

# Freedom

## Anarchist Weekly 6d

APRIL 26 1969 Vol 30 No 13

# CIVIL RIGHTS NOT CIVIL WAR

CAPT. TERENCE O'NEILL, clinging on to his power by every sectarian manipulation in the book, has gone too far for even the long-suffering people of Ulster. His Orange Tory hacks have got up to every terrorist trick in the book, blowing up power transformers, now a major water pipeline and screaming 'IRA' in the best traditions of Balkan politics. But they know the surest way of all is to baton and baton again the people. Twice in six months they have turned old Derry's walls in to carnage point that would shame Mayor Daly's police.

The sectarian thuggery that goes by the name of 'law and order' now screams at the top of its voice for British troops to get them out of the graves that they have so willingly dug for themselves. Wilson has obviously agreed. He has in effect released another 2,500 sectarians on to the streets to beat up any whose face or opinions do not suit their ideas which would be more suited to Calvin's Geneva.

But there are Tories of every brand to match the bigotry of the Orange Tories; there are the Green Tories to match and inflame the bitterness. Men like Mr. Vincent O'Dowell, vice-chairman of the Civil Rights Association, who fled to crave an audience with Mr. Lynch, Eire's Premier. He said, 'This is no longer a political problem but a military one'. His solution, it appears, is to ask for a Free State military presence. Some people are bent on civil war and to hell with civil rights. Green and Orange Tories of every description everywhere are determined to sit on the people by exploiting the divisions between them.

The Catholic and Protestant workers must unite to get the things which matter—the houses and the jobs. The action must be against social injustice. The Civil Rights Association have ducked this issue as have O'Neill's Government. Now they scream for troops and civil war while the people suffer. An exchange of masters will do none of the workers any good. But the wrath of the people of the six counties is justifiable. They are faced with a disgusting band of sectarian thugs in uniform. O'Neill's answer will certainly be to implement certain sections of the Special Powers Act. He'll need more than his pigs to help him then, and Godfather Wilson will no doubt step in and insist on some

meaningless reforms as the cost of preserving O'Neill's political neck.

The people are being battered every which way. They need all the help that they can get. Libertarians have to help those who are being confronted by sectarians of every political hue and religion who are deliberately manipulating the religious issues of the North.

**EVERYWHERE TODAY** power is with employers, with landlords and with Governments—especially with Governments. They do all the deciding, give all the orders and we, the millions of working people whose daily labours keep society alive, are just expected to obey and get on with it. It is so in the capitalist West and it is so in the 'communist' East, the only difference being that in the East there is only one landlord and one employer, the almighty 'communist' Government. Nowhere are the people free.

We work, we pay taxes, we pay rent, we keep an army of rich para-

men called a Government, or a handful of men called a board of directors, or a handful of men called a local authority, should be able between them to decide what we should eat (and how much), whether we should have a house to live in and what rent we should pay, how long we should work, how much tax we should pay, and whether we should go off to fight and die in some horrible war which is none of our making.

### WHY DO WE OBEY?

We are millions, they are few, so why do we obey them? It can't be because we agree with what they are doing to us. Discontent is rising on all sides—with high rents, with low wages, with soul-destroying monotonous labour, with rising prices and with being eternally pushed around by petty officials. The fact is we obey because the habit has been bred into us by hundreds of years of serving masters and taking orders. Once lose that habit, once decide NOT TO OBEY and the order-givers are lost, the spell is broken.

For sure, Governments have behind them the forces of coercion, the police, the law, the prisons, and the armed forces and, indeed, this force is ruthlessly used to compel obedience from the rebellious minority. But could it be used effectively against the majority if the majority once decided NOT TO OBEY? If, for example, council tenants refused in their millions to pay these extortionate rents, what force exists that could evict millions of such families?

The Government now wants to decide by law when and under what conditions we should be allowed to strike. If we strike against their wishes they intend to fine us and collect the fines through the courts. If we don't pay, then they say they will send in the bailiffs to distraint on our goods and chattels. But if the working force decides to strike in defiance of this law, where are the courts that could impose fines on 24 million working men and women? Where is the army of bailiffs that could invade the homes of the entire working class? The idea is laughable. If we tell Mr. Wilson: 'Stuff your laws, we won't obey them,' he is finished. That is the real power that we have.

### THE MEANING OF MAY DAY

Power doesn't mean marching around demanding another set of governors to replace this lot. It doesn't mean replacing Wilson with a Heath, or a Powell, or a 'left wing' Wilson, or even a 'revolu-

tionary government'. Power to the people means refusing to obey, refusing to be led, refusing to be commanded. That is why May Day is so important. It is a day when we live for ourselves and not for our exploiters. It is a day when we show our real strength by refusing to work.

Of course a one-day stoppage won't stop a Government passing laws against us, it won't stop the employers from exploiting us, and it won't get the rents down or house the homeless. But once let us refuse to obey the masters and a new world opens up before us. Indeed it happened exactly like that in France only a year ago.

### IN FRANCE IT HAPPENED

The same kind of discontent we are all experiencing here in Britain was felt by our brothers in France... discontent with low wages, with high rents, with rising living costs and with being generally pushed around by petty tyrants. And suddenly it all erupted into a massive general strike sparked off by students who were challenging the purpose of capitalist education. The strike spread throughout France and within days the workers had chucked the employers and their hirelings out of the factories and occupied them. The whole climate changed. The slaves had refused to obey any longer and De Gaulle and his great state apparatus faded away as if it had never existed. De Gaulle himself fled—and the army of French conscripts was locked in its barracks in case they should be infected with the revolutionary spirit.

But, as always, the politicians saved the day for the exploiters. The 'left wingers' and 'communists' eventually persuaded the workers to hand back the factories in return for wage increases and a general election! De Gaulle returned and the French capitalists breathed freely again. What a lesson for us all.

Beware the politicians—no matter how revolutionary they sound! Trust only in your own strength and your own organisations! Be prepared to do as the French workers did. Occupy the factories when the time comes and then run them for the benefit of the people themselves. Then will this Government fall and so will the very institution of government fall. Then shall we become men and not slaves. Then shall we become new men, men who want neither to govern nor to be governed. And that's what the world needs today—a new breed of MAN—not a new management.

J.L.



'O villain, villain, smiling, damned villain'—LURGAN 1969

At a meeting in London last Saturday, a support for the People's Democracy was formed along libertarian lines. We hope every comrade will help in such organisations and react as fast as they did to the news when they managed an ad hoc picket on Monday morning immediately after the news from Belfast and Derry. The sectarians can smell the scent of civil war; we must help the people not to turn to this alternative out of despair by supporting their struggles. Disarm the police—Green and Orange Tories out. Civil Rights not Civil War.

There are 'Ulster' weeks throughout England coming off at the moment. Get out there and picket and tell the truth about Fascist Ulster.

sites on our backs, we fight wars, we go hungry or we live reasonably well—but nowhere do we DECIDE ANYTHING OF ANY IMPORTANCE. Yet with colossal impudence the politicians blame us, the workers, whenever things go wrong. We're not working hard enough or long enough, we're eating too much, or spending too much, or having too many babies. They treat us not like human beings but like 'things' fit only to take orders and to be chastised for all the mistakes made by our lordly masters.

When you sit back and think about it, isn't it truly amazing that a handful of

accepted and nobody realised exactly what this solidarity entailed. A suggestion that this All Trade Union Alliance is an SLL front was speedily lost in the general havoc. Now they have realised what happened and since support for the Workers' Mutual Aid May 1 demo, to Victoria Park has been expressed all along, we may expect LSE's continued support.

We voted. They expelled. We waited. They sacked. And now we strike. So say the posters. Well, we will see. Bateson has been sacked for stating his views on the matter prior to the actual removal of the riot control gates. Blackburn has been sacked for stating similar views after the event had occurred. In other words public statements of personal views on matters relating to the policy of the school can result in dismissal if the school so desires. A dangerous precedent and something must be done. We must stop resolving and actually do something.

we could all get together 'with the staff to consider the radical revision of all forthcoming exams in view of the difficulties of studying under present conditions'. So after all this placating no wonder the very 'nice' majority.

The resolution was then amended to call on NUS to give massive organisational support for a national demonstration on May 1 in support of Bateson and Blackburn, together with the All Trade Union Alliance's May Day strike against the anti-trade union legislation. Well, well, how come we get the IS supporting this? Funny really how student assemblies can be so easily manipulated. An amendment was proposed including this clause which was highly coloured with jargon about solidarity from workers and suppliers 'blacking' LSE, etc. Students like this sort of worker fervour (have a conscience about not knowing any?) so the amendment was enthusiastically

## LSE BOYCOTT

MONDAY, APRIL 21, LSE Union passed a motion by 468 to 42 that 'in view of the arbitrary dismissal of the two lecturers, Nick Bateson and Robin Blackburn, Union calls for a total boycott of all lectures and classes until these two have been reinstated and a guarantee given that all further discipline be dropped'. The resolution went on to call for general support from the LSE academic, research and administrative staff together with other university staff and students. Pious clauses (c) and (e) demanded the resignation of the standing committee and democratic control of all future appointments and dismissals. Union emphasised that it would prefer 'reason and persuasion' to force, and expressed 'willingness to negotiate to achieve these aims'.

Stress was placed during debate on how students wishing to study could get on in the library and clause (d) suggested

## The Screw Tightens

THINGS ARE SWINGING back into line in Czechoslovakia. The Russians now have a policy which is more than they did last August. This policy is to tighten the screw bit by bit. The ice-hockey match incidents were merely a sop to public opinion outside Czechoslovakia.

Czechs have been found willing to do the dirty work of the new government of Dr. Husak, who has replaced Mr. Dubcek. Not so surprising, really. It is less than two years ago that informers, bureaucrats, the police, and the army, were serving the Stalinist régime of Novotny. They came out in 'Dubcek' colours in the first half of last year. Now they are returning to their old jobs in the censorship, the secret police, etc. The restored apparatus of the Czech state is now ready to join the Russian troops in crushing the remnants of the 'January spirit'.

So the future is pretty bleak. The intellectual support of non-Stalinist socialism, the journalists, TV men, students, etc., are under heavy attack now. The trade unions too, are muted. Back in January,

they were ready to strike if any of the liberal leadership were removed. There is no sign yet (Monday) of even a squeak from the unions over Mr. Dubcek's dismissal. One of their leaders has joined Husak's politburo. Russia has accomplished a peaceful 'Hungary'. That leaves Romania next on the list.

M.M.

## LET MAY DAY (Thursday, May 1) BE RESISTANCE DAY!

Rally against the wage freeze, penal taxation, high rents, homelessness, and the increasingly sinister State direction of our lives.

TOWER HILL—11.30 a.m.

Then march with us to VICTORIA PARK (Bethnal Green) and join in the

MAY DAY FESTIVAL  
Music, dancing, games, plays, etc.  
(Refreshments available)



# BOOKS ON ANARCHISM

## and kindred subjects

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

Where is Labour Going? (1927)	L. Haden Guest	6/-
U.S. Foreign Policy (1943)	Walter Lippman	3/-
The Politics and Dynamics of Human Rights	Moses Moskowitz	15/-
What Life Should Mean To You	Alfred Adler	6/-
Journey into Chaos	Charles Wolf	3/-
This I Have Seen	Judith Listowel	3/6
First Things First	Frank Tilsley	3/-
The Constitutional History of England	Henry Hallam (2 vols.)	7/6
Ramshackledom: a Critical Appraisal of the Establishment	L. G. Pine	10/-
General B.O.	Roman Gul	3/6
The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky	V. I. Lenin	2/6
The Good New Days	Marjorie & C. H. B. Quennell	6/-
Sexorcism	John Payne	6/-
Germany's Hitler	Heinz A. Heinz (faded)	4/-
England and the Continent	Carlo Scarfoglio	5/-
Short History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union	(Authorised version 1943)	5/-
The New Spirit (1890)	Havelock Ellis	4/6
Brick Upon Brick	Albert Mansbridge	3/-
Women of Today	Margaret Cole	6/-

## Freedom Bookshop

## MOVING IN— AT LAST!

Editorial office open Friday, May 2, 6-8 p.m. and Monday, May 5, 2-8 p.m.

Note new telephone number: BISHopsgate 9249

also  
BISHopsgate 3015  
(FREEDOM and Freedom Bookshop)  
(Express Printers)

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:  
Tuesday-Friday, 2-6 p.m.  
Saturday, 10 a.m.-4 p.m.

## FREEDOM PRESS

are the publishers  
of the monthly magazine  
**ANARCHY**  
and the weekly journal  
**FREEDOM**

specimen copies will  
be gladly sent on request.

## Subscription Rates

Inland	
'FREEDOM' ONLY	£1 13s. 4d.
'ANARCHY' ONLY	£1 7s. 0d.
COMBINED SUBSCRIPTION	£2 14s. 4d.
Abroad	
'FREEDOM' ONLY	£1 10s. 0d.
surface mail	(US\$8.00) £2 16s. 0d.
'ANARCHY' ONLY	£1 6s. 0d.
surface mail	(US\$7.00) £2 7s. 0d.
airmail	(US\$10.50) £3 17s. 0d.
airmail	(US\$12.50) £4 5s. 0d.
Both by airmail	(US\$10.50) £3 17s. 0d.

## PUBLICATIONS include

- Berkman's ABC OF ANARCHISM 2/6 (+5d)
- Rocker's NATIONALISM AND CULTURE 21/- (+4/6)
- Richard's MALATESTA: His Life and Ideas Cloth bound 21/- (+1/3); paper 10/6 (+1/-)
- Bernert's NEITHER EAST or WEST 6/- (+9d.) all list on application.
- Woodcock's THE WRITER & POLITICS 7/6

AT 6 A.M. TODAY (April 21), 30 plus bailiffs forced their way into 43 Cleveland Road, Ilford, and evicted Mr. and Mrs. Fleming and their three children by brute force. They rushed them into the street, frightening the children sick. The bailiffs even refused to leave the bedroom, while someone calmed the children, and to allow the family to get dressed. Our comrade Jake Brown was brutally attacked by the bailiffs and his jaw was broken. He is now in King George Hospital, Ilford.

