.

**ABERDEEN ANARCHIST GROUP.** Bob Comrie, 28 Hargate.

**GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP.** Robert Lynn, 12 Ross Street, S.E.

**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.

**MONTROSE.** Dave Coull, 3 Eskview Terrace, Ferryden, Montrrose, Angus.

**NORTHERN IRELAND**  
**BELFAST ANARCHIST GROUP.** Meetings every Saturday, 2 p.m., 44a Upper Arthur Street (top floor). 'Freedom' sales.

**SOUTHERN IRELAND**  
**ALLIANCE OF LIBERTARIAN AND ANARCHIST GROUPS IN IRELAND.** Please send all communications with stamped envelope to The Secretary, c/o Freedom Press.

**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 59 Eveleigh Street, Redfern, NSW 2015 for personal discourse, tea and overnight accommodation.

**BELGIUM.** Groupe du journal Le Libertaire, 220 rue Vivienne, Liege.

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

**TORONTO LIBERTARIAN-ANARCHIST GROUP.** 217 TorYork Drive, Weston, Ontario, Canada. Weekly meetings. Read the 'Libertarian'. Third issue now out and it was well worth waiting for!

**PROPOSED GROUPS**  
**CHELTENHAM.** Please contact Bernie Cherry, 16 Clarence Square, Cheltenham, Glos.

**LONDON, S.W.17.** Tooting, Wandsworth, Streatham. Phone BRIAN 672 8494.

**NEWCASTLE/WHITLEY BAY.** Anyone willing please contact Peter D. Ridley, 4 Rockcliffe Gardens, Whitley Bay, Northumberland. Tel: Whitley Bay 25759.

**READING.** Libertarian and Anarchist group would like to contact fellow anarchists in the district and in the university. C/o 57 Kiln Ride, Wokingham, Berkshire.



# Squatters' Rights and Police Lies

THE NINE SQUATTERS arrested after the occupation of a house in Seven Kings, a mile or so from Ilford, appeared at Barking Magistrates Court last Monday and elected to go to trial at the Quarter Sessions. The squatters are charged with the dishonest misuse of electricity and unlawful malicious damage to the extent of £60.

The house had been occupied after a 'tip-off' from one of the locals; indeed a wizened old lady who declared her complete support for the campaign and her disgust that a house, not far from where she lived, had been empty for three years. The squatters acted promptly and the following night the house, 49 Lady-smith Avenue, was occupied.

Within an hour the police and the son of the owner, Mr. Bradshaw, were round. In court Mr. Bradshaw admitted that the house had been empty for three years and that he had had difficulty in selling it. An awful lot of difficulty to take three years! On the contrary, from the appearance of the house the owner, it would seem, had no intention or little inclination to part with the house. The walls were covered with three years' dust, there were beds, wardrobes, tables and chairs and junk (tennis rackets, clothes, magazines) strewn all over the place, de-

cidely not in the kind of condition of a house up for sale. It appeared more of a storeroom, a glorified attic overwhelmed with bric-à-brac, ornaments and general articles. Mr. Bradshaw said in court that the house contained one or two pieces of property. The squatters had certainly not acted rashly in taking the house; a private house, fully furnished and deliberately left empty for three years afforded the real object of the squatters' campaign.

Bradshaw said that his mother, the owner of the house, had been in ill-health since the death of her husband and had moved in with her son, spent some time in hospital and then came out to return to her son's house. Bradshaw claimed that if the house was not sold, his mother would return there, claiming the house was fit for her immediate re-occupation. Both the police and Bradshaw made great play of the fact that the 64-year-old lady was in poor health and the squatters' actions could only worsen it. Could they imagine the state of the physical and mental health of the 15,000 families who had no home, and thousands more who endured inhuman and squalid conditions? They even claimed, with tears in their eyes, that the squatters had been informed of the owner's ill-

health on the night of the occupation. This is utter fabrication, neither the police nor Bradshaw made such a statement to the squatters. Well, the law must protect poor defenceless old ladies from these nasty squatters—that's justice, isn't it?