These gangsters then went to 18 Grosvenor Road, Ilford, from where they evicted Mr. and Mrs. Beresford and their seven children, again using violence.

Then they went to 26 Britannia Road from where they evicted Mrs. Pat McNeil and her three-year-old daughter. This house was repaired by a squatters' work-team, only a day before, who replaced and repaired floorboards previously taken up by the council.

In all three instances the families' furniture and belongings were dumped outside and left in the drizzling rain.

We need not elaborate the circumstances. Our readers are already well aware of the heartless attitude of the authorities towards the homeless. It should no longer come as a surprise that 30 bailiffs (men!) can be found to do this dirty work or that corporation workmen take pleasure in ripping out floorboards of unoccupied houses so that nobody should live in them. All these creatures

## SQUATTERS EVICTED

# Greenwood Gives the Game Away

are sheltering behind Authority—acting on orders—only doing their job—don't blame us mate.

It can also be no coincidence that 9 a.m. of the same morning Mr. Anthony Greenwood, the Housing and Local Government Minister, issued a warning that 'real hardship' could result for families persuaded by squatters organisations to take part in 'indiscriminate'

## WHAT HAS HAPPENED in Ilford is

only too well known to anarchists. We exist within a mire and are daily sickened by the rottenness of the world and the patent injustice in our lives. We work for freedom, we fight for justice and we argue about the irrationality of our society. At times we may feel our efforts are bringing real change, and at others they may appear a mere droplet in the ocean, and we despair of the world's sickness and our own powerlessness to alter it; we may in fact give up the fight and run to some darkened corner and hide our eyes from and close our ears to the incessant riot of life. We are mere flies on the monster's back, and we must realise that our

invasion of property.

A Ministry spokesman said the 'real hardship' warning was not a veiled threat that official action was to be taken against them but a 'piece of friendly advice' that homeless families are often better off if they are in halfway houses or other accommodation.

The fact that the Ministry should issue such an ingenious statement three

hours after the evictions of these homeless families shows that they are covering up their full knowledge of what has happened.

In South London the Squatters Group has organised a public meeting at Battersea Bridge Buildings (south of Battersea Bridge, 19 bus route) on Saturday, April 26, at 2 p.m.

JOHN RETY.

## The Violent Society

work is microscopic, we may be killed for sport, and there are few to mourn.

From Ilford to Derry, Berlin and Paris, Vietnam and Biafra, there lies a thin veneer of the liberal-democratic tradition. Yet when this tradition is challenged, there emerges a monster of authority and violence with every known means of killing, destroying and repressing life and its beauty. The bailiffs in Ilford symbolise the underlying violence of society where the might is right and the homeless are the weak and the vulnerable, the cannon-

The squatters in Ilford can only despair yet from this despair they can draw strength, for they have laid bare the warring authoritarian monster, and this should only confirm them in their beliefs and their struggle for the anarchist society will be that much greater. The Ilford squatters should not have to ask for solidarity, they should take it for granted that anarchists everywhere realise the enormity of their struggle for freedom and that real commitment to the fight for a Libertarian Society is part and parcel of being an anarchist.

D.B.

## THE ANTHONY ENGURUBE CASE

ANTHONY ENGURUBE ASKED me to attend a meeting he had arranged in Stockholm the day before the Court of Appeal announced its verdict after a four-day hearing. Poor Anthony has been used like shuttlecock by the propagandists, and has been dragged through the mud by the liberal sellers of 'the democratic way of life'. And now the right-wing students here have come out in his support.

There is a certain amount of mystery surrounding his case. There seems to be something that A.E., the police, the prosecutor and the press knows which we do not. Firstly, a deportation-for-life sentence is much too hard in view of the conflicting evidence. Secondly, they have not taken any action to punish the guilty policemen, whereas in other cases many have been suspended for much less. This is to my mind almost a signal for the police (with prejudice at the top) to continue without fear of serious criticism from the 'free' press, whom one expects to get up to every conceivable trick in pursuit of their interests.

During the meeting A.E. gave a short talk telling us, among other things, that he was in Europe to see that African students returned to Africa after they had finished their studies. He said he believed that the police wanted to get

him out of Sweden because he was appealing to the moral consciousness of the people on the Vietnam issue. His talk was interrupted by an African who said, to use his own words, 'Somebody is using the starving masses of Africa for their own personal gain'. To this remark A.E. replied in very violent tones. When the African tried to answer A.E. he was met with such a barrage of shouting and abuse (from what seemed like a mostly CP student audience) that he was forced into silence. Many radicals and

the CP have always been afraid of free discussion because it causes doubt, and it is incidents like that that show a clear similarity between them and those very fascist forces that A.E. says he is against.

On 28.2.69 the same verdict was brought in against A.E., that is to say prison and deportation. With the bias of the judges in favour of police evidence, A.E. did not stand much chance, not to mention the fact that he was a bit out of his depth in a European court of law, and found difficulty in expressing himself at times. Indeed, if A.E. had spoken Swedish he

could have questioned the police himself in the court, and cross-examined them without mercy. He would probably then have been less aggressive before the Court of Appeal, as it was he only irritated the judges and prejudiced them against himself. Finally, A.E. has been plugging the CP line on the Vietnam issue, and the trade union evening paper *Aftonbladet*, which had been giving him some support, described him as a 'socialist', but without making clear what they mean by the word. If the rank and file trade union members had not hesitated in the beginning, but had given A.E. their full support, thus giving their leaders a lesson in the principles of internationalism and socialism, A.E. might have stood a chance.

Stockholm

H.

## Doncaster Peace Centre

READERS WILL REMEMBER D. J. Rogan, whose window display in his Doncaster shop brought him a £20 fine, and a suspended sentence of three months, some time ago. He is now appealing. The case should be heard on or about May 29. The authorities claim that the pictures displayed in the shop were 'indecent'. The pictures they objected to were those displaying nudity. They did not object to pictures of people starving or wounded in war, but to those which showed either nudity, or couples engaged in sexual intercourse. The word 'Fuck' was also objected to.

Part of the objection was based on the fact that there is a school close by, and the children have been seen to pay a great deal of attention to these pictures, which it is claimed are corrupting, and endanger the very structure of society. Danny Rogan, however, says that he believes the real reason for the prosecution was that it was an anti-war exhibition, based on the slogan 'Make Love, Not War' (or more pithily, 'Fuck, Not Fight'). The sexual pictures were used by the authorities merely as a pretext to close the exhibition down, in his view.

A.W.U.

## Anarchist Federation of Britain

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. Meetings as above Fridays, 8 p.m. 'Freedom' sales. 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.

LAVERDER 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. Meetings every Thursday at 'The Cedars' (cupboards room), next to Baron's Court library, 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, Bexley Heath 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 (LEY 8059). Tea 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 Cenis's, 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m.

SIEGE OF SIDNEY STREET APPRECIATION SOCIETY. Frances Cooper, 2a Fairfield Gardens, Hornsey, N.8. Wednesdays 7 p.m.

At Jeannie McLean's and Jim Huggon's, 247 Peckham Rye, S.E.15 (Top Bell). Every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m. (184 bus from Elephant Tube.)

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND BRANCHES

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.g. to Secretary for details.

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

BROMLEY BLACK FLAG. John and Maggie, 2 The Mount, Susan Wood, Chislehurst, Kent.

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

LANCASTER AND MORECAMBE. Contact Les Smith, 30 Dunkeld Street, Lancaster. Meetings Monday at 8 p.m., Phil Woodhead's, 30 Dunkeld Street, Lancaster. Regular literature sales.

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', Grovers Court, Preston, Wednesdays, 8 p.m.

STOCKPORT. Dave Crowther, 1 Castle Street, Edgeley, Stockport.

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, 3 Tilbury, 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.

HARRGATE. Contact David Howes, 16 Park Parade, Harrgate.

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

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

LEEDS. Direct Action Society. Contact John Bootwood, 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, Splott, Cardiff.

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

projects.

LLANELLI. Contact Dai Walker, 6 Llwynnedyd 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, 288 Hardgate.

ABERDEEN FREEDOM GROUP. All those wishing to sell both national and Scottish editions of 'Freedom' contact Ian S. Sutherland, 8 Eslemont Avenue, Aberdeen.

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, Montrose, 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 Vivegins, Liège.

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!

## Support the Squatters!

Protest against intimidation and arrests!  
**Saturday April 26**  
**3pm Ilford Town Hall**

protests.

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

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ABERDEEN ANARCHIST GROUP. Bob Comrie, 288 Hardgate.

ABERDEEN FREEDOM GROUP. All those wishing to sell both national and Scottish editions of 'Freedom' contact Ian S. Sutherland, 8 Eslemont Avenue, Aberdeen.

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, Montrose, 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 Vivegins, Liège.

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!

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.

NORTH DEVON. All those interested in forming a local group please contact Hugh Bensley, 'Boathyde', Northam, Bideford, Devon.

MONTREAL, QUEBEC. Anyone interested in forming a Montreal area Anarchist group please contact Ron Sigler. Tel. 489-6432.



# Revolution and Coup d'Etat

WE ARE OFTEN TOLD that there has never been a successful 'Anarchist revolution', whereas there have been successful 'Socialist revolutions', the implication being that this is due to some inherent fault in anarchism itself. But nowadays almost any event, ranging from a spontaneous armed uprising by masses of workers to the take-over of a state by a group of generals, gains the title of revolution. It might be worthwhile, therefore, to state briefly what Anarchists mean by revolution and what we see as something else which goes under the same name.

The kings of France and their ministers, in order to increase their own power in their struggle with the nobility of the regions, had worked for centuries to build up the state, that is, to increase the centralisation of the political, administrative and social life of the area around themselves, their courts, and their capital. One of the results of this was the rise of an administrative middle class which eventually became involved in a struggle for power with the monarchy and nobility. The administrative section of the middle class, being born of state centralisation and state power, knew what was necessary for increased power. So the Jacobins, after they had defeated the monarchy and the nobility, increased state centralisation even further, systematically destroying local initiative and autonomy where it had still remained under the monarchy. 'Everything was centralised: government, legislation, public administration, religion, language and legal murder' (R. Rocker).

Such was the belief in the power of the law and the centralised state that Babeuf, one of the forerunners of the socialists, believed that society could be given any desired form, provided that one controlled the political power of the state. If all that was necessary was the take-over of the state, the relevant instrument to do this was a small group of dedicated militants who would strike at the centres of power and create a new government, a new power. Thus the idea of the revolutionary elite arose. Babeuf's group, under the utopian assumption that they expressed the will of the majority or knew what was best for the majority, intended, once they controlled the state, to confiscate all individual property and administer it in the interest of all, allotting to everyone equal shares. The attempt failed and Babeuf was executed.

## BLANQUI

These ideas were developed further by Blanqui, who organised conspiratorial societies of a self-appointed revolutionary elite who would 'represent' the proletariat, establish 'working class' rule and usher in socialism through the state.

At one stage (1847-50), Marx was strongly influenced by Blanqui and even agreed to set up an international organisation with the Blanquists in 1850.<sup>2</sup> Later, however, this extreme authoritarian standpoint was quietly abandoned by Marx, but the influence of Blanqui was felt for so long that it enabled Leninism to be accepted by most Marxists.

But with Marx and Engels the state was still to play an important role in the creation of socialism. Any tendency towards state centralisation was described as progressive, which provided the Marxists with some unusual allies. Thus Engels wrote that Bismarck served the cause of revolution because he unified and strengthened the German state.<sup>3</sup>

Capitalism itself is not so afraid of revolutionary groups that wish to take over the state. And so, when an Indian MP tried to get a bill passed to make a communist party illegal, he was told that this was unconstitutional: only groups that planned secession could be proscribed. The rulers of India know that the state is the foundation of all power: the real and effective revolutionary threat comes from those who wish to break up the state. How much more revolutionary would be a threat from those who wish to break up the state, not to create other states under the guise of 'national liberation', but to abolish the state altogether.

## RUSSIAN STATE

The Russian state in 1917 was in a condition of disintegration. A revolution was in progress and 'the masses at the turning point were a hundred times to the left of the extreme left party' (Trotsky). Lenin realised this and engaged in a struggle with the 'revolutionary vanguard', the Bolshevik leadership, to push them to the left. In the end Lenin was forced to go over the head of the Central Committee, against the principles of democratic centralism. The October coup d'état took place and the Bolshevik Party took over the reins of government, or what was left of them. From then on the Party worked to increase the power of the state it controlled. Within a few years its grip on the country was greater than that of the monarchy, which was a remarkable feat. All opposition outside the Party was crushed, and later the Party turned upon itself, and the dictatorship of Stalin was the result. Today the socialist states have all the basic characteristics of capitalism: bureaucracy, wage differentials, armies, police, censorship, neo-colonial territories and rockets to the moon. The Babeuist 'revolution' had been a success and the results of this method are there for all to see.

However, since the French Revolution, an alternative principle and method has been proposed.

## THE ENRAGES

During the period that the Jacobins were in power in France a movement emerged during a time of economic re-

cession, expressing a revolt by the poorest against the hardening power of the middle class. The militants were known as the Enragés.<sup>5</sup> They took an opposite view on the nature of the state and the revolution from the Jacobins and the Babeuists. They were not organised as a party but as a movement: a loose group of like-minded revolutionaries who co-operated with each other. They were opposed to the idea of state authority, and said that 'every kind of government must be proscribed' as they had learned that a revolutionary government, like any other government, produces a ruling class and is the negation of freedom, equality and justice.

The idea that the state must be demolished was developed further by Proudhon, the first person to call himself an Anarchist; but it was Bakunin, the man who might be described as the founder of the Anarchist movement, who combined the need for the abolition of the state with the realisation that the state can be abolished only by revolution, that is by the people as a whole, for if the people are not to have rulers no one can abolish the state for them, for a minority can only run the state and not society. Only the people can run society and only the people can make revolution.

But are the people themselves capable of making revolution?

## THE COMMUNE

In 1871 the people of Paris rose up against their rulers to create the Commune, to make Paris a free city, not to rule the rest of France as the state centralists wished, but to be an autonomous part of a federation of free communes, each city in France being autonomous. The risings in the other cities such as Lyons were easily crushed however, and Paris later fell to Jacobin rule, a danger that is always present, as Malatesta explains: 'Revolution is the destruction of all coercive ties [and] lasts as long as freedom lasts, that is until others, taking advantage of the weariness that overtakes the masses, of the inevitable disappointments that follow exaggerated hopes, of the probable errors and human faults, succeed in constituting a power... and then begins the reaction.'<sup>6</sup>

But in spite of defeats the people always prove themselves more revolutionary, practical and determined at the height of the revolutionary impetus than the left parties and even the Anarchists. In 1905 the people ruled by the Czar of all the Russias rose up in revolt and spontaneously created something new—the soviets or workers' councils. These were formed in factories and communities and federated industrially and geographically to run society on free and egalitarian lines. The Anarchists and some Marxists (particularly Pannekoek and the council communist movement) realised that these councils could be the basic structure of a future free society, whereas Lenin declared: 'The participation of Social Democratic organisations in councils composed of delegates and workers' deputies without distinction of party... or the creation of such councils cannot be countenanced unless we can be sure the party can benefit.' The Party

before the revolution!

## THE SOVIETS

In 1917 the soviets appeared again and the Bolshevik Party took the same attitude as the Social Democrats before the Bolshevik-Menshevik split. The astute Lenin, however, realised that such was the strength of the soviet movement that the Bolshevik Party would not be able to take power unless it appeared to change its attitude. And so, to the horror of his Bolshevik contemporaries, Lenin turned 'Anarchist', taking up the Anarchist slogan 'All power to the soviets!' intending all the while to create all power for the state. By such lies the Bolsheviks were able to gain a respite after the coup d'état, which gave them time to build up the Red Army and the secret police, which then proceeded to destroy the independent soviets and defeat the Anarchist Insurrectionary Army which was operating in the Ukraine. The last attempt of the workers' to re-create free soviets was crushed by the Red Army at Kronstadt in 1921, in which campaign Trotsky took a prominent part on the Bolshevik side.

these nobodies away. We should never have allowed them to divert us, should have occupied the Ministries and public buildings, not to put in a new lot of "revolutionary" bureaucrats, but to smash the entire state apparatus, to show the people how well they could get on without it, and how the whole of society had to be reconstructed afresh on the basis of workers' control.

It is now clear that if, on May 25, Paris had woken to find the most important Ministries occupied, Gaullism would have caved in at once—the more so as similar actions would have taken place all over the country.

But if the people themselves are capable of making revolution, what is the role of the Anarchist movement?

## BAKUNIN

Bakunin said that revolution 'can only take place when people have a general idea of their rights'. Anarchists should propagandise these natural, as opposed to legal, rights, by the spoken and written word.

The movement should be 'a catalyst activating a larger section of the public'

theless so effective that their ideas and revolutionary experience spilled over into the streets and factories' (Cohn-Bendit).

While the revolution is in progress the job of the Anarchists should be to warn the people of the methods that the authorities will use to defeat them, and of the dangers of pseudo-revolutionary parties and groups, their would-be rulers. This must be explained, moreover, in language that all the people can understand, a terminology that is only for the initiated should be done away with.

How should the Anarchist movement be organised to prevent it degenerating into another bureaucratic group?

The movement should be decentralised; without hierarchy and without permanent secretaries, equipment being held in common and its use available for all. Each group should be autonomous; each group and individual being able to take the initiative, for the revolutionary impetus always comes from the base, and in a libertarian organisation it can be expressed and acted upon. Co-operation between groups and individuals is extremely important: 'One has to know how, when and where to find one another and whom to turn to for possible co-operation. We are not rich, and it is only when we unite and co-ordinate our means and joint actions that we shall be able to create the power of organisation capable of competing with the combined forces of our adversaries' (Bakunin). If this co-operation is based solely on ideology it creates within itself the seeds of authoritarianism; the movement must be linked with chains of a genuine fraternity and solidarity, for these chains are the strongest of all.

Anarchists are not for the coup d'état, or for a condition of chaos that facilitates the take-over of the state, but for the destruction of the state itself, all states, and their replacement by a free society organised industrially by federations of workers' councils and geographically by federations of free communes or autonomous districts. The revolution cannot be made to order by a self-appointed revolutionary elite, but arises from an objective situation and needs 'the conscious and creative participation of the working and peasant classes'.

B.P.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup>Rocker: *Nationalism and Culture*.
- <sup>2</sup>G. Lichtheim: *Marxism in Modern France*.
- <sup>3</sup>Bakunin: *Marxism, Freedom and the State*.
- <sup>4</sup>Trotsky: *History of the Russian Revolution*.
- <sup>5</sup>G. Woodcock: *Anarchism*.
- <sup>6</sup>V. Richards: *Malatesta: Life and Ideas*.
- <sup>7</sup>And they were workers! See Ida Mett: *The Kronstadt Commune*.
- <sup>8</sup>Hubert Ripka. Quoted in A. Anderson: *Hungary '56*.
- <sup>9</sup>Anderson: *Hungary '56*.
- <sup>10</sup>Cohn-Bendit: *Obsolete Communism*.



## HUNGARY '56

But the Bolsheviks had to fight the revolution again in 1956. The workers of Hungary rose in revolt against the Communist bureaucracy. Once again 'There were no governmental directives or any central leadership... Workers' Councils took over the management of the factories... In Hungary they were born of a spontaneous popular movement, and they soon became the living organs of a rising democracy and the effective instruments of a fighting revolution.'<sup>8</sup>

Part of the workers' programme was the 'Constitution of Workers' Councils in all factories to establish (a) workers' management and (b) a radical transformation of the system of central planning and direction of the economy by the state.'<sup>9</sup>

## FRANCE '68

In France last year the workers brought to life the classical anarcho-syndicalist weapon of the general strike, with a minority occupying the factories, and a tiny minority beginning to apply workers' management, yet few of them could have come into contact with anarcho-syndicalist propaganda. The movement was spontaneous: no one gave the order for a general strike. The revolutionary élites of the JCR, etc., were swamped by the size and overtaken by the impetus of the movement. They were only able to lead in certain sectors for certain periods of time. Cohn-Bendit blames their leadership, at one of the times when people took notice of them, for the failure of the revolt to go further than it did. He described the situation on May 24:<sup>10</sup>

'Paris was in the hands of the demonstrators, the Revolution had started in earnest! The police could not possibly guard all the public buildings and all the strategic points: the Elysée, the Hôtel de Ville, the bridges, the ORTF... Everyone felt it and wanted to go on. But then the political boys stepped in. It was a leader of the far-left JCR who, in the Place de l'Opéra, took charge and led us back to the Latin Quarter—when most of us thought we had done with the fatal attraction of the Sorbonne. It was officers of UNEF and PSU who stopped us taking the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Justice. These "revolutionaries" were quite incapable of grasping the potential of a movement that had left them far behind and was still gaining momentum.'

'As for us, we failed to realise how easy it would have been to sweep all

(Cohn-Bendit). Anarchists should be present whenever and wherever the people are engaged in a struggle with the authorities. Provocation also is the task, but provocation 'can only be used to arouse feelings that are already present, albeit submerged' (Cohn-Bendit). The aim is to bring out the latent libertarian tendencies within the people; to be one step ahead in action, but not so far that the people fall to capitalist propaganda and turn against the revolutionaries. In order to know how the people feel and when and where to act, knowledge must be used, knowledge that can only be gained through arduous and intensive study. 'The revolutionary study groups of Paris and elsewhere... of which no one took the slightest notice, were never-

# VIOLENT PACIFISTS

THE DOUKHOBORS, by George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic (Faber & Faber, 55/-).

THE DOUKHOBORS are a Russian sect of Christian pacifists who arose in conditions of extreme obscurity in the eighteenth century. Their history has been one of constant persecution, first by the Russian and then by the Canadian Government, when they migrated to North America at the end of the nineteenth century. They have often been favoured by anarchists and pacifists, and by people like Tolstoy, and held up as examples of the simple life, non-violence and the Christian virtues. In fact, although they have always eschewed militarism, they have often been violent, in Canada some of them took to terrorism, and they have been ruled by a whole series of divine kings and queens, whose power was inherited in many cases.

They used formerly to abhor books, and their traditions were passed on orally from generation to generation, thus creating an institution known as The Living Book. They have passed through phases of communism, returning each time to private property. At one time, when still in Russia, and exiled in the mountains of the Caucasus, they even took to carrying guns, for hunting and self-defence, and were in the process of turning into another Caucasian tribe, like the local Moslems, with whom they were on friendly terms. Then in a sudden,

mass revulsion they piled all their arms together and burnt them in great bonfires.

Later, in Canada, some of them went so far as to become vegetarians, and liberated their horses and cattle. They seem always to sink slowly into conformity year by year, till a sudden wave of reforming zeal sweeps over them and they strive to return to their ideals, which they succeed in doing for a time, only gradually to fall away again. Sometimes, having accumulated goods and possessions, they burn them all, setting fire to their own houses, so as to return to their original simplicity.

At the present time the forces of the modern world seem to be overcoming their resistance, and it looks as if the sect will perish, but, since this sort of thing has happened before, it would be reckless to prophesy. There may well be some surprises still to come!

George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, who also collaborated in writing the biography of Kropotkin, *The Anarchist Prince*, have given us a most lively and interesting account of these complex simple-lifers, authoritarian anarchists and violent pacifists. They are sympathetic to them, but without idealising them in any way.

The Doukhobors must often, in their heroic days, have been frightening, or at least disconcerting, neighbours. The name they bear means 'spirit wrestlers', and was originally applied to them by an

Continued on page 5



# WORKERS' CONTROL OR STUDENT POWER

AT TIMES, FREEDOM's comments on student dissent seem dangerously near to the attitude 'When a riot breaks out, our side are the ones with long hair'. In proportion to this the editors have been neglecting the prime function of the journal, that of giving a detailed and critical analysis from a specifically anarchist point of view of the issues raised by social phenomena of this kind, where neither of the opposing sides in the clash are anarchist, where only a small number of the individuals involved are, but where anarchism clearly has a contribution to make.

Despite their importance I will make my first two points quickly. Firstly, by publishing without editorial comment the accounts by 'Freedom Reporter' and 'Leeds Direct Action' of their activities in violently breaking up meetings addressed by Mr. Powell and Major Wall, in Exeter and Leeds respectively, you condone and seem to take for granted that it is appropriate for anarchists to use aggressive violence to suppress the freedom of speech of those with whom they disagree. Leeds Direct Action specifically told readers not to listen to 'the mouthings of those who talk about freedom of speech'. Since many anarchists in the past have considered this to be an important concept, I would have thought some comment was called for.

Secondly, although here the blossoming of student politics has merely made a long-standing attitude more obviously grotesque, why do anarchists refer to such extremists of authoritarianism as Trotskyists, Maoists, and other revolutionary socialists, who seek to replace the present state by a more dictatorial one, as if they were somehow rather close to anarchism?

Most important, however, is your adoption of the demand for student control of universities, and the equation of this with workers' control which is made in recent front page articles by P.S. and 'Justin'.

To claim that students are the workers in universities is like saying that people who eat the produce of a farm are agricultural workers, that passengers on a

train are railway workers, or that readers of FREEDOM are anarchist publishing workers. A university is an institution devoted to the advancement of learning and the workers in it are the academic staff who are actively contributing to this objective. In practice there is probably a larger degree of workers' control, in the sense in which syndicalists use the term, in the university world than in any other extensive sector of British society. The workers' councils go under non-revolutionary titles such as Academic Boards or Faculties, and their area of control is circumscribed by the pressures of the outside society, but it is effective in day-to-day matters. The precise composition of such councils differs from one college to another, but the principle is the same, that control rests with those who have proved themselves able to contribute to scholarship in their chosen field, and have indicated a commitment to devote a period of their life to doing so.

The demand for student power is not therefore a demand for workers' control, but a demand that control should be removed from the workers and taken over by another body. Since this control could not be exercised in a functional way as a person is only a student because he does not yet know very much about his field, it would tend to be exercised, and student propaganda indicates this, on a basis of political opinions.

From time to time agitation springs up demanding that FREEDOM should be controlled by its readers rather than by the Freedom Press Group. The readers include many passive anarchists, some who will one day take an active part in writing and join the group, some who do not wish to be active but have strong views on what others should be doing, some whose interest lasts only for a short time, and others who are equivocal or antagonistic towards anarchism but who are interested in reading a point of view. Even if it were feasible it would be absurd for the readers, merely because they were readers, to issue directives to the writers on what they should write, and I recall that P.S. himself has

vigorously advocated the traditional anarchist view that those who do a job should control it, inviting others to join them in the work when they had proved themselves able and committed to doing it.

The composition of the student body is analogous to that of the readers in that it includes those who will one day make their own contributions to their subjects, many who quite legitimately want to accept what is being offered without haves, or perhaps even being hostile to them, and some who compensate for their lack of ability with an aggressive desire to direct everyone else. It is open to the first group to take a share in the control of the academic environment when they have proved their ability and desire to become workers in it.

I would have thought that that was in line with anarchist thought, and in view

of his anarchist views on other subjects, I am surprised that P.S. advocates that control of the universities should not be by the workers on the basis of their work, but by non-workers on the basis of their political views. I also remember that when LAG meetings were being disrupted by a group who attended them not to hear the speaker, but specifically to cause trouble, he advocated that these people should never have been allowed in to the meetings. The parallel here might be too explosive.

The fact that this controversy has arisen perhaps indicates that anarchism is a strong commitment to academic views on workers' control need elaborating. A passenger who finds a train service inadequate is no better off if it is run by workers' control or the state. Should anarchist theory have more to

say about forms of co-operation and participation other than control? (P.S. urged students to reject 'participation', but was in favour of consultative meetings between the Freedom Press group and readers.)

Finally, anarchists and current student propaganda usually envisage control in terms of numerous committee meetings. Most real control, however, particularly in the anarchist propaganda world and the academic world, is achieved by individuals and small informal groups deciding what they want to do and going ahead with it, without anyone else being involved, although the possibilities for doing this depend on the existence of a certain social organisation. Is not this the real object of anarchism, and one of the features which distinguishes it from politics? PHILIP HOLGATE.