Bradshaw was succeeded by Police Sergeant Carpenter in the witness box, and even managed to give evidence without referring to his little book, though this did not last long. He disclosed that his report had been written at six o'clock in the morning, almost five hours after the squatters were arrested. And with the events still fresh in his mind, he made a laudable attempt at paraphrasing Bradshaw's statement. Bradshaw had recollected a dialogue with squatters through an upstairs window, and that David Bell had asked him whether it were true that the house had been empty for three years. Sergeant Carpenter maintained that it had been Sandra Reed who had asked the question. Well, David Bell does have long hair, but really, from a trained observer! It had indeed been Bell who had asked the question. Carpenter maintained that he had charged and cautioned the defendants at the time of their arrest—untrue. A folio of photographs was produced of the house after the occupa-

tion; the police obviously do not believe that the camera never lies, police cameras are 'trained observers' as well.

When the squatters realised that the police had persuaded Bradshaw to break in and forcibly evict them, a barricade of furniture was erected on the stair well. Of course the police surmised that the malicious damage was done by the squatters in putting the furniture there, when it was the police themselves who were responsible for the damage when they smashed through the barricade. After the arrests Bradshaw, in the early hours of the morning, assessed the damage—£10 for furniture, £50 for redecorating. One could almost believe that Bradshaw planned the occupation himself, at least he is hoping to have the house redecorated free of charge. Perhaps, then, his mother will move back in.

The case will appear at the Quarter Sessions some time in the next two months and please remember that Alan Barlow, now in Brixton, is one of the nine arrested. He now faces two charges: make his remand in Brixton as bearable as possible and his future defence as enthusiastic as the enthusiasm he has poured into the anarchist movement over the years.

LINDA GOLDSPISTER.

## LETTERS

### Are we all Fascists now?

Dear Comrades,

I observed last week that *fascist* and *nazi* were the most abusive words in the English political vocabulary. I might have added that they were also the most abused words; you throw them at anyone whose views you happen to dislike.

I suggested that those who called the revolting students *fascists* might be unable to conceive of an alternative to conventional politics. I was perhaps being charitable: it is less offensive to call someone stupid and ignorant than to accuse him of being a liar, a deliberate perverter of the truth, an imperialist lackey—or, of course, a fascist.

I need hardly add that when I wrote my column last week I had not seen the article by Dave Cunliffe on euthanasia which was to appear next to mine. I was therefore surprised to read:

*The fascist spectre does not flower today from the Powellite thug but rather obscenely grows from the Maoists and Marxists who share our factories, universities and streets.*

Dave has a colourful turn of phrase: I wish there were ghosts at the bottom of my garden. Incidentally it is curious that this sentence echoes my first comment on Roy Fuller's abuse of the students:

*Professor Fuller sees the spectre of fascism not behind Enoch Powell but behind the young libertarian left.* (FREEDOM, March 8).

The difference between Roy and Dave of course is that one is uptight about revolutionary students including anarchists, the other about non-anarchist revolutionaries including students. The similarity between them is that each is compelled to brush aside the stated views of his opponents and predict either what will happen as a result of their actions—or what they will do in the future. I will spare you another quote from Roy but Dave refers to:

*Cardboard revolutionaries, forever prepared to play the liberal and reformist. . . . They . . . wait for their day to come. . . . As soon as every conceivable aspect of birth, life and death is precisely controlled by some faceless bureaucrat. Then our political 'friends' will feel ready to rise up and take command.*

I am not saying that it is inappropriate to discuss the consequences of revolutionaries' actions—or what they may do in the future. But you can't throw the word *fascist* at somebody and then hope to justify it by saying that you know what he's going to do.

In my opinion it's particularly silly for anarchists to use this kind of abusive argument since, as I've shown, revolutionary students we sympathise with have had it used against them. And throwing the word *fascist* at 'Marxists' is the most absurd piece of nonsense I have ever read in FREEDOM.

I agree with Dave that political violence is authoritarian but if advocating it makes you a fascist then, FREEDOM readers, many of you are fascists.

I agree with Dave that the *legalisation* of euthanasia would be a step towards 1984 but I would be prepared myself to kill a suffering person in certain circumstances (am I fascist?). Since some Marxists—and liberals—would also be prepared themselves to kill in this way and believe

in state power it is logical for them to advocate the legalisation of euthanasia. If supporting the legalisation of acts you agree with *automatically* makes you a fascist then those who have welcomed recent changes in the laws on abortion and censorship are fascists. Once again, FREEDOM readers, many of you are fascists.

Marxists differ both in their theoretical views and their actions. As anarchists may be bomb throwers or pacifists, refugees from the Conservative Party or the SLL, hippies or puritans, so Marxists may be authoritarians or libertarians. To call them all *fascists* is more ridiculous even than screaming *fascist bastards* at the police on demonstrations. To put it very simply: there are Marxists who are our comrades.

Footnote: I have only mentioned euthanasia in passing: I will discuss it in the next issue. WYNFORD HICKS.

### Scottish Edition

Dear Comrades,

As Scottish readers will have seen, the monthly Scottish edition will commence on May 31. Glasgow will be sending down their articles themselves. Will others with something to contribute send it to me, to reach me at 8 Esslemont Avenue, Aberdeen, AB2 4SL, by first post Saturday, May 24. It must not be any later.

Could I ask all Scottish comrades, from all shades of opinion in the libertarian movement, to start considering what they can do NOW. Every article will be welcome.

Please get your orders into Freedom Press NOW. Initial print is hoped to be 500. Money for copies sold, and unsold copies, should be returned to FREEDOM. So start thinking, I'd like to have to fight my way to the front door through a sea of articles before the first edition.

IAN S. SUTHERLAND.

## INTERNATIONAL ANARCHISM

THE FIRST ISSUE of *International Anarchism* will be published on May 1.

The duplicated monthly magazine will contain articles, news, comment and research from the pages of foreign anarchist/libertarian/syndicalist papers and mags.

Several people have said that they will be willing to do the really hard work of translation. However, we still require someone to translate German and/or Dutch. A small fee will be paid to any volunteers.

Any information on foreign anarchist papers would be gratefully received. *International Anarchism* will cost 1s. post free inland and will consist of 20 or so pages at least.

It is also intended, for the English-speaking movement abroad, to publish some of the news on the British anarchist scene.

If you have any suggestions, news, information (especially about English language papers), please write to Colin Beadle, c/o Oakwood Farm, Lund, nr. Selby, E. Yorks.

## THE SWEDISH SET-UP

Continued from page 4

appointed by various unions (using their own methods) and is the supreme decision-making body, meeting every five years. The representative assembly, consisting of the secretariat and representatives of affiliated unions, meets twice a year and is supreme between congresses. The Secretariat of 13 members from affiliated unions, includes three full-time paid officials (about £10,000 each a year or 10 times the average salary for the workers), elected by congress and holding office until further notice. The other ten are part-time, elected by each congress. The secretariat, meeting weekly, is the real power in the union. It is all-powerful on:

- internal disputes;
- plan of organisation;
- wages policy and negotiations;
- procedures in disputes and grounds for giving financial support.

In disputes between unions, on demarcation, etc., the Secretariat acts as a board of arbitration, with no appeal. In wage negotiations it can present

proposals and, if these are rejected by the union concerned, withdraw financial assistance to it. There is right of appeal against such withdrawal to the representative assembly and congress. This threat of withdrawing finance is tied up with 'the interest of society' and 'inconvenience to other unions'. I had to read that bit twice, to make sure I had it right. What a stinker!

Up to 1928, the local organisations (trades councils), political in emphasis, were thorns in LO's side. Then model rules were drawn up by the representative assembly, giving the Secretariat supervisory powers. Syndicalist influence, in the form of blockages and boycotts, was being felt at the time. In 1931, LO Congress empowered the Secretariat to dissolve local bodies refusing to obey its instructions (shades of London Trades Council, 1952).

The white-collar workers are covered by three organisations (LO do not accept white-collar workers), the Central Organisation of Salaried Employees (TCO), Swedish Confederation of Professional Associations (SACO) (SACO only accept members with

## Wide Front

Continued from page 2

2,000 people.' It is desperately in need of everything, not only bread (money), but furniture and office equipment and cooking things. It deserves all the support it can get.

*Guerilla* consists of a single roneo-typed sheet. It contains an appeal for a more responsible attitude towards the ideal of freedom. *Outlaw* claims to represent both the anarchists who believe in armed revolution, and those who do not. 'We must inflame the masses to insurrection. We must incite them to revolt against our masters. . . . It also includes an article on the population problem. Both publications come from Ireland.