## A Reply to P. Holgate by 'Digger'

lots of students want to sit down and study one particular philosophy (even if they did, it would be a mirror image of what they are forced to do today). Their curiosity and persistence in discovering, and translating, what has been deliberately buried in the thought of the left, leads one to suspect they would not tolerate the closing of any areas of thought. Their minds are too open and that is a challenge to this closed society.

As for Free Speech, this is the last and biggest lie of them all. The plaintive cry of the politician in the popular press who goes out of his way to stir up racialism in a bastion of tolerance is sad to hear. What is sadder is that Holgate swallows the lie whole. The entire student movement is misrepresented in the mass media. Are Powell and his lunatic lieutenants so misrepresented? No, every nuance of their racialist ideas comes across. Not one undistorted concept of the revolutionary left comes across.

What would you have done at Olympia in 1936, Philip? Well, make no mistake about it, it's happening now, Powell is just a taster. This isn't a question of free speech, this is a question of opposing the attempt to impose racial discrimination by law in this country. For that is what Powell is all about. Do you think, too, that if you can go to one of his meetings that there is some gentlemanly way of confronting the idiot with his sins? Go, and when you come back with a mouthful of teeth and your glasses pushed in your face by some National Front steward, tell me your point of view again. Don't, incidentally, think that the Labour Party stewards are very kind when you heckle their darling boys; if anything they're worse. Free Speech! You cannot heckle or ask questions. No, it's 'shut up and listen' to the mighty words of wisdom.

Free Speech I always understood meant having to put up with hecklers and allowing opposing points of view to be put forward—which in any student meeting takes place. I don't think fascist Enoch would stand up to Hyde Park conditions for five minutes.

DIGGER.

Editorial note: Owing to continuous pressure on editorial space we had to delay printing comrade Holgate's letter by three months!

It is again a sad misconception that

## PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM

PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM, the remarkable bi-monthly magazine produced by the United States Information Agency in Washington, devoted two issues last year to the current struggle for intellectual freedom in Russia, under the general title 'In Quest of Justice'. It is of course necessary to recognise the propaganda purpose of the magazine in general, but it is also necessary to acknowledge the high quality and lasting value of these particular issues.

After a brief preface by Abraham Brumberg (the editor), there were five articles on the struggle, more than eighty documents of the struggle, more than fifty examples of writing from the struggle, and biographical notes on 140 people in the struggle.

The preface stressed the special importance of the documents and writings involved. They 'have not been circulating clandestinely within the borders of the Soviet Union, nor have they been smuggled out anonymously to the outside world'. On the contrary, they have been distributed openly as a deliberate public action—a form of what we would call civil disobedience or direct action, but demanding courage which we can scarcely begin to appreciate.

The article covered the political and cultural background, the legal aspects of the recent trials of writers, the effects of the official censorship, the Ukrainian underground, and the religious underground. They are all interesting but tend to become merely propagandist, which lessens their value.

The documents included most of the items mentioned at various times in the Western press—not just 'documents' (i.e., careful analyses of various aspects of the situation), but police records, trial statements, petitions, appeals, open letters, private letters, diaries, proceedings of meetings, verbal statements, written statements—all kinds of expressions of personal opinions of a kind which we are familiar with but which seems to fill the Russian authorities with shock and horror. The most interesting refer of course to the various trials of the last three years, but perhaps the most valuable refer to the Solzhenitsyn affair and to the protests against the Russian intervention in Czechoslovakia.

The examples of writing made up a brief anthology of underground literature in Russia today, some of which

has more political than literary value but all of which is interesting to read. The most significant items are those which show that intellectual dissent is not just an individual matter, as is suggested by some comment on such writers as Pasternak and Solzhenitsyn or Sinyavski and Daniel, but is often a collective matter. Groups are formed to hold regular discussions or to publish magazines, just as in the days before the Revolution, and some of them ostentatiously use names taken from revolutionary heroes or well-known exiles, such as Ryleev the Decembrist or Berdyaev the Christian. Here is surely the greatest hope for the future, for rebellion begins as an individual act but can only continue as a collective action.

One of the most astonishing things included in the selection of underground writings comes from a magazine called *Tetrad*, which in 1965 printed autobiographical fragments by Anatoli Levitin, who writes under the name Krasnov. Levitin is the most striking unorthodox religious figure in Russia, and one of the extracts included was his piece 'But Every Authority Must Fall', in which he argued in Marxist terms for the destruction of the state! This, together with things written by such people as Yessenin-Volpin and Galanskov, suggests that the idea of anarchy still exists in the minds of Russian dissenters a century after it first appeared there.

These two issues of *Problems of Communism* amount to 240 pages of mostly first-hand information about one of the most important events in the world. The magazine costs 50 cents in the United States, but in other countries it can be obtained free. All you need to do is write for *Problems of Communism*, volume 17, numbers 4 and 5 (July-August and September-October, 1968) to:—The United States Information Service, The American Embassy, P.O. Box 2.L.H., Upper Brook Street, London, W.1.

N.W.

WE GO TO PRESS ON MONDAY  
LATEST DATE FOR RECEIPT OF  
MSS., LETTERS, MEETING NOTICES  
IS THE MONDAY IN EACH WEEK  
OF PUBLICATION.

PERHAPS THE MOST pernicious thing to be seen in Philip Holgate's letter is the influence of the mass media. The students in this society are misrepresented and misunderstood—not just by the irate colonels in Bournemouth but more astonishingly by the people who work with them and do not trouble to know what it is they want. The mass media has the advantage of being considered superior to experience and that is nonsense. The letter also shows a charming naivety which, as anyone who knows any academic institution, is immediately dispelled by the facts.

The workers' councils, so touchingly portrayed as being under 'non-revolutionary' titles as the academic or faculty boards, are hardly representative of the mass of academics, certainly not in the huge mind-mills of London and the provincial universities. The boards are selected, professorial and appointees. They are at the apex of a hierarchical structure; perhaps in the informality of smaller institutions, where the bureaucracy cannot be so rigid, this is not apparent. Elsewhere it is utterly obvious.

It is of interest that this letter treats the students with much the same attitude as the mass media did two years ago (even they've been educated a bit now). The student is lucky he is stuffed full of saleable knowledge 'Why is it complaining, we've tailor-made and cut it so that it can fit into a £1,000 a year rising on a sliding scale when it leaves?'

It is not by chance that this revolt is strongest amongst the social sciences, they have to suffer three years of a man's life with rubbish rammed down their throats, and contradictory rubbish at that. The argument is not just with the university; it is with the society that creates such an institution. The only way that they can escape the straitjacket is to challenge it in a way that makes sense, is to challenge the concepts of such a society and reject the conceptual notions that they are taught where they are taught. They must reject the rôle allotted to them in the very place the attempt is being made to mould them into something they do not wish to be. That is not to say that they reject education or learning; what they reject is this society's concept of that education. After all, if you don't like a way the tailor makes you a suit, then you go out and complain in the street to your friends

## RUSSIA—Anarchism Attacked

ONCE AGAIN the spectre of Anarchism is haunting the Russian Communist Party. More than once recently, Soviet newspapers and journals have attacked 'petty bourgeois' anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist trends in Czechoslovakia. Now, it seems, anarchism may be rearing its ugly head a little nearer at home, perhaps in Moscow or Kiev.

In a very lengthy article entitled 'Lenin's Battle Against Anarcho-Syndicalism: Tantamount to the complete negation of socialism', Sergei Titarenko, in *Pravda* (4.3.69), once again stalks the ghosts of Makhno, Kollontai and the 'Workers' Opposition'. He reminds (?) the Russian workers of the struggle waged by Lenin and the Communist Party 'against the anarcho-syndicalist deviation which manifested itself during 1920 and 1921'. The tasks of the Party at the end of the Civil War were, says Mr. Titarenko, to restore and advance the economy; and this called for a high level of organisation and unity of what Communists term the 'proletarian vanguard', in order to 'establish labour discipline and introduce firm order at factories and plants, and in all the links of the Soviet

economy and State organisms'. And of course any opposition to such 'labour discipline' could not be tolerated by good Marxist-Leninists. Unfortunately for Lenin and the Communist Party there was opposition.

First, at the Ninth Party Congress (1920), there was the group of Democratic Centralists, who, though they were communists, opposed centralised State control and the 'principle' of one-man management of factories. Lenin argued that their position was incompatible with the so-called 'dictatorship of the proletariat' (actually the dictatorship of the leading members of the Communist Party over the workers and peasants). 'In practice,' writes Titarenko in a revealing passage, 'the activity of the Democratic Centralists boiled down to a rejection of firm Party and State discipline and the leading rôle of the Party in the Soviets and Trade Unions. It was not accidental that Lenin said that the Democratic Centralists' arguments were associated with the Makhnovites' views.'

Second, says Titarenko, the position of the Democratic Centralists was close to that of another 'anti-Party' group—

The Workers' Opposition. 'The anarcho-syndicalist platform was expounded in its most complete form in A. Kollontai's booklet, *The Workers' Opposition*, issued before the Tenth Party Congress (March, 1921). All of which 'was a complete repudiation of communist principles in favour of anarcho-syndicalism'. But, argues our Communist writer, Lenin 'convincingly' showed that the views of the Workers' Opposition were a reflection of the 'petty bourgeois anarchistic element', which as every good Communist knows is 'counter-revolutionary'. Such views, said Lenin, would undermine 'democratic centralism' and the State—and would cause Anarchy!

By now you may be asking: 'Why should *Pravda* waste so much space digging up old history, and remind (?) Soviet workers of the activities of such renegades as Makhno or Kollontai?' Mr. Sergei Titarenko tells us why.

'The lessons of Lenin's and the Party's struggle against anarcho-syndicalism remain topical in our day, too. The influence of petty bourgeois views, tradi-

Continued on page 5



# The Nazi Front

FOR SOME TIME NOW an organisation calling itself the National Front has, on quite a number of occasions, hit the headlines in both the national and local Press. Last December about a dozen-and-a-half Front members heckled the Archbishop of Canterbury at a church hall in Basildon. In January of this year a group of Fronters attempted to break up a meeting organised by the Free Schools Campaign, and at the end of March about forty of them were involved in persistent barracking, flour-and tomato-throwing and some scuffles at a Labour Party by-election meeting in Walthamstow. Again, at the end of March, forty members of the National Front attempted to gatecrash a Co-operative conference on racism at Kingsway Hall. On this occasion, however, the Co-operators were able to prevent them from entering the building.

Who, then, are these people? What is the National Front? And what are its aims?

The Front came into existence in February, 1967, through the amalgamation of the British National Party, formed by wealthy Norfolk farmer Andrew Fountaine and John Bean (Britain's Goebbels) in 1960, and the League of Empire Loyalists, led by A. K. Chesterton, a South African. Some time later most of John Tyndall's Greater Britain Movement, much of Colin Jordan's National Socialist Movement, large numbers of the crisis-ridden Racial Preservation Society, the Birmingham organisation, the Association of British People and two small radical-right 'parties', the English National Party and the Liverpool-based People Progressive Party, joined. Of the National Front today, John Tyndall, writing in the January/February, 1969, issue of his journal *Spearhead* observes:

'After a series of teething troubles, mainly involving the purging of elements who wanted to put the clock back and return to the days of splintering, the National Front has now grown into unquestionably the largest and most powerful patriotic movement in Britain, with a membership many times greater than any other.'

In its early days—and even to some extent today—the National Front was indeed an unholy alliance of radical-right, neo-Fascist and Nazi groupings, with perhaps the Nazi element and ideology predominating over the purely nationalist and High Tory. Like the pre-War British Union of Fascists, the Front appears to attract membership from the two extremes of the social spectrum—the aristocracy (including some Top Brass from the armed forces) and the lumpenproletariat. The National Front, however, is hostile towards Sir Oswald Mosley, the ageing 'leader' of Union Movement, whom it claims is not a genuine nationalist or National Socialist. Mosley is, says Tyndall in *Spearhead*, by inclination '... a European internationalist rather than a British Nationalist.' To many of the National Fronters, the Mosleyites are as 'left-wing' as the Communist Party!

What is the numerical strength of the National Front?

Mr. Martin Webster, the national activities organiser, and one-time friend and associate of Colin Jordan, says: 'We boast 8,000 members, but a more realistic claim would be 7,000.' The Front is, of course, growing. It claims 150 applicants for membership a week. And it is, as Tyndall boasts, far larger than any other of the far-right splinter groups—including Mosley's somewhat ailing, and ageing, Union Movement. But I doubt whether its actual paid-up membership is 7,000. Activists number less than a tenth of that figure. About fifty or so members of the Front, however, can generally be called upon—often at quite short notice—to attend other people's meetings or demonstrations in the Greater London area. The National Front could, therefore, become a potential danger if not exposed in good time.

## SOME 'LEADERS'

Probably its most notorious 'leader' is the already-mentioned A. K. Chesterton, 'Chairman of Directorate' and editor of *Candour*, which he has edited for many years. Formerly one of Mosley's BUF 'intellectuals', and one-time editor of the BUF publication *Blackshirt*, Chesterton broke away from the British Union of Fascists just before the war, presumably because of Mosley's 'moderate' attitude towards Nazi Germany. Before that, Chesterton worked with the late A. Raven Thompson and the notorious William 'Lord Haw Haw' Joyce, BUF director of propaganda. Undisputed 'leader' of the National Front today, he is able to spend quite a considerable amount of time in his native South Africa.

Membership of the Front's National Council looks quite impressive—if one is impressed by aristocratic titles, DSOs, MBEs, MCs and the like. Perhaps the most well-known is Admiral Sir Barry Domville, KBE, CB, CMG, a founder of the pro-Nazi 'Link', and a guest of honour—together with Sir Oswald Mosley—at a large 18th Detainees' rally in London in March, 1945, and again in December of the same year. Other Top Brass include Major-General Richard Hilton, DSO, MC, DFC, Air-Commodore G. S. Oddie, DFC, AFC, who said recently, 'Of course I am a racist', and Lieut.-Cdr. G. K. Rylands, OBE, JP. Then there is Elizabeth, Lady Freeman, MBE, and a couple of parsons, the Rev. Sidney Atherly and the Rev. G. H. Nicholson, vicar of St. Mary the Virgin, Burfield, near Reading, a supporter of Ian Smith and writer of various tracts and articles purporting to show Bible support for racial segregation. To complete the list there is a lady with the very English name of Mrs. von Goetz. Of course, most of these people are just important-sounding names to decorate National Front notepaper. None are known to have been particularly active throwing rotten fruit or bags of flour at opponents. This they usually leave to Stephen Wade of Forest Gate, 'leader' of the Front's Newham Branch, and a former member of the British National Party. It was Wade who denied kicking Arthur Bottomley, MP, in the groin at the Walthamstow meeting. Said Wade after the meeting: 'There was a struggle, but I only brushed against Bottomley. I don't go about kicking 62-

year-old men. We succeeded in disrupting the meeting—that's all I was there for.' Obviously not the type to invite to tea and crumpets with Admiral Sir Barry Domville or Lady Elizabeth!

Of the same stamp as Wade are people like Ron Tear and John Cook. Tear is also a former member of the British National Party, and a one-time candidate in the Goodmayes area of Ilford in Essex. According to Andrew Kitt of the *Guardian* (26.3.69), 'At one time the most noticeable decoration in Mr. Tear's home, in front of which he proudly posed for a press photograph, was a shrine to the late Adolf Hitler.' Ron Tear is highly thought-of by A. K. Chesterton, 'the leader'. He is Area Organiser of the West Essex and East London National Front, and is a member of the Front's National Directorate. Tear was also at the Walthamstow fracas. Admitted Ron some while ago: 'I frankly admit that we are National Socialists.' Closely associated with him is John Cook of Ilford. He is Deputy Area Organiser in East London and West Essex, and is a member of the National Directorate. He was formerly with Colin Jordan's National Socialist Movement. And, according to Tom Iremonger, MP for Ilford, he 'infiltrated' the local Tory association, and actively promoted the cause of racial separation. A. K. Chesterton also thinks highly of him as well. And he's welcome to him.

According to the *Sunday Times* (30.3.69), there are twenty-two members of the Directorate, whose previous affiliations were: Greater Britain Movement, British National Party, League of Empire Loyalists, the Racial Preservation Society and the Communist Party (!). The *Times*, however, omits to mention Colin Jordan's National Socialists. The paper does mention John Tyndall, 'former GBM and Nazi leader', and Miss Rosine de Bouneville, an ex-Leaguer. The inner leadership of the National Front, according to the *Sunday Times*, is the Leadership Council, comprising Chesterton, Aidan Mackie, Frank Clifford, a former Mosleyite, Denis Pirie, a former National Socialist, and another former National Socialist Movement member, Martin Webster. Andrew Fountain, the former president of the British National Party, has now resigned from the National Front.

These, then, are a few of the more

notorious members of the National Front. Recently the Front has been desperately trying to improve its image. I can quite well understand why.

## POLICY

The National Front has a list of thirteen objectives, or to use Stalinist phraseology, immediate demands. They include: 'To establish in Great Britain a strong Government. ... To preserve our British native stock ... to eradicate race-hatred, by terminating non-white immigration, with humane and orderly repatriation of non-white immigrants (and their dependants) who have entered since the passing of the British Nationality Act, 1948. ... To give unremitting support to British and other European communities overseas. ... To ensure that just profits, salaries and wages, founded on a fair partnership between employers and employees, are guaranteed by main-

control all the financial forces through which its economy is fed. This means strong government direction of financial enterprise within defined national and Commonwealth bounds. ... In his section on 'Race Preservation', he says: 'We are British nationalists first and foremost and are determined to preserve our British civilisation in the many areas of the world where it has taken root. ... We don't want to change our national character and assume a new and different character; we want to stay as we are, giving to the world those particular things that our inborn qualities as a people have fitted us to give.' And: 'It is no refutation of this to trot out the old tale about the British being a mixed stock. Our only mixture is of stocks of North Western Europe closely akin to

taining the principle of private enterprise within a framework of national guidance. ... To create a national movement to give guidance for the healthy mental and physical development of British youth' (emphasis mine).

The National Front also publishes numerous leaflets (often showered indiscriminately at opponents' meetings) on various topics. In one such leaflet, the Front proclaims that 'Britain's entry into the Common Market would mean digging her own grave,' and asks: 'Do you want foreigners to govern our country? Do you want them lowering our living standards?' And in another leaflet, it demands: 'UNITE the nation—instead of waging the "class war" ... PUT Britons first. ...' And yet in another: 'Support the Police and the Prison Warders.'

## THE DOUKHOBORS

Continued from page 3  
Orthodox Russian bishop as a term of abuse. He meant that they wrestled against the Holy Ghost, but they have adopted the name for themselves, regarding themselves as 'wrestlers in the spirit' against the forces of evil. We anarchists have also adopted a name given us by our enemies.

In fact Doukhoborism is a many-headed monster, rather as anarchism is. There are Doukhobors who have always been prosperous, individualist farmers, their only nonconformity being their pacifism. These Independent Doukhobors have steered clear of the millenarian enthusiasms of their co-religionists. The bombing and incendiaryism in Canada has been the work of a small section only of the Doukhobors, the Sons of Freedom. They have striven always to bring the sect back to its pristine virtue, by force if necessary.

One form of Doukhobor protest, not

## ANARCHISTS ATTACKED

Continued from page 4  
tions and prejudices on the working class is felt not only in capitalist States, but also in countries which have stepped on to the socialist road. We often hear utterances and witness practical actions which do not differ in essence from anarchism.' Indeed, says *Pravda*, 'There are also in some countries today anarcho-syndicalist sentiments in relation to Trade Unions. Statements that Trade Unions must be made "independent" of the Party are nothing but a direct reproduction of the views of the Workers' Opposition.' All of which, says the Communist writer for the umpteenth time, marks anarchism as a system of petty bourgeois views and policy.

Of course, such phrases as 'petty bourgeois', or 'anarchist deviation', or 'pseudo-revolutionary' are typical Communist

Apart from the 'humane and orderly' expulsion of 'coloured' immigrants from Britain, the Front seeks, in the words of the *Observer* (30.3.69), 'a "white dominion power block" incorporating Britain and the white Commonwealth—including South Africa and Rhodesia—and our withdrawal from the United Nations'. It, naturally, considers 'race mixing' treason, and claims to have 'expert' evidence which it interprets as showing the 'congenital superiority' of the white man ('Caucasoid?') over the rest of humanity. The National Front is a 'parliamentary' party; and aims to contest a considerable number of constituencies, particularly where there are relatively large numbers of 'coloured' immigrants, at the next election.

Although not actually published by the National Front itself (but sold and distributed by the organisation) John Tyndall's booklet *British Nationalism* contains a lot of information on how the dominant leadership and faction think. It was published in 1967. In his chapter 'A Nationalist Economy', Tyndall argues, very much like Mosley did before the War, that 'The British world must be freed from the clutches of the international financial system, and must firmly



each other in spirit and culture blended together as harmonious twigs of a family tree. ... We therefore oppose racial integration and stand for racial separatism, that is the separate development of the different races and nations along lines corresponding to their differing qualities.'

Tyndall, like all Front members, stresses the need for 'strong government'. Putting the usual elitist arguments, he claims that 'At the root of many of the ills of government in Britain lies our system of equal franchise. Under this system everyone over 21 has one vote, and everyone's vote is worth the same. ... In such circumstances it is inevitable that the power of government, such as it is, accrues not to the most capable and principled men of the nation, but the most articulate at "selling themselves" to the voter. ...' So Tyndall proposes that 'government should be elected and judged by an informed and responsible public opinion ... that once elected it should be given the power necessary to properly tackle the most essential national tasks, long term as well as short term. ...' How can we do this? By reforming the franchise so that those who are most fit could have more votes than those who are less fit. This could mean some kind of occupational or professional status and franchise—shades of pre-War BUF policy!

Tyndall is in favour of what he calls the 'moral regeneration' of Britain. Moreover, 'The first necessity is a clear programme of legislation which will render liable to prosecution all persons or agencies responsible for the promotion of art, literature, or entertainment by which public moral standards might be endangered'. Existing laws must be strengthened. Patriotism must be encouraged in our schools.

## BACKWARD-LOOKING

The National Front is not, as has been suggested in some quarters, a revolutionary organisation. It is a reactionary, backward-looking, totalitarian one with a predominantly 'Nordic-style' Nazi ideology. It believes in 'leadership' and a highly centralised, elitist, and hierarchic socio-political structure. It advocates strong government, elected largely by those whom it considers most suited. It would, within a capitalist system of 'national guidance' (shades of Hitler Germany), ensure 'just profits, salaries and wages'—but ensured by whom it does not say. Obviously not by the workers.

At the moment the National Front is 'riding high', its members enthused by some success and notoriety. This is not surprising, considering the ineptitude of Britain's traditional reformist parties and politicians, and the political and social backwardness of large sections of the working class. I am not going to suggest, however, that only the building of a strong and influential libertarian movement in this country can stop the march of such an organisation as the National Front; but, at least, it could make a lot of difference. It's up to us.

P.

restricted to the Sons of Freedom, which has brought them much unfavourable publicity, has been the naked march, conducted through the nearest town or village. So puritanical are the Canadians that they found this deeply shocking, and a law was passed making it an offence, to be punished with three years' imprisonment, to strip oneself naked in a public place.

In Russia the Doukhobors' trouble was mainly on account of their rejection of almost all religious rites, and their refusal to do military service. In Canada their religion was their own affair, and they were not compelled to do military service, but they got into trouble because, with their taboo on books, they did not allow their children to attend school. There was also a muddle over the marriage question. Doukhobors do not have state or church marriages, but in the end the Canadian Government came round to recognising the Doukhobor marriages as valid. If remained, however, uncon-

promising on the matter of schooling, and seems to have won on this point.

One of the characteristics of the sect has been the liability to sudden waves of enthusiasm for migration to a better land. Even at midwinter they have been known to abandon everything, and men, women and children, suddenly set off across the prairie on foot. Various schemes have been started to leave Canada and go to South America, or even back to Russia. So far little has come of these plans. Until recently many of the sect, although born in Canada, still spoke Russian, and knew little English. One gets the impression of a nation of wanderers, at home nowhere. With the dawn of space travel there can be no doubt that some will take advantage of the opportunity to escape our over-populated planet, and recommence their voyaging, ever onwards to some land or planet where they can live their lives free from the interference of earthly governments.

ARTHUR STONE.

swearwords, used partly to cover up the obvious fact that Russia has nothing in common with freedom or the 'free communism' advocated, in various ways, by such people as Makhno, Kollontai, Medvedev and others during the Russian Revolution and after the coming to power of Lenin and the Communists. And, of course, Lenin and his adulators in present-day Russia learnt well from Plekhanov when it came to misrepresenting anarchism.

Modern Russia is the world's second most powerful State, and the world's most totalitarian; there is only one political party, the Communist Party; the means of production are owned, not by the Soviet people, but by the State (of Top People, of functionaries and bureaucratic parasites) who pay the workers wages; and the productive resources are geared not to the satisfaction of indivi-

dual needs, but to the 'maximisation of profit'. Russia, like Harold Wilson's Britain, is not socialist by any stretch of the imagination; it is a bureaucratic form (obviously) of State Capitalism. It has nothing in common with the free, Stateless, moneyless society advocated by Russian and Ukrainian anarchists and such Communist 'anti-Party deviationists' as Kollontai and, indeed, Lenin himself at one time.

Much to the consternation of some of Russia's rulers (and their paid scribes) a few workers, as yet, in the so-called socialist and communist countries appear to be groping towards a rather vague anarchist, anarcho-syndicalist or 'free' communist position. Hence, the attacks on 'petty bourgeois' anarchism in the Soviet press.

PETER E. NEWELL.



# 'Direct Action' Library

FOR a number of reasons the Syndicalist Workers' Federation have been unable to publish *Direct Action* for some months and comrades might be excused for thinking that we had packed up. That is certainly not the case. We believe that in the face of attacks by the Government and employers on the trade union movement, as witnessed by the notorious legislation proposed in Barbara Castle's White Paper 'In Place of Strife' and the Ford's court case, that Anarcho-Syndicalism or revolutionary industrial unionism can provide the weapon needed by the working class. Accordingly we propose a propaganda campaign to get our ideas out through our existing stock of pamphlets and some others yet to come.

The Syndicalist Workers' Federation has over the years published pamphlets dealing with a variety of aspects of the labour movement. Broadly speaking, they may be divided into those dealing with historical subjects in Britain and abroad and others on the industrial struggle and the ideas of Syndicalism.

'The British General Strike 1926' by Tom Brown, price 4d., is an account of how the General Council of the TUC led the British workers into the General Strike in much the same manner as the Generals led the troops into the muck and dirt of Passchendaele some ten years earlier—from behind, and to defeat. Tom Brown has numerous quotes from the memoirs of J. R. Clyne and from the speeches of Ramsay MacDonald in the House of Commons to prove his point that the General Council called the abortive General Strike to ensure that others did not seize the reins of social revolution, nevertheless the workers did show splendid solidarity and their improvised local Councils of Action federated in Northumberland and Durham into a Regional Council of Action.

'How Labour Governed 1945-1951', price 6d., is a very well-documented account of how the Labour Government, during the post-war period, used conscript troops to break a number of strikes in the docks and sent gas-workers to prison for striking for a pay increase during the wage freeze. At that time the wage freeze was supported by the TUC. How the Labour Government became involved in a number of wars to bolster the failing fortunes of Imperialism in Indonesia and Indo-China is told and how Jewish prisoners of the German concentration camps were interned in British concentration camps in Cyprus. The use of British troops to suppress the Jewish national struggle in the then Palestine. Gunboat diplomacy in Persia, shootings and

jailings in the Gold Coast, Nigeria and Kenya. Peacetime conscription and a foreign policy supported to the hilt by the Tories. Diplomatic relations established with fascist Spain, and deporting of escapees from Franco's terror form the sad tale told in this pamphlet.