*The American Exile in Britain* covers, but more extensively, the same ground as that of ACT. The *Haslemere Group's* poster is decorated with a beautiful Vietnamese girl guerilla, and various symbolic Afro-Asian figures with clenched fists, guns, etc. The point is well made. To deprive people of food, or the opportunity to grow it, and to develop their countries, is as much a form of violence as killing them outright with weapons, and will end by bringing about an armed revolt. There is also to be a conference to create unity on the Left, in the hopes of making it more effective.

A.W.U.

## THE HAPPINESS TAX

IT IS THE ONE PLACE that Pope and prisoner, king and peasant were free to sit and contemplate infinity and the pressures of their daily lives. There within the lavatory each man was free for that brief moment in time, and the world said, 'by the gods this is one place they can never tax'. But Mr. Nixon, the Interior Minister for the Australian Capital Territory, has proved the world wrong. He has demanded and received a tax of £4 a year from every individual that owns

or is in control of a personal lavatory. The people of Canberra have called upon the Australian Upper House to rescind this happiness tax but Nixon is sitting firm.

As the territory increases its population so the fruit of their labours becomes that much greater and Nixon is demanding that its removal shall be paid for by direct taxation.

Truly one can join with the peoples of Canberra in asking if nothing is sacred. Yesterday it was telephone-

academic degrees) and National Federation of Civil Servants (SR). Total membership of about 467,000 is increasing. Relations between TCO, SACO and SR are strained, skills and academic degrees being the dividing factors.

Swedish labour legislation, in terms of collective bargaining, divides disputes into two categories, 'non-justiciable' and 'justiciable'. The former involve problems not regulated by contract or provisions of statute.

To deal with 'non-justiciable' disputes, the Mediation Act of 1920 divided the country into eight districts, each with a government-appointed mediator, who can ask parties to refrain from direct action, during negotiations. The Warning Act requires seven days' notice of a stoppage, strike or lock-out (non-blockade or boycott). Failure to do so can bring fines in the public courts.

Collective contracts provide obligations for organisations and members. A union branch or individual bound by such a contract must not engage in illegal direct action, even when not a direct party to the contract. Industrial peace is enforced by provision for damages, assessed by the Labour Court.

This Court was set up at the same time as the Collective Contract Act, to administer it and interpret the provisions of contracts. Eighty-eight per cent of cases before the Labour Court are brought by workers. The whole set-up is designed to prevent rank and file action and in this it has been generally effective.

The jury of the Labour Court consists of representatives from the State, LO, TCO, SAF and a lawyer. With this kind of jury it is completely impossible for a member of SAC to win a case.

Despite propaganda to the contrary, job security is just as precarious under social democratic capitalism as in Britain or America. Employers have the right of fire and hire and will not let labour supply be channelled through the unions. The employers' position has been strengthened through judgements of the Labour Court. LO claims that short-time working hides unemployment and its policy is mobility through dismissals and transfers. Work sharing is opposed.

Works Councils in Sweden are broadly intended to increase productivity, promote workplace order and discipline and ensure economy in manpower and materials. When first formed, employers believed these non-compulsory councils to be the thin end of the workers' control wedge.

Piece-work is lapped up in Sweden, with compensation where it is not practicable and open recognition that 'piecework is the best foreman'. With minor modifications this Swedish set-up would suit Tory industrial policy, let alone the TUC and Labour Party, especially on productivity.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

## MOVING FUND

Target is £500.  
Donations to date: £444 13s. 11d.

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1969 Pledges honoured and donations to date: £168 9s. 0d.

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## au secours!

### FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Estimated Expenses:  
13 weeks at £90: £1,170  
Income: Sales and Subs.: £940  
DEFICIT: £230

### PRESS FUND

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TOTAL: £11 13 2  
Previously Acknowledged: £190 19 8

1969 Total to Date: £202 12 10  
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TOTAL DEFICIT: £27 7 2

\*Denotes Regular Contributor.

tapping. To day it is the lavatories and, who knows, tomorrow it could be the confessional or the personal columns of *International Times*.

LUMPENPROLETARIAN.



**FOR ME, THE SPEECHES** of General De Gaulle on television are one of the best comedy acts around. His slow deliberate delivery, his dramatic gestures, his large nose and his mouth, making what may be a very serious speech, has me in stitches.