In 'The Unholy Alliance—the 1966 Seamen's Strike; an analysis', price 6d., George Foulser, seaman and author of *The Seaman's Voice* tells of how the leadership of the National Union of Seamen betrayed the members during the strike of 1966. He gives an account of how the General Secretary Jim Hogarth led the men out on strike in face of the threat of rank and file action to form a breakaway union. He points out how the activities of the Communist Party in the docks through Jack Dash and through Gordon Norris at sea sabotaged the strike in alliance either consciously or unconsciously with Jim Hogarth and the NUS leadership, because of the CP's hostility to breakaway unions. A point-by-point criticism of the Merchant Shipping Act 1894 is also included.

'Lenin and Workers' Control', written by Tom Brown and priced 4d., is an account of the rise and fall of the 'soviets' in 1917 and the spontaneous actions of workers and peasants who seized factories and lands without the aid of the Bolsheviks and subsequent to October, in spite of their opposition and also the various controlling boards which they established. He quotes from the books written by the Stalinist apologist M. H. Dobb, MA, *Russian Economic Development Since the Revolution and Soviet Economic Development Since 1917*. He quotes from Lenin to show how the Bolsheviks became the counter-revolution and created a repressive machine greater than that of the Czarists to impede the development of the revolution in factories and countryside.

The SWF published the pamphlet 'Syndicalists in the Russian Revolution', price 6d., in October 1917, to commemorate the great events in Russia 1917. The pamphlet is an extract from *The Guillotine at Work* by G. P. Maximoff who edited the Anarcho-Syndicalist paper *Golos Trouda* (Voice of Labour) in Petrograd during the Revolution. This pamphlet traces the activities of the Russian comrades during the period between February and October and quotes Stalin's dictum 'through federalism to centralism' used so successfully by the Bolsheviks.

Differing attitudes among the Anarcho-Syndicalists to the role of the Factory Committees is blamed by Maximoff for the subsequent victory of the bureau-

cracy. He quotes the strength of the Russian Anarcho-Syndicalists at the time of the First All-Russian Trade Union Convention in January 1918 as 88,000.

'The Hungarian Workers Revolution', price 6d., is an account of the heroic effort of the Hungarian workers to throw off the rule of the Russian-placed bureaucracy and to create a society based on the Workers' Council. The pamphlet traces the events that led to the famous march of students to the radio station in Budapest on October 23, 1956, and the events that followed the AVH (secret police) opening fire on the students. First, the Hungarian Army went over to the revolution and then the workers. These workers organised councils federated into regional councils and the Central Council of Hungarian Workers. The pamphlet tells of the industrial struggle which followed the brutal repression by Soviet armour. The isolation of Imre Nagy and other Hungarian 'Titoist' politicians from the main body of struggle by the workers is shown. Mention is made of the gestures of solidarity with the Hungarians in Romania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Germany and the Soviet Union itself.

In retrospect the events in Hungary at that time can be seen to be a sequel to the present struggle in Eastern Europe particularly in Czechoslovakia where the Czech Trade Union movement is waging a struggle for greater independence from State interference, the right to strike and a recognition of genuine Workers' Councils. The current events in Czechoslovakia give this pamphlet a new relevance.

'What's Wrong with the Unions', a Syndicalist answer by Tom Brown, priced 4d., takes the present trade union

structure to pieces as being too big and unwieldy and branch organisation bears no relation to the place of work. The pamphlet calls for revolutionary industrial unionism and cites the many forms of strike action introduced into the class struggle by Syndicalists. The lightning strike, the guerilla strike, 'work to rule', the boycott, the sympathetic strike, the 'good work' strike and the stay in strike. Each one of these forms of industrial resistance is examined in this pamphlet and their efficiency in different circumstances has been proved beyond all shadow of doubt. If every trade unionist underwent as part of his apprenticeship a detailed study of these forms of non-violent industrial resistance then capitalism might well be part of history, indeed the wage slave system of any description would be part of history.

'The Social General Strike', priced at 2d., is another of Tom Brown's pamphlets dealing with the Syndicalist Social General Strike or General Lock-Out of the employing class which, as he says, is a more apt description. This strike is intended to be the curtain-raiser to the social revolution, the 'grand finale' of capitalist society. The workers would take control of the means and instruments of production and distribution. They would supply their fellow workers with his or her needs but would lock out and boycott the capitalist class. He cites the occupation of factories in Northern Italy in 1920 and in France in 1936 and the social revolution in Spain of the same year.

'Workers' Control', priced at 6d., clarifies the meaning of these two magic words which have currently become the mascot of many groups including a pamphlet published by the Labour

Party. This pamphlet exposes the myth of nationalisation as a step towards a new society. It argues the case for workers' control against those who say that 'it won't work' and outlines how it will be achieved through Syndicalist (Revolutionary Industrial) unions. The pamphlet also cites the cases of where the workers have seized factories in Italy and France, of social revolution in Spain and the Kibbutz movement in Israel in which workers' control is the central pivot of their administration.

'Smash the Wage Freeze' by Bill Christopher, price 2d., analyses and exposes the myths of the Prices and Incomes Act. He describes it as a WAGES and Prices Act. He exposes the inability of the present trade union leadership to smash the wage freeze because of their unwillingness to challenge the freeze in the one arena where it can be defeated—industrial action on the shop floor. Recent events in the motor-car industry and the Government's White Paper 'In Place of Strife' reinforces the common sense argument of this pamphlet. The anti-trade union legislation will only be defeated by industrial action.

'Strike Strategy', price 2d., is a guide to effective strike action. In this case, as in the case of 90 per cent of strikes, it will be unofficial strike action. Three points should be clear before taking strike action, the pamphlet states: (i) it must be a working class issue; (ii) the decision to strike must be taken by the workers concerned; (iii) striking frivolously must be avoided. The pamphlet goes on to deal with the topical subject of agreements. Apart from the election of a Strike Committee, three other sub-committees are suggested in order of importance: (i) Picketing; (ii) Propaganda; and (iii) Finance.

This selection of pamphlets should be in every readers' library. Order from SWF National Secretary, Bill Christopher, 34 Cumberland Road, London, E.17.

DAVID PICKETT.

## 'BUT, MR. SPEAKER . . .'

'BUT MR. SPEAKER . . .', Jim Huggon (6d.) c/o Freedom Press.

GOOD of its type, this pamphlet does not escape from the joy-joy-joy school of writing on anarchism to which the duplicator is often prone. There is no relation to any economic factors which (one presumes) all will admit are at the basis of present-day society, and need to be tackled if it is to be overthrown (but of course not if it is not to be). Jim Huggon plugs away at 'non-violent resistance', apparently not realising that this is what the people have adopted for centuries (induced enthusiastically co-operation is a modern invention)

without great result; indeed, without lasting result even when it has become violent. Something more is needed; NVR would appear to be a good breakfast but a poor supper. Jim passes laughingly over such matters, saying airily that 'work will become play' and gaily defying one to say otherwise; one feels it is only his sense of humour that prevents him clothing the New Jerusalem in white nightshirts.

It is true that some pacifists are anarchists (though it has been recently held in your columns that to say so precludes one saying that some pacifists are not anarchists!) but to equate 'non-violence' with anarchism as completely as the

author does is another matter—whilst saying he does not wish to force his pacifism on to others (and omitting to notice the essentially authoritarian basis of Gandhism), he does not perceive that most people are neither 'non-violent' in the Gandhian sense nor 'violent' (which is not the opposite). They are, in short, neither Mahatmas nor Krays, nor is it at all desirable that they should be. (He should read that theorist of guerilla warfare, and opponent of established Christianity, L. Tolstoy.) It is accepted that there are usually considered to be only two logical alternatives—'one's own, and some far point of inconceivable folly'—but there is no reason why the anarchist movement should be saddled with the alternatives with which the roneovedantic school would present it.

ALBERTUS MAGNUS.

LET'S STOP DEBATING about whether this singer is more commercialised than the next, what constitutes ethnic music, etc., and just be realistic and state the truth—FOLK MUSIC IS DEAD.

It just no longer exists. Before the time of mass communication and entertainment, people had to entertain themselves, the ceildidh reigned supreme. A get-together would be arranged to take place in someone's house and all the neighbours would come—each one prepared to do his bit, by telling stories, singing, playing an instrument, reciting poetry, etc. Folk music was alive at that time. Ordinary people were creating music and, in some instances, developing it to the stage of a fine art, e.g. pibroch. Each new development in mass communication/entertainment was another nail in the coffin of folk music.

Today people have poor quality pop music sold to them by the high pressure salesmanship of the Radio One disc jockey. 'What about the folk boom?' I hear someone say. My answer is, 'What happened to skiffle, the Trad Fad, and the sack dress?'

There are comparatively few people left in Britain who like to hear and to participate in traditional music. Pub audiences roar out the 'Wild Rover', week after week, until you wish the bloody thing had never been written. But have you ever tried to get them to sing, even listen to, anything else?

The Pibroch Society, and similar organisations, do great work in preserving traditional music, but having your girl friend stuffed in a glass case is hardly the same as having her alive. Sing what you like. I know what I like to listen to, and you have your favourites. But folk music is dead, and we are the poorer.

ARCHIE FISHER LP XTRA 1070

Although the 'folk boom' was just another fashion craze, a lot of good came out of it. Topic Records would have bit the dust years ago had it not been for the 'revival'. As it is, their latest venture,

## FREEDOM FOLK

i.e. the issuing of the Caedmon series, 'Folksongs Of Britain', has probably been the most important thing to have happened in the folk scene. Another item which shows the folk fad to be worthwhile after all is Archie Fisher's first solo LP.

This record basically demonstrates how genuine folk music, were it still alive, would have sounded. All the tracks are traditional songs, except for McColl's 'Terror Time'—a song about the hardships of Britain's travelling people during winter. Anyone who thinks that traditional music means a 90-year-old peasant croaking about maypoles and marrow-dangling, should listen to the beautiful love story of 'Matt Highland', and think again.

There are some popular songs, but they are sung accompanied so well that it is like listening to brand new material. In fact my favourite track is the otherwise hackneyed '3 Gypsies'.

FOLKSONG IN ENGLAND by A. L. Lloyd. Published by Lawrence and Wishart, 63s.

This is the last word in folk books. A. L. Lloyd, not nearly as well known as he richly deserves to be, is one of the small band of people who flew the flag of folk whence all but he had fled. He has long been one of my disc favourites and his book will, henceforth, be me bible. Lloyd tackles the subject from all angles, musically and historically. He traces folk music from its primitive stage, through feudal England, into the crucible of the Industrial Revolution, and takes a sharp look at the product of the present day. He firmly relates the development of folk music to the development of the

working class, an outlook scarcely intended to endear him to those bourgeois elements who seek to deny what folk really is. For that alone Lloyd deserves a reading.

One hates to moan about a painstaking life work like this, but why, oh why, has an alleged 'socialist' publishing house put this volume out at such a price? It strikes me that the least they could have done would have been to issue it in paperback form, or in say three volumes at 10/- each. Outraged folk fans might ring up Lawrence and Wishart, whose Communist outlook is well known, and tell them there's a freeze on! Groans apart, get round to the library now, there's 433 pages and 100 songs for the drooling over.

THE BBC AND FOLK

Most music lovers would agree that jazz has, as a popular craze, had it. Our local jazz club folded the year I got long trousers. The local folk club still thrives. From what I can see the same goes all over. Why then, does the BBC devote three times as much air space to jazz as to folk?

It wouldn't be so bad, except for the fact that another, even less popular music, synthetic Country and Western (which, apart from the horrible Jim Reeves, is scarcely bought in this country), gets about the same airing as jazz.

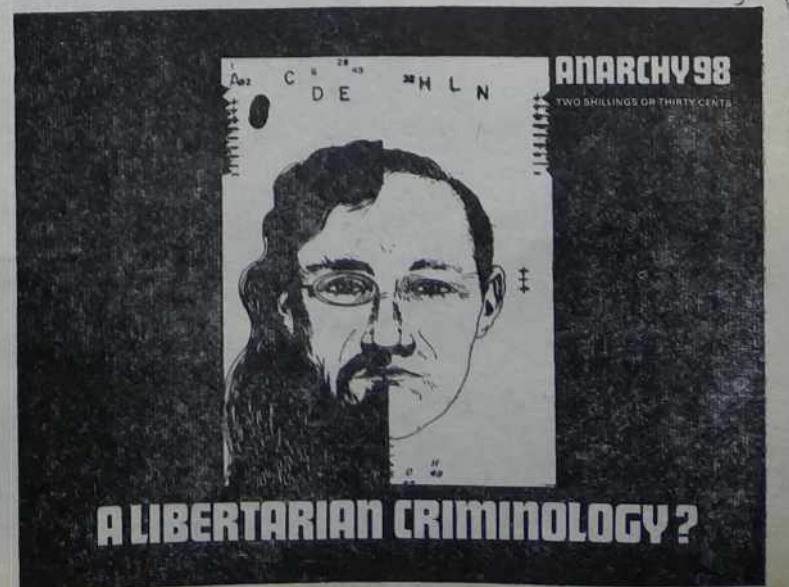
One of the most annoying things about the whole business is the weekly programme 'Country Meets Folk', recently rechristened 'Country Swamps Folk', by Karl Dallas writing in the *Melody Maker*. The whole tone of this hour-long drag is aimed at putting people off

good folk for life and hooking them on the ersatz bluegrass from the rootin' tootin' backwoods of Huddersfield. One can almost imagine the whining country groups wearing ten gallon hats and spurs. The 'folk music' purveyed by this dreary programme is of the lowest kind and what sensitivity any song may have is blunted by the thud of an apparently obligatory double bass accompaniment. This arrangement, whereby a brilliant guitar player is saddled with a bass player, seems to be the rule on both radio and TV. It's about time that performers told the BBC to stuff it. The comper of the programme reviews folk records right enough, but Topic and the other small companies scarcely get a mention. Comperes should also comper and leave disc jockeys to plug their own records. Wally Whyton always has a good word for the latest product of Wally Whyton.