However, while they remain a comedy act for me, in a purely visual way, his speeches are very clever and skilful. They are about what he thinks is best for France and he goes right over the heads of both Government and Parliament in his appeal to the French people. This direct appeal makes everything into an 'either-or' question. You either vote for De Gaulle and the present regime or you vote for, in

advice of my Government, I must once again appeal to you directly in the interests of our country and overall sectional and personal interests. French citizens, it is this great national decision that you are going to have to take. By the force of present circumstances the referendum will be a choice between progress and destruction.'

#### TIGHT REIN ON WAGES

The 'present circumstances' are that the unions are demanding a review of wages in all sectors of industry in order to compensate for price increases since last June. The Government only saw the discussions with the unions as a review of the purchasing power of wages in

this trap precisely because they do not pose any positive alternative to the present set-up. They are seen just as a political party trying to gain a few more seats in parliament, or seeking some power through a 'left' coalition.

De Gaulle knows that although most union members are against him, as well as many of the bourgeoisie who do not like his ideas of 'participation' and greater regional autonomy, the majority of Frenchmen are basically conservative and when the choice is posed, however false, between De Gaulle or chaos, they will choose the former.

#### BECAME A MODEL

The ironic thing is that before the May days, financially and economically,

# Freedom

## For Workers' Control

APRIL 5 1969 Vol 30 No 11

# FRANCE: The Conflict Remains

De Gaulle's terms, chaos. By this simple and obviously false picture, De Gaulle was able to landslide the General Election last year and he is trying to repeat this, using the same method, in next month's referendum.

His television speech this month, following the one-day general strike by the unions, was in his usual paternal 'I-know-what's-best' manner and contained the following: 'In keeping with my mission and on the

the private sector of industry.

De Gaulle has always kept a tight rein on wages. In his judgement on the unions' strength and willingness to challenge this hold, he has been correct, for they have never measured up to his firm stand. The French unions are well-known for their one-day general strikes, but that is as far as it goes. These are just political gestures in the form of industrial action and, as such, have posed no threat to De Gaulle.

As we saw last May and June, the unions, and especially the Communist Confederation Generale du Travail, are only after economic demands and in a revolutionary situation they became the conservatives. They wanted no change, only more say in the same republican bourgeois society. Progress for the Communist Party was measured by how large a pay packet they could gain by negotiation and the number of deputies they could get elected to parliament. But the irony was and still is that, in fact, they are the working-class police and, as such, defend the bourgeois order, but they are cast as the arch-villains by De Gaulle.

De Gaulle's speech this month once again blamed the Communist Party for wanting to destroy the financial recovery after May and June last year. The Communist Party and its union, the CGT, are De Gaulle's scapegoat for France's financial and economic difficulties.

#### THE TRAP

By placing them in this position, whatever action they decide upon can prove disastrous. If they decide on further strikes, they will prove De Gaulle right, while if they do not take any further action, what hope have they of forcing the Government and employers to concede their demands? They fall into

France was extremely sound. Her gold reserves were so high that they were challenging the dollar. In many ways, the form of government that De Gaulle had brought in as the Fifth Republic suited that particular stage in French capitalism, for if capitalism is to survive it must expand and, under the numerous preceding governments, a continuous plan and programme for this expansion had not been forthcoming.

The age of technocracy was opening and France had to modernise and reshape her industries if she was to survive. De Gaulle did just this. It was a model of the new dynamic technocratic neo-capitalism and senior civil servants and executives visited France to learn from this example. It meant a strengthening of the monopolies, with more and more industry being concentrated into fewer hands, usually under the control of the French. De Gaulle was aware that if the French State was to control industry, then he had to prevent foreign takeovers, especially American.

France's programme of rationalisation was put into operation quickly and smoothly and of course this is a continuing operation. While Governments of other countries, particularly Britain, realised that they needed to rationalise their industries, in France the opposition to these changes was much less than say here.

France is a 'constitutional dictatorship' which has many of the trappings of a democracy, but, at the same time, it is very authoritarian, with a pronounced pyramidal form of government and administration. With the French parliament being just a 'rubber stamp' of assent for decisions made elsewhere, the changes needed to modernise France's economy were speedily achieved. With so few workers organised in trade unions, opposition to the changes from those who were really going to be affected was either non-existent, ineffectual or only succeeded in one or two isolated cases. However, France's strong economic position, and therefore equally strong poli-

tical position in Europe, prior to May of last year, soon faded after the strikes and occupations had brought the country to a halt.