The Wednesday programme, 'My Kind Of Folk', is more of a step in the right direction. This all too short half-hour gives us everything from the most traditional to the latest. No one wants to ban C and W, jazz or anything else. All folk music needs is equal rights with the rest. Especially when it happens to be a damn sight more popular than the all-of-a-same country stuff. The BBC is a bureaucracy and, like all bureaucracies, does what nobody wants. A few sharp letters might budge bumbling Auntie.

'MAC' AND IAN S. SUTHERLAND.

'FREEDOM FOLK' is envisaged as a fairly regular feature. If you have a record that you're in love with, or a book that you're mad about, send us a review. If you just want to make a point, send it in. Material to . . . Ian S. Sutherland, 8 Esslemont Avenue, Aberdeen, AB2 4SL.





# Police Riot (again) in Derry

ON JANUARY 4 the People's Democracy march from Belfast to Derry was ambushed and attacked with clubs, rocks and petrol bombs at Burntollet Bridge, some seven miles outside Derry, by a large crowd of thugs led by Major Bunting. Young girls and old women as well as the main body of the marchers who had walked the 70 miles from Belfast were badly beaten up by 'loyalists' wielding iron bars, clubs with six-inch nails in them and an assortment of home-made weapons. Many of the attackers were 'B' Specials and many prominent 'respected citizenry', including MPs and JPs, were present. The local JP meted out justice by fining Bunting £45 and a handful of others £10.

The North Derry CRA announced its intention of holding a march from the bridge to Derry on Saturday, April 19. The night before, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. Robert Porter, announced that he was banning the march because 'were it to take place I am given to believe that it would be violently opposed and that firearms might be used'. He admitted that the local Orange order had told him that they would 'be

unable to control their people' and so the march must be banned. Once more the 'Government' has given in to the bully boys and extremist Protestant elements.

That afternoon, while another peaceful CR march was going on in Lurgan (it too was restricted to the RC ghetto area, like the PD march of Good Friday), a crowd of jubilant Union Jack-waving people gathered on Burntollet Bridge and jeered at passing cars. Meanwhile in Derry itself several peaceful sit-downs to protest against the scandalous ban were held in several streets. Paisleyites returning from Burntollet provoked the passive demonstrators, and the police, wearing riot gear, moved in between the two factions. Then inevitably they baton-charged the CR supporters, ignoring the 'loyalist' group as usual. From 5 p.m. onwards the city was the scene of countless baton-charges as the people hurled rocks, petrol bombs and anything they could lay their hands on at the armed police. For an hour the Strand Road Police Station was cut off and surrounded by the people who besieged it, smashing windows and

trying to break in while the police covered inside. Throughout the evening the casualties mounted on both sides as the wounded were carted off to Altnagelvin Hospital. Latest figures are (from police sources as usual) 216 police and 79 people injured and 13 police and 8 civilians detained in hospital. Police brutality has of course been denied officially but eye witnesses describe it as some of the worst yet, and the authorities are embarrassed by the police admission that a sergeant fired shots over the heads of a hostile crowd during the height of the riots. By 1 a.m. the police had retaken the Bogside area after a terrifying baton-charge down William Street, and indiscriminate use of the water cannon; but the mood on the streets of Derry from now on will be very tense. The Unionists have tried to deal with the undeniable demands for social justice by using the police to baton down the people and those in Derry have been the victims for too long. Last night for the first time the people beat the police back into their pens. Once again the people have shown that enough is enough and this

rotten regime must fall.

The NI CRA has just issued a statement that next Saturday all 14 members of its executive and the North Derry committee will march over the banned route from Burntollet. They say that Porter's ban was a complete capitulation to the open threats of the unionist extremists. 'This type of partisan law enforcement cannot be tolerated any longer. There may well be a danger of serious assault upon the marchers, but the responsibility is Mr. Porter's. It is his clear duty to crush this armed conspiracy and we intend to force him to do his duty. He says he has clear evidence of an armed conspiracy prepared to use guns against CR marchers, we are giving him adequate time to arrest and disarm these extremists. If he is not prepared to do this he must accept the responsibility for any assault that takes place. The march will proceed, ban or no ban.'

It's going to be a long hot summer in fascist Ulster all right.

REV. BERKE.

## Flags Frame-up

THE CHAIRMAN OF the March 30 ad hoc committee for Solidarity with Vietnam, Norman Temple, was arrested 2½ weeks after the demonstration for allegedly taking 3 flags (including a Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes, value £30) from the Royal Leicester Hotel.

Two other people, Rodney Jenkins and Robin Shaw, were arrested on the demonstration. Will anyone who can give useful evidence please contact Norman Temple at 51 Brookdale, N.11 (ENT 2506). The case comes up at Marylebone Court on Monday morning, May 5.

## BLACK FLAGS FLY

RECENTLY THERE HAVE BEEN occupations of university administration buildings at Sussex and Geneva. Black Flags were flown on both occasions. The Geneva occupation resulted from a reluctance of the administration to reconsider the function of the Students' Union; neither student in composition, nor a union in nature. Also there is an intolerance on the part of the administration to allow political activity in the university. At Sussex the occupation was initiated by an institutionalisation of direct action procedure by the Students' Union as well as a dislike for internal discipline and examination procedures. The Geneva occupation lasted four days but the Sussex event was ended by self-styled Marxists whose desire for revolutionary action is obviously tempered by a stronger desire to recruit innocent liberals, as they decided that a protracted occupation would offend someone.

## One and All

ONE AND ALL is a new Cornish magazine 'dedicated to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness', an objective it attains by embracing all elements of the libertarian movements without sacrificing quality or quantity. There is in the first issue an appreciation of the social consciousness of the Front for the Liberation of Brittany; an attack upon the money-grabbing intolerance of local councils and police in Cornwall who discriminate against less wealthy summer visitors; and various other local topics which the established local press refuse to discuss nor even consider. It is pleasant to note that these local magazines and broadsheets are beginning to blossom all over the countryside.

## How Dare they Use Connolly's Name?

THE CONNOLLY Association's march in London in 'support of civil rights in N. Ireland' on Sunday, April 20, was marred by the Stalinist attitude of the stewards who tried to force the anarchists off the march. The chief steward also asked for police help to remove Libertarians. The attempt failed. The organisers also refused permission to a PD delegate from Belfast to speak from the plinth of Nelson's Column.

This sectarian and stupid attitude must be fought by Libertarians, especially that in their public speeches the organisers appealed for help from 'all shades of opinion'.

JOHN RETY.

WYNFORD HICKS.

## FIFTH COLUMN

### 'Schemer' Wilson

THE LOGIC of the two-party political system is that 'controversial' legislation is more conveniently introduced by the party whose members can be expected to oppose it. As Ivan Yates remarked in the *Observer* last Sunday: 'Just as it was easier for a Conservative Government to respond to the wind of change and leave Africa, so it makes some sense for Labour to be the first to take on the unions.'

The Tories are of course in favour of any attack on the working class—if it can be mounted by other people so much the better. The Tories stand on the touchline content to watch 'Babs' Castle score the goals.

'Harry' Wilson's control is far stronger in government than in opposition: the government is a first team; the opposition only a reserve XI. When you are in the team you don't take risks; you are afraid of losing your own place—or seeing the entire team replaced by the reserves.

Wilson has of course promoted a number of Left Wingers and compelled them to accept the strategy of his team: they now have to play on the Right. 'Babs' Castle is a good example: having spent the best part of her career streaking down the Left Wing she was moved by the skilful manager Wilson. Now she often leads the attack from the Right though retaining her zest for the game. 'Harry' like 'Sir Alf' Ramsey prefers players who can switch to any position and who have a high work rate.

As an ex-Left Winger 'Babs' Castle will be specially useful in the forthcoming match against the workers' team. This has been organised by Wilson to distract attention from the series of humiliating defeats by teams like The Gnomes (Zurich), The All Whites (Salisbury), and the Common Racketeers (Paris). Victories over The Anguillans, who were playing without boots, and The Kenyan Asians, who suddenly found in the middle of the game that the rules had been changed by the crafty Wilson (not for the first time playing a double game as referee and manager), are not considered significant by the pundits. Only a dramatic success will revive the morale of the Labour team as it looks ahead to the next round of Election Cup matches (played between the first team and the reserve XI with catcalls supplied by various amateur sides). Already The Tories have won most of the close season friendlies between themselves and Labour including several on grounds in industrial areas—traditionally Labour's stronghold.

Hence the forthcoming game against the workers which Wilson is determined to win both to encourage his own team and to discourage the Tory spectators. And it's obvious that if the players keep within the rules—and the fans don't intervene—Wilson's team will win. Not only does he have under contract many star players who have in the past made guest appearances for the workers—the brilliant ball-player 'Dickie' Crossman, the careful defender 'Tony' Greenwood and 'Babs' Castle for example—but the rules say that only elected members of the parliamentary club can play. So The Workers' Representatives will take the field with a seriously weakened team: they will have few stars and they will be several players short.

What's more the Tories on the touchline are eligible to be brought on as substitutes for Wilson's team if they're needed. The ref's bent and the rules of the game are fixed in Wilson's favour.

'Big Jim' Callaghan, veteran Right Back and a key member of the Wilson team ever since he failed to be elected manager instead of Wilson, sent every sports reporter in the country hurrying to his typewriter the other day. While Wilson was away making a guest appearance as referee in the violent Nigeria-Biafra tussle 'Big Jim' suddenly appeared on the Left Wing in a practice game. He was clearly defying the manager's orders. However there is no doubt in the minds of most commentators that on the day 'Big Jim' will be back in defence—on the Right.

To stop the Labour team's victory over The Workers' Representatives the fans—who after all pay for both teams—can invade and occupy the pitch. Or they can take industrial action now and force Wilson to call the game off. Or after Wilson's victory they can refuse to accept it: industrial action again.

One advantage the fans have is that Wilson's primary objective must be the Election Cup series against the Tories. Wilson of course chooses both the date and the ground for these fixtures. He is now at work preparing a new super 'Boom Economy' ground with special (temporary) amenities for the fans. Major industrial action would disrupt his building plans.

## Peterloo Massacre

BRIGHTON & HOVE Anarchists and the Sussex University Anarchists are taking part in the re-enactment of the Peterloo Massacre, with other left wing groups.

There will be a march through the town followed by shows on the Level. Comrades will be running a free soup stall. Help is needed with supplies of food for making soup, e.g. lentils, tomatoes, etc., or supplies of paper and plastic cups.

Comrades are welcome to come down and help, accommodation available. See Brighton Group's address in list.

## Anarchist Ball-Mark II

April 3, 1969

Dear Comrades,  
As reported in FREEDOM, March 8, 22 people, including several anarchists, were arrested on the Vietnam Demonstration in Sheffield on March 1. Not all the cases have been tried yet, but the fines total nearly £300 so far. We are collecting for a fund to help pay the fines, and as part of the campaign we have a folk/blues concert, starring John Martyn and Andy Fernbach, at the above address at 8 p.m. on Friday, May 2. I'm very sorry that it clashes with the Anarchist Ball! Tickets will be 5s. each, available at the door, or by post from me. (Please enclose S.A.E., and make cheques/P.O.s payable to Sheffield Vietnam Campaign.)

Thanks,  
ROBIN LOVELL.

Students' Union,  
Sheffield University,  
Sheffield, 10.

## MOVING FUND

Target is £500.  
Donations to date: £446 19s. 7d.

## PREMISES FUND

Target is £1,000 per year.  
1969 Pledges honoured and donations to date: £187 18s. 7d.

## Better!

### FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Estimated Expenses:  
16 weeks at £90: £1,440  
Income: Sales and Subs.: £1,154  
DEFICIT: £286

## PRESS FUND

Edinburgh: T.H. 10/-; Nottingham: H.T. £1; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.\* 4/-; J.L.\* 6/-; K.F. & C.F. 2/-; Fife: J.D. £1/9/2; Oxford: Anon\* 5/-; Miami: B.Y. £46; Bow: D.B. £1; Taunton: D.P. £1.

TOTAL: £51 16 2  
Previously Acknowledged: £212 19 1

1969 Total to Date: £264 15 3  
Deficit B/F: £286 0 0

TOTAL DEFICIT: £21 4 9

\*Denotes Regular Contributor.  
Gift of Books—Nottingham: H.T.; London, N.I.: M.W.K.

## POLICE PREJUDICE

A COMPLAINT was made to the Home Office by Albert Meltzer, on behalf of the Anarchist Black Cross. He pointed out that the political bias displayed by Supt. Phillips in the witness box had prejudiced the Barlow-Carver case, and cited the precedent of Sir John Gilmour, as Home Secretary, defending the dismissal of a detective-sergeant who had openly expressed anti-fascist views. Surely this argument applied even more strongly to a police officer who expressed anti-anarchist views in court and in fact opposed bail for anarchists, because they were such.

Two replies have been received. The first asked for further particulars of the prisoners and the jail in which they were

lodged, facts apparently unknown to the Home Office. The second stated that bail was 'entirely a matter for the appropriate judicial authorities' (Supt. Phillips objected to bail for anarchists) and that the Home Secretary could not intervene 'while the matters were pending before the court'. It added that the Commissioner of Police for the Metropolis was 'responsible for the disciplinary control of members of his force' and copies of the correspondence had been sent to him.

No answer has been made to the various points made in the original letter, which many will think unanswerable in logic or law. It was reproduced in the *Bulletin of the Anarchist Black Cross*, No. 4 (latest available).

## University Technician Strike

THE 'RATE FOR THE JOB' is a basic must. The technicians employed in our hallowed seats of learning have, for many years, received a great deal less than their counterparts in hospital labs, for doing very similar work. A quick look at the extent of negotiations over the last three years shows what university, college and similar employees have had to put up with from the college authorities and bears tribute to their patience.

In 1966, the universities were told that the union, ASTMS, was claiming entry scales of pay which would put the university people on the same grade as those in the NHS and similar employment. The demand was also for a rational grading system for promotion, based firmly on qualifications. They got a wage increase of 3.5% in April 1966, which was soon swallowed up in higher prices. Such a niggardly increase should never have been accepted by ASTMS anyway. By December 1967, ASTMS told the university authorities that they would now regard themselves free to take any action they felt necessary.