#### NO TO DEVALUATION

Now De Gaulle is determined to make France number one in Europe again. The franc is now Europe's weakest currency and as such it is under constant attack from speculators, many of whom are Frenchmen, but to counter this, De Gaulle has steadfastly refused to devalue the currency. He, therefore, has to impose a very tight hold over wage increases demanded by the unions. We have had both these measures here, but still our economy remains sick, probably because the necessary rationalisation was not carried out quickly enough.

At the moment there seems to be no way out of the predicament that faces the French economy. Although wages were low last May, the fact that they were and that workers were not getting an increased share of the economic cake did not spark off the May revolution. It is not so much what people have or lack in material things that makes for radical changes, but the visions and ideas of what life could be like if they were in control and making the decisions for themselves. Many students had this vision, together with a large number of young workers, and some older men and women, perhaps remembering something of past struggles, also fought for a change in the running of things.

But still the dilemma persists in France and also in all industrialised societies, both East and West, to a lesser or greater degree. Will De Gaulle be able to carry out his proposed reforms of 'participation' and if so, will they be enough? My guess is that they will be carried out, not necessarily by De Gaulle, because of the bourgeois opposition to him, but by M. Pompidou, who will carry on where he left off.

#### RE-STARTING PRODUCTION

Whether such reforms will work and

be accepted by those who clamoured for revolution remains to be seen, but the degree of 'participation' is very small and will not affect working men, particularly, one iota. The same is true, to a lesser degree, with the students and so the same conflicts are likely to occur again. This is all the more so because, having tasted the invigorating atmosphere of freedom, having taken part in occupation and in some places even re-starting production for the needs of the community, workers are more aware of the industrial might and the solidarity that cements it.

The unions are once again after purely economic demands. It remains to be seen whether the claims for money will give rise to a conflict which will go beyond the pay packet to questions of the ownership and control of industry and resources by the State and the huge private corporations. Certainly a conflict exists between the capitalist idea of a person as just a consumer of commodities and the idea that a person should have the time and freedom to develop his own capabilities and personality. A conflict between being ordered, told and pushed around and deciding, making and taking decisions, freely and as equals with other people. A conflict between the capitalist, bureaucratic version that schools, colleges and universities are merely 'brain factories' which serve capitalism and the idea of education to widen people's horizons and give them a fuller and better understanding of their environment. The conflict between an economy and industry which produces for profits and one where production is for the needs of the community.

These conflicts are still present in France and, having glimpsed the possible alternative to capitalism during last May, workers and students will once again make an attempt to achieve a revolutionary alternative.

P.T.

\*From *The Beginning of the End*, section by Tom Nairn.

## Contact Column

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

**Yorkshire Fed.** Comrades in Yorkshire please get in touch with your nearest group. Assistance is offered to anybody who has difficulty in getting to conference.

**Anarchist Black Cross.** Bulletin No. 3 sold out; No. 4 ready in a few days. Write to Black Cross, 735 Fulham Road, London, S.W.6. (NOTE: Some Makhnow posters and calendars still available.)

**Edward Wagner** in hungerstaking en alle dienstweigeraars moeten vrij!!!

**Southampton**—Any Libertarian activity? Contact Alan—Tel. 56657 (mainly vacations).

**Cardiff Students**—Libertarian/Anarchist (new) group—meeting April 30 (8 p.m.), Room C, Students Union, Dumfries Place.

**Peter Read** of 19 Hallgate, Blackheath Park, S.E.3 (01-852 0617) has children 8, 6 and 5. Wants to educate them himself. Can anyone give him any information about people who have done.

**Alan Barlow**—Comrades wishing to visit in Brixton please contact Defence Committee, c/o Freedom Press for roster.

**Lilian Wolfe** is in hospital for a cataract operation. Address: East Block Ward, Cheltenham General Hospital, Cheltenham, Glos.

**CIRA** (International Centre for Research on Anarchism) needs voluntary translators from French, Italian, Spanish and 19 other languages into English. CIRA, Beaumont 24, 1012 Lausanne, Switzerland.

**Large room or cheap flat** wanted by anarchist librarian (London area). Box No. 35.

**Graham Moss** needs room (living accommodation) near Freedom Press.

**Glasgow Anarchists** meet socially at the Station Bar, London Road, every Tuesday evening commencing April 1. Folk-singing.