The academic bureaucrats scuttled off, in some distant committee to digest union proposals for salary increases and rational grading scales, and for a whole year they sat there, and finally gave birth to what is politely called a pup. The working party set up by the college bureaucrats had only considered one tiny aspect of the grading issue, and completely ignored the union demands. Maybe if we had put them in Latin, or had translated them into ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics, they would have read them. Faced with anger from the long-suffering technicians, ASTMS put in a further claim in October 1968, asking for an increase of £100 per annum. The learned professors offered £40. They were, oh so generously, prepared to consider the grading issue... some time around APRIL 1970!! So now it stands as a one-day national stoppage has been called by ASTMS on April 29. Very militant of them.

There have been signs of support from Aberdeen's Association of University Teachers, which is a step along the road to joint action by all underpaid university workers. The bitter truth of this dispute is that the university technicians have not had an increase since 1966. The total increase they have had amounts to

4.4%, while technical staffs in other sectors of public service had had increases of 14%. That new shining light of union militancy, ASTMS, must have been hiding its red flag under a bushel. Their shadow boxing, culminating in this useless one-day holiday, has been a disgrace and shows the difference between the fast talking, jetset, tough Clive Jenkins we see on TV and the pussyfooting to the universities we have seen in our fight. Union leaders talk militant when they are seeking recruits, Jenkins is picking up a current 2,000 per month. For the airline pilots, whom Jenkins sees as a new field for recruitments, nothing was too good. For us it has been three years of wait, wait, wait. Maybe poor technicians can't pay such nice fat union dues as rich pilots, you can't have silk socks on your feet and expansive abstracts on the office wall off the union dues of the poorly paid. Jenkins said recently on TV: 'I have never settled a claim yet which fell within the incomes policy.' We got 3.5% and 4.4%. Once more, the old tale, one face for the cameras and another for the workers.

What technicians and all workers in education must do is unite in the one big educational union. Think of the strength we would have then. In a dispute any one section of the employees could count on the support of catering staff, porters, lecturers, office staff, etc. An important issue is to get support from the students. A one-day walk-out by one isolated section of the staff can do nothing. To the universities it's like an ant attacking an unfeeling elephant. Unity is strength. And how to stop the new union acting like ASTMS? Easy, apply the anarchist and syndicalist principles that all officials are but delegates of the people they represent and thus are subject to the right of instant recall. No official should be allowed to earn more than the average wage of the members. As a first step, university workers should learn from their comrades in industry and should commence the selection of shop stewards, democratically elected by the workers themselves. Then, and only then, can battle commence.

ABERDEEN ASTMS MEMBER.

(Aberdeen Anarchists are in touch with rank and file ASTMS members who agree with these ideas, contact Ian S. Sutherland, 8 Esslemont Avenue, Aberdeen.)



# Where We All Came In!

AT LONG LAST the Government has discovered who and what is responsible for the ever recurring financial crises. I suppose capitalism in one form or another has been with us for the last couple of hundred years, give or take a few, but it takes a Wilson Government to discover why we periodically but consistently find ourselves in the 'red'. It is all the fault of the 'bloody workers' and their 'irresponsible industrial action'. Our Chancellor announced this amazing discovery in his Budget speech.

The Budget received its usual attention from the press, the Financial and City Editors earned their corn explaining to the public at large their vast knowledge of econo-

mics. These boys really have got the whole system worked out just like the 'ooslam bird', if we left it to them all would be right with the country in time for the next edition of their papers.

As is usual with budgets, cash can only come from one source—'Joe Soap'—no matter the many and devious routes it has to travel before reaching the Government coffers.

Money is given back to Joe with one hand and while he is in fact still looking, the taxman takes it back with the other—plus. The OAPs are given a miserly increase, which is in fact spent before it is received, rising cost of living alone takes care of that problem. Increased purchase tax on listed commodities all help to push up the cost of living even if the whole of the tax is not passed on to the consumer. To make doubly sure, the COL does rise, SET has been increased.

## 'LABOUR ONLY' CONTRACTORS ENCOURAGED

Employers of the affected industries are really overjoyed at this one, particularly the building employers. SET will hit the building workers hard because it will encourage the 'labour only contractors'. 'Labour only' sub-contractors employ about 200,000 workers at the present time. Mr. Mellish, Minister of Public Building and Works, was tackled about this problem and he stated quite firmly that the Government had no intention of making the practice illegal. The Government's intentions are to bring 'labour only' gangs within the law, making the main contractors responsible for their tax and national insurance obligations. As far as the Government is concerned, provided they get their blood money, anything goes.

According to the financial experts Mr. Jenkins' budget will keep the international bailiffs quiet for a while. I understand they were strolling through the corridors of

power but their services were not needed at this time.

And so we stagger on with the politicians ever eager to score party points. They all know the answer, promises flow in ever-increasing



## Contact Column

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

**Talk on Anarcho-Syndicalism.** Speaker: David Pickett, West Enfield Young Socialists. Monday, April 28, 8 p.m. at 2nd floor, 3 River Front, Enfield.

**Freedom Press Manager** needs room (living accommodation) near Aldgate East. Box No. 35.

**Rest, Recuperation, Holiday?** Accommodation available with vegetarian/anarchist household. Nominal charge. Write to: Peter & Iris Allen, The Old Vicarage, Honington, Grantham, Lincs.

**Cook wanted for Kirkdale School.** Would suit someone who enjoys contact with children in a free environment. Common sense and dependability more important than qualifications. Hours approx. 9-2, 5 day week, wages £5 10s., term times only. For about 40 persons. Write or phone Susie Powlesland, 186 Kirkdale, S.E.26. 778 0149.

**Peace News.** Six weeks trial offer for 5/-, 5 Caledonian Road, N.1.

**Hyde Park Sunday meetings.** 3 p.m. Speakers and literature sellers required.

**Support 'Freedom' sales.** Start now or with Scottish edition, May 31. Contact Ian J. Sutherland, 8 Esslemont Avenue, Aberdeen.

**Seminar on Anarchism, Leeds.** A six-week course starting on April 25, at Swarthmore Educational Centre (10 mins. walk from Leeds City Station). Starts 7 p.m.

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

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

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

## FREEDOM PRESS

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

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.)

**International Summer Camp.** £1 booking fees to Ann Lindsay, 39 Upper Tulse Hill, London, S.W.2.

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

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

If you wish to make contact let us know.

## Turriff Site Still Closed

FOR SEVEN MONTHS now 500 building workers have been locked out at the Ivy Bridge Development at Hounslow. This huge scheme was to have provided 1,100 badly-needed council homes, but now the site is forlorn and deserted since Turriff, the main contractor, sacked men and finally closed up the job last October. The dispute was officially recognised by the unions.

Turriff have ignored the findings of both a Regional Disputes Commission, directing them to reinstate 86 sacked men, and a National Commission which upheld the original verdict. District Secretaries of the unions involved and the Regional Secretary of the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives have had a number of meetings with the Company, but so far have been unsuccessful in persuading them to open up the site and reinstate all operatives.

The reasons why Turriffs have remained adamant is that they are claiming an additional half million pounds from Hounslow Borough Council for the contract and they also hope to victimise some stewards and to destroy site organisation. The claim for additional funds has recently been confirmed, but was reported in FREEDOM, 8.2.69.

### MINISTRY'S ADVICE

Labour MPs have described the dispute as 'the worst case of industrial non-relations ever'. Turriff's action might well have been shunned by Herr Alfred Krupp in dealing with his slave labour'. Barbara Castle was asked to intervene, but has so far refused. However this request led to the disclosure that the 'Department of Employment and Pro-

duction admitted that Turriff had sought their advice prior to closing the site and that they had in fact advised the firm to throw out the negotiated site agreement—an action which led directly to the close down of the site and mass dismissals.'

Negotiations for a reopening of the site have led to an agreement on a number of issues, such as the decision that bonus agreements should be made on the site. The unions have dropped their demand for immediate reinstatement and settled for a phased return to work. However, the outstanding issue is concerned with the reinstatement of men who previously worked for sub-contractors. One of these is Sonny McGowan, Chairman of the Stewards Works Committee, who worked as a steel fixer for a 'subby'. Turriff now say that they will employ men directly for this type of work, but the reverse applies to painting. Previously they employed their own painters, but now they are thinking of sub-letting this work. These two moves on the part of the company, provided that the unions agree, could lead to the victimisation of two first-class stewards. The company also has it in for other militants who have played a prominent role on the site.

Wilson himself has his back to the wall, so he will fight and not necessarily under the Marquess of Queensberry rules, he has the power of 'dissolution' if his voting cattle fancy their chances. So all in all, it's back to square one with Joe Soap having the solution in his own hands. What about May 1 for a start?

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

### EXTEND THE DISPUTE!

The Lock-out Committee, in their recent leaflet, are calling for an end to 'the disgrace of Ivy Bridge and demanding an official extension of the dispute'. This seems the obvious thing to do, but it has taken the unions involved a long time to get round to it. A natural choice would be Turriff's Barbican site, the workers

# Freedom

## For Workers' Control

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## Don't Say Brown Say Bastard

THE UNION of General & Municipal Workers is known to be a bit of a bum union! And last week, as expected, the union failed to get Bamford, the victimised shop steward, reinstated at Dunlop, Rochdale, which only goes to show that if you want a proper job the lads must do it themselves.

'Dinner Brown', the local union official, has handled this case with the ability of a clodhopper. In fact, so poor has been his performance that it is said he daren't show his face at Dunlop, and the lads have been cribbing about paying their union dues to such a useless union.

At Dunlop, the union seems to be more for the firm than for the lads. There has been too many back-scratching agreements, too little consultation with the men, and too much allowing the firm to get away with murder.

In view of this hand-in-glove act between the union and the bosses, it might be best if we threw out the proposed scheme for a productivity bonus. Both the blokes and the administrative staff believe the scheme to be unworkable.

It could be, of course, that the firm has deliberately proposed this hair-brained scheme knowing it to be unrealistic, but calculating that it would hold up any chance of a general rise for the lads; the union hasn't the sense to see this.

### PARTY POLITICS PUT BEFORE MEMBERS

The anarchists, who invaded the union offices last month, found 'Dinner Brown' to be a clumsy clerk and Labour Party hack who loves the Government, that bastard child of trade unionism, which is now, it seems, murdering its own mother, through the White Paper 'In Place of Strife'.

But it's no use blaming Brown, the rot runs deeper. The G&M union leadership backs the Government wage freezing shamelessly, and is a union Barbara Castle can always count on.

In the February issue of the G&M union *Journal*, Lord Cooper, the General Secretary, supports the Government's White Paper on industrial relations; the White Paper could make strikes, official or unofficial, difficult, if not impossible; it could in effect outlaw strikes, and not imprison, but fine strikers probably out of their wages. The TUC is against this, as is every alert trade unionist. But not the G&M union, with its low-paid members and high-paid officials.

This union seems to be putting politics and the survival of a Party before the interests of its members. We condemn this; a union should serve its members not the Government or the politicians of any Party. What we want in the unions is less knighthoods and jobs for the boys, and a more militant service for

members and that won't happen until the membership rid the unions of Party politics and politicians.

The Manchester May Day Campaign Committee, seeing that the Government is keeping wages down while prices and rents run wild, has decided to call on workers to stay away from work on Thursday, May 1. The Dunlop lads should support this in spirit, as it is the Government policies which have been used as an excuse for keeping their pay down. May 1, 'Labour Day', is a workingmen's holiday in most countries (details elsewhere).

### TIGHTFISTED PROFITEERS

The best time to put in for a rise is when the firm's doing well! Last week the papers were full of Dunlop's bumper boom in pre-tax profits of near £27 million for last year, a rise of one-third over 1967. Not a bad haul, and, according to the *Guardian*, Dunlop expects to perform as well this year.

The *Sun* says Dunlop's will benefit from this year's rise in tyre prices of five per cent which could mean a million more in profits, also an advantage to Dunlop has been the new tyre safety regulations and the 'gradual swing over from cross-ply to radial tyres, where the profit margins are probably bigger'.

Meanwhile, at Dunlop, Rochdale, conditions are as bad as ever. The remote unrealistic management of the other Mr. Brown continues to play hide and seek with the demands of the Dunlop workers.

But Brown (no relation to union Brown) thinks he's playing a blinder. Demands have been dodged and costs kept down, but why should he worry, with his pay at three times that of his workers.

Now imagine Walter, sixty, not in the best of health, ceaselessly segregating tyres. His work has trebled of late, but Brown wouldn't allow him more help. So Walt awaits the relief of the pension.

But will any of us make the pension? Conditions at Dunlop must make the odds against it. Look at Wilf, with the weak chest, sneezing his brains out on £13 a week. Then watch the rest of us coughing and heaving our rings up, while in our throats dust mingles with spit to form slush causing absenteeism as well as bronchitis.

Still the tightfisted Brown sits tight, annoyed, no doubt, because we refuse to eat our lunches in the midst of the filth on the job.

What's really wanted at Dunlop is not a productivity deal, but an agreement whereby the workers will undertake to organise the job free from the blundering of an incompetent management and all their duff-bags, con-men, bluffers, and hangers-on, who have their positions not by virtue of what they know, but rather because of who they know.

NORTH WEST WORKERS.

here having given a lot of financial assistance and have agreed to hold a mass meeting if any workers are victimised at Ivy Bridge.

This dispute illustrates the role the Government plays in industry. Without the support of the Ministry and its recommendations that a new agreement, with large reductions in earnings, should be negotiated, it is possible that this whole dispute would never have occurred. No wonder there wasn't an inquiry, but if this had occurred in an export industry, then things would have been different. However, it is only homes that are being held up, homes, incidentally, that are badly needed in a borough with 6,000 families on its housing list.

Meanwhile Turriff wait for the ripe

fruit, to the tune of half a million pounds, to drop into their laps. This is money that belongs to the people of Hounslow, money that should not go into the well-lined coffers of Turriff, but which should be used to provide the necessary homes for the community.

To make certain that this dispute is won without any victimisation, Turriff can be hit in the pocket by spreading the strike to their other jobs, both in building and civil engineering.

Donations to  
Sonny McGowan,  
6 Nicosia Road,  
Wandsworth, S.W.18.

P.T.

\*From the Lock-out Committee's leaflet.