"But Mr. Sneaker, it would create ANARCHY" by Jim Huggon. Pamphlet 6d. (11d. including postage), c/o Freedom Press.

## FREEDOM PRESS

NEED volunteers to make racks and other carpentry work in new premises.

NEED comrades to clear dump in Ansel Alley (with remuneration)—bring pickaxes and shovels if possible.

Get in touch with Graham Moss c/o Freedom Press.

**S. London Free School Campaign.** Regular activities, projects. Mike Rowley or Roger Sadiev, 81 Ermine Road, S.E.13. 01-690 1572 (6-7 p.m. preferably).

**Let May Day be resistance day!** Meeting Tower Hill, 11.30 a.m., May 1. Then march to Victoria Park (Bethnal Green) and join in the **May Day Festival**. Music, dancing, games, plays, refreshments.

**N.W. Federation Whitsum Camp**, Llangollen. Anyone interested? Contact Ron Marsden, 9 Boland Street, Fallowfield, Manchester, 19.

**International Summer Camp.** £1 booking fees to Ann Lindsay, 39 Upper Tulse Hill, London, S.W.2. Next committee meeting, Thursday, April 10, 8 p.m. at 25 North Villas, N.W.1.

**North London Free Schools Campaign**, contact T. Swash, 49 Popham Road, London, N.1.

#### HAVE YOU GOT YOUR TICKET?

**Anarchist May 2 Ball** at Shoreditch Town Hall. Groups include 'The Deviants', 'Blonde on Blonde' and 'Dr. K's Blues Band'. Tickets now available. £1 double, 12/6 single. Licensed bar (extension applied for). Please get your tickets early from Digger, c/o Freedom Press.

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## COLLECTIVE BARGAINING:

# THE SWEDISH SET-UP

**I**N JANUARY of 1963 I reviewed a book entitled *Collective Bargaining in Sweden* (by T. L. Johnston), the review being printed in *'Direct Action'*. In 1966 the content of the review was still factual, and now in 1969 I believe the basic situation is the same.

Efforts are being made in this country by Government, Employers and TUC to adopt a modified version of the Swedish set up. In fact the Government White Paper 'In Place of Strife' is what one might term a 'Noddy' version, of the Swedish pattern.

Fords have attempted to set the pattern, and in fact have succeeded (FREEDOM, March 29). The fact also came to light that the AEF had made agreements elsewhere which contained penal clauses for unofficial stoppages. The London port employers have

climbed on the 'gravy train' with their new wage proposals. A 'no wages' sanction would apply for periods during which a docker works below the agreed standard. Vauxhall Motors is holding preliminary talks with unions on introducing incentives to give it some immunity from unconstitutional strikes. The Tory Party's industrial policy is far closer to the Swedish arrangement with the proposals of greater Government intervention.

It can be seen therefore that the stage is slowly but surely being set for the complete strangulation of rank and file activity. Therefore I do not feel that the following review is out of place at this time. I apologise for any inaccuracies due to date.

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collaboration there.

They could have saved themselves the trip by reading *Collective Bargaining in Sweden* (by T. L. Johnston, George Allen and Unwin, 40s.) which gives a masterly survey of industrial policy in that country, where the slogan is 'avoid trouble at all costs', productivity is the god and workers and employers are constantly urged to work together, so

that the bosses can wax richer and the workers obtain a few 'currants'.

One aspect this book does not, regrettably, deal with is the existence in Sweden of a Syndicalist organisation, the Central-Organisation (SAC) which has some 22,000 members organised, mainly, in the lumbering industry and among the metal-ore miners. This organisation, based on industrial federations and libertarian in structure, has survived constant attempts by the employers' body (SAF) and the reformist trade unions, Landsorganisation (LO), to exclude it from representing the workers. Johnston does cite one reference work on Syndicalism (*Svensk Syndikalism* by Valter Aman, LO Stockholm, 1938), but this is probably written from a social democratic Standpoint.

Johnston's own book deals mainly with LO, closely linked to the Social Democratic Party, which held power in Sweden for 35 years. LO unions provide financial support for the party in a set-up similar to that of the British TUC and Labour Party.

LO is tripartite in structure—congress, representative assembly and secretariat (EC). Congress consists of 300 delegates

